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Shalabieh, Mahmoud Ibrahim

A COMPARISON OF POLITICAL PERSUASION ON RADIO CAIRO IN THE ERAS OF NASSER AND SADAT

The Ohio State University

PH.D. 1985

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A COMPARISON OF POLITICAL PERSUASION ON RADIO
CAIRO IN THE ERAS OF NASSER AND SADAT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Mahmoud I. Shalabieh

The Ohio State University
Summer 1985

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Professor Ali Elgabri

Approved By
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Department of Communication
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by Mahmoud I. Shalabieh
Dedicated to the memory of my late brother, Mohammed Ibrahim Shalabieh, and to the memory of my father-in-law, the late Ahmed Ali Shahatta, to my parents, and to Zeinab, May, and Suha for their continued support, understanding, and encouragement.
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CHAPTER I

A COMPARISON OF POLITICAL PERSUASION ON RADIO CAIRO IN THE ERAS OF NASSER AND SADAT

Introduction and Method

Egypt occupies a unique position in the Arab world; it constitutes the northeastern part of Africa and is linked to Asia by the Sinai Peninsula. Consequently, Egypt forms a natural bridge between the western and eastern sectors of the Arab world.\(^1\)

The modern Egyptian state, the seat of an ancient civilization with historical records dating back to at least five millennia, has been sovereign and independent only since 1922, less than a century.\(^2\) During this brief period, however, it has achieved a leading position in the Arab world and has played an increasingly important role in Middle Eastern affairs particularly since the Palestine War in 1948 and the 1952 revolution.\(^3\)

The emergence of the charismatic President Gamal Abdel-Nasser in the mid-fifties had a profound impact not only on Egypt's domestic policy, but also on her relations with the rest of the Arab world. By mobilizing Egypt's human and material resources, President Nasser pursued an activist Arab policy which consolidated and strengthened
Egypt's primacy in the Arab world. From about 1954, with Nasser's active encouragement, broadcasting in Egypt was developed not only into the most comprehensive and influential system in the Arab world, but into one of the most ambitious anywhere. Nasser emerged as the undoubted leader of Egypt, and broadcasting was recognized as a vital means of welding the new country into a coherent nation and making its influence felt as a vital force throughout the Arab world.

The special advantages of radio in Arab societies enabled broadcasting to play a significant role in the Arab countries. In the Middle East, radio has been employed as a weapon of war, both militarily and ideologically; propaganda by radio is studied as a part of the technology of war by both Arabs and Israelis. In the Arab world, radio has been primarily responsible for the creation of nationalist feelings.

After the 1952 revolution, the Egyptian broadcasting service became, almost overnight, the most important source of information. As soon as the new leaders consolidated their power in the country, they gradually began to evolve and propagate new doctrines for socialist transformation and began to use the radio to convey the government's new plans and policies to the masses.

Meanwhile, radio broadcasting services had been extensively enlarged and improved to reach the masses both
at home and abroad. At home, Egyptian broadcasting became the most important "porte parole" to the masses of Egypt. Arabs all over the area applauded the Egyptian revolution and watched its first step with admiration.

The Egypt of post-July 1952 aspired to the leadership of the Arab world and achieved this goal through the efforts of President Nasser; however, Egypt was accorded a position of leadership and centrality which enhanced its capabilities.

Outside Egypt, Radio Cairo attempted primarily to disseminate the government's view of what was best for the Arabs.

Nasser realized, long before most other Arab leaders, the immense potentialities of radio as a weapon of political propaganda in the Arab world and employed the latest scientific principles of psychological warfare. Efforts, money, and talents, were spent unstintingly and lavishly to improve, strengthen, and extend radio coverage in the Middle East. Listening to radio is a habit more widespread in the Middle East than in any other part of the globe; hence, radio in the Middle East plays an indispensable role and keeps its place as the most powerful political weapon.

In the Middle East, wars, political hatreds, public opinion incited and lashed by propaganda to raw
sensitivity, and the imbalance of literate elite and illiterate masses all combine to enhance the power of radio. Radio in the Middle East is the medium both for propagandists and propagandized. The "Voice of the Arabs" broadcast from Cairo, has played the most outstanding role in familiarizing the Arab people with the power of radio, a phenomenon that did not exist before Nasser came to power.

Before the revolution, broadcasting in Egypt officially had no national goals. Since the revolution, the Egyptian government has attempted to employ the media to develop Egypt and the rest of the Arab world politically and culturally. This trend continued even after the change in government following Nasser's death and Sadat's ascendancy to the presidency in 1970.

The powerful Egyptian radio services, once used by Nasser to promote revolution in other countries, were used by Sadat's government to inform Arabs throughout the Middle East of the rationale behind Egypt's various agreements with Israel over occupied territories since the 1967 War, agreements which have not always been well received in the rest of the Arab countries.

In the era of President Sadat, Egyptian broadcasting tended to reflect the changing international political orientation of the country more than any other Egyptian mass medium.
Radio Cairo's "Main Program," along with the "Voice of the Arabs," were the most important means of reaching Egyptian supporters in other Arab countries. They were used as vehicles of propaganda for peace in the era of President Sadat.\(^\text{19}\)

The war of October 1973 was the beginning of another battle—to build a durable, just, and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.\(^\text{20}\)

During this time, Radio Cairo and the "Voice of the Arabs" both played their most difficult roles.

For the first time the "Voice of the Arabs" encountered a new communication challenge; it was "swimming against the current." This was in contrast to the fifties and sixties when the "Voice of the Arabs" and the Egyptian broadcasters were flowing with the current, effectively influencing a receptive population.

On November 19, 1977,\(^\text{21}\) President Sadat captured the imagination of the entire world by his visit to Israel. After that trip, the situation was reversed; most of the Arab regimes waged a wild and hostile psychological war against Egypt and its foreign policy, especially against the Egyptian mass media. Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs," in spite of the hostile climate that existed against the peace initiative toward Israel, was impelled to formulate a specific informational message to reach and
penetrate the masses throughout the Arab world. The object was to maintain trust in Egypt and Egypt's peaceful political line. In an attempt to win the masses, they argued for a settlement based on a durable, comprehensive, and just peace; which recognized the basic rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish their own state. They thus confirmed that the cause of the Palestinian people was the crux of the problem.22

Radio Cairo was arguing that through peace the liberation of the occupied Arab lands and the rights of the Palestinian people would be achieved. However, the task of persuading the Arab masses to accept the idea of a peace settlement was not an easy job for Radio Cairo. For the Egyptian mass media, especially Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs," had to both clarify Egypt's policy, focusing on Egypt's national role in the peace process, and maintain the organic relationship between Egypt and the Arab masses, regardless of the stands and positions that were taken by the Arab regimes against Egypt.23

In Egypt, while television was introduced almost ten years after the revolution, it has not had the domestic or regional impact that radio has had. Television remains essentially an urban medium, its audience restricted to those who can afford sets and have access to electricity;
it is Radio Cairo that reaches rural Egypt and can be heard throughout the Arab world. In the Middle East the radio set is the accepted source of news and opinion. Radio remains a very powerful tool; it will reach an audience that can be targeted much more specifically, the cost is sharply lower, and the ease of access much greater in many instances. Furthermore, radio is available to any configuration, from a rather specific segment of local audience to a much broader audience.

The Egyptian broadcasters do, however, extend their influence by means of television. The Egyptian television programs have proven popular, not only in Egypt, but throughout the Arab world, for Cairo has developed a major source of syndicated television programs for smaller Arab nations. Egyptian entertainment can be seen nightly, screened by the television stations in North Africa and the Middle East. Although these television programs—sentimental and melodramatic serials—are innocent of overt propaganda, they nevertheless have considerable implicit propaganda value.

Egypt is also the home of the Arab world's most important schools of higher learning and educational centers. The School of Communication at Cairo University is the most important center of communication education in the Arab world. And broadcasters from other Arab countries
study at the Egyptian Broadcasting Corporation's own training center in Cairo.\(^{29}\)

The importance of oral communication as a means of persuasion has long been recognized. The power of speech, Isocrates observed, is the most distinctly human faculty that man possesses.\(^{30}\) And Plato said that for the advancement of both personal and national causes, persuasion is the only resource other than coercion.\(^{31}\)

Today the spoken word is still preferred to the printed and must be used whenever possible, and modern propaganda is based largely on the effect of the spoken word.\(^{32}\) The success of politicians depends both on their public speeches and their private, persuasive encounters with precinct leaders, reporters, and potential supporters.

Scope and Statement of the Problem (Research Questions) of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explain and examine the role of Radio Cairo in the peace process in the Middle East in the era of President Sadat. Whereas Egyptian mass media, particularly radio, was employed by President Sadat to reconcile the masses to the peace in the Middle East, Radio Cairo played a different role in the Arab world in the era of President Nasser by influencing the masses in favor of revolution.

The study will answer these questions:
1. What was the role of Radio Cairo as a vehicle of propaganda and political persuasion in the peace process in the Middle East in the era of President Sadat?

2. What were the conditions at that time, that induced the Egyptian leadership to utilize propaganda as a primary instrument of Egypt's foreign policy?

3. What strategies, tactics, techniques, and principles of propaganda were employed by the Egyptian leadership to achieve its goals, and what were these goals in the era of President Nasser; and what strategies, tactics, techniques, and principles of propaganda were employed to justify the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty with Israel in the era of President Sadat?

4. How were the media, especially radio, utilized to develop political philosophy in the eras of Nasser and Sadat?

5. Did the Egyptian government in the eras of Nasser and Sadat consider the primary function of radio and other media to be that of a vehicle for political persuasion?

6. To what degree were Radio Cairo's programs designed to influence the masses and promote
revolutions, to create a nationalist feeling in other Arab countries in the era of Nasser?

Also, the study attempts to examine and answer some other questions: To what degree did Egyptian propaganda succeed with the Arabs? In what ways, if any, can these efforts be assessed? Did the Egyptian leadership in the period covered by this study, perceive the media, particularly Radio Cairo, to be primarily a vehicle of political persuasion? To what extent did the Egyptian government control the mass media? How did the Egyptian leadership influence the role of the mass media in Egypt in the period of this study? Did the governmental policy statements and Egypt's foreign policy as guidelines affect the use of Radio Cairo and other Egyptian mass media? To what degree did Radio Cairo, as a vehicle of political persuasion, play a key role in the Camp David Accords in the era of President Sadat?

This study is a comparative analytical study of Radio Cairo as a vehicle of political persuasion and propaganda in the Middle East in the eras of Nasser and Sadat; it is hoped that the ensuing chapters of the study will provide adequate answers to these preceding questions.

Values and Significance of the Study

The main purpose of the study is to contribute to theory of persuasion, and theory or knowledge of
propaganda, as a form of persuasion, and to explore the method of propaganda analysis.

It is hoped that the study will make a valuable contribution to broadcasting in Egypt and to the Arab broadcasters, particularly to the Jordanian broadcasters who are now involved in another peace initiative in the Middle East. It contributes to an awareness and appreciation of Egyptian radio's role in the peace process in the Middle East and in the Arab world in general. This study will be significant and useful to broadcasters in the Middle East regarding the potent, efficient, and proper use of radio as a vehicle of political persuasion, and as an instrument of propaganda for war and peace.

This study will be useful to Arab broadcasters and policy decision-makers who can learn from the Egyptian propaganda success strategies, techniques, tactics, principles, and from mistakes committed by the Egyptian propagandists.

I hope that this study will help to stimulate discussions leading to the formulation of more precise policies for broadcasting in Egypt. Radio Cairo played a most important role in bringing the people of the Middle East, including the Israelis, closer to peace by stimulating positive and creative thinking.

Radio is a medium of communication that can be used to promote animosities and start wars among people,
influencing and mobilizing the masses for revolution in the Middle East— as in the era of President Nasser. The same medium can be used to promote friendship and treaties of good will.

Radio Cairo did the latter in the era of President Sadat, as attested to by Camp David Agreements. Radio Cairo helped to make Israel acceptable to the Arabs, particularly the moderate Arab states and the Egyptian people themselves, for the first time.

Assumptions

The study's principal assumptions are as follows:

1. Radio Cairo, as a vehicle of political persuasion, played a key role by influencing and mobilizing the masses for revolution in the Middle East in the era of President Nasser.

2. Radio Cairo as a vehicle of political persuasion, and as a vehicle of propaganda for peace played a key role in the peace process in the Middle East in the era of President Sadat. Egypt under Sadat was striving for peace with Israel, at least as one possible option, and the Egyptian mass media, especially radio, were employed for this purpose, unlike Nasser's Egypt, which had been almost totally committed to war. Nasser wished to lead the Arab world by making war on Israel; Sadat
wished to be its leader by making peace with Israel.

3. Cairo Radio plays a predominant role in the political and social life of the Arab countries.

4. Broadcasting in Egypt has developed into the most comprehensive and influential system in the Arab world.

5. The expansion of Egyptian radio and television has had an underlying political motivation which dates from the 1952 Egyptian revolution.

6. The 1967 Middle East War had an effect on Egypt's use of radio, and the Egyptian mass media, especially radio, have shown a marked interest since the 1967 War in increasing the accuracy of news reports and decreasing the role of the media as the disseminator of political propaganda.

7. The radio set is the accepted source of news and opinions in the Middle East, and radio in the Middle East is the most powerful medium both for propagandist and propagandized.

8. Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" has played a key role in familiarizing the Arab people with the power of radio.

9. The role of mass media, particularly radio and television, has been expanding in the Middle East
in the political arena, to attain specific goals, to build acceptance of political ideas and political settlement, and to gain public subsidy and support for particular causes such as peaceful settlement.

10. Persuasion is a powerful instrument for the advancement of personal and national causes.

11. Nasser and Sadat used extensive propaganda to gain the favorable opinion of the masses in Egypt as well as in other parts of the Arab world.

12. President Nasser fell short of his goal of bringing economic prosperity and military success to his country, but he developed an international broadcasting system to be reckoned with.

Method and Procedures

The research tool of content analysis will be utilized in this study. The place of content analysis in communication research is indicated by the following paradigm for communication research: Who says What to Whom with What effect?

Arabic material such as documents, newspapers, journals, and books will be utilized, as with scripts, for analysis of the Egyptian broadcasters' programming, which were obtained directly from Cairo, Egypt during a three-week study trip in the summer of 1982.
Steps in the analysis of the content of the Egyptian broadcasters programming will include the following:

1. Selecting the appropriate sampling of the daily and weekly political, news, dialogue, and commentary programs purposively from the schedule of Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" programs.

2. Selecting the appropriate sample of the scripts of these programs randomly. The guiding principle in the sampling was to give every script of the sampling programs an equal chance of being drawn for the sample. Scripts of the programs of the study were obtained and drawn randomly. Two scripts of the weekly program were obtained per month, and five scripts of each daily program per month were obtained from the purposively selected programs carried by the Egyptian political broadcasts between the first of August 1978 and the end of April 1979. The month of September 1978 witnessed the Camp David Summit and the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel which provided a framework for overall Mideast settlement and a plan for an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, which was signed between Egypt and Israel on March 26, 1979.

The names of the daily programs were as follows: "Comment on the News" (15 minutes),
which was run daily at the peak time period (1:40 P.M.) and repeated at 8:10 P.M. The second program was "The Talk of the Press" (15 minutes), which was run daily at 8:45 A.M. The third program was "Dialogue With a Listener," a five-minute daily program which was run at 10:45 P.M.

The name of the weekly program was "The Arabs and the World" (30 minutes), which was run at 10:30 P.M. every Monday.

3. The next step will be selecting of the unit of analysis. I am going to consider a theme (a single assertion about a subject, statement, or issue and argument, comments, or any other self-contained expression in radio).

4. The fourth step will be category construction. A category system will be used to classify the content of the preceding programs to identify the pertinent symbols. Such categories will cover the full range of the content of the purposively selected sampling of news, commentary-political programs. In this step I will set out to create original categories in addition to using an existing set of categories which were used for a study similar to this study. There are advantages to using a category system that has been used in
other studies. One of these advantages is increased assurance that it is a workable system. The decision to create new categories in addition to using some of an existing set enables me to meet the objectives of this study. These categories must be pertinent to the objectives of this study, the categories should be functional, and the system of categories must be manageable.

The simple test of whether or not categories are pertinent is whether or not the information they yield will answer the research questions of the study.

The functional criterion assumes that a content study intends to say something about a media process and the decision-making within that process. I assume that through content analysis we can gain insight into decisions, strategies, tactics, and techniques that were made by announcers, commentators, editors, or anchor-persons.

The manageableness criterion depends a great deal on keeping objectives of the study in mind.

5. Coding the content--By coding the content, I mean placing a unit of analysis into a content category according to established definitions.
Reliability of Coding

The fact that content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication means that I must be concerned with reliability. By reliability of coding, I mean consistency of classification. As a practical matter, no two coders will agree completely, but unless I achieve some level of agreement, we cannot claim that our study is systematic or objective. To increase reliability, I will work out precise definitions of categories. In addition to being reliable, a content analysis of the study must yield valid results. "Validity" is here defined as the degree to which the data examined within these categories allow derivation of explanation when comparing two styles of political persuasion. If categories overlap, or if reliability is low, then the results emerging from a synthesis of data between these categories will not allow a comparative analysis.

The final step in undertaking the content analysis of this study will be analyzing the compared data, and interpreting the results. Perfect objectivity is seldom achieved in a content analysis. In analyzing the data and interpreting the results, I will attempt to be objective in such a way that the results of the analysis will be the same if replicated by another researcher. Through all
these steps, I will keep the objectives of the study clearly in mind.

Data Collection and Source Material

The data collection methods this study uses are the following:

1. Primary Sources and Secondary Sources. The primary sources are represented by the Arabic material, first-hand material, or first-hand knowledge. As mentioned previously, the scripts of the programming of the Egyptian broadcasts were obtained directly from Cairo.

Secondary sources constitute second-hand information, such as books about the Egyptian broadcasting system and its development, and its utilization as a political weapon in the Middle East.

2. Periodicals. Articles, scholarly publications such as Journal of Broadcasting, The Arab American Affairs, Broadcasting Art Quarterly—in Arabic—Journalism Monographs, Middle Eastern Affairs and others were given strong consideration as source material.

3. Magazines and Daily Newspaper Articles. In addition, I sought magazine and newspaper articles

4. **Reports and Papers.** Communication scholars and specialists, UNESCO, and other agencies have produced numerous reports and papers on Egyptian mass media and Radio Cairo, especially the "Voice of the Arabs."

The ensuing chapters deal with a review of related literature and a statement of theoretical context. This chapter reveals how the study fits into the context of what we know and what we do not yet know about Egyptian broadcasting and radio propaganda of Egypt, plus literature on television.
CHAPTER I

NOTES


6. Ibid., p. 16.


10. Dawisha, Egypt's Role in the Arab World, p. 76.


14 Ibid.


18 Boyd, Broadcasting in the Arab World, p. 40.

19 Ibid., p. 19.


21 Ibid., p. 127.


27 Head, Broadcasting in Africa, p. 25.

28 Ibid., p. 25.

29 Ibid., p. 27.


31 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

An Overview of Broadcasting in Egypt

The state-owned broadcasting corporation of the Arab Republic of Egypt operates 27 medium-wave transmitters that include Cairo I (500 kw), and 16 short-wave transmitters. Included in these short-wave transmitters is the 100 kw station at Abu Zaabal, with a total transmission power of 4806 kw reaching 99.6 percent of Egypt's population and large audiences in the rest of the Arab world and overseas. The estimated ratio of receivers to population is among the highest in the world.\(^1\) Under Nasser's leadership, Egypt was the first to construct high-powered, medium-wave and short-wave transmitters to reach the indigenous population, as well as to carry Nasserite, pan-Arab messages to the rest of the Arab world. Egypt has the most powerful and far-reaching radio and television networks of any country in the Middle East, comparable to that of most highly-developed western European countries. A great deal of radio broadcasting time is devoted to overseas broadcasts in over thirty languages.\(^2\)
Broadcasts are divided into domestic, regional, and international programs. In Egypt, as well as in the other Arab countries, a clear distinction between domestic and international radio broadcasting is difficult to make. The domestically-intended programs could be received in neighboring countries; for example, residents of Khartoum (the Sudan) and Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) or Amman (Jordan) can listen regularly to the domestic service of Radio Cairo. The broadcasts can be heard with particular clarity at night, and in the past were often the only services available.

The domestic broadcasts consist of four distinct programs, each intended for different audiences. The "Main Program" is on the air 20 hours a day on three medium-wave and eleven short-wave lengths. It broadcasts cultural, entertainment, informational, religious, and musical programs. It is intended for general listeners in Egypt and other Arab countries. News is broadcast six times a day.

The "Second Program," broadcasting daily from 7:30 P.M. to 11:00 P.M., stresses cultural items, notably commentaries on science and economics, classical music, and book reviews; these are intended mainly for intellectuals.

The "Popular Cultural Program," targeted to primarily young listeners, broadcasts from 2:00 P.M. to 10:55 P.M. daily.
The "European Program" is directed at foreign residents and tourists. Broadcasts are in English, French, Greek, German, and Italian. This program can be heard daily from 10:30 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. and from 4:30 P.M. to 10:00 P.M., with additional broadcasts on Fridays and Sundays in the morning. The newscasts and commentaries offered on the "European Program" are the same for Arab audiences of the "Main Program," presenting mainly local news and official announcements. The most domestic byproduct of the resurgence of broadcasting after the revolution of July 1952 is the "People's Program" which began on July 25, 1959. This service, which broadcasts on medium-wave for 9 1/2 hours daily, is charged with serving the "development of the working class." It primarily features specialized programs for farmers, industrial workers, the police, the armed forces, and youth.

Other domestic broadcasts include the "Holy Quran Program," offered since 1966, appealing mainly to the older generation. Readings from the Quran or explanations of Quranic text (tafsir), Quran chanting, the saying of the prophet Muhammad (hadeth), and several other religious talks are broadcast nonstop for 13 1/2 hours daily on both medium- and short-wave.

The "Middle East Program," another domestic broadcast, was inaugurated in 1964 in the course of implementing
official plans to earn currency from commercial broadcasting. The program is on the air for 12 1/2 hours a day, featuring entertainment, commercials, and paid announcements.9

Regional broadcasts are on the air 26 1/2 hours daily. They include the popular "Voice of the Arabs" program which broadcasts for 19 hours a day on 2 medium-wave and 7 short-wave lengths to the Middle East, North Africa, Central Africa, and Europe. The "Voice of the Arabs" has many domestic listeners. The "Palestine Program," beamed daily in Arabic and Hebrew for three hours, is intended mainly for Arabs in occupied Palestine. The "Sudan's Program," aired for four and one-half hours daily, was started in 1949 as one of the corners of the "Main Program," featuring commentaries and news.10

Of the total broadcasting time of about 1200 hours a week, light entertainment accounts for 46 percent, religious broadcasting 15 percent, information programs 14 percent, cultural programs 14 percent, drama 4 percent, services 5 percent, and education 1 percent. Radio Cairo's foreign language programs broadcast in 36 languages.11

Sydney Head, in Broadcasting in Africa, summarized the aims of the Egyptian radio. They can be listed as follows:

1. Representing truly the pains and hopes of the masses throughout the Arab nation;
2. Working for the union of the Arabs and mustering their forces against their enemies, in an attempt to bring about their ultimate unity; and

3. Calling for the liberation of the Arab countries from imperialism and its lackeys.  

Cairo Radio was financed by license fees until 1960, but they were then replaced by the electricity tax.  

There is currently no license fee charged. 

Literature on Television

Egyptian television is owned, operated, and controlled by the government.  Egypt was not the first country to establish television in the Arab world. This honor belongs to Iraq. In 1956 the Iraqi government purchased a small station that was imported originally as part of a British trade fair. In 1956 the Iraqi government provided the beginnings of Arab world government-controlled television, prior to the opening of the Baghdad television station. The American armed forces in Libya and the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) in Saudi Arabia had established low-power stations on the American standard for military personnel at Wheeling Air Force Base near Tripoli, and also for employees in Saudi Arabia's eastern province. Although Egypt was not the first country to establish television in the Arab world, the Egyptians have been the
pacesetters for television broadcasting in the Arab world. In the late 1950s, President Nasser realized the potential value of the medium in revitalizing Egypt as a new nation.17

Television was introduced in Egypt on July 21, 1960.18 The Egyptian government resolved to sign a contract with the American company, RCA, for many reasons. One of these reasons was that RCA was probably the only company that could supply the necessary cameras, antennas, video and audio tape recorders, switching boards, and microwave equipment without subcontracting to other companies. Another reason was that RCA also had the experience and personnel to provide a complete television system.19

There was one channel, with transmission that did not exceed three hours a day. In 1961, a second channel started broadcasting 10 more hours of programs a day, while in 1962 a third channel was added, and transmission hours increased to a total of 20 hours per day. In the following years, transmission hours increased to an average of 25 to 30 hours daily over the three channels, called "First," "Second," and "Third Programs," or channel numbers 5, 7, and 9, respectively.20

The "First Program" covers the Cairo and Nile Delta areas through a three-station network.21 It concentrates on popular entertainment, news reports and commentaries,
and sports. The "Second Program" mainly carries minority programs and imported serials. The "Third Program" is just for Cairo and is given over entirely to programs in English and French for the diplomatic community and other foreigners living in Egypt. Both of the Arabic channels are on the air for 15 hours daily from Saturday through Thursday; they begin at 10:00 A.M. and end about 1:00 A.M. the next morning.

The Egyptian Television Corporation operates 28 transmitters with a total power of 54 kw. Overall program time is 115 hours a week, of which entertainment and advertising account for 53 hours (47 percent), educational and cultural broadcasts for 43 hours (38 percent), informational programs for 13 hours (12 percent), and religious broadcasts for 7 hours (6 percent). A little more than 60 percent of the programs are locally produced. Less than 40 percent of programs are imported; two-thirds of these imports come from the U.S.A. Unlike other Arab or African countries, which have little theatrical or cinematic talent to fall back on in seeking to create and produce their own programs, Egypt has long had a lively film industry. All the serials keep clear of overt political controversy. Its melodramatic and sentimental serials have proven popular not only in Egypt, but throughout the Arab world. Head, in his work, *Broadcasting in Africa*, says:
Cairo has developed as a major source of syndicated television programs for smaller Arab nations.

Egyptian entertainment can be seen nightly on screen from Kuwait to Khartoum, from Baghdad to Aden. For the Egyptians, of course, this is an ideal way of extending their influence by means of television throughout the Arab world.

Sponsorship of television programs is not allowed in Egypt, and spot commercials are limited to a total of fifteen minutes before 9:00 P.M., and a further fifteen minutes between 10:00 P.M. and midnight— an average of five minutes in any one hour. Television broadcasting in Egypt was financed by government subsidies, but in 1969 an annual license fee of $15.00 was introduced. Additional revenue of about $1.2 million came from advertising and the sale of programs abroad, principally to Arabic-speaking countries, which brought in about $6 million a year.

Since 1968, Egyptian television has put an increased emphasis on educational television, especially on the "second channel."

Egypt is the leader and pioneer in broadcasting development in the Arab world, and has influenced both radio and television development in the Arab Middle East. It has committed more financial resources to the establishment and programming of its radio and television systems than has any other developing country. Boyd says: "Developing countries often have adequate broadcasting
systems, but Egypt has built a powerful and relatively well programmed system."^{29}

Timothy Green in *Broadcasting in Africa*, says:

Radio began in Egypt in 1926. At first a number of private commercial stations appeared in Cairo and Alexandria, bent mainly on making money quickly; but they gave away in the early 1930s to the Egyptian Broadcasting Corporation, under the control of the government. The new corporation, formally inaugurated in 1934, proceeded slowly with development of a nationwide network.^{30}

Between May 1934 and March 1947, the British Marconi Company operated the first official radio station, called the Egyptian Broadcasting Service. As a result, indirect British domination over the political and economic situation in Egypt during the 1930s and 1940s was also reflected in the broadcasting activities.^{31}

Two services were operated: one in Arabic, which was aired fourteen hours a day, and the second service, aimed entirely at foreigners living in Cairo and Alexandria, was broadcast four hours daily. The latter's programs were in both French and English.^{32}

The regulation of Egyptian radio was handled by several government bodies. It remained under the Ministry of Communication until August 20, 1939, when it was placed under the Ministry of Social Affairs. During World War II, for "public security" reasons, it was placed under the control of the Ministry of Interior.^{33}
Post-Revolution History

Egypt's modern historical period dates from 1805, when Mohammed Ali became ruler of Egypt with Ottoman Sultanate's blessings. The revolution of the 23rd of July, 1952, resulted in a military coup that exiled King Farouk, a descendant of Ali's family, and initially brought to power Mohammed Naguib for a couple years. Very soon Colonel Nasser emerged as the undoubted leader of Egypt until his death in 1970. Anwar Sadat, another of the officers involved in the revolution, was Vice President when Nasser died of a heart attack and succeeded Nasser as President.\(^4\)

In the era of Nasser, the renaissance in broadcasting started.

When the free officers signalled the beginning of the July 23, 1953 revolution, one of their first targets was the Cairo radio station—a common practice in revolutions.

While Naguib and Nasser set about transforming Egypt into a republic and initiating improvements in educational and health facilities and land tenure, Nasser was beginning to solidify his plans for the political role he wanted Egypt to play in the Middle East, Africa, and in the Third World.

Since the revolution, the government has attempted to use the media to develop Egypt, as well as the rest of the Middle East, both politically and culturally.\(^35\)

Almost from the beginning of the Republic, the government sought to control its media. Because radio was a government service prior to the revolution, it immediately
became the free officer's and later, President Nasser's official voice. The broadcasting media have been shifted to several bureaucracies within the government and reorganized many times, never achieving autonomy. They have been under the direct control of the President's office or positioned in such a way as to allow him day-to-day contact through a minister.36

Broadcasting, Nasser realized long before most of the Middle East leaders, is a powerful political weapon.37 Head continues, "Under Nasser, a new set of directives was issued, replete with ringing phrases--united efforts for the success of Arab nationalism and to resist imperialism."38

Since the revolution, the government has attempted to use the media as a primary channel for popularizing government policies, disseminating the tenets of Arab socialism, and soliciting the support of foreign public opinion for the Arab cause in the conflict with Israel.

Especially important in serving the latter purpose were the radio broadcasts--notably the "Voice of the Arabs" program, intended to be heard beyond the country's borders.39

Julian Hale, in his book, Radio Power, says,

The "Voice of the Arabs" has been a powerful incitement to the holy war.40 . . . in the typical Egyptian village, the radio in the grocery store is played
constantly, not only to entertain the proprietor, but as a service to his friends and customers. Nasser understood that illiteracy counted for far less during the time he ruled Egypt than it had before.

Radio meant that people in the most remote villages began to hear of what was happening everywhere and form their opinion. Hale added:

With a language common to more or less all Arab states, domestic services are planned with neighbors' ears in mind. Yet, there is also in the Middle East an exceptionally high proportion of listeners who tune into the Arab's own international services, to clandestine programmers, and to foreign stations, particularly the BBC.

Hale continued, "The 'Voice of the Arabs' from Cairo has played a key role in familiarizing the Arab people with the power of radio." "Voice of the Arabs" played a political role in calling for the liberation of the Arab countries from imperialism, in addition to its social and cultural role throughout the Arab world. "It is the flagship station of the Arab renaissance."

As a result of the broadcasts of "Voice of the Arabs," Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria benefited in their struggle for independence from France and its colonizers. Tunisia and Morocco won their independence in 1956, although independence was not granted to Algeria until 1962. Fanon described the tremendous impact of Arab broadcasts, particularly, "Voice of the Arabs." The French
tacitly acknowledged radio's importance to the liberation movement by going to great lengths to jam its broadcasts.\textsuperscript{46}

Between the mid-fifties and the June War of 1967, the "Voice of the Arabs" was, in Winston Burdett's words, "the pulpit of the revolution." Amplified by four Czech-built 150-kilowatt transmitters overseen by German engineers, this program created public opinion where none had existed previously: among the illiterate and semi-literate masses of the Arab world.\textsuperscript{47}

The "Voice of the Arabs," which dates back to 1953, was, in fact, the voice of Gamal Abdel Nasser. Tareq Ismael, in his book, \textit{UAR in Africa}, says "it was directly reflecting his [Nasser's] attitudes and positions, since Nasser himself makes the final policy decisions."\textsuperscript{48} Nasser even played an important part at the microphone. "He saw the station as a personal mouthpiece and a key weapon in his revolution."\textsuperscript{49}

The 1950s and 1960s were a time of radical change in Arab society. As Wilton Wynn, in his book \textit{Nasser of Egypt}, says:

Nasser's most famous propaganda weapon was his powerful "Voice of the Arabs" radio. As Nasser's fame grew, this radio became daily more popular in the Arab world. A Saudi Arabian merchant buying a radio stipulated that he wanted a set "that picks up the 'Voice of the Arabs.'"

Palestine refugees in camps in Gaza and Jericho gathered in vast throngs at public places daily to hear the fiery broadcasts of the "Voice."\textsuperscript{50}
Wynn continues:

Ahmed said, "Nasser's vitriolic commentator became almost as famous as Nasser himself in the Arab world.

As quickly as possible, Nasser expanded his voice.

Broadcasts began streaking across north Africa to the Algerian rebels. In the Swahili dialect, the Man Man of Kenya were urged to overthrow their white masters. The Israelis were lectured in Hebrew."^51

The "Voice of the Arabs" also broadcast specialized programs for those Arabs living in occupied Palestine, the Arabian peninsula, and the Maghreb region of north Africa.^52

Arabs of oil-rich Kuwait and Bahrein were pressed to throw out the British, and nationalism was stirred up in the Somalilands.

The British and the French reacted sharply to this radio campaign. They conceded that Nasser had legitimate interests in the Arab world; but when he reached out to Zanzibar, Kenya, and French West Africa, they felt he was going too far. It was early in 1956 that these powers began to regard Nasser as a major enemy.^53

Miles Copeland, in his book The Game of Nations, confirmed the effectiveness of Radio Cairo's propaganda. He said,

Early in 1956, the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) sponsored a survey of Radio Cairo's reception in all parts of the Arab world, from Iraq to Morocco, and found that it was being widely heard, even in the
middle of the desert and that its prolonged effect was a conditioning of Arab attitudes much as is achieved under hypnosis.

Even listeners too educated to accept the content of the broadcasts intellectually were beginning to assume certain attitudes without consciously knowing why.\textsuperscript{54}

Copeland added,

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency from its study of Radio Cairo's propaganda in 1956, confirmed that Nasser was getting his message across with devastating success. The United States is said to have considered strategies for countering Radio Cairo—even the drastic one of blowing it up. A milder proposal was to develop a competing radio service in the region.\textsuperscript{55}

But "building a broadcasting capability to match that of Cairo would be like trying to transplant Hollywood to Des Moines, Iowa."\textsuperscript{56}

Wilton Wynn, in \textit{Nasser of Egypt}, says,

Many complaints have been made about the "Voice of the Arabs" and its allegedly dangerous influence.

But, Nasser has no monopoly on the air waves of the Middle East. The British have a widely heard Arabic service of the BBC. The British also had a first-class station based on Cyprus broadcasting in Arabic to the Arabs, the Near East Arab Broadcasting Station. Radio Israel was also on the air to the Arabs, as were stations of practically every Arab government.

There were also powerful clandestine stations attacking Nasser viciously.

The "Voice of the Arabs" won out over these competitors not because of superior propaganda skill, but because it was saying what the Arabs wanted to hear. It wasn't creating attitudes among the Arabs, it simply reaffirmed and stimulated attitudes that already existed.\textsuperscript{57}

A few intellectuals worried that the pace was too fast, characterized by extreme anger, raging violence, and fury.
They criticized the "Voice of the Arabs" for stirring up feelings without a clear idea as to how they should be directed; they also resented the immunity of the radio directors under Nasser's protection, calling them "the untouchable." But protests were ignored, if indeed they were heard at all.58

The propaganda bandwagon, once underway, had a momentum of its own. Ronald Payne wrote in an edition of the Sunday Telegraph,

Cairo Radio—and the Arab is a terrific language for invective—went full go in the old days with a program called "The Enemies of God" which almost invariably coincided with those of the late Nasser. Getting at the British on one occasion, they produced a very palpable insult by proclaiming, "O British your king is a woman."59

This was what the Arabs wanted to hear. In 1956, the masses in the Arab Middle East wanted to be reassured of the particular wickedness of the British, French, and Israelis, who first threatened, and then carried out, a military invasion.

Gordon Waterfield (at that time, head of the BBC's Arabic service and personally a critic of the invasion), looked back ten years at the effect he believed the "Voice of the Arabs" had had, not just on the Arabs themselves, but also on the British government.

It was considered by many in this country that it was this broadcasting from Cairo which had interfered with British policy by preventing Jordan joining the Baghdad
pact in December 1955, and that in March 1956, the broadcasts had led to the summary dismissal of the Englishman, Glubb Pasha, from the command of the Arab Legion in Jordan. . . . I think that the abuse and misrepresentation on Cairo Radio, which could be read next day in BBC monitoring reports, contributed a good deal to the angry mood which led the British government down the road to Suez. The British and French prime ministers were reminded of Nazi propaganda under Goebbels and there were mutterings about Hitlerism and the dangers of a Munich.60

One of the troubles of employing and putting out "total" propaganda is that, ever since Goebbels, people believed that it was bound to be an introduction and prelude to action.

Goebbels knew that, without political or military success to back it up, any propaganda of violence is self-defeating. It is assumed that anyone using a similar technique knows this too. On the other hand, there were attempts to lessen, deflate, and reduce the role played by the "Voice of the Arabs."61

Sir Hugh Green, the Director General of the BBC in 1956, wrote,

The power of Cairo Radio as a weapon in Colonel Nasser's hand has been very much exaggerated by many people.

In so far as Cairo Radio achieves anything, it is through the exploitation of feelings (pan-Arab, anti-British, anti-French) which are already there.

It doesn't create them. Those who expect British, French, or American broadcasts to compete with Radio Cairo are equally mistaken; our policy is not one of lies and agitation and we should be false to ourselves and do no good at all, if we descended to Colonel Nasser's level.
The truth is an unexciting weapon and it often works too slowly for those who, naturally enough, are to see the quick results.  

Sir Hugh went against the more general view that the "Voice of the Arabs" did indeed have a powerful short-term effect, with the use of lies and agitation certainly, though with a sufficient measure of truth so as not to lose all contact with reality.

"Even exploiting feelings--already there" had the effect of incitement, and it is probable that radio contributed to them.

But, as always, hard evidence of mass enthusiasm stirred up by radio does not, indeed cannot, exist. Eyewitness accounts of clamorous groups around radio sets are not enough.

Evidence of the growing political awareness of Arab people and its creation by, and interaction with, government policy is too broad to attribute to radio alone, or to any single factor. Radio's influence, once again, can be gauged by the number of people who claim that it has been effective. In the case of "Voice of the Arabs", there is coincidence of views between Egyptian and outside observers that makes particularly plausible the view that it indeed had a very powerful popular impact.

The fatal shortcoming and disastrous flaw did prove, in the end, to be the habit of lying. That was in the June War of 1967.

But, even before then, the "Voice of the Arabs displayed a disturbing quality that prepared the way for popular disillusionment: its inveterate quarrel-someness.  

Hale, in Radio Power pointed out that,
The hate campaigns directed against every single other Arab country in turn weakened the "Voice's" credibility as the unifier of all the Arabs. Although it sometimes is said Arab audiences are able to believe the pan-Arab nationalist propaganda with one-half of their mind and reject the underlying Egyptian propaganda with the other half, the distinction cannot be made with total clarity.66

However, Douglas Boyd in his book Broadcasting in the Arab World, explains that what was broadcast was taken as the "truth."67

Literature on Voice of Palestine and Voice of Peace from Cairo

In the era of Nasser, Egypt placed its radio at the service of some Palestinian organizations to disseminate propaganda for the resistance. Egypt has supported the Palestinian resistance movement by placing all possible material, military and political resources at the movement's disposal. Nasser considered that, fundamentally, the Palestinian resistance movement, was the noblest feature of the Arab nation's reaction to the 1967 defeat and setback.

Nasser's greatest wish was to see the Palestinian resistance organizations succeed in establishing healthy relations among themselves. This would permit them to carry out their anticipated great role in such a manner as to make them one of the vanguards of victory in the violent war to liberate the occupied territories and regain the rights of the Arab nations.68
The Egyptians' radio facilities have been extensively used by the Palestinian organizations, because of Nasser's placement of all the country's resources "unconditionally at the disposal of Palestinian resistance movements."

The broadcasts were heard throughout the Arab world and in occupied Palestine. Fatah, the guerilla movement associated with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), had an information office in Cairo. Its "Voice of Al Fatah" broadcasts used the same medium wavelength as the Egyptian domestic radio's "Middle East programs." In 1968, these programs were broadcast beginning at about 7:28 P.M. and lasting for one hour.\(^69\)

In its first broadcast, on May 11, Al Fatah announced that its ultimate goal was not only to terminate Israeli occupation of Arab territories seized in June 1967, but to free Palestine as well. The announcement, apparently beamed from the Egyptian capital, said that Al Fatah would broadcast an hour per day, directing the message largely at Palestinian Arabs under Israeli rule.\(^70\)

Ten minutes of the program were broadcast in Hebrew. The broadcasts presented and featured accounts of the activities of Fatah commandos, policy statements of the organization's leaders, and a daily news comment. Testimonials about commando fighters killed in action and interviews with their families were highlighted on other programs.
Another broadcasting from Cairo was the radio station of the PLO, formed in 1964. Its radio programs in 1968 reflected a leftist political orientation. In the era of Nasser, the PLO also conducted other informational activities from Cairo. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is a third group which was using Egyptian facilities for its informational activities, although in 1968 it had no radio group.\textsuperscript{71}

These broadcasts lasted until November 1977, when President Sadat stopped the Palestinian's broadcasts because they criticized and attacked his trip to Jerusalem and its reverberations.\textsuperscript{72} The contrast between the Palestinian line and that of Cairo in the era of Sadat was sometimes painfully apparent.\textsuperscript{73} Egypt occasionally curtailed its Palestine broadcasts or stopped them altogether.

Boyd states,

The most serious interruptions appear to have occurred between 1975 and 1979—a period during which Egypt concluded several agreements with Israel, starting with the return of the Sinai and continuing with a formal Egyptian peace treaty. After the September 1975 Egyptian-Israeli Sinai agreement, the Egyptian government temporarily stopped all Palestine broadcasts from Egyptian facilities, because the broadcasts were criticizing the host government. Resumed broadcasts were again halted in the late 1970s during the preliminaries to the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.\textsuperscript{74}

Nasser employed and harnessed the media, particularly Radio Cairo, to lead the Arab world by making war on
Israel. Since he continued to be regarded with great respect and devotion by the masses in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab world to wield, exercise, and exert power and considerable influence in Middle Eastern affairs.

Sadat employed and harnessed the Egyptian mass media, particularly radio, to play a key role in the peace process, and wished to lead the Arab world by making peace with Israel. Thus a new era was begun, particularly in 1975 when he concluded an agreement with Israel, stipulating that Arab-Israeli disputes "shall not be resolved by military force but by peaceful means." Radio Cairo implemented and started to reflect Egypt's foreign policy. In the meantime, Sadat continued the policy that Nasser had adopted in the 1960s, of "demilitarizing the government and depoliticizing the military."

The "Voice of the Arabs" along with the Egyptian radio service, the "Main Program," were the most important means of reaching Egyptian supporters in other Arab countries prior to the June 1967 War. These programs were used, as vehicles of political persuasion and propaganda for peace, to reach Egyptians in other Arab countries who supported their homeland's efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement with Israel. Egyptian broadcasts dramatically changed after the Arab setback in the 1967 war. It changed even more dramatically after Anwar el-Sadat became President in 1970.
In the era of Nasser there had been much manifestation of "hatred" for the enemy and overt war propaganda in the media and in the curriculum of schools.80

Over the years in the era of Nasser, many profane words poured forth from the Hebrew section of Radio Cairo, including some written by the leading Egyptian journalist, Anis Mansur. However, during the reign of President Sadat in the late 1970s, the old program was changed completely, even to the point of being renamed. What was once called the "Voice of War," then became the "Voice of Peace from Cairo."81

Amos Elon in Flight into Egypt, which explores the profound meaning of the Historic Egyptian-Israeli Peace Accord, says,

Samir Farahat, chief political commentator of the station, (the Hebrew section of Radio Cairo) is a Hebrew poet. Every week he reads a new poem on the air. Copies of his most recent ones are folded into his breast pocket. The fine calligraphy in black is adorned with little flowers drawn in red between the stanzas:

"A moment of safety is a rosy dream
In the life of man who has made a convenant with anxiety,
A moment of safety sprouts white roses
In the desert heart of man
Where until now grew only thistle and thorns.

* * * * *

God's gift to a mother whose tears have whitened her eyes
For her bosom by the ravages of war,
Now peace, peace unto all men."82

* * * * *
Mohammed Naguib, Gamal Abdel Nasser, and Anwar el-Sadat—all three Presidents influenced the electronic media and its role as a vehicle of political persuasion in the Middle East, using different means and different policies.83
CHAPTER II
NOTES


5 Ibid., p. 266.

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9 Smith et al., Area Handbook for the United Arab Republic, p. 266.

10 Ibid., pp. 266-277.

11 World Communications--A 200-Country Survey of Press, Radio, Television, and Film, pp. 54-55.

12 Green, Broadcasting in Egypt, p. 19.

13 Ibid., p. 20.

14 Ibid., p. 54.

16Boyd, Broadcasting in the Arab World, p. 33.


18Owen and Bunsum, United Arab Republic (Egypt): The Country and Its People, p. 88.

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25Ibid., p. 27.


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30Green, Broadcasting in Egypt, p. 18.

31El-Sheikh, Mass Media and Ideological Change in Egypt, p. 82.

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34Boyd, Broadcasting in the Arab World, p. 13.

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42Ibid., p. 71.
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45Ibid., pp. 30-34.
46Ibid., p. 16, 32.
51Ibid., p. 134.
52Green, Broadcasting in Egypt, p. 23.
53Green, Broadcasting in Egypt, p. 134.
56 Ibid.
57 Wynn, *Nasser of Egypt*, pp. 142-143.
60 Ibid., p. 73.
61 Ibid.
64 Ibid., p. 74.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
70 Ibid., p. 113.
71 Ibid., p. 266.
77 Ibid., p. 168.
78 Ibid., p. xxx-xxxii.
79 Boyd, Broadcasting in the Arab World, p. 19.
80 Elon, Flight Into Egypt, p. 169.
81 Ibid., p. 156.
82 Ibid.
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CHAPTER III

RADIO AND THE POLITICAL PROPAGANDA
PROPAGANDA AS A FORM OF PERSUASION

A General View of Propaganda—
Definitions of Propaganda

After World War I, two important areas of communication theory had their roots in the early understanding of propaganda. One of these areas is attitude change, which is considered one of the primary areas in communication research. This area attempts to answer the question, "What are the most effective methods of changing people's attitudes?" The second area is the theoretical thinking about general effects of mass communication, in answering the question, "What effects does mass communication have on individuals and society?" Leaders have developed extensive propaganda efforts whenever they have had to depend upon the favorable opinions of the masses.

Literacy, greater mobility, wars, and increasing group conflicts have greatly expanded the propaganda role. As generally understood, propaganda is opinion expressed for the purpose of influencing actions and attitudes of individuals or groups. Alfred McClung Lee, et al. in The Fine Art of Propaganda defines propaganda as,
Expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends.\(^3\)

Harold Lasswell, in his classic work, *Propaganda Technique in the World War (1927)*, attempts to define propaganda as follows:

> It refers solely to the control of opinion by significant symbols, or, to speak more concretely and less accurately, by stories, rumours, reports, pictures and other forms of social communication.\(^4\)

In 1937, Lasswell presented another definition which is slightly different from the preceding definition. He says,

> Propaganda in the broadcast sense is the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representation. These representations may take spoken, written, pictorial, or musical form.\(^5\)

Both of Lasswell's definitions include most of advertising, and what is often referred to as persuasion. Lasswell states that both advertising and publicity fall within the field of propaganda.

Psychologist Roger Brown attempts to make a distinction between propaganda and persuasion. Brown defines persuasion as "symbol-manipulation designed to produce action in others."

He then indicates that persuasive efforts are labeled propaganda "when someone judges that the action which is the goal of the persuasive effort will be advantageous to the persuader but not in the best interests of the
persuadee." In other words, he states that there are no absolute criteria to determine whether an act of persuasion is propaganda, and as far as the techniques used are concerned, persuasion and propaganda are identical. If it is to the benefit of the propagandist and not to the receiver, this is called propaganda.

According to Lasswell and Brown, propaganda would include much of the realm of political campaigning (where the aim is not for the good of the receiver, but the good of the propagandist) and much of advertising and public relations (for greater sales for the advertiser, and to present the most favorable image of a corporation).

The action sought by a propagandist may be beneficial or harmful to millions of people. Propaganda alters public opinion on matters of large political and social consequence. Although we believe that our opinions are our very own, they usually are not. Our opinions are largely determined for us by inheritance and environment. Our beliefs and actions mirror the conditioning influences around us.

Propaganda, by its very nature, must reflect the system that it propagates. Sociologically, propaganda means a method of social control in which the propagandists attempt to control, convert, and shape individuals. Psychologically, propaganda implies a change in attitudes,
beliefs, emotions, ideas, opinions, critical thinking, prejudices, the perceptions, sentiments, state of mind, and even the "will."\

We can identify two types of propaganda: (1) intentional propaganda, and (2) unintentional propaganda. These types are similar to the extent that both of them affect groups of individuals, but it is imperative to differentiate between them. The distinguishing characteristic between these two types of "social control" is the intention of the person who is seeking to exercise the control.

Propagandists in the intentional propaganda typology are perfectly conscious of what they are trying to accomplish. However, intentional propaganda could be defined as a systematic attempt by an interested individual or individuals to control the attitudes of the masses through the use of suggestion and, consequently, to control their actions. This propagandist is also aware of his interested aim, and aware of the nature of his own activity, and seeks to affect people's stereotypes, to ultimately bring about changed attitudes. Moreover, the phrase "control their actions" is taken into account as a part of an exposition of propaganda, since the propagandist is interested in "controlling attitudes." These attitudes will lead to the kind of action which he desires individuals to perform.
Propaganda arises whenever and wherever there is conflict within a society, and this conflict pervades every single aspect of one's life. It is not true, however, that the propagandist is always aware of the nature of his own activity. Textbooks in schools in some countries might give children an unreal stereotype which might determine their attitude toward other systems or other countries. In such a case, a believer in the capitalist system maintains that communists deliberately propagate a communist system of principles or beliefs or communist dogma. The communist asserts that the capitalists often unintentionally or unwittingly defend their own system with propaganda. Textbooks, in this case, are carrying on propaganda.\textsuperscript{16} However, unintentional propaganda is nonetheless the control of the attitudes and, consequently the actions, of groups or individuals through the use of suggestions.\textsuperscript{17} Psychologically, the intentional propagandist appears to have an advantage. Since he is aware of his own aim, he can work out the most appropriate tactics, techniques, and strategies as skillfully, wittingly, and deliberately as possible. For this reason, intentional propaganda has been designated as a "systematic attempt."

The unintentional propagandist, even though he does not plan his work in accordance with any conscious aim, usually has nearly complete control over the means of
communication within a society. His advantage over the intentional propagandist is a social one. In contrast to the intentional propagandist, who is aware of his interested aim, the unintentional propagandist does not appreciate or is not fully aware of the social effect of his own actions.18

The popular notions about propaganda may make the reader assume that it is something largely evil. But quite to the contrary, propaganda may be wholly or partly "true," confusing, or "false." It may be employed for both good and bad purposes. Propaganda can best be thought of as a way of conveying ideas rapidly to many people or to the masses, through combinations of words, personalities, music, drama, pageantry, and other symbols; the propagandist, in short, attempts to make emotionally-charged impressions upon the masses of people.19

Propaganda is beneficial as well as harmful:20 "The propagandist is a person who canalizes an already existing stream. In a land where there is no water, he digs in vain."21 No propagandist can ever hope to succeed if he fails to understand, not only the minds, but the habits, the hopes, and the fears of those to whom he is directing his appeal. Political propaganda must be scientifically planned and executed; it must relate, reflect, and it must often project policy.22
It must never be difficult to understand, never be abstruse, never be dispersed in its approach to any subject; and it must, above all, formulate. It is apparent that the doctrine of simplicity, repetition, and formulation is, however, completely sound to political propaganda.23

Joseph Goebbels succeeded at home for exactly the reasons that he failed abroad. Goebbels failed to understand the minds, habits, hopes, and fears of those to whom he was directing his appeal. In his diaries, Goebbels states,

... propaganda must therefore be essentially simple and repetitive in the long run. Basic results in influencing public opinion will be achieved only by the man who is able to reduce problems to the simplest terms and who has the courage to keep forever repeating them in this simplified form despite the objections of the intellectuals.24

The objective, whether it be long or short-term, must be clearly defined. The appeal must be direct and it must be an emotional rather than an intellectual appeal.25 The "emotional investment" facilitates changes in attitudes and opinions.26 Flexibility of varied appeal is relevant here and it is very effective in any political campaign.27

Hitler believed in repetition; according to Yu Fredrick in his book, Mass Persuasion in Communist China. Hitler said,

The intelligence of the masses is small, their forgetfulness is great. Effective propaganda must be
confined to merely a few issues which can be easily assimilated. Since the masses are slow to comprehend, they must be told the same thing a thousand times.28

Repetition with varied appeals enhances the likelihood of persuasion.29

The language must be simple and therefore easily understood.30 According to George Campbell, language should conform to the criteria of "reputable use," general use, "national use," and "present use." This leads to a distinction between good and bad usage in language.

"Reputable use" means the standard language used by celebrated writers, etc. "General use" means language that can be understood by everybody. "Present use" must be the standard of the present language. "National use" stands opposed both to provincial and to foreign ideologies.31 Pronouncement of any kind must be clearly formulated and repeated over and over. The enemy must be studied and every advantage taken of his weakness. Finally, propaganda and political organization must always go hand in hand.32

**Principles of Political Propaganda**

Political propaganda is a perfectly straightforward process of disseminating a political point of view.33

The principles of advertising—domination, concentration, and repetition—apply equally to political propaganda. Political propaganda is a science which has
something in common with military science, making it possible to define rules for strategy and tactics. The following principles—theme, presentation, coordination, and disposition—govern propaganda strategy; while direction, timing, vitality, and color are considered the four essentials to be studied in propaganda tactics.

1. The First Principle—The Theme of a Propaganda Campaign. The theme of a propaganda campaign must be simple, easily understood, and therefore presented with ease. This theme must be concerned with and related to a positive policy. The people must be aware that the policy leaders are committed to this theme. With the nature of public understanding being aforementioned, a policy having initially been clearly stated, will have to be repeated several times before it is either understood or accepted.

It is true, too, that propaganda for the status quo is more difficult to present than propaganda for change. The shrewd or astute propagandist for the status quo must never admit to a defensive role. Whatever action is taken must always be represented as a positive advance and attack upon the attackers.

It is quite impossible to conduct positive propaganda without a positive policy on which to base it. Propaganda without policy is like advertising without a product or central idea. The theme of a campaign must be capable of
easy formulation. This is the slogan principle, and the slogan is a brief and clear formulation of the aims of the campaign. The theme of a propaganda campaign must be formulated in such a way that it is easily presented, and it must take into very close consideration the hopes and fears of those to whom it is directed.

2. The Second Principle Of Propaganda Strategy Is That the Theme Should Be Soundly and Effectively Stated. Goebbels stated, "Modern propaganda is based largely on the effect of the spoken word. Revolutionary movements are not the work of great writers, but of great orators."

Goebbels continues:

It is a mistake to assume that the written word is more effective because it reaches through the daily paper a wider public. Though an orator in most cases can reach only some thousands of listeners whereas the writer succeeds in reaching some tens of thousands of readers, the spoken word influences not only those in the immediate audience, but is disseminated by word of mouth a hundredfold and sometimes a thousandfold.

Design in a speech is as essential as design in sculpture, painting, or music. Careless design is damaging, not only because it renders the work less legible, but because it gives a bad impression, and impressions count in politics.

3. The Coordination Principle. Another principle of political propaganda is coordination. Coordination of propaganda resources makes them highly effective, and nothing is more damaging than lack of coordination.
Coordination ensures that all the various media of propaganda—speeches (both from platform and over the radio), the newspapers (handout and editorial), and posters—have the same story to tell, and it establishes the necessity of a firm policy. 40

4. The Disposition Principle. We must recognize that there is a limit to basic resources of propaganda, and if these resources are not disposed to the best advantage, then they will be less effective. The planning of the disposition of resources must be carried out in close conjunction with the government organization. 41

Tactics of Propaganda

The operation of propaganda depends on an alert, quick-moving, active and agile application of the tactics of propaganda. Tactics are essential and crucial, because even if principles are observed and strategy carefully followed, weak tactics will completely destroy a campaign. Tactics are inevitable because they are concerned with propaganda "on the ground," and it is here that propaganda either succeeds or fails. 42 The tactics of propaganda must be fluid and flexible and must be clearly and firmly directed. Accurate timing of all propaganda activity is necessary and vital to the continuation of the campaign. The key to success in timing is the selection of the
psychological moment, a particularly relevant expression in this sphere. Selection of a moment must depend on conditions which may or may not be controllable. Propaganda must never be launched too early or it will misfire and will fail to achieve the anticipated results.

The campaign might reach the point of greatest intensity or reach its climax before the assigned time. At this critical moment, emotions have died down, and the full result is not obtained.

On the other hand, propaganda must never be launched too late. "The time that it is liable to take to put across a policy or message must always be accounted for in any propaganda plan."

The impression of slowness is very damaging. Political activity is contagious, transmissible either by direct or indirect contact, and spreading or tending to spread from one person to another. Where there is little activity there will also be little contagion. The coordination of the various propaganda media (radio and television speeches, platform, and printed media) will ensure that they perceive the same message. Proper timing ensures that these media tell it at the right moment and to the best advantage. All propaganda must be vital, alive, and reflect personality. Otherwise, it will not communicate. And color in propaganda is closely allied to vitality.
Flexibility with varied appeals enhances the likelihood of persuasion. It is the personal appeal to certain recognizable wants and needs that makes propaganda even more effective. A listener might ward off one attack; however, he might find another approach quite persuasive. And the more frequently an idea is repeated, the more likely it is to be perceived, remembered, and constantly reinforced. The "emotional investment" involved in propaganda campaign facilitates changes in attitudes and opinions.

Objectives of Propaganda

According to Lasswell, there are four major objectives of propaganda:

1. to mobilize hatred against the enemy;
2. to preserve the friendship of allies;
3. to preserve the friendship and, if possible, to procure the cooperation of neutrals; and
4. to demoralize the enemy.

Counter-Propaganda

Counter-propaganda in itself is the reply to direct propaganda, its function being to balance, offset, and answer the direct propaganda of the opponent.

The secret of truly successful counter-propaganda is to anticipate what the other side is going to say and to announce that they will be "dumping the squib."
are competitive propagandists who not only must influence people, but also try to prevent them from being influenced by others. The propagandist usually does not find a group of people which is ready to accept his message. These people may be holding strong attitudes which conflict with the desired integration. The propagandist cannot afford to ignore these dominant attitudes and he must try to counteract them through counter-propaganda. As a complementary method of counter-propaganda, the propagandist resorts to positive suggestion in an attempt to build up new stereotypes and new related attitudes to overcome the conflicting attitudes. Counter-propaganda is filled with psychological perils, and through counter-propaganda the society manages to change, when the change is a peaceful one.49

Vehicles of Propaganda

1. Radio and Television. Radio is the most important vehicle of propaganda in modern life, and the contemporary world is absorbed with intentional radio propaganda. Radio has been the most widespread medium and method of reaching great masses of people, ever since receiving sets have been so affordable to millions of people.50 The problem of any propagandist is a perceptual one. Individuals must perceive the stimulus-situations through which the propagandist hopes to exert his influence.
Through the sense of audition, people are able to obtain the stimulation offered by most forms of passive amusement, such as music, drama, political speeches, news, poetry, and literature. People voluntarily listen, and radio programs arouse the auxiliary attitudes that are at the basis of these activities. At this time, the propagandist begins to function. This is the psychological explanation of radio as an important propaganda stimulus-situation.51

In order to attract a large audience, the radio station is very anxious to build up and retain its prestige. The propagandist knows quite well that the nature of his program will influence the type of radio audience he is able to attract, and that his products will be of interest only to certain individuals. He tries, therefore, to present a program that will occupy the full attention, interest, and time of prospective audiences.52

Television: The extent to which television news and programs can and do influence public opinion is the subject of continuing scholarly debate. The old idea that media effects are trivial has been increasingly re-examined and rejected or reformulated.53

Television is an important vehicle of propaganda. Its impact on the news and program content is notable. Recently, television played a key role in the peace process
of the Middle East and the events of Anwar el-Sadat's mission to Israel on November 22, 1977. This mission appeared to many to have been profoundly influenced by the participation of television, its superstars, and its world audience. The presence of television undoubtedly changed the significance of the Sadat visit. Television serves a magnificent function when used for diplomacy.

Television influenced the behavior of Begin and Sadat. Knowing that "the whole world was watching," they both understood quite well the effect that they were creating, and they consciously used this medium.

2. The Newspaper. Newspaper follows radio as an important vehicle of propaganda in modern life. A newspaper is a cultural product, reflecting a particular social environment or a subculture of that environment. Politicians and rulers employ newspapers to help make their own positions more secure, and to influence public opinion.

3. The Motion Picture. Cinema propaganda is an almost entirely unintentional and generally concealed propaganda. People go to motion picture theaters to seek entertainment, and for this reason they refuse to be indoctrinated, or at least they refuse to be aware of the indoctrination that is occurring. As a consequence, cinema propaganda is almost entirely unintentional.
However, from the point-of-view of content, the cinema contains propaganda. The cinema as a stimulus-situation will actually influence people, as recent studies clearly demonstrate. During the war, for instance, almost every country produced films to support or prop up its own morale, and to create a favorable impression upon neutral countries. Pictures taken at the front were manipulated to achieve the same effect. The most effective propaganda, aside from that contained in the feature picture, is the newsreel. The pictorial reflection of current events appears more real. Much of newsreel propaganda may be unintentional.\textsuperscript{58}

4. The Stage and Art. As a vehicle of propaganda, the stage is less important than the cinema. The number of partakers of this high-priced entertainment is small, and theaters are relatively rare in many countries. It is worth noting that theater-goers want to be entertained; stage propaganda, if it is to be effective, must be either secondary or completely concealed. The artist may be a true craftsman, and he may be spreading propaganda unintentionally.\textsuperscript{59}

5. The Other Vehicles of Propaganda. a) There are many and varied vehicles for propaganda: pamphlets, leaflets, and handbills. Short essays or treatises usually on a current topic (which are distributed by hand) are
generally employed in order to reach a limited number of people as inexpensively as possible. They represent intentional propaganda in its most direct form. They are usually recognized as "pieces" of propaganda and are to arouse auxiliary attitudes which will induce the passerby to read the content. Although they do not have the prestige of newspapers, these media of communication play an important role. 60

b) Meetings, Rumors, Parades, Books. The magazine articles whose content is devoted to some controversial, political, economic, or social questions may be used for propaganda purposes.

Propaganda in the form of stories is especially effective because, when the reader's interest has been aroused by the plot, he may be influenced simultaneously by the propagandist's message.

Books are one of the most important media for unintentional propagandists. The younger generation obtains involuntarily attitudes toward the distinctive features of its cultural pattern through books interpreted by teachers and presenting a patriotic interpretation of history. Much of what is called education is propaganda (unintentional). It is generally recognized as an important cultural product. 61

Meetings have been overshadowed by the electronic media. The stimulus-situation presented to the audience at
a meeting tends to be quite different from the one transmitted over a radio. People in a hall are affected not only by the voice of the speaker, but also by his general appearance and gestures, whereas radio audiences hear the voice as the sole source of information.  

Rumors, regardless of their originator's personal motives, may be carrying on unintentional propaganda. Such rumor might very well be called gossip, while intentional rumor in politics is called a "whispering campaign."  

A parade is considered a mass phenomenon which serves as a vehicle of propaganda by making the aim of the propagandist outstanding, and by arousing an impression of universality.  

War, Peace, and Propaganda  

War, peace, and propaganda are related to each other. War is the result and consequence of peace, peace is the outcome of war, and propaganda is the consequence of both of them. Yet propaganda has existed whenever there has been a war. War propaganda is an ambitious attempt to arouse people's dominant attitudes by distortion, fabrication, and suppression. During a war, nations become highly organized groups. Through propaganda, patriots are made aware of their traditions and their responsibilities. National symbols and slogans become valuable and
precious. The events that occur during the war are meaningless until they are interpreted by the propagandist. Not all the propaganda of a war consists of a pack of lies.

During a war, some propaganda becomes subversive propaganda, which is the most unprincipled and unscrupulous of all forms of propaganda. Its only aim is to discredit the enemy and to undermine his power to persuade. The means or instrument of subversive propaganda are the rumor cartoon which can be used in any form of propaganda and the "whispering campaign."

Peace propagandists want to attain two objectives: (1) To awaken public opinion to the horror, uselessness, and futility of war by portraying it as a horrible episode which destroys men's souls; and (2) to discourage the spread of hostility, to promote understanding between peoples, and to instill a hatred of war. However, counter-propaganda of this kind is not an easy task. An effective counter-propaganda against war should create not only attitudes unfavorable to war, but also to the system that produces war, and favorable attitudes toward an alternative system.
Persuasion as a Supplementary Method of Propaganda

Propaganda with a wide variety of appeal may be able to change and affect attitudes of large groups of citizens to a specific cause. Persuasion concentrates upon either one person or a small group, whereas the persuasive tactics employed in propaganda are adapted to not one individual, but are directed toward the many individuals whom the propagandist is trying to influence.

The definition of persuasion, as the word is used in this study, is that, "Persuasion is a communicative process of altering the beliefs, attitudes, intentions, or behavior of another by the conscious or unconscious use of words, and nonverbal messages. Persuasion contains several important aspects: first, it is a form of communication which involves interaction and relatedness of both a sender and receiver. Second, persuasion is a nonstatic, ongoing process. Third, persuasion involves changing of the target. The success or failure is gauged by the extent to which the intended effects are achieved. Fourth, persuasion may be either consciously or unconsciously applied.

A persuader may consciously intend to bring about specific changes in an individual or group. Usually this is the case when a persuasive speaker plans and delivers a speech with the specific purpose of changing an audience's
attitude. However, persuasion also may occur outside the realm of awareness of the sender (e.g., parents may encourage obedience by inducing feelings of guilt). Finally, persuasion is brought about by the use of verbal and nonverbal messages, particularly in interpersonal communication. The look in someone's eye, the posture the person assumes, the furrowing of a brow—all these can have a tremendous impact in an interpersonal situation.

There is a sharp distinction between propaganda and persuasion, which lies in the ethics dimension. Persuasion in traditional rhetoric stressed the rules of good speaking, and the need for ethics in communication. This includes the idea that communicators, in order to be persuasive, must present the audience with truth and values, keeping moral purpose in view in all their work, rather than concealing value and truth. The word propaganda, however, has come to acquire overtones implying a process which is frequently sinister, dishonest, and based on a deliberate attempt on the part of an individual or group to manipulate others. This result is often obtained by concealment or underhanded means, for the propagandist's own ulterior ends, and to influence the final result.

The persuader, or the speaker, likens himself and his interests to those of his audience ("identification"). According to Kenneth Burke, he confirms the significance of
"identification" as a key concept in persuasion, because it removes conflict and division between men. The propagandist cannot engage in the give-and-take that is possible in an intimate discussion, whereas the persuader may vary his approach to meet the exigencies of the occasion.

It is clear that propaganda and persuasion, like any two closely allied social phenomena, merge, combine, and unite when their psychological effect upon audiences is considered. However, there is a tendency for persuasion to involve a greater degree of social interaction than does propaganda. The persuader usually organizes more concrete data and varies his methods and approaches more rapidly. Actually the persuader adapts his tactics more skillfully to the individual than the propagandist does to a group or groups of individuals, but this fact does not preclude the possibility of employing persuasion as a complementary method of propaganda. Persuasion works hand-in-hand with propaganda at a supreme, important, and critical moment to bring about the desired integration and action among the audiences.

Persuasion is the study of men persuading men to make free choices. The most powerful and important instrument of persuasion is the human voice and the art of speech. The power of speech rests upon the speaker, presentation of the text, and the reaction of the audience. The
Speaker's credibility makes an appreciable contribution to persuasive impact. Persuasion is purposive; it is intended communication; it is the process of persuading men in the mass to take certain actions or collective action. Persuasion is influence that comes about through the use of messages. It is a form of communication intended to be goal-oriented. Communication persuasion is a form of influence that implies the perception of choice on the target's part. The most commonly expected effect of propaganda and persuasion is attitude change.

**Persuasive Message Strategies—Creating Effective Persuasive Messages**

The most effective ways to present persuasive messages to an intended audience imply what to include and how to arrange persuasive messages, which might be represented in the following strategies:

1. **Techniques of Basic Procedure.**
   a) Selecting the issue. From a tactical point of view, the issue must be accepted by the public as a crucial one. The propagandist first selects the issue, then considers the issue, in reality selecting the terms of the competition or the battleground as a primary step in a campaign. An issue may be a phony one. It may be used to distract attention from the point actually at issue.

   b) Case-making. The recurrent and frequent second step in a propagandist's basic procedures is case-making.
It is defined as the ordering of facts or falsehoods, illustrations, distractions or distortions, logical or illogical statements in such a way as to make the best or worst possible impression.\textsuperscript{83}

c) Simplification. The third step, after the job of case-making has been done, in a propagandist's basic procedure, is simplification. This means using simple, short, precise words; clearly using concrete, accurate words; and avoiding evasive jargon and misleading language in order to be understood by the public. In short, language must be simple and easily understood by the public.\textsuperscript{84}

2. Being Rational. The question of whether rational messages are more effective than emotional messages asks whether a persuasive speaker is better advised to construct messages based on people's emotional needs or their rational tendency, and rational disposition or inclination.

Some scholars—those who adopt a strict rationalist position—argue that, when faced with emotional arguments versus rational arguments, audiences or receivers tend to respond best to well-constructed, logical arguments. The rationalist position argues that people respond favorably to emotional messages only when rational alternatives are not available. On the other hand, the nonrationalist position argues that a person is essentially an emotional
being, swayed by skillfully constructed messages that appeal to patriotism, love, self-interest, and other feelings that may not be rational in nature. Few scholars would argue that people behave either all "rationally" or all "emotionally." However, whether to use and emphasize rational appeals—the use of logic or evidence—or to emphasize and employ emotional investment and appeals made to various emotions, depends on the issue and the subject the propagandist deals with, in addition to his objectives and goals.

3. **Using Evidence.** The question of whether rational messages are more effective than emotional messages raises the issue of the importance of evidence in a message. Rational messages state and imply evidence that support the probable truth of a given subject or proposition. Emotional messages point out and state the desirable results and consequences that might follow from a proposition. Thus one uses evidence in the rational messages and employs emotional investment or emotional appeals in the emotional message.

4. **Effective Message Strategies—Being Emotional.** As I have mentioned, the alternative to logical message appeals lies in appeals to various emotions. These emotional appeals involve the following:

a) fear appeals;
b) intense appeals; and
c) mild appeals.

Fear Appeals. The classic study by Janis and Feshback (1953) compared high-fear messages and low-fear messages. Their results indicated that low levels of fear were more successful in changing attitudes than the high-fear appeal messages. Goldstein (1959) suggested that levels of fear appeal might be related to personality type and to the importance of the topic.

Colburn (1967) found that high levels of fear increase in effectiveness as the topic becomes increasingly important to the receiver. Miller and Hewgil (1964, 1966) related fear appeals to credibility and found that high levels of fear were effective when identified with a credible source.

Intense Appeals--The Use of Intense Language: Message Structure. Most researchers have concluded that structured messages are more effective than unstructured ones. However, a message to be delivered to a small group of people might be organized differently than one to be delivered to a large audience. A speech delivered over television would have a different structure than one delivered in a face-to-face situation.

Structure messages are to be preferred to unstructured messages, and familiar structures are more effective than unfamiliar ones.
The kinds of language to be used to develop persuasive appeals determine the impact on whether the persuasive attempt succeeds or fails. The level of language intensity one chooses to use in any persuasive message is essentially one important variable. Language intensity might be defined as "the perceptual distance between persuasive claim and some neutral position." One way to manipulate language intensity is to insert qualifiers in a persuasive appeal. A qualifier like "certainly" is apt to be perceived as more intense than a word like "probably." A second way to increase intensity of language is to use metaphors, especially with violent connotations. Burgoon (1975) demonstrates that highly credible sources, because they are expected to be forceful and dynamic, can be effective with language higher in intensity than can low-credible sources. Burgoon and Stewart (1975) found that males can apparently use much more intense language and still be persuasive, whereas females are more effective when they use language relatively low in intensity.

Bowers (1963) found an unexpected "boomerang effect," in which messages using relatively low intense language are more persuasive than messages arguing very intensely. Mild language or opinionated language is similar to intense language and has comparable effects on persuasion.

However, selecting message appeals, based both on logic and emotion and making strategic decisions about what
to include in what order is a prerequisite of most effective persuasive message design.

5. **Strategic Uses of Persuasive Appeals.** a) The Foot-in-the-Door Technique. The "Foot-in-the-Door technique" centers on gaining compliance without pressure. This approach requires the preparation of messages that obtain a person's compliance to a small request in order to increase the probability of that person's compliance to a subsequent larger request.

Freedman and Fraser (1966) demonstrate that people who comply with initial small requests are more likely to comply with subsequent larger demands.91

b) The Door-in-the-Face Technique. Unlike the Foot-in-the-Door technique, the Door-in-the-Face approach uses a message that requests a large demand which assumedly will be refused; a second persuasive message makes a smaller request with which the target person is more likely to comply. The Door-in-the-Face technique is the exact opposite of the Foot-in-the-Door approach.92

Successful political campaigns are never guaranteed, but they must be implemented on the basis of five principles:

1. assessment and determination of the needs, goals, and capabilities of target audiences;

2. systematic campaign planning and production;
3. continuous evaluation;
4. supplementary interplay between mass media and interpersonal communication; and
5. selection of appropriate media for target audiences

Media offer efficiency and uniformity, since a public communication campaign represents the communicator's intention to influence someone else's beliefs or behavior by using communicated appeals aimed at the mobilization of support for a cause. Media should be supplemented by appropriately organized interpersonal communications to attain their goals.

The total audience can be broken down into a number of groups that must be approached in different ways, for different levels of support of the neutrals or doubters and opponents of a particular cause, at different phases in the campaign.

The Propaganda and Persuasion Devices—The Effective Strategic Techniques

Professional propagandists skillfully and effectively utilize various devices and strategic techniques. The major strategic techniques involve the following: 1) Name Calling, 2) Testimonial, 3) Plain Folks, 4) Glittering Generality, 5) Transfer, 6) Card Stacking, and 7) Bandwagon.
Other strategic techniques include Hot Potato, Shift of Scene, Change of Pace, Big Tent, Conflict, Appeasement, and Confusion and Least of Evils.98

1) Name Calling Technique. "Name calling--giving an idea a bad label--is used to make us reject and condemn the idea without examining the evidence."99 Name calling as used in politics and other areas of public discourse is very common. Most of the political campaigns consist largely of name calling.100

Bad names and other evil symbols have played a primary role in the history of people and individual development. They have bad reputations, but they have often stirred the masses to outstanding accomplishments.101

2) Glittering Generality. "Glittering Generality--associating something with a 'virtue word'--is used to make us accept and approve the thing without examining the evidence."102

The Glittering Generality technique is used in advertising as well as in politics.103

Virtue words and symbols are labels we have developed for the ideas in which we believe, for which we fight, and by which we live.104

3. Transfer. "Transfer carries the authority, sanction, and prestige of something respected and revered
over to something else in order to make the latter acceptable.\textsuperscript{105} The propagandist's goal is to link his or her ideas or cause with something that people like or have favorable attitudes toward. This technique works through a process of association.

Transfer takes place through the use of symbolic objects, or music, and sometimes the Transfer can take place just through two people appearing together. Many advertisements are built primarily around the Transfer technique. In short, Transfer carries the authority, sanction, and prestige of something revered and respected over to something else in order to make the latter more readily acceptable.\textsuperscript{106} This device attempts to identify one idea, person, country, or policy with another to make the target audience approve it or disapprove it.\textsuperscript{107}

4) Testimonial. "Testimonial consists in having some respected or hated person say that a given idea or program or product or person is good or bad."\textsuperscript{108}

It is a common device in advertising and political campaign.

Testimonial and Transfer devices function as ways to attempt to achieve shifts in the loyalties of groups, and they are employed by propagandists as means of identifying new groups with the propagandist's project. These two techniques are also ways of alienating the public from a person or project.\textsuperscript{109}
5) **Plain Folks.** "Plain Folks is the method by which a speaker attempts to convince his audience that he and his ideas are good because they are 'of the people,' the 'plain folks.'" The Plain Folks technique is very common in politics and political campaigns. It is a strong weapon in the hands of politicians, leaders, and even ministers and educators, who attempt to win the people's confidence by appearing to be people like them.

6) **Card Stacking.** "Card Stacking involves the selection and use of facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distractions, and logical or illogical statements in order to make the best or worst possible case for an idea, program, person, or product." In the Card Stacking technique, the communicator selects the argument or evidence that supports a position and ignores the arguments or evidence that does not support the position. The argument that is selected might be true or false. Mostly this technique works effectively when the argument is true, but other equally true arguments are ignored.

One use of Card Stacking in war time communication occurred during the Israeli attack on Palestine guerrilla bases in South Lebanon in 1978. Dr. Fathi Arafat, one of the official seniors in the PLO, showed the World Press reporters sacks containing the bodies of two Palestinian children killed in rocket attacks by the Israelis.
There was a lot of information Arafat could have made available to the reporters, but he selected the information that would make the Israelis look bad in the eyes of the world. He believed that one picture is worth a thousand words.\textsuperscript{113}

7) \textbf{Bandwagon}. "Bandwagon has as its theme, 'everybody—at least all of us—is doing it.' With Bandwagon, the propagandist attempts to convince us that all members of a group to which we belong are accepting his program and that we must therefore follow our crowd and 'jump on the bandwagon.'\textsuperscript{114} The Bandwagon technique is a means for making us follow or be in accord with the majority. This device implies that the target is in a majority and should join the majority or, if the target is sympathetic to the propagandist, this device will reinforce his attitudes by proving or making evident that he is on the "right side" along with everybody else.\textsuperscript{115}

The Bandwagon technique is used widely in commercials. Merchandise is described as "the people's choice." In advertising, a kind of blend of Bandwagon and Testimonial techniques appear in this formula: "Nine out of ten doctors use Crest." The theme of the Bandwagon technique is "Everybody's doing it. Why not you?"

In addition to these seven major strategic propaganda and persuasion techniques, there are many other devices at
the disposal of the propagandist. These strategic techniques include the Least of Evils technique.\textsuperscript{116}

This device frequently serves to justify an unattractive or repulsive, disgusting personality or course of action, and serves as fair interpretation of the facts in the light of broad public interest. This technique takes such forms as these: War is hell, but appeasement leads to even worse disasters.\textsuperscript{117}

\textbf{Change of Pace and Shift of Scene Techniques.} Shift of Scene usually involves changing the site of competitions or struggle. Shift of the scene serves as a means of shift in the emphasis from medium to medium. Change of Pace can be used together with Shift of Scene; both are ways of changing the terms of competition or conflict—selecting the issue. Change of Pace is to switch from slow to fast, from low pressure to high pressure, from bellicose and warlike to appeasing, from emotional broadcasts to factual reporting.\textsuperscript{118}

\textbf{Hot Potato Technique.} This device has been called "The propaganda of provocation" Hot Potato technique through which the propagandist springs an event, a trap, or a situation upon his opponent that will force him to compromise himself, or to handle something in an embarrassed way. Hot Potato relies for its effectiveness upon news value, interpretation, and timing.\textsuperscript{119}
Big Tent Technique. The Big Tent strategic technique is a variety of appeals. Under the Big Tent, there are many attractions, many things to do and see. They appeal to adults, young married, the unmarried, children, the aged, little girls and little boys, unions, and political parties. Big Tent is a variety of strategic approaches: all of its methods work both in the short run and the long run, and simultaneously for a people.¹²⁰

Scientific evidence is available on the effectiveness of some of the propaganda techniques. Much of this evidence comes from experiments done by social psychologists investigating how attitudes can be changed.¹²¹ In Chapter VII, which is devoted to content analysis of Radio Cairo as a vehicle of propaganda and political persuasion for peace, and in some other chapters, we will see what strategic techniques, strategies, tactics, and principles of propaganda were employed by the Egyptian broadcasters to achieve their goals in the eras of Nasser and Sadat and how they attempted to justify the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty with Israel in the era of President Sadat through these strategic techniques.
CHAPTER III
NOTES


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14 Ibid., pp. 75, 77, 79-80.

15 Ibid., pp. 76-77.

16 Ibid., p. 78.
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18 Ibid., pp. 89-90.

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22 Harvey, The Technique of Persuasion, pp. 149-50, 153-54.

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27 Ibid., p. 24.


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63 Ibid., pp. 398-99.
64 Ibid., pp. 401-402.
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66 Ibid., pp. 307-309.
69 Ibid., pp. 146-47.
71 Ibid., p. 4.
72 Ibid., p. 5.
76 Ibid., pp. 144-51.
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83 Ibid., pp. 52-56.

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86 Ibid., pp. 146-47.

87 Ibid., p. 150.

88 Ibid., pp. 148-150.

89 Ibid., pp. 151-52.

90 Ibid., pp. 152-53.

91 Ibid., pp. 154-57.

92 Ibid., pp. 157-59.


94 Ibid., pp. 23-24.


97 Severin & Tankard, *Communication Theories—Origin, Methods, Uses*, pp. 116-117.


100 Ibid., pp. 117-118.


105 Severin & Tankard, *Communication Theories—Origin, Methods, Uses*, pp. 119-120.


110 Ibid., pp. 92-93; Severin & Tankard, *Communication Theories—Origin, Methods, Uses*, p. 121.

111 Ibid., pp. 24, 95; Ibid., p. 121.


115 Severin & Tankard, *Communication Theories—Origin, Methods, Uses*, p. 123.
117 Ibid., pp. 222-24.
118 Ibid., pp. 216-217.
119 Ibid., pp. 224-27.
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CHAPTER IV
EGYPTIAN BROADCASTING SYSTEM

History

Radio broadcasting began in Egypt in 1923,\(^1\) it began haphazardly.\(^2\) In the beginning, a number of private commercial stations appeared in Cairo and Alexandria, bent mainly upon making money quickly,\(^3\) following the pattern of some European countries as well as that of the United States.\(^4\) These numerous private stations were run by individuals; some of them carried the owner's name: Radio Saegh, Radio Faroug, Radio Princess Fawzia, Radio Foud, Radio Sabo, Radio Sphinx, Radio Heliopolice, Radio Cairo, Radio Habashi, and Radio Feola.\(^5\)

But these small, private stations gave way in the early 1930s to the Egyptian Broadcasting Corporation, under the control of the government. The new corporation, formally inaugurated in 1934, proceeded slowly with development of a nationwide network.\(^6\)

Most of these stations had closed because of decreased interest on the part of the operators, due to economic conditions and the lack of radio sets existing at that time. The economic conditions were not conducive to
commercial radio. The pre-1934 stations had no national objectives for the public interest.\textsuperscript{7} After the formal inauguration of the Egyptian Broadcasting Corporation, two services were operated; one in Arabic was on the air fourteen hours a day. The second service, which was broadcast for four hours daily, was aimed entirely at foreigners living in Cairo and Alexandria, and its programs were in French and English.

The real impulse and impetus for expansion came only after the overthrow of the Monarch on July 23, 1952.\textsuperscript{8} Immediately after the 1952 revolution, the Egyptian broadcasting assumed

"... new dimensions almost overnight. It became the most important porte-parole to the masses of Egypt as well as the Arabs all over the area, who applauded the Egyptian revolutions and watched its first steps with admiration."\textsuperscript{9}

As soon as the new regime was able, it began to use the radio to convey its policies and new plans to the masses. As soon as the new leaders could consolidate their power in the country, they gradually began to evolve and propagate new doctrines for socialist transformation. Meanwhile, radio broadcasting services had been extensively enlarged and improved to reach the masses, both at home and abroad.\textsuperscript{10}

After the revolution, with Nasser emerging as the undoubted leader of Egypt, broadcasting became an essential
and important means of welding the new country together into a coherent nation, and it made its influence felt as a political weapon throughout the Arab Middle East.\textsuperscript{11}

Radio service employees were government employees who supported the revolution and helped organize a broadcast service that explained the revolution's objectives and goals and provided favorable coverage of President Nasser's speeches and appearances. Nasser was always shown by both radio and television in the best light until his death in September 1970. Anwar el-Sadat, one of the officers involved in the 1952 revolution, was Vice President when Nasser died and succeeded him as President of Egypt. Both Nasser and Sadat influenced the mass media, particularly the electronic media, in different ways.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{Radio Services}

We can classify Egypt's radio services into three categories:

1. Egyptian Domestic Services, including the Main and Second programs, people's service, European service, the Alexandria domestic service, and local stations.

2. Cairo Arab World Services-Regional Services, including the "Voice of the Arabs," Middle East service, Sudan Corner, and Holy Quran service.
3. Cairo International Services, including the regular international services and the "Voice of Africa" service.\textsuperscript{13} Nasser established a foreign-language service that matched, competed, or surpassed those of the international broadcasters. Under Nasser's leadership, Egypt was the first in the Arab world to construct high-powered, medium-wave and short-wave transmitters to reach the Egyptian masses as well as to carry the Nasserite pan-Arab message to the rest of the Arab world.\textsuperscript{14} Distinction between regional, local, and international services cannot be clearly made due in part to the fact that they are all in a form of Arabic which is generally understood throughout the Arab Middle East and because these domestically-intended programs could be received in neighboring countries. These preceding radio services did not emphasize where the broadcasts were received, but rather what the Egyptian broadcasters intended the audience to be.\textsuperscript{15} For these reasons, the distinction between domestic, regional, and international broadcast services in the Arab Middle East could not be easily made.

The powerful transmission facilities the Egyptian government built in the era of Nasser were only part of the story. Egypt was in a position to dominate the Arab world
in the broadcasting field partly because of its large pool of talent. Egypt had been long considered the intellectual and cultural center in the Arab world.\textsuperscript{16}

For all these reasons, distinction between domestic, regional, and international broadcast services in the Arab Middle East is not easily made.

At present, the Arab Republic of Egypt renders the following services:

1. **Domestic Radio Services.** The Egyptian Broadcasting Corporation is operating eleven radio services; seven of them are for local audiences, the rest primarily directed at the world outside. In all, they are putting out a formidable 1,242 hours of programs each week, an average of 177 hours a day, a task that calls for a program staff of over 2,000. The cost of this extensive operation is met from three sources: first, a tax equal to one-half cent per kilowatt-hour on everyone's electricity bill; second, a government subsidy; and finally, a limited number of commercials on three of the eleven services. Radio was financed by license fees until 1960; but they were replaced by the electricity tax.\textsuperscript{17}

**General Program** is the main service (started in 1934). It is the mainstay of the radio services, broadcast on both medium- and short-wave. Its programs are intended to appeal to the largest possible audience. Its transmission
time reached an average of twenty hours and twelve minutes a day\(^{18}\) devoted to entertainment and recreation, 45.2 percent; information, 19.73 percent; religion, 11.7 percent; culture, 9 percent; drama, 6.7; corner programs or "group programs"—programs especially broadcast for certain groups such as labourers or soldiers, 6 percent; and education, 1.3 percent. The General Program is on the air from 6:00 A.M. until shortly after 2:00 A.M. the following morning. It is the Corporation's original program service.\(^{19}\) Although directed primarily to the people of Egypt, it can be heard in several neighboring Arab countries.\(^{20}\)

The Second Program was created on May 5, 1957 to provide the educated listeners and the elite of cultivated tastes and interests with the developments in contemporary intellectual, cultural, and artistic trends. It is patterned on the British Broadcasting Corporation's Radio 3. It is on the air three and one-half hours per day.\(^{21}\) It mainly broadcasts plays, fine arts, literature, classical Western music, and sciences.

The Second Program broadcasts 80.2 percent culture, 16 percent drama, 2.3 percent recreation or entertainment, and 1.2 percent group programs—for musicians, playwrights, poets, etc.\(^{22}\)

People's Program. In May 1959, the government started the "People's Program" for a specific audience and for
specific reasons. That audience consists of mostly illiterate, primarily rural people (fellaheen) who make up the majority of the Egyptian population.

The main purpose of this service is the promotion of development among this target audience, particularly in the general areas of literacy training and population control, serving the development of the working class. This service is on the air on medium-wave for nine and one-half hours daily. Its broadcasts included 34.8 percent recreation, 18.4 percent information, 11.5 percent religion, 10.3 percent culture, 9.3 percent education, 8.8 percent corners or "group programming," 7 percent drama, and 0.1 percent commercial advertising. Egypt has probably done more than any other Arab country to promote educational radio programming for rural citizens.

The Local European Program in both Arabic and French, started as a part of the General Program in 1934, broadcast for foreign residents and the European community who speak English, French, German, Italian, Greek, and Armenian. After the revolution, its transmission rapidly expanded from four hours in 1952 to about thirteen hours, and later to seventeen hours per day. The programming of this service is designed to attract foreign listeners and at the same time, provide to Egyptian listeners requirements for European culture. Its broadcasts involve 55.4 percent
recreation and entertainment, 23.1 percent culture, 16.2 percent information, 2.3 percent group programs, 1.2 percent education, and 1.3 percent drama.\textsuperscript{27}

\textbf{Alexandria Broadcast.} This service, which began in July 1954, was designed to be the first of a series of local radio stations in Egypt. It was the only local service which originated outside the Cairo broadcasting complex until 1981.\textsuperscript{28} It transmits almost seven hours a day, fourteen on Friday on medium-wave.\textsuperscript{29} The medium is largely self-sufficient, producing most of its own programs, and concentrates on entertainment (43 percent) and local news and views. It accepts commercials, mostly from local advertisers, and program sponsorship is not permitted.\textsuperscript{30}

\textbf{The Music Program} was started in March 1968.\textsuperscript{31} It is on the air fifteen hours a day. Music is presented in blocks of time devoted to Arabic and Western recordings.\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{The Local Stations.} Recently Egypt started the local radio stations network, the local broadcasting system, technically capable of covering the governorates. The local listeners are taking an active part, and the programs stem essentially from their wishes. Programs are mainly locally produced and provide media feedback of local news and opinion. The local radio stations were established in local areas to ensure effective use of the broadcasting

The creation and establishment of these local stations derive from the belief that the efficient use of mass media for economic and social development implies that they should be as local as possible. The programs of these stations are locally-oriented programs, and in all cases, adapted to meet the needs of local populations.\(^\text{34}\)

2. **Regional Services (Cairo Arab World Services)**

*Voice of the Arabs* broadcasts (VAB) were introduced on May 1953\(^\text{35}\) to expound and explain the viewpoints of the Arab nation, reflect the hopes and fears of the Arab countries, unite the Arabs, and mobilize their forces to achieve Arab unity.\(^\text{36}\)

The "Voice of the Arabs" is the most well-known and most widely listened to broadcast service in the Arab world. Though VAB's programs are designed to be broadcast to the Arab world, they are heard also in Egypt and attract millions of Egyptian listeners.\(^\text{37}\) In 1963, VAB's new 1,000-kilowatt, medium-wave transmitting station was completed. It was considered to be the strongest radio transmitter in the world.\(^\text{38}\) From its modest half-hour per
day beginning, the "Voice" grew rapidly to a twenty-four-hour-a-day service, whose far-reaching medium- and short-wave broadcasts could be heard in all parts of the Arab world. Over the years, the "Voice of the Arabs" designed and developed programs for specific countries or geographical areas with specific message design. "Voice of the Arabs" is the most energetic disseminator of propaganda. The "Voice of the Arabs", the flagship station of the Arab renaissance, aims to do the following:

1. Present truly the pains and hopes of the masses throughout the Arab world
2. Work for the union of the Arab countries, and gathering and mustering their forces against their enemies in an attempt to bring about their ultimate unity
3. Call for liberation of the Arab countries from imperialism and its menservants.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the programming policies of the "Voice of the Arabs" tended to be less restrained in terms of calling for changes in governments, violence, and assassination within the Arab world. We can describe the "Voice" in the 1950s and 1960s as having to be heard to be believed. "For sheer venom, vulgarity, and indifference to truth, it has few equals in the world."

Daniel Lerner was the first to examine this powerful medium and to suggest some direct effects of the radio
broadcasts. "Voice of the Arabs" broadcasting program­
ing comprised 23 percent news and information, and 55.3 percent entertainment. The emphasis was on news, news programs, and current affairs information, 21.7 percent; culture, 7.7 percent; religion, 7.2 percent; drama, 4.3 percent; group programs, 3.7 percent. While the majority of programs were directed to the Arab masses at large, the "Voice of the Arabs" put out specialized programs for those Arabs living in Palestine under Israeli occupation and for the Arabian Peninsula and the Maghreb Region of North Africa.

It has been within the framework of the "Voice of the Arabs" broadcasting that specified transmission hours have been devoted to the Palestine programs. Facilities have been provided and made available to various Palestine organizations such as the Palestine Liberation Organization to broadcast their views to the Arab world. In fact, the amount of programming time depended on the Egyptian govern­ment's relations with these Palestine organizations. For example, after the September 1975 Israeli-Egyptian Sinai Agreement, Egypt revoked the PLO's broadcasting privileges because it was using the facilities to criticize the agreement. The most serious interruptions occurred between 1975 and 1979, a period during which Egypt signed several agreements with Israel, including the Camp David Accords, and the separate peace treaty.
The "Voice of the Arabs" provided the best example of how President Nasser used radio for fomenting trouble in other Arab countries by calling for assassinations and overthrow of some Arab governments—"lackeys of imperialism"—and also to promote his own views on pan-Arabism, using emotional speeches rather than logical appeal. A foreign language service was attached to the "Voice of the Arabs" rather than to the foreign language programming section. Hebrew broadcasts to Israel began in the 1950s, but they significantly expanded in the late 1960s. In 1974, there were sixteen hours per day of Hebrew language broadcasts to Israel. The majority of the broadcasts were on medium-wave, as Israel was the intended target. In late 1979, Egypt decreased the services' hours for two reasons. First, the peace agreement implied a normalizing of relations that almost accompanied and demanded some changes in the service. Second, since the separate peace treaty, Egypt has had to strive to justify and explain the peace settlement and the Camp David Agreements to other Arab countries. For this reason, part of the transmission time devoted to Hebrew prior to 1979 was later used to broadcast to the other Arab countries in Arabic to reach supporters in the Arab world.

Middle East Service. "Voice of the Arabs" has a companion service, "Middle East Radio," also directed at
the Arab countries and the Arab Middle East. It was founded in May 1964 and started on medium- and short-wave for thirteen hours daily. Its policies are much less loud, less strident, and less harsh, and it started as a fully commercial advertising service mainly to serve importers of foreign commodities all over the Arab countries. It was conceived primarily for entertainment (63 percent of the program time) with a potential Arab audience of almost one-hundred million. It is the main medium used by international advertisers to sell their products throughout the Middle East.49 The hard international currency that come from commercials has been helpful to the electronic media in Egypt, because the advertising income can be used for the purchase of spare parts and equipment. Radio commercials were first allowed on the People's Program and on the Alexandria Broadcasting Service.50 After the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967, the Middle East broadcasts gave more attention to the problems facing the region and the country socially and politically. Along with other radio services, the Middle East service presented and introduced several new programs to disclose, fight, and combat hostile Israeli policies in the Arab area. Its broadcasts comprised of 60.4 percent entertainment and popular songs. The Middle East Program has its own format: 11.9 percent information, 10.6 percent culture, 7.7 percent "group
programs," 4.6 percent commercial advertisements, 2.5 percent religion, and 2.3 percent drama.\textsuperscript{51}

Programming is essentially a "mixed bag" of popular music and short-wave programs that depend on light entertainment, creative style, and suspenseful material to attract the listener.\textsuperscript{52}

The Holy Quran Station. Egypt's religious service started in March 1964 on short- and medium-wave to broadcast Quran chanting all over the world. Since 1966, in addition to Quran chanting, it has featured religious discussions, commentary, Quran interpretation (tafsir),\textsuperscript{53} the sayings of the prophet Mohammad (Hadith), and interviews with leading Islamic scholars\textsuperscript{54} for eighteen and one-half hours daily.\textsuperscript{55}

Sudan Corner. Egypt and the Sudan have had close historic ties which were further strengthened during the period of British influence. The Sudan Program was started as one of the corners, or features, of the Main Program. In 1954, the government made the Sudanese program an entirely separate service. The content is primarily concerned with maintaining good relations between Egypt and Sudan.\textsuperscript{56} This program places considerable emphasis on news and information (26 percent), while the major part of the air time is given over to recreation.\textsuperscript{57} It is intended to be heard in both countries on medium- and short-wave.
Transmission hours have been decreased since 1971 to six hours daily.58

3. Cairo International Services. The overseas broadcasts were founded in June 1953 to carry Egypt's message, viewpoints, culture, and music to people abroad, and to present the Arab cause to the world at large.

These international broadcasts are intended also to attract tourists to visit Egypt, in addition to teaching Arabic by radio to non-Arabs, especially Muslims, with regular lessons, providing them, among other things, with an opportunity to understand the holy Quran and other Islamic texts in Arabic (the original language of Islam).59

Before 1952, Egypt did not have any short-wave transmission capability. After one year of the revolution, Egypt started transmission and special beamed broadcasts on short-waves.60

There are forty-three services beamed to Asia, Africa, Europe, and America in more than thirty-four languages. The daily transmission is sixty hours, with intended target audiences of more than forty nations.61

By 1973, twenty years of expansion in international radio broadcasting had ranked Egypt the sixth largest international broadcaster in terms of weekly program output. In 1978, Egypt was surpassed by Albania and North Korea, and ranked only eighth among the largest international broadcasters.62
The Egyptian external broadcasts include the "Voice of Africa" and the "Voice of Islam." The "Voice of Africa" was so named to serve Nasser's second circle, in the same way that the "Voice of the Arabs" was established and intended to serve the Arab world, the first circle to President Nasser.63 The "Voice of Islam" was founded specifically to serve Nasser's third circle, the Islamic world.64

It is worth noting that the Hebrew service was one of the earlier foreign-language programs that Egypt classified as international broadcasting, and on the air fifteen hours daily. Until September 1978, the programs and the format were very "heavy-handed" with news, commentary, and interview programs designed to promote the Arab cause among Hebrew speakers, featuring Western popular music to attract listeners. After September 1979, Egypt decreased the service's hours and part of the transmission time devoted to Hebrew. Before 1979, it was used to broadcast to other Arab countries in Arabic.65

**Voice of Palestine from Cairo.** Egypt's radio facilities have been extensively used by the Palestinian resistance movements. Egypt placed all its resources unconditionally at the disposal of the Palestinian organizations.66 The broadcasts are heard throughout the Arab world and in occupied Palestine.
Fatah, the guerilla movement of the PLO, had an information office, and its "Voice of al-Fatah" broadcasts used the same medium-wave length as the Egyptian radio's Middle East Program. Until November 1977, "Voice of al-Fatah" began nightly at about 7:30 P.M. and lasted about one hour. Ten minutes of the program were broadcast in Hebrew. The broadcast featured daily news comment, activities of Fatah commandos, and policy statements of the organization's leaders.

The PLO also ran its own radio station, founded in 1964. Its radio programs in 1968 reflected a leftist political orientation. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was a third Palestinian group which was using Egyptian radio facilities for its informational activities.

The contrast between the Palestinian line and that of Cairo was painfully apparent. For example, responding to sharp Palestinian criticism of his trip to Israel (November 20, 1977), Sadat, on his return home, shut down the Egyptian "Voice of Palestine" and the PLO radio station.

Between 1975-1979, a period during which Egypt signed several agreements with Israel, including the disengagement agreement, the Camp David Accords, and the formal separate peace treaty with Israel, President Sadat stopped all Palestine broadcasts from Egyptian facilities because the broadcasts were criticizing the Egyptian policy.
The Palestinians were proud of their independence, of their capacity to act as they saw fit. The "Voice of Palestine" specifically publicized the idea that the PLO broadcast from Arab capitals (Cairo, Baghdad, Tripoli, Damascus), but owed no allegiance, no loyalty or obligation of loyalty to their host states. On April 18, 1973, the "Voice of Palestine" declared,

Arab radio and the rest of their information media do not present the truth to the masses. They are directed in accordance with the policy of the state. Since this policy is against and counter to the Palestine revolution, then it cannot possibly serve the Palestine revolution; but rather helps to exhaust and strike it.

This is in addition to the fact that there are other information media which work to pacify the Arab masses to accept the Zionist presence . . . our radios will remain a weapon interacting with the weapon of the fighter, until the occupied homeland is liberated. Radio Cairo is clearly one target of the Palestinian rage and wrath propaganda.

Television Broadcasting. Egypt has been the leader and pioneer for television broadcasting in the Arab world. President Nasser realized long before most other Arab leaders the importance of the medium in helping to build Egypt into a new nation in the late 1950s, in the same way that he recognized radio as a powerful political weapon. Nasser was unique among Arab Middle Eastern leaders because of the role he envisioned for both radio and television.

Television was introduced in Egypt on July 21, 1960. There was one channel and transmission, and it did not
exceed three hours a day. In 1961, a second channel started broadcasting ten more hours of programs a day; and in 1962, a third channel was added, and transmission hours increased to a total of twenty-four hours a day. In the following years, transmission hours increased to an average of twenty-five to thirty hours a day over the three channels, called the First, Second, and Third Programs or channels number 5, 7, and 9, respectively.75

The first channel, the Main Program, covers all the populated areas of the country and could be seen by an estimated 98 percent of the population, if unlimited sets were available. The Main Program features news, commentary, popular programming, entertainment, and developmental and educational programs.

The Second Program was designed for the urban areas, to present programs that would appeal to the educated and sophisticated audience. The second channel (channel 9) reaches throughout the Nile Delta (where the majority of the set-owning population lives), including Cairo and Alexandria.

The third channel (channel 7) is just for Cairo and is given over to some programs in English and French for the diplomatic community and other foreigners living in Egypt.76

Both channels 7 and 9 are on the air for eight hours daily from Saturday through Thursday; they open at
4:00 P.M. and close about midnight. Channel 5 at present is on the air for fifteen hours daily. The first channel (5) starts at 10:00 A.M. and continues until 1:00 A.M.\textsuperscript{77}

The first program (channel 5) concentrates on popular entertainment, news and commentaries, sports, and social and economic questions which usually attract the attention of the general public. The second program (channel 9) mainly carries minority programs and imported serials, and economic and cultural programs. The third channel features programs of high artistic standards to suit the cultivated tastes of cultured circles in Cairo and its suburbs.\textsuperscript{78}

The Egyptian serial dramatic programs have proven popular not only in Egypt, but throughout the Arab world. Cairo has developed as a "major source of syndicated television programs" for other Arab countries.

Along with the local production, Egyptian television also runs a limited selection of imported American and British series, all shown with electronic subtitling scrolls. Once they have been subtitled, they are duplicated and used by other Arab countries.\textsuperscript{79}

Egyptian serial dramatic programs can be seen nightly on screen in every Arab country. For the Egyptian, of course, this is an ideal way of extending their influence by means of television throughout the Arab world. These sentimental, emotional, and melodramatic serials are
innocent of overt propaganda; however, they have considerable implicit propaganda value.\textsuperscript{80}

Egypt has cooperation agreements with Arab, communist, and some western countries providing for the exchange of current affairs news programs, films, and serials. During most of the year and according to the weather, Egyptian telecasts are received in parts of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Cyprus, where they enjoy much popularity.\textsuperscript{81}

Sponsorship of television programs is prohibited; spot advertising is limited to a total of fifteen minutes before 9:00 P.M. and another fifteen minutes between 9:00 P.M. and midnight, averaging five minutes in one hour. The highest one-time rate for sixty-second spots is $324 on channel one, $268 on channel two, and $72 on channel three.\textsuperscript{82}

Television was financed by the government until 1969, when an annual license fee of $15 was introduced, plus revenue from commercials.\textsuperscript{83}

Television sets increased from 56,994 in 1961, to an estimated 498,000 in 1969, to more than one million sets.\textsuperscript{84}

The government installed thousands of sets in public squares and many clubs and schools all over the country, particularly in the villages.

Inexpensive electricity has been introduced into many rural areas that had no electricity before.\textsuperscript{85} Viewers in Egypt as a whole increased from 200,000 in 1960 to nearly
one million in 1963,\textsuperscript{86} and to almost six million at the end of 1973,\textsuperscript{87} and thirty-eight million people in the 1980s.\textsuperscript{88}

Egyptian television has put increased emphasis on instructional television. The second channel has received special emphasis. Egypt is maintaining her leadership and influence in broadcasting throughout the Arab world.

While some of the Egyptian broadcasters are trained in western countries such as the United Kingdom, U.S.A., and East and West Germany, broadcasters from other Arab countries study at the Egyptian Broadcasting Corporation's own training center in Cairo.\textsuperscript{89}

Egypt is the home of the Arab world's most important schools of higher learning and educational centers of the Middle East. The College of Communication at Cairo University is the most important center of communication education in the Arab world.

Egypt's influence is also likely to be extended by means of the Arab State Broadcasting Union (ASBU), which was created in Cairo on February 9, 1969.\textsuperscript{90} The Egyptians were most active in its establishments; they were the moving spirit behind it. The goals of the union involve the interchange of programs among Arab countries, the creation of an Arab television news agency, and the coordination between the members (all Arab countries) for coverage of major news or sports events,\textsuperscript{91} promoting news
exchange, cooperative audience research, and training and technical efforts. The union is intergovernmental and its objectives and aims are partly political (unlike the EBU or the Asian Broadcasting Union); but, the ASBU makes no secret of it.92

ASBU lists the Arab satellite as one of its main objectives. The ASBU contracted with a French consortium to build and launch a satellite for the Arab states' exclusive use. The ARABSAT was launched at the beginning of 1985.93 In all of these activities, Egypt is well placed for the role of prime coordinator.

Egypt possesses a radio and television system that is too large for a country of its size and financial resources. Egypt is an Arab world pioneer and leader in the development of broadcasting and has influenced radio and television development in the area. The system is the largest and the most influential in the Arab world, and it will remain so regardless of the political environment of the Arab Middle East or the intentions of the political leadership in Egypt.94

"Under Nasser a new set of directives was issued, replete with ringing phrases."

United efforts for the success of Arab nationalism and to resist imperialism . . . Throw light on the glories of our Arab history . . . heroic feats and life of our hero leaders and pioneers who stood in the face of colonialist tyrants.95
Although Nasser never used broadcasting personally to the same extent as did Fidel Castro in the 1960s, Nasser's daily round was closely attended by microphones and cameras. Television was very important in cultivating and fostering his image. Nasser was not really known by the Egyptian people until Egypt had television. Before that they had only heard him on radio, "but after 1960 everyone saw him . . . everything was done to give him dignity."

President Sadat followed this tradition and he was concerned that broadcasting was firmly in the hands of his personal supporters.

Radio and television in Egypt continue without change of condition, and remain in the image in which President Nasser founded them.96
CHAPTER IV
NOTES


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CHAPTER V

RADIO CAIRO AS A VEHICLE OF POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN THE ERA OF PRESIDENT NASSER—META ANALYSIS

President Nasser and the Egyptian Foreign Policy: Radio Cairo as a Primary Instrument of Egypt's Foreign Policy

After the revolution of July 23, 1952, Mohammed Neguib, one of the older, more experienced officers, was named the republic's first president.¹

However, the man who actually held the power was Nasser, who became president in 1954 and served as Egypt's leader until his death in September of 1970.² In 1954, Nasser wrote his celebrated book, The Philosophy of the Revolution. He described the Arab interest, especially solving the Palestinian problem, as the second objective of the revolution, after the evacuation of the British army of occupation from Egypt. He declared that "the age of isolation is gone,"³ adding that every state must determine its status both regionally and internationally and assess its proper role.

Nasser described Egypt as pertinently placed within three circles: 1) the Arab world, 2) the African continent, and 3) the world of Islam.⁴ After the founding of
the republic, especially from 1955, Egypt assumed a leading role in inter-Arab affairs as the outstanding exponent and advocate of Arab nationalism and the ideal of Arab unity, as defined by the philosophy of the revolution. Egypt was deeply involved in the Arab circle, primarily the regional issues in the Arab Middle East. Nasser considered the Arab world to be the main concern in Egypt's foreign policy.

President Nasser declared, "There can be no doubt that the Arab circle is the most important, and the one with which we are most closely linked." The Egypt of post-July 1952 aspired to the leadership of the Arab world, and it attained this aim through the efforts of President Nasser.

In the Arab circle Egypt was usually accorded a position of leadership and centrality, thus enhancing its capabilities.

The events of the Bandung Conference of the nonaligned states in April 1955 strongly influenced Egypt's foreign policy in the era of President Nasser. Nasser attained two significant victories at the conference: the first one was the scheduling of the Palestine problem on the agenda and support for a resolution calling for the "implementation of the United Nations' decisions concerning Palestine;" the second was the success of the Egyptian-sponsored proposal of a protest against French "imperialism" in North Africa. The campaign was led by
Nasser to convince the conference of the necessity to condemn Israel.\textsuperscript{10}

In his foreign policy, Nasser realized that if the ultimate enemies were the foreigners, the immediate target of attack must be the Arab leaders who supported the foreigners in order to maintain their own power.\textsuperscript{11} Nasser believed that Israel was a special and related case because it existed by reason of the conquest of Arab lands and had been helped to victory and supported by Western powers; Israel to Nasser was a bridgehead against the Arabs. Even more, the loss of territories of the Palestinian people touched the heart of every Arab. To the broad philosophy of liberation, there was therefore added the more pressing claim to reclaim Palestine from the Israelis.\textsuperscript{12} Nasser, the most influential Arab leader, was the most powerful symbol of radical pan-Arab nationalism with his aspirations for Arab unity, independence from foreign powers, modernization, and greater social justice.\textsuperscript{13}

After the Bandung Conference, Egypt moved rapidly toward the formulation of an effective African policy as a second concern and second circle.\textsuperscript{14} Nasser declared, "We work for the liberation of African people and to safeguard it from the domination of imperialism."\textsuperscript{15}

Egypt regarded Israel's involvement in Africa as another major threat to its strategic position. The
Egyptian interests in Africa would remain in danger as long as Israel continued to penetrate the heart of Africa.\(^{16}\)

Finally, Nasser envisioned a third circle, the Muslim circle, involving hundreds of millions stemming from the Atlantic Ocean, deep into China, all united by a single creed.\(^{17}\) In the philosophy of the revolution, Nasser says,

> Tremendous possibilities might be realized through the cooperation of all these Muslims, going not beyond the bounds of their natural loyalty to their own countries, but nonetheless enabling them and their brothers in faith to wield power wisely and without limit.\(^{18}\)

Nasser would later involve Egypt in yet another "circle": the third world. Nasser's book would serve as a general blueprint for his political goals and political ambitions and for the radio services which he would establish to promote these ambitions.\(^{19}\)

While Nasser's measures to gain and hold political power gave him the "strong man" title, he was a gifted propagandist. Better than any other Middle Eastern leader, he understood the way in which the mass media, especially radio, could be used for political advantage. Nasser realized long before most other Arab leaders that radio is a powerful political weapon. He believed radio was the primary instrument of Egypt's foreign policy.\(^{20}\)

The major determinants of Egypt's foreign policies are geographical location, Arab and Islamic centrality, economic and military dependence, and regional conflicts.\(^{21}\)
Nasser successfully manipulated these determinants. With the death of Nasser on September 28, 1970, an entire page of Egypt's history came to an abrupt end.

Sadat's leadership differed from Nasser's not only in substance, but also in style. The regime of Nasser's successor proved secure and continued in spite of certain trends in its domestic and foreign policy that ran against the principles and tenets of Nasserite ideology.

In the Arab world, the policy of President Sadat, while seemingly similar to that of Nasser during 1967-1970, revealed some differences in emphasis which exhibited basic shifts in the primary elements of Egypt's foreign policy. Although Egypt under President Sadat gave attention to domestic rather than foreign policy, Egypt was seeing herself and was perceived by the other Arab states as a central power in the Middle East. Egypt's involvement in the Arab world, therefore, continued to have a major influence on the configuration of forces in the region.

Sadat could deviate very little from Nasserite principles based on anti-imperialism, Arabism, and the leadership of the Arab revolutionary struggle. In a speech over Radio Cairo in November 1970, Sadat repeated these principles with the same emphasis as had Nasser. On the issue of anti-imperialism, Sadat promised that "all efforts, manpower, and economic resources will be mobilized until victory against Zionism and imperialism is achieved."
On Arabism, he reminded his listeners that

the fact that we belong to the Arab nation both
historically and by common destiny—impels us—to work

to unite Arab action and efforts at such unity, impose

on our people the duty of leading and serving as the

vanguard in the Arab revolutionary role.\textsuperscript{24}

However, as Sadat's domestic power and authority

increased, he began gradually to modify the Nasserite

principles "according to certain precepts he held of global

and regional systems." Nasser's anti-imperialist struggle

was narrowed by Sadat into an exclusively anti-Zionist

campaign. Nasser's violent and vehement anti-Western

orientation had been almost totally reversed. This was

particularly true in the case of the United States, which

had been the major focus of Nasser's anti-imperialism

campaign. In short, Egypt's relations with the Western

countries became overtly warm and cordial.\textsuperscript{25}

This important transition and this turning point, at

the global level, caused a modification in Egypt's

attitudes at the regional level. As a result, the pro-

Western, conservative Arab regimes, who together had formed

Nasser's major enemies in the area, became Sadat's main

supporters and allies.\textsuperscript{26} In Egypt's foreign policy, in the

era of President Sadat, one of the major departures from

the Nasserite policy was Sadat's "rapprochement" with the

United States, resulting from his belief that the Americans
alone held the key to peace in the Middle East. As the relationship resumed and Egypt's rapport with the United States increased, Egypt's relation with the Soviet Union began a corresponding decline. As his power increased domestically, Sadat began gradually to shift Egypt's position with respect to the Arab world towards an increasing emphasis on Egyptian affairs. Sadat asserted that his first responsibility was to Egypt and adopted "Egyptian patriotism" as the major value of Egypt's foreign policy. As we will be shown in the following chapters, the Egyptian propaganda was an extremely effective instrument of its foreign policy and Cairo Radio was, and still is, the primary instrument of Egypt's foreign policy in the Arab world.

Radio Cairo as a Primary Instrument of Egypt's Foreign Policy in the Era of Nasser

The Efficient Use of Radio Cairo as the Most Effective Political Weapon. In 1953 the military junta was beginning to study the potential utility of propaganda for the achievement of Egypt's foreign policy aims in the Arab world. In July 1953, Nasser established Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs," started its transmission to the Arab world, and, a year later, increased its transmission time to four hours.
The emphasis and importance placed upon radio propaganda was gradually increased over the years. Egyptian propaganda passed through two phases. The first phase lasted for two years—from the revolution of July 23, 1952 until November 1954 when General Mohammed Neguib, Egypt's first president of the republic, was stripped of his office and placed under house arrest; then he was replaced by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, the new hero of the revolution.

The second phase lasted until the death of President Nasser in September 1970. The fifties and sixties witnessed the gradual employment by all states of propaganda as a primary instrument of foreign policy in the region. It was only after the war of June 1967 and the subsequent basic changes in the Arab political situation, that propaganda began to lose much of its pre-1967 significance. Indeed, by 1970, propaganda had ceased to constitute an effective instrument of Egypt's foreign policy in the Arab world.

The First Phase. During this phase, the Egyptian junta focused their efforts on the country's problems of poverty, ignorance, and disease which served as a ready-made target. The importance of internal unity, order, and work was emphasized. "Unity, order, and work" became the official emblem "on every banner displayed at the mass
rallies," but, it was on Radio Cairo that the slogan was most widely propagandized—in songs, in popular ditties, and in short plays. It was "sandwiched" in at every opportunity given.35

During this phase, there was a complete absence of any talk whatsoever about pan-Arabism or Arab unity. If there was any mention of unity regarding the external propaganda, it was unity between Egypt and Sudan, or the long-term "unity of the Valley of the Nile." Focus and prominence were given in the news and news programs to Sudanese events, a considerable and large amount of broadcast coverage was devoted to Sudan, and there was much elaboration on the close relationship between the two peoples; in this aspect, songs played an important role—"Egypt is for the Sudan and Sudan is for Egypt."36

The Egyptian leaders during this phase set out to influence Sudanese public opinion in favor of union with Egypt, and intensive propaganda was employed to "reorient" Sudanese perceptions toward Egypt.37

From November 1954, Egyptian policy took a new turn, and, with that turn, the propaganda assumed a new line. The second phase had begun.

The Second Phase. After November 1954, Nasser had begun to consider propaganda as a potentially effective method of attaining the goals of Egyptian policy.
Propaganda as a tool of foreign policy became a major factor in the political interactions among the Arab Middle Eastern regional system. In many cases, propaganda was an important determining factor in the development of events in the area. Radio, Nasser realized long before most other Arab rulers, is a powerful political weapon.

In the era of Nasser, a new set of instructions was issued, implemented to satiation, and replete with ringing phrases—"united efforts for the success of Arab nationalism and to resist imperialism." The Egyptian external and international services held a special interest because President Nasser mobilized radio, along with other printed and electronic mass media, into a propaganda vehicle unmatched in the African continent and the Arab Middle East.

In 1953, Nasser had established Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" as an instrument to build the myth of Arab nationalism, to specify and announce its foreign enemies to it, and to establish the criteria and standards by which the people would identify "imperialist enemies in our midst." In the fifties and sixties, Nasser appeared to state his intention to make a bid for the leadership of the African countries as well as the Arab world.
Radio Cairo and its Role in
the Independence Struggle

The special advantage and importance of radio programs in Arab societies enabled Egypt to play a primary and important role in the independence struggle of North African Arab countries (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia), known to the world as French Africa. Egypt, as the self-appointed leader in the Arab world, extended an eagerly helping hand to North African "liberation" movements with links to French-controlled territories. Also, Egypt supplied guerrilla organizations with arms and the necessary training for their use.

Radio Cairo ("Voice of the Arabs") showered propaganda on French North Africa, using violent language, inciting, stimulating, and urging in an unyielding, steady, and persistent campaign of murder not only against the French, but also the native "collaborators." News broadcasts and statements issued by exiled nationalist leaders and transmitted over Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" turned the airwaves into a means of communication with national popular heroes and ended Morocco's isolation from the outside world. It also gave the opportunity to the poor and powerless to establish connections with Islamic reform and modernity in the Middle East, providing the external link which stirred up hopes that Morocco would win its independence.
Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" played a significant role in fomenting revolution in the North African countries.46

The general line of the propaganda was the neverceasing attacks on "imperialism" and "colonial administration."

In the spring of 1956, both Morocco and Tunisia gained their independence and were admitted into the United Nations.47

Algeria benefitted in its independence struggle from the encouragement received by Radio Cairo48. In spite of the violent colonial opposition, the "Voice of the Arabs" played an important role in Algeria's bloody struggle for independence from France and French colonizers.49

In such conflict situations as there were in pre-independence Algeria, the "Voice of the Arabs" was a potent and efficient revolutionary weapon. It was a "powerful incitement" to war.50

Fanon described the tremendous impact of Arab broadcasts, particularly "Voice of the Arabs," both from the outside of Algeria and from the clandestine voice of fighting Algeria. Both of them "were to be of capital importance in consolidating and unifying the people."51

The French implicitly acknowledged radio's importance to the liberation movement by going to great lengths to jam
broadcasts. In March 1962, the Evian Agreements began, which brought the Algerian war to an end on July 3. After a referendum, Algeria was formally declared independent by France.

Nasser could legitimately claim a share of the credit for Algeria's attainment of independence; actually, from the beginning Nasser had given support in money, arms, propaganda, and diplomatic backing. He had also helped behind the scenes, at the French request, to bring about the final peace talks which led to Algerian independence.

Over the rest of Africa, Radio Cairo kept on maintaining close "public relations" with its northern-most part, especially the centre and eastern part of the continent. The general line of the propaganda was never to stop attacks on "imperialism" and "colonial administration" as the "greatest evils," provoking the Africans to eradicate them, thus enabling the people of Africa to live happily.

Much of Egyptian propaganda was formed to appeal to the Swahili-speaking people of the eastern regions. Swahili means "coast people" and is a mixture of Arabic and Banto Negro.

The Cairo propaganda line made much of the fact that large parts of the east coast had been Arabised in the past, as attested to by numerous remains of previous cultures gradually brought to light.
Egypt was reported by the British to have supported extremist political organizations in the "British-controlled territories of Tanganyika and Uganda in East Africa" and to have stirred up and stoked trouble among the Mau Mau of Kenya.

Egyptian propaganda was also active in Italian Somaliland, of East Africa. In this part of Africa, Nasser was perceived as a savior.

Radio Cairo was actively engaged in anti-colonial propaganda in the British colony of Zanzibar, where there was a movement started to struggle for self-rule.

Also, Egyptian propaganda was active in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Northern Rhodesia, and even distant Nigeria. In Africa, also, Radio Cairo broadcasts still attempted to fan hostility toward Israel in those countries with a diplomatic relationship with her.

From Cairo, the "Voice of Free Africa" broadcast in twelve African languages. Radio Cairo aimed to win the African masses and worked to foster and cultivate friendship with countries in which Moslems were in a majority or represented a significant minority, and worked to encourage anti-imperialist feelings. The "Voice of the Arabs" succeeded in swaying African opinion and was in the forefront of the Egyptian political campaign to turn the African states against Israel.
"Radio Cairo Calling"—For the Arab Unity "From the Atlantic Ocean to the Arab Gulf"

Egypt suffers from populational explosion. It has one of the highest birth rates in the world, with the annual increase in population being over half a million.

The country's resources and development cannot catch up with the annual increment in its population. A solution was first sought through birth control, but the effort was a failure. Even the Aswan High Dam Project could not solve the problem. What was needed was something quick and sensational. The answer was Arab unity.61

More emphasis was laid on concepts such as Arab unity and Arab brotherhood.62 Arabism seemed to be the answer to Egypt's problems. Arab unity, or the formation of an Arab empire extending from "the Arab Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean," with Egypt at its head and under the banner of President Nasser, would solve Egypt's problem. The idea of Arab unity was an old one with the Arabs. What was new was the fact that Egypt should lead the movement, thus creating a drastic shift.

The Egyptian leaders, in their endeavor to persuade the other Arabs of the necessity of founding an Arab empire under Egypt's leadership, required all their efforts and talent.63 They waged a psychological warfare campaign on a
grand scale, in which radio played a significant, vital, and prominent role.  

**The Campaign:** Psychological warfare could be defined as the "planned use of any form of mass communication designed to affect the minds and emotions of a given enemy in order to achieve a strategic or tactical objective." In the case of the Egyptians, the "enemy" target was the other Arab countries.

Egypt's declared objective, as delineated and portrayed by President Nasser himself, was to create an empire extending from the Arab Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean.

We, the Egyptian people, realize that we form an organic part of a greater Arab entity and are aware of our responsibilities and obligations toward a common Arab struggle for the glory and honor of the Arab nation. (declared in the Egyptian Constitution decreed by Nasser in 1954.) This gave legal status to Egyptian leadership. The principles of psychological warfare in the propaganda campaign (with stress and focus on its primary vehicle, Radio Cairo) were similar to those followed by Nazi Germany when addressing the masses. "Heavy leaning on the spoken rather than the written word. . . . It is only the spoken word that can sway the people into great deeds." It is worth noting that the Egyptian propagandists—to their credit—did not blindly copy the Nazi's principles and approaches, but manipulated and handled them to fit and suit their own audience.
The main theme: The Arabs should unite again, under Nasser's great leadership. This major theme was used on all possible occasions, and through all possible channels, with adequate variations to suit the medium and the audience. The second theme was developed: hate—hate of all those who opposed Nasser's plan—"the imperialists and the lackeys of imperialism,ntag; the Zionists, the competitors, and rival Arab leaders. "Devotion and hate," "praise and castigation" were the pillars of the "Nasserite" propaganda drive to stir up resentment against the imperialists and the lackeys of imperialism and devotion to Nasser and Egypt.

One of the principal forms of psychological warfare used by the Egyptian propaganda in the era of Nasser was the "strategy of division." This form of negative and subversive propaganda was broadcast and directed by the Egyptian propagandists over Radio Cairo against every single Arab country. Jordan may serve as an illustration here:

*The term "imperialists" invariably denoted the West, and in particular, the United States. Also when Nasser was at odds with Khrushchev, it meant the U.S.S.R.; however, that was for a brief period.

The term "lackeys of imperialism" meant any Arab leader at odds with Nasser; it was applied to King Hussein, General Qasim of Iraq, President Chamoun of Lebanon, King Saud of Saudi Arabia, etc.
The propaganda attack was aimed at the Arab Legion while it was still headed by General Sir John Glubbpasha, the well-known British soldier who had sworn allegiance to the late King Abdullah and under whom many of the Legion's high-ranking officers were Britishers. The Egyptian radio incessantly broadcast the following legends: British officers are less able, less talented, and less courageous than the Jordanian officers, yet they command them and outrank them; they are also better paid and better fed. British officers will fight to the last Jordanian soldier. British officers have only the interests of imperialist Britain at heart. It was the British officers in the Arab Legion who were responsible for the Israel victory at Ramleh and Lydda in 1948," etc., etc.68

Then came the turn of the Jordanian officers themselves.

After the annexation in 1950 of the eastern part of Palestine, some half million Palestinian Arabs became Jordanian citizens and many of them joined the Arab Legion and became officers. Egyptian propaganda now began to include in its broadcasts statements that the Legion officers of Palestinian origin were better educated, more talented and "more nationalist" than their Transjordanian brother officers, who were mostly of Bedouin origin, and that the Jordanian military and civil authorities were discriminating against the Palestinians and oppressing them.69

Later, the Egyptian propaganda criticized severely and waged attacks on the Jordanian army.

At the insistence of General Glubb, Jordan had formed what was called the "National Guard," a body composed mainly of Palestinians living in border villages facing Israel. The Egyptian radio claimed that the National Guards were intended to be cannon fodder in case of a clash with Israel, while the Arab Legion, Jordan's regular army, was stationed in the cities, to be used to shoot down Arab nationalists who opposed evil British interests.70

The propaganda strategy of division seemed to be very painstakingly and carefully prepared and planned. It was
very thorough, and it ran both horizontally and vertically through the Jordanian Legion.

The Egyptian propaganda attack was not limited to the army. It aimed at placing the Jordanian people in contest against their government, and inciting them, stirring them up, and urging them to get rid of the Hashemite regime. The Egyptian propaganda aimed at pitting the Palestinians against Jordanians, villagers against city dwellers, the new generation against the old. In sum, no avenue was disregarded in the effort to make every Jordanian believe that he was being misled, cheated, oppressed, betrayed, and deceived by the present leadership, in an attempt to make Jordan become part of the new Arab unity movement, and Nasser's schemes.71

When truth was not at hand, fabrication and agitation served as well.72

Another form of psychological warfare utilized by the Egyptian propagandists was the "strategy of paralysis," aimed at producing and inducing complete inactivity in the "attacked country." This strategy employed by Radio Cairo had two different "versions": "defeatism" and "fatalism."

The defeatist variation claimed that Nasser was invincible, infallible, and omnipotent. Since he was always victorious he had expelled the British from Egypt; he had won the battle of Suez in which the Great Powers (Britain and France) were defeated; he had succeeded in his revolution; in fact he had been successful in all the battles he had waged against
imperialist machinations—no one opposed to him remained unscathed. Nuri-al Said had opposed him and had been slaughtered by the angry Iraqi people, together with King Faisal and Regent Abdul Ilah. King Abdullah of Jordan had been assassinated; Prime Minister Sir Antony Eden and French Premier Guy Mollet had lost their power. All of which meant: "Nasser will ultimately win, so what is the use of fighting him."

The fatalistic variation emphasized Arab unity as an historical, irrevocable, and irreversible force. Nasser declared over Radio Cairo on February 1, 1958,

> There are in the lives of nations, generations ordained and solely chosen by destiny to witness decisive turning points in the history of mankind.°

In the fatalism version of the "strategy of paralysis," Radio Cairo stressed the Arab unity in its broadcasts on all possible occasions.

This decisive turning point in the Arab world was the creation of Arab unity. Almighty Allah wanted this unification and nobody can change God's will. Nasser had been ordained by the will of God to lead this unity.°

A third form of psychological warfare was the "strategy of terror." This strategy was most effectively used in times of crises and strain, when fear prevailed, predominant and widespread, and when emotions were high.

After the coup d'etat in Iraq engineered by General Qasim (Egypt believed at the time that the success of the coup was due to President Nasser) the Egyptian radio began to broadcast hair-raising tales of what had been done to young King Faisal, to Abdul Ilah, and Nuri-al Said. A torrent of horrifying terms—"blood," "agony," dangling "corpses," "fear," "murder," "screams," "mutilated bodies dragged in the streets of Baghdad" filled the air. Special messages were addressed to King Hussein of Jordan warning him of the fate that awaited him if he did not abdicate.
This terror propaganda was usually broadcast after sunset, mostly in the late hours of night, when it would have a more frightening effect on listeners.\(^{76}\)

In all this psychological warfare, when truth was not at hand, the Egyptian propagandists resorted to bare fabrications. In all these psychological warfare "strategies," truth was not always completely adhered to. Lies, suppression, and distortion of the truth were resorted to whenever needed.\(^{77}\) We will see how Radio Cairo dealt with the June 1967 War and how Cairo Radio lost credibility at home and abroad in spite of this outcome after 1967. The false reports were accepted as truth by Arab listeners to the Cairo Radio, or at least they injected the thought that surely "there is no smoke without fire."\(^{78}\)

It is worth noting here also that the Egyptian propaganda was subject to frequent and sudden changes of policy and attitude that were sometimes so unexpected, that they were not easily swallowed. A. Loya, in a study of "Radio Propaganda of the United Arab Republic (Egypt)--An Analysis" (1962), states,

King Saud of Saudi Arabia was first depicted as brother to Nasser, a great lion of the desert, the protector of Islam's holy places, a man of dignity and sanctity. Then suddenly he began to be described as a corrupt ruler, a feudalist, a friend of the American oil imperialists, anti-nationalists. A man of no principles, old, weak, sick, and degenerate.
Another case, for example, was Nasser's stand towards the Soviet Union.

For years the U.S.S.R. had been depicted as the strongest and the only progressive force in the world, the staunchest friend of the Arabs, and the noblest lover of peace. But when Nikita Khrushchev began to cold-shoulder Nasser's ambitions and to show favor of General Qasim of Iraq (early 1959), then an avowed enemy of Nasser's, the Cairo Radio began to attack Moscow, declaring that it was imperialist, undemocratic, an enemy of Arab nationalism. Such sudden shifts were even more startling when they concerned personalities in Egypt; a few examples are General Mohammed Neguib, Salah Salem, Afif al-Bizri, Sabri al-Asali, Akram al-Hourani. 

These rapidly unexpected and sudden shifts were carefully prepared, and could be described as "double think." The Egyptian propagandists intended in their policy to create two contradictory pictures, either one of which could be evoked as needed. When Kind Saud, King Hussein, and General Qasim were hostile toward President Nasser, then their "ungood" picture was called up. If the facts and truth were different under other circumstances, the picture was changed, modified, and adjusted for a better fit. 

Propaganda as a Potentially Effective Method of Achieving Egypt's Policy Objectives

The Egyptian Propaganda and the Baghdad Pact. Egypt's actual entry into regional Arab politics did not fully exist in reality until January 1955. It was mainly a
response to the sudden unforeseen announcement by Nuri-al Said (the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Iraq) of the Iraqi-Turkish Treaty. (The treaty was later to be known as the Baghdad Pact.) Most political analysts agree that the Baghdad Pact was the single important variable in the Middle East power politics. This served to alter the entire form and configuration of forces in the area, giving rise to new power alignments and constellations, forming, or causing to form a new power group. It forced Nasser and his country to enter fully, participate in, and then control, dominate, and govern the regional politics of the Arab Middle East.81

On November 21, 1955, Nuri-al Said, Pasha of the Kingdom of Iraq, signed a mutual assistance pact with Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and later, the United Kingdom. It was this treaty which set up the "northern tier" of Middle East defense along the Soviet Union's "soft underbelly."82

Before starting their own counter-attack, the Egyptian leaders waited for only four days after the announcement of the Baghdad Pact (January 1955). On January 16, Egypt waged its first radio and press campaign against Western alliances in general, and the Baghdad Pact in particular.

For Nasser, there were many reasons to oppose the British initiative. First, it would link Iraq with NATO and, since Iraq was a member of the Arab League, this would
expose the League's neutrality to risk. Second, it could involve other Arab states in NATO's disputes, since Iraq herself became involved. Third, by accepting Britain's proposals, Iraq would obtain large quantities of British arms. With her rich oil resources, in addition to her improved military strength, Iraq would become superior in strength and influence and become the predominant Arab power. Consequently, the center of political gravity in the region would change from Cairo to Baghdad.

In early March, Nasser formed an alliance with Syria which was endorsed and supported by Saudi Arabia and Yemen. It was the beginning of a wider integration of the Arab world. These moves were enhanced later in the same year when Egypt signed the Egyptian-Syrian Mutual Defense Pact, followed a week later, on October 27, by another pact with Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Egypt signed these alliances in the name of "pan-Arabism". Also, these alliances were Egypt's practical answer to Nuri's proclamation that the Arab countries had no other alternative but to depend on the West for their security.

These alliances may not have had much military importance; however, their significance lay in their psychological effect on the Arabs by giving clear evidence of the independence of the Arab countries. These pacts also highlighted Egypt's leadership and its central
position in the Arab world. However, diplomatic communication had been severed with Iraq since the creation of the Baghdad Pact; and this gave way to propaganda as the major and primary instrument of Egypt's foreign policy in the Arab world. The Egyptian leadership utilized radio to impose, through pressure of public opinion, considerable constraints on the governments of other Arab countries.  

The outpouring of the Egyptian propaganda and its emphasis upon pan-Arabism and, particularly the importance of Arab solidarity against "imperialism" and Israel, soon began to affect and influence public opinion, weakening and undermining any disposition the Arab leaders in other Arab states might have had in support of Iraq.

The above argument can be well illustrated by Jordan's ultimate refusal to join the Baghdad Pact. The United Kingdom and Turkey had tried to convince Jordan and Lebanon to join the pact, but the Lebanese pointed out that they would wait for the Jordanian decision first.

The Jordanian prime minister, Hazzahal-Majali, did, in fact, declare his intention to join the pact. A formal request for membership was submitted to the British ambassador in Amman on November 16, 1955.

Nasser launched Egypt's propaganda against Britain and the Baghdad Pact. Radio Cairo started attacking King Hussein and other government leaders because of Jordan's
intention to join the Baghdad Pact and take orders from the British.\textsuperscript{90}

Glubb Pasha, the British Commander-in-Chief who headed Jordan's army (Arab Legion), was a natural target for Egyptian propaganda. Glubb Pasha was a major force in Jordan's counter-propaganda. When the Jordan government realized that Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" was in fact having an impact on the Jordanians, plans were made to establish a new radio facility and transmitter in Amman. In January 1956, the Jordan government launched its counter-propaganda by jamming Egyptian broadcasts with new British equipment, and by opening a pan-Arab transmission in Amman to compete with Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs." Nasser's real purpose was to isolate Jordan and Iraq and their British ally within the Arab world, in order to prevent them from isolating Egypt. King Hussein and Glubb were natural targets for Egyptian propaganda.\textsuperscript{91}

The Jordan-British front was actually strong and united when Egyptian propaganda and Saudi money caused renewed rioting by Jordanian nationalists early in January. King Hussein asked the British to relay the appeal to Baghdad for Iraqi troops to be flown into Jordan. Nuri-al Said agreed to send enough troops to ensure success. In addition, he notified the British that the Egyptian propaganda was the root of the trouble and caused the riots
and demonstrations in Jordan, and he asked them to request Washington to put pressure on Egypt.  

In January 1956, the British government sent Gerald Templer, the British Chief of Staff, to Amman to discuss the Baghdad Pact membership with the Jordanian officials. Consequently, Egypt launched a violent propaganda campaign against the Templer mission, and the country witnessed, during his visit, a wave of strikes, demonstrations, and riots which was instrumental in bringing the two governments down.  

The Jordan government split and fell when four Palestinian ministers resigned rather than accept the Templer proposals. The ministers claimed that they were reflecting the majority of public opinion, which opposed Jordan's membership in the Baghdad Pact because it would entail isolation from Egypt. The Palestinians believed that they could not run the risk of losing Egypt's support on the front against Israel. The propaganda campaigns were starting from "Voice of the Arabs" to bring down Nuri-al Said, King Hussein of Jordan, and Kamil Chamaoun of Lebanon.  

The Templer mission failed, and both Jordan and Lebanon shied away from the pact, never intending to join it again. King Hussein announced that he had no intention of joining the Baghdad Pact, and two months
later, he dismissed General John Glubb, the British Commander-in-Chief of the Jordanian army, and replaced him with the pro-Nasser General Abu Nawar. In June 1956, King Hussein dissolved the Parliament, and in October, there were elections which resulted in a great landslide victory for pro-Nasser candidates.\textsuperscript{97}

Although Radio Cairo and the "Voice of the Arabs" were instrumental in causing and encouraging demonstrations and riots against the pact, we could not cite the Egyptian propaganda as the sole cause for the demonstrations. From the inception of the pact, it was met with hostility from the majority of the politically-aware Arabs.\textsuperscript{98}

The role of Radio Cairo was to crystallize and encourage already existing attitudes and beliefs which were susceptible and sympathetic to Radio Cairo's message. The outcome was that pro-Western Lebanon and Jordan had refused to join the Baghdad Pact, and Iraq was successfully isolated from the main current of Arab politics.\textsuperscript{99}

At the end of 1956, President Nasser's influence in the Arab world had become obvious and remarkable. In Jordan, a national government headed by Suleiman Nabulse had been elected on October 21, 1956, and had, in time, joined Syria and Egypt in a military pact which placed Jordanian and Syrian forces under the Egyptian Commander-in-Chief. In January 1957, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Saudi
Arabia signed the Treaty of Arab Solidarity for a period of ten years.\textsuperscript{100}

In 1958, the United Arab Republic Union was created between Egypt and Syria,\textsuperscript{101} and the response of the other Arab states to Egyptian propaganda revealed that the rulers of these states acknowledged and appreciated the role of the Egyptian propaganda as an important factor in inter-Arab political interactions. Fadhilal-Jamali, a Prime Minister of pre-republican Iraq, later confirmed that the "Voice of the Arabs" played a key role in bringing down the Iraqi monarchy. It is also worth noting that after the creation of the United Arab Republic between Egypt and Syria, Iraq's official withdrew from the Baghdad Pact on March 24, 1959, following a week of intensive propaganda campaigns by the UAR's radio.\textsuperscript{102}

\textbf{The UAR's Radio and the Civil War in Lebanon}

The UAR's radio played a primary role in the Lebanese civil war in May 1958, for which the Lebanese government placed responsibility on the UAR. Taking the matter to the United Nations, Dr. Malik, Lebanon's Foreign Minister, in his anguish, resentful speech to the Security Council, accused the UAR of "massive interference in Lebanon's domestic affairs," which according to him was conducted through a large provision of arms to the rebels, the
involvement and participation of UAR nations in the civil war, and the employment of an adverse, hostile press and radio campaigns against Lebanon.\textsuperscript{103}

A careful study of the UAR newspapers and journals and the broadcasts of Radio Cairo, Radio Damascus, and the "Voice of the Arabs," fully supported the Lebanese accusations.\textsuperscript{104}

It became clear to observers in Beirut—or, for that matter, to audiences of Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" broadcasts, that Nasser was ready to go to any lengths to bring down Kamil Chamaoun (Lebanon's president).\textsuperscript{105}

\textbf{Voice of the Arabs and the Suez Crisis}

Nasser declared in a major speech over Radio Cairo that since the Western powers refused to finance the High Dam, Egypt was forced to raise her own money. This could only be attained by nationalizing the Suez Canal Company.\textsuperscript{106} The British and French response to the nationalization was the tripartite attack on Egypt by Britain, France, and Israel on October 29, 1956. The British and French failed to topple Nasser, and the canal remained under Egyptian control. The Suez crisis and the role played by Egyptian broadcasting, particularly the "Voice of the Arabs," gave Nasser almost unlimited credit in Egypt and throughout the Arab world. The Egyptian
leadership received considerable support from Arab public opinion. 107

The pro-British Iraqi government was forced, through the pressure of public opinion, to convict and denounce the Anglo-French action as a glaring collusión with Israel.

The Iraqi officials refused to sit with the British in a Baghdad Pact meeting, and Iraq severed its diplomatic relations with France. Syria and Saudi Arabia also broke relations with both countries, and the Jordanian Arab Legion captured some of the British army stores in Amman. The crisis was designed to effect Nasser's demise from the Arab political scene, but he emerged as the prime manipulator of politics in the Arab world.108

**Egyptian Propaganda and the Arabian Peninsula**

Nasser certainly believed in "Arab liberation" as part of the worldwide anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle. He considered the rule of the kings, sheiks, and sultans in the Arab Peninsula to be archaic, helping to keep most of the Peninsula in the Middle Ages, and he believed that these regimes should be changed. He was confident that the Arab states could strike a better bargain with the rest of the world over their military, political, and economic (including oil) interests if they acted together rather than separately. 109
In Yemen, Nasser preferred a more progressive regime to replace that of the Imam Ahmed. Nasser had unleashed Egypt's propagandists against the Imam regime in a campaign for revolution to bring a country, which in most respects, was still in the Middle Ages, into the modern world. On September 26, 1962, a group of army officers seized power in a coup in Sanaa, the capital of Yemen. The military deposed Imam Ahmed and proclaimed the Yemen Arab Republic. It was the first revolutionary movement in the Arabian Peninsula.

Nasser had always wanted to counter Saudi influence in the Arab Peninsula by means of Egypt's propaganda against the Arab kings. He had, likewise, long since declared his intention to end British occupation and its military presence in Aden at the South Arabian Peninsula and in all Arab lands.

Radio Cairo broadcasted programming that was designed to provoke actions against the British occupation. Nasser was probably most concerned with his campaign against Saudi Arabia and against the British in Aden. The "Voice of the Arabs" and Radio Cairo programs encouraged the population to join Nasser's pan-Arab movement, designed to provoke anti-British feeling. It was natural to tune to the popular "Voice of the Arabs" and Radio Cairo, since no Arabic domestic broadcasting was available. In 1956, the
British realized the importance of the situation and opened a local Arabic station, but it could not rival in coverage the "Voice of the Arabs." The Egyptian propaganda was poured into Aden into a mounting flood throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and the "legitimacy of the British presence was steadily sapped away."\textsuperscript{115}

The revolution in Yemen offered Nasser a chance to bring pressure on the British in Aden by establishing close ties with Adeni nationalists across the Yemen border.\textsuperscript{116} Nasser supported the South Adeni nationalist rebel groups, the Front for the Liberation of South Yemen (FLSY) and the National Liberation Front (NLF), until the final victory of the nationalists' movement in South Arabia in 1967.\textsuperscript{117}

Within the area of the Persian Gulf, the expansionist goals of Egypt came into conflict with Iran—in addition to Egypt's conflict with Saudi Arabia—owner of the northern shore of the Persian Gulf. Egyptian radio propaganda insisted on renaming this body of water the "Arabian Gulf," and the southern province of Iran, Khuzistan or "Arabistan" (the lands of the Arabs). Egyptian propaganda was bitterly resented by Iran. No doubt this propaganda motivated Iran to increase its military forces in the area to counter any movements inspired by Arab nationalism.\textsuperscript{118}
The Period of Propaganda
Success Came to an Abrupt
End with the June War, 1967

Cairo Radio and the 1967 War. From the beginning of
the war, Nasser had made no public speech. The only
official Egyptian voice was Cairo Radio, repeating the
optimistic communiques of the High Command and the
complacent rhetoric of commentators, such as Ahmed Said,*
speaking with excessive pride and boasting to the Arab
world of victory, when on the battlefield, all had already
been lost, and the Egyptian army was defeated. The
wildly optimistic reports of Egyptian victories in the
first days of the war came at a time when Egypt was in fact
suffering, and experiencing the most humiliating defeat in
her history.

Claims of Israeli planes shot down by the Egyptians and
Syrians reached preposterous proportions. After eleven
and one-quarter hours of fighting, the claim was that
eighty-six Israeli planes had been shot down over Egypt
alone.

No doubt, victory—"certainly"—was the theme; the Arabs
were advancing.120

The 1967 War ended "Ahmed Said Era" with respect to
Cairo Radio's "Voice of the Arabs." Ahmed Said had contrib-
uted to the psychological defeat that the Egyptians and

*Ahmed Said was the director of the "Voice of the
Arabs until the end of the 1967 War.
the rest of the Arab world felt immediately after the war.
It had been said that it was he—although not he alone—who had furnished the pre-war confidence in military victory.

When the defeat became known to the Arabs, they knew that they had been misled, both prior to and during the early days of the war. During the Ahmed Said Era,

The "Voice of the Arabs" has to be heard to be believed; for sheer venom, vulgarity, and indifference to truth it has few equals in the world.121

The result was morally disastrous to the Arab world. When the truth became known about how Egypt had lost land, equipment, and lives, it was a serious disappointment for Egyptian and Arab listeners who looked to Egypt as the flagship and the leader of the Arab world in the struggle against Israel.122

Ahmed Said and the "Voice of the Arabs" lost credibility at home and abroad, where listeners knew well that the claimed victories were fictitious and imaginary, and had been fabricated in order to deceive. When the enormity of the defeat became known, Ahmed Said and the "Voice of the Arabs" were seen as deceivers and agents of Egyptian humiliation.123

While it may be true that Said himself cannot be held responsible for all the mistakes of the war, his style was a major factor and had contributed to the myth-making that made Egyptian propaganda so vulnerable to events and liable to censure and criticism. Telling lies had weakened and
undermined the credibility of the "Voice of the Arabs," and made those responsible for policy blind to the dangers of lying. 124

The Shift

The above mentioned events help to explain the cardinal mistakes of June 1967 committed by the Egyptian broadcasters—not just lies and exaggerations, but also the disastrous policy errors. However, the lesson was learned, and the period of short-term propaganda success came to an abrupt end with the June War. A more realistic approach became policy, and sober broadcasting succeeded agitation. 125 After 1967, the tone of the "Voice of the Arabs" changed dramatically. Boyd refers to this shift in his book Broadcasting in the Arab World (1982). He says,

One of the official "Voice" goals as of 1971 was to promote adherence to the scientific interpretation of language [and] purification of that language of repetition, exaggeration, superficiality, and unpreparedness. 126

In spite of this change in the "Voice's" policy, the "Voice of the Arabs" was still an inflexible and uncompromising ideological weapon. And in the era of President Sadat, its broadcasts reflected an Egyptian point of view rather than an Arab one and broadened its appeal to the non-Arab world through the use of reasoned argument.

The Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Culture and Information, Dr. Muhammad Abd Al-Qadir Hatim,
confirmed in a broadcast in February 1973 that Egyptian foreign broadcasts had had a big success in influencing and turning world opinion against Israel through the use of reasoned argument.127

Our goal regarding foreign information media is to win over supporters and the neutral states as well as neutralizing several other states. One of the results of the information plan was that European public opinion began to shift against Israel. This was evident from Golda Meir's visit to France, Italy, and the Vatican.

Hatim also asserted success in swaying African opinion. No doubt, the "Voice of the Arabs" played a key role in the Egyptian campaign to influence and turn the African states against Israel. In the events of the October War in 1973, the "Voice of the Arabs" was characterized by self-control and sanity. It was governed by or in accordance with reason and sound thinking, capable of reasoning and rationale. The events of the war emphasized the wisdom of the new sober and mature policy. Arabs repeatedly refer to the "maturity" that the war both induced and proved.128

"The 'Voice of the Arabs' was able to lay the ghost of the 1967 fiasco and point to the part it played in creating this maturity." Arab goals and objectives were clearly stated; communiques were to the point. War hysteria was avoided, with no threats to drive the Israelis into the sea, as before.129
In short, since the 1967 War, the Egyptian mass media have shown a remarkable interest in increasing the accuracy of the news and news reports, and decreasing the role of the media as the disseminator of agitative political rhetoric. Sober broadcasting succeeded agitation, and a more mature, realistic approach became policy.

Other Methods and Strategies Used By Egyptian Propaganda in the Era of Nasser

Propaganda messages are disseminated and delivered through a variety of strategic techniques. The message might be either rational or it might be emotional—depending upon the particular situation.

Due to the high rate of illiteracy in the Arab countries, Egyptian propaganda tended to follow the emotional pattern. The Egyptian propagandists stressed four major techniques in transmitting their messages to the Arab world. These strategic techniques were, 1) Transfer, 2) Testimonial, 3) Name-Calling, and 4) Bandwagon.

1) **Transfer Technique.** "This technique attempts to identify one idea, person, country, or policy with another to make the target approve or disapprove it."

According to the perceptual pattern, of the majority of the Arabs, the most effective method of weakening and undermining a leader's position in any Arab state was to
identify and associate him with "imperialism." One of the strategic techniques of the Egyptian propagandists was to describe Nasser's political opponents in other Arab states as the agents of imperialism and "lackeys of colonialism." The "Voice of the Arabs" reminded the Iraqi listeners that Fadhl al-Jamali, the Foreign Minister of pre-republican Iraq, has no right to speak on any affairs of Iraq because he represented and spoke on behalf of imperialism. Radio Cairo addressed the other Arab kings, advising them,

Let Hussein ask himself: Did imperialism save his grandfather, Abdulla, from his end at the hands of the people? . . . Let Faisal ask his brother Saud: Did imperialism stand by him when he failed to ensure the interests of the imperialism? Imperialism can never protect a king or an agent. 133

The analysis of Cairo Radio's broadcasts in the era of President Nasser indicates that the Egyptian propagandists considered Britain as the major imperialist power in the region.

The Egyptian propaganda was effective in countries which had traditional and existing ties with Britain such as the Hashemite kingdoms of Jordan and Iraq. Referring to Sharif Hussein, the founder of Hashemite dynasties, Radio Cairo stressed that,

The Arab revolt was led by a man chosen by British imperialism to lay the foundations of British empire in the Arab countries. This man was Sharif Hussein, supported by a British spy called Lawrence.
Another technique which was frequently used by the Egyptian propagandists was that of identifying Egypt's and Nasser's political opponents with Israel and Zionism. The most unusual method used was to associate the policies of Arab leaders with the "interests" and ambitions of Israel in the region.

Another technique which was frequently used by the Egyptian propagandists was the concentration on the hostility of Western news media towards President Nasser and the Egyptian government. This concentration was successfully used by Radio Cairo as a proof of Egypt's continuous struggle against the "imperialists" and the "Zionists."\textsuperscript{134}

2) \textbf{Testimonial Technique}. "In this technique, the propagandist uses an esteemed person or institution to endorse or criticize an idea or political entity."\textsuperscript{135}

The target audience is asked to believe something simply because some authority says it is true. The analysis of the Egyptian radio broadcasts during our period of study indicates that the Egyptian propagandists relied on two different types of such authorities or important people in the eyes of Arab population. These two types can be classified as 1) the indigenous authorities and 2) the independent authorities.

Within the first type, the Egyptian propagandists brought prominent, important political refugees from the
target country— who were staying in Egypt—to the microphone to talk to their own people. It was reasoned that the messages communicated by these important figures to the people in their countries would significantly supplement, strengthen, and extend the effort to reorient the political disposition of that country's indigenous population. For example, it was very beneficial and helpful for the Egyptian regime when no less a figure than King Saud's own brother, Prince Talal, commented on Radio Cairo, expressing his personal reaction and attitude which explained and illustrated that the revolution in Yemen was one of the primary reasons for the instability of the throne and the deterioration of the internal situation in Saudi Arabia. Another example would be when a Jordanian political refugee, an officer, told the listeners of Radio Cairo in February 1967 that Jordan had become a great prison filled with barely controlled anger and resentment, simmering with revolt against Hussein and his government. This technique was frequently utilized in the cases of Tunisia, Yemen, Jordan, and Iraq.  

In addition to this type of indigenous authority, the Egyptian propagandists relied on other distinct types of authorities, such as the independent authorities. With this type, the Egyptian propagandists frequently employed and utilized the specific perceptions, observations,
interpretations, opinions, and views of widely known, eminent individuals, who, although not citizens of the target country, had prestige attached to their person or position, which increased the credibility of the Egyptian propagandists' messages. For example, Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" reminded its listeners that,

[the] President of [the] Republic of India says that Abdal-Nasser is the symbol of the awakening spirit in the Arab world and that the Arab nationalism which Nasser represents, is a symbol of immediate independence, unity, and quick progress.137

Similarly, Radio Cairo declared to the Arab population that "at a rally in Libya, Colonel Qadhafi had introduced Nasser as the pioneer of Arab nationalism and leader of the Arab struggle."

The analysis of Radio Cairo's broadcasts in our period of study indicates that Radio Cairo utilized the same method to stress a different point. To give more force and effectiveness and to strengthen its own repeated appeals to the Jordanian people to overthrow and dispose of King Hussein and his regime, they referred to a statement made by Anthony Nutting, the former British Minister of State, "in August 1958 which allegedly advised the British government to withdraw its support from Hussein."

The Egyptian propagandists utilized this technique in June of 1958 during the Lebanese civil war, and a senior Coptic priest commented on the "Voice of the Arabs":
Chamoun claims to be the protector of Christianity. We can never agree that the protector of Christianity should be an underling of imperialism. We can never agree that the protector of Christianity should be someone who has been rejected by the Christians, because we believe in our Arab nationalism.  

3) Name-Calling Technique: The name-calling technique, giving an idea a bad label, is used to make us reject and condemn the idea without examining the evidence. It aims at eliciting a favorable uncritical response from the target audience by attaching an emotive label to a government or a particular leader. The success of this technique depends on the harmonious congruity and a point of agreement of the label with the prevalent perceptual patterns of the audience.

The analysis of Radio Cairo broadcasts in our period of study revealed that the Egyptian propagandists employed the terms "reactionary" and "feudalist" to depict the anti-Egypt leaders of the Arab states.

Nuri-al Said of Iraq, President Bourguiba of Tunisia, King Hussein of Jordan, Kings Saud and Faisal of Saudi Arabia, President Qudsi of Secessionist Syria, and President Chamoun of Lebanon were all called reactionaries or feudalists or both, at one time or another during the era of President Nasser. When Saudi Arabia supported the Royalists during the Yemen war, Radio Cairo launched an intensive propaganda campaign against King Faisal and his
government. The Saudian king was portrayed as an enemy by the "Voice of the Arabs":

Arabs, is Faisal an Arab or a British king? Arabs, is Faisal a king of the Muslims' holy land, or a king of the Jews and the Saxons? Arabs, by God, Arabs, what is the people's verdict, what is God's verdict on such an agent king? We know the verdict and wait for the execution. For the people always convict agents; and always inflict the traitor's destiny on all agents.141

Also, the Egyptian propagandists invented personal labels for specific leaders in order to emphasize and to make prominent their supposed "failings" and "inadequacies."

This strategy was created and planned by the Egyptian propagandists to make such leaders the objects of mistrust, suspicion, and derision by their own people, to weaken and impair their credibility as capable and trustworthy leaders.140

4) Bandwagon Technique. With this technique, the propagandist attempts to persuade us that all members of a group to which we belong are accepting his program; therefore we must follow our crowd and jump on the bandwagon, because everybody is doing it.142

The bandwagon technique plays on people's tendency to want to belong or to be in accord with the majority. The technique implies that the target should join the majority. If he does so, he will be on the right side with everybody else. This technique was widely and frequently utilized by the Egyptian propagandists in communicating their
messages to the Arab audiences. Most broadcasts which concentrated mainly on supporting Egyptian policy-makers or attacking competing Arab leaders, involved such phrases as "you all believe, . . . everyone knows," . . . and so forth. These phrases were made to add weight to the broadcast's content.

For example, in an attempt to explain the animosity of Nasser and Egypt towards the leaders of Jordan, Iraq, and Lebanon in March 1958, the "Voice of the Arabs" declared that,

Everyone in the Arab nation feels today that traitors and imperialist collaborators must be eliminated so that real freedom and unity can be established in the Arab homeland.143

Another example—when Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" addressed King Hussein after the Iraqi revolution, Radio Cairo claimed,

Do you know what the entire world knows about the reality of the throne on which you sit? It is an imaginary throne, guarded by the forces of occupation against the Jordanian people and army.144

Similarly, in replying to the leaders of Saudi Arabia who brought charges against Egypt's leaders of atheistic orientations, Radio Cairo addressed an open letter to Prince Faisal, who was then Prime Minister of Saudi Arabia.

Your Highness knows, as the sons of the Arabian Peninsula and other brother of the Arab nation know, that you are one of those who least adhere to the teachings of Islam and the tradition of the prophet . . . 145
There was one major characteristic of Radio Cairo, particularly the "Voice of the Arabs," and this was its vehement tone. That vehemence extended to praise for Nasser and the Egyptian revolution, and to condemnation of the imperialist powers and the "reactionary" Arab regimes that were considered by Egypt as tools of the imperialists. The chief object of the "Voice of the Arabs" during the 1950s and early 1960s was to inflame the masses and to win their minds and emotions. The "Voice of the Arabs" used to employ "colorful language." For example, the "Voice" frequently used this phrase: "O Britains! Your king is a woman." Some of it was bluntly critical as when it charged King Hussein of Jordan of being a "delegate of Zionism."  

The "Voice of the Arabs" caused Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and North Yemen to set up a powerful radio service of their own, when these governments realized that Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" was in fact having an impact, and that they needed to counter Egyptian propaganda. These countries and other Arab states in which the "Voice's" broadcasts would be received were unable to defend themselves against Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" because they lacked the facilities to match the Egyptian services.
To What Degree Did the Egyptian Propaganda Succeed with the Arabs in the Era of President Nasser?

As early as 1955, the Egyptian senior officials had begun to consider propaganda as a potentially effective method of achieving Egypt's policy objectives. Until the death of president Nasser in September 1970, Egyptian propaganda, as a primary vehicle and instrument of foreign policy, became a major factor in the political interactions among the Arab Middle Eastern systems in the area. In many instances, Egyptian propaganda was an important determinant in the development of the events. A salient example in this case was the role of Egyptian propaganda in deterring Jordan and Lebanon from joining the Baghdad Pact. Jordan and Lebanon shied away from the Pact and never contemplated joining it again. Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" broadcasts reinforced the hostility felt by the majority of the Jordanian people by describing the Pact as "covert colonialism." The demonstrations, strikes, and rioting were instrumental in bringing the two governments down, and ultimately the Jordanian officials refrained from joining the Baghdad Pact.

In addition, the "Voice of the Arabs" played a key role in bringing down the Iraqi monarchy. It is also worth noting that Iraq's government withdrew from the Baghdad Pact on March 24, 1959, following a week of intensive propaganda campaigns by the UAR's radio.
The "Voice of the Arabs" was very popular during our period of study to the extent that, what was broadcast was taken as the "truth." The "Voice of the Arabs" and Radio Cairo—the Main Program—were used by Nasser and the Egyptian propagandists to inflame the masses, in a strong anti-American propaganda campaign during the opening hours of the 1967 War. It broadcast to the Arab listeners, in the Arab countries and abroad, the allegation that American and British planes were flying cover for Israeli fighters thereby neutralizing the Egyptian air force. These broadcasts in the Arab world were effective, and Cairo propaganda effectively reinforced the hostility felt by the Arab populations towards the United States.

The immediate results of those broadcasts was violent anti-American demonstrations throughout the Arab world, which led to the severing of diplomatic relations between many Arab countries and the United States. Egypt indeed succeeded in maintaining its stature as the Arab world's most influential broadcaster.

The Arab governments countered the Egyptian propaganda through two different means: First, the anti-Egypt Arab leaders attempted to prevent the "Egyptian message" from reaching the target. They tried to do that by jamming the Egyptian radio services, particularly the "Voice of the Arabs." For example, as early as 1954, the Iraqi
government installed six jammers in different locations in the country. The same technique was later used by Jordan and Saudi Arabia, banning listening to Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs." Second: the anti-Egypt Arab leaders attacked with their own counter-propaganda campaigns against Egypt; they were often verbally more vicious and spiteful than Egypt was.

The major argument of the anti-Egypt propagandists rested on the concentration and emphasis on the alleged "dictatorial" and "communist" characteristics of the Egyptian political system. However, the anti-Egypt propaganda did not match the effectiveness of Egyptian propaganda, partly because of Egypt's supremacy in the fields of communication and culture and because Egypt's "Arab nationalist", anti-imperialist, appeals fitted neatly within the prevalent perceptual patterns of the majority of the Arab listeners. In this respect, the perceived "dependence" of most of anti-Egypt Arab governments in the Arab world on Western powers added credibility to Egypt's "messages." On the other hand, the emphasis of propaganda campaigns against Egypt on Nasser's dictatorial and oppressive rule lacked authenticity in the face of his clear popularity in Egypt and the rest of the Arab countries.

There can be no doubt that propaganda was an extremely effective instrument of Egyptian foreign policy in the Arab
world during the era of President Nasser, but it also had it "Achilles heel." Although it achieved considerable success, it did not, however, mean that Egypt's propaganda was free of shortcomings. One such shortcoming was its lack of consistency due to the shifts in Egypt's foreign policy from an activist's revolutionary orientation to a "static status quo" state or condition, and vice versa. In addition to that, those responsible for the propaganda were too impatient; they wanted quick results and they used propaganda as a tactical weapon rather than for strategic purposes.

Technically, radio can be utilized as a tactical weapon to promote some very important operations during war; but during times of peace, such utilization is invariably detrimental and harmful to the good name of radio, and audiences lose trust and confidence in its reliability. This was the cardinal mistake committed by the Egyptian propagandists. However by 1970, propaganda began to lose much of its pre-1967 significance, and it ceased to constitute an effective instrument of Egypt's foreign policy in the Arab world.
CHAPTER V
NOTES


3. Ibid.


9. Ibid., p. 12


12. Ibid.


20 Ibid., pp. 3, 6.


22 Dawisha, Egypt in the Arab World, pp. 181, 192.

23 Ibid., p. 1.

24 Ibid., p. 193.

25 Ibid., p. 194.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid., p. 191.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., pp. 195, 200.

30 Ibid., p. 172.

31 Al-Ahram, 21 October 1953; Dawisha, Egypt in the Arab World, p. 164.

32 Ibrahim el-Sheikh, Mass Media and Ideological Change in Egypt (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 1977), pp. 70-71.


34 Dawisha, Egypt in the Arab World, pp. 172-173.

36 Ibid., p. 102.


38 Ibid., p. 171.


40 Ibid., p. 195.


43 Ibid., p. 16.

44 Lengyel, Egypt's Role in World Affairs, p. 44.

45 Ibid., p. 46.


47 Lengyel, Egypt's Role in World Affairs, p. 46.

48 Green, "Egyptian Broadcasting," p. 16.

49 Ibid., p. 31.


52 Ibid., p. 85.


54 Lengyel, Egypt's Role in World Affairs, pp. 46-47; Nutting, Nasser, p. 76.
55 Ibid., p. 47.
56 Ibid.
57 Green, "Egyptian Broadcasting," p. 16.
58 Wilber, United Arab Republic, p. 235.
60 A. Loya, "Radio Propaganda of the United Arab Republic," p. 103.
61 Ibid.
62 Dawisha, Egypt in the Arab World, p. 11.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid., pp. 104-105.
66 Ibid., p. 105.
67 Ibid.
68 Ibid., p. 106.
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70 Ibid.
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73 Ibid., p. 107.
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75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
78 Ibid., p. 108.
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80 Ibid., p. 109.
81 Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World*, p. 11.
84 Ibid., p. 77.
87 Ibid., p. 13.
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96 Ibid., p. 14.
97 Ibid., p. 184.
100 Ibid., p. 16.
101 Ibid., p. 21.
102 Ibid., p. 171.
103 Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World*, pp. 22-23.

104 Ibid.


107 Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World*, p. 15.

108 Ibid., p. 16.


110 Ibid., pp. 381-385.

111 Ibid., pp. 380-389.

112 Ibid., p. 389.


124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.


128 Ibid.

129 Ibid.


131 Dawisha, Egypt in the Arab World, pp. 165-166.

132 Ibid., p. 166.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid., pp. 166-167.

135 Ibid., p. 167.

136 Ibid., p. 168.

137 Ibid.

138 Ibid., pp. 168-169.


140 Dawisha, Egypt in the Arab World, pp. 169-170.


142 Lee et al., The Fine Art of Propaganda, pp. 23-24, 105.

143 Dawisha, Egypt in the Arab World, p. 170.

144 Ibid., p. 170.

145 Ibid.


147 Ibid., p. 108.


150 Dawisha, Egypt in the Arab World, p. 171.

151 Ibid.

152 Boyd, Broadcasting in the Arab World, p. xiii.

153 Ibid., pp. 32-33.

154 Ibid., p. 33.

155 Ibid., p. 171.

156 Ibid., p. 172.

157 Ibid.


159 Ibid.


161 Dawisha, Egypt in the Arab World, p. 173.
CHAPTER VI

RADIO CAIRO AS AN INSTRUMENT OF-political persuasion—The rhetoric of president sadat and nasser over radio Cairo

Introduction

Rhetoric is the study of men persuading men to make free choices; it is the art of persuasion and the art of effective communication of thought.\(^1\) Persuasion is a communication process in which the communicator seeks to elicit a desired response from his receiver. All communication can be viewed as persuasion.\(^2\) Rhetoric is the art of persuasion; it is an organized, consistent, coherent way of talking about practical discourse in a written or oral form; marked by an orderly or logical relation of parts that afford comprehension or recognition, it seeks to inform, evaluate, or persuade. This is to distinguish practical discourse from discourse that seeks to please, elevate, depict, or describe.\(^3\) Rhetoric is essentially related to situation; it comes into existence for the sake of something beyond itself; it performs some task; it functions to produce action or change in the world; and it is a mode of altering reality by the creation of discourse which changes reality through the mediation of thought and action.

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Rhetoric changes reality by creating a discourse of such a character that the audience, so engaged in thought and action, becomes the mediator of change. In this sense, rhetoric is always persuasive, aimed at affecting change, and comes into existence as a response to a situation. A rhetorical situation exists as a necessary condition for rhetorical discourse and is the source and ground of rhetorical activity. Rhetoric is based on values, understanding, and action. The goal of rhetoric, according to Chaim Perlman, "is to intensify an adherence to value, to create a disposition to act, and finally, to bring people to act."

The Arab culture is traditionally an oral culture. Thus rhetoric is most effective in the Arab world when it is transmitted orally. The primary medium of this transmission has been, and in many places still is, radio, which has few rivals as a source of information and entertainment. However, in the era of President Sadat, television also played an increasingly important role. Some authors and writers argue that President Sadat was extensively covered by broadcasting, in the same manner Nasser was; Sadat, however, was never so commanding an orator as was Nasser.

It is the purpose of this chapter to explain the rhetorical principles, and the rhetorical necessities in
the rhetoric of Presidents Nasser and Sadat and to examine the rhetoric of President Sadat and its role in the peace process in the Middle East; or in other words, to examine the rhetoric of President Sadat as a mode of altering reality in the Middle East as a persuasive rhetoric, and it will also be determined

a) Whether or not he was a commanding rhetor compared to Nasser.

b) How he influenced and persuaded two-thirds of the Arab world to support his mission to Israel on November 22, 1977\(^7\) and the effect he created therein, and how his administrative rhetoric captured the imagination of the entire world, and won him a resounding victory in the contest for world public opinion.\(^8\)

c) How he justified the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty with Israel through his rhetoric and address.

d) How he addressed the masses in the Arab world in order to persuade them.

e) How he planned the use of mass communication to affect the minds and emotions of the Arab nation in order to achieve strategic and tactical objectives.
President Nasser was a gifted orator, and possessed an extraordinary verbal ability. He was different from most other Arab leaders who came to power in the 1950s. He was a sophisticated ruler with understanding of the oral Arab culture, and the power and emotionalism of the Arabic language. In addition to that, he had a wider vision of his leadership than some people thought. The rhetorical principles in the rhetoric of Nasser and his frequent speeches could be summarized as follows:

1) anti-imperialism and "lackeys of colonialism" principle;
2) Arabism principle;
3) prestige principle; and
4) leadership.

Anti-imperialism and "Lackeys of Colonialism Principle"

This principle was used in its functional role as a justification for Egyptian policies. The concept of "divide and rule" constituted a recurring theme in Nasser's speeches and interviews. Nasser stressed in a major address that

Through the years, imperialism was working for the division of the Arab world. Imperialism wanted to sow the seeds of dissent among the Arab states. Not only was imperialism against the unity of the Arabs, but it
was against their unity of purpose, because in spite of artificial boundaries, the unity of purpose had always constituted a powerful force which was able, over the years, to confront imperialism.12

Another function of the anti-imperialism principle in Nasser's public addresses relates to its role as a legitimizing factor. Legitimacy, in this respect, refers to the acceptance by the Egyptian people first and by the Arab nation. No doubt the authority and prestige of Nasser throughout the 1950s and 1960s was enhanced by his anti-imperialist policies.13

The Arabism Principle

Egypt's involvement in regional Arab politics, particularly after the Baghdad Pact, intensified Egypt's identification with "Arabism" and became more profound. In his public speeches over Radio Cairo, Nasser frequently and repeatedly declared that "Arab nationalism is not a word or a 'motto,' it is a great and a high principle." In short, the Egyptian radio broadcasts, which usually carried the public speeches of Nasser, stressed the nationalist ideology.

After [the] Baghdad Pact . . . it was soon realized that the most effective method was to appeal directly to the fermenting nationalist and anti-West sentiment by using Nasser's personality and his rhetorical ability, and by utilizing an innovation rapidly spreading in through the Middle East—the transistor radio.14

"Arabism" was also used by the Egyptian leader to justify and mobilize support for Egyptian policies. Nasser
explained that Egypt intervened in Yemen because:

We felt that we were doing a duty imposed upon us by the principles which we have upheld for the sake of the unity of the Arab struggle.15

The Leadership Principle

The rhetoric of President Nasser closely reflected his perception of Egypt's leading role in the Arab world. Nasser proclaimed,

History is . . . charged with great heroic roles which don't find actors to play them on the stage. I do not know why I always imagine that in this region in which we live, there is a role wandering aimlessly about seeking an actor to play it. I do not know why this role . . . should at least settle down, weary and worn out, on our frontiers beckoning us to move, to dress up for it and to perform it since there is nobody else who could do so . . . we and only we, are impelled by our environment and are capable of performing this role.16

However, in Nasser's speeches we find interchangeable references to Egypt's centrality, and Nasser's leadership of the Arab nationalist movement.17

The Prestige Principle

The analysis of Nasser's speeches indicates his concern and evaluation of the crucial and critical role of dignity in the determination of Egypt's policies. Egypt's dignity and prestige were repeatedly endorsed and emphasized by Nasser's speeches.

In December 1964, the U.S. ambassador conveyed and imparted his government's "concern" over Egypt's attitudes
to Yemen and the Congo and pointed out that it might affect U.S. food shipments to Egypt. Nasser, in a major speech, angrily replied:

I am telling those who do not approve of our behavior to go and drink the Mediterranean and if this is not enough, then they can try the Red Sea as well. We are not prepared to sell our independence for thirty, forty, or fifty million pounds. Furthermore, we shall cut the tongue of anyone who dares to insult us. . . . We do not tolerate pressure and we do not accept humiliation. We are a people whose dignity cannot be sacrificed, not even for a thousand million pounds.

The dignity of the Egyptian people and the prestige of Egypt constituted the central and basic principle in the rhetoric of Nasser. His speeches to the Egyptian people and the Arab listeners were rhetorically brilliant. They would last several hours, filled with witty remarks directed at anti-Egypt Arab leaders. By manipulating the Arabic language, he coined many slogans which became widely used in the Arab world. However, Nasser's speeches were mainly educational, containing much information about Egypt's economic, social, and foreign policies.

The peculiar characteristic of Nasser as a commanding rhetor was his radio personality and his rhetorical ability which helped and enabled him to "get across." Another noticeable trait was the feeling of intimacy in his style of public speaking, making the masses feel that they shared with him the most closely-guarded secrets of the state. His speeches were filled with phrases such as "between you and
me," "brothers, let me tell you frankly," and "today we are being frank with each other."²¹

This technique gave the masses an impression of accessibility to the decision-making process, and informed them of local and foreign policies, assuring them that his information to them was always precise and accurate and correct.

By using Nasser's rhetorical ability and his increasing popularity among the Arab populations, Egypt was the first country in the region, and in the Arab world as well, to use propaganda as a major instrument for attaining Egyptian objectives.²²

The Rhetoric of President Sadat

President Sadat, as a successor of the late Nasser, initially deviated little in his rhetoric from such cherished Nasserite principles as Arabism, anti-imperialism, the prestige principle, and the leadership of the Arab revolutionary struggle. In a major speech to the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) in November 1970, Sadat reiterated these principles with the same strength, rigour, enthusiasm, and intensity as Nasser.²³ On anti-imperialism, Sadat promised that,

All efforts, manpower, and economic resources will be mobilized until victory against Zionism and imperialism is achieved."²⁴
On the issue of Arabism, Sadat claimed that,

The fact that we belong to the Arab nation both historically and by common destiny (impels us) to work to unite Arab action.25

Furthermore, efforts at such unity, Sadat stressed, "impose on our people the duty of leading and serving as the vanguard in the Arab revolutionary role."26

However, as his domestic power and authority increased, President Sadat began gradually to modify and change the Nasserite principles according to certain precepts and principles he held of the global and regional systems, which imposed a particular standard of action or conduct. Within this context, Nasser's anti-imperialistic struggle was narrowed by Sadat into an exclusively anti-Zionist campaign.27 Actually, Nasser's vehement anti-Western orientation had been almost entirely and completely reversed and changed to move in an opposite direction. This is particularly true in the case of the United States, which had constituted the major focus and Center of interest and activity to Nasser's anti-imperialist campaign.

The United States replaced the Soviet Union as Egypt's trusted ally in the era of President Sadat. Meanwhile, as Egypt's attitudes towards the Eastern block grew more ambivalent,28 her relations with the Western countries as a whole, particularly the western European countries, revived and became overtly warm and cordial.
This transition at the global level led to a change in Egypt's attitudes at the regional level. As a result, the conservative pro-Western Arab regimes, who were Nasser's major enemies in the area, became Sadat's main allies and supporters.

Egypt's involvement in the Arab world also reflected a change in its attitude towards Arab nationalism. Sadat gradually began to increase emphasis on Egyptian affairs. In a speech delivered by Sadat in July 1972, he declared,

> In the forthcoming battle with Israel, Egyptian patriotism and Arab nationalism will, if necessary, be alone in the field. This imposes on us an organized program of action regarding Egyptian patriotism, and to safeguard it with domestic unity.

On many occasions Sadat asserted that his first responsibility was to Egypt. Such an assertion was a far cry from Nasser's often repeated statements that his, and Egypt's, responsibility was to the Arab nation as a whole. This transition in the Egyptian attitude toward the Arab countries was not confined to the leadership alone, but it reflected the orientation of the Egyptian people as a whole. Like President Nasser before, the rhetoric of President Sadat emphasized Egypt's "prestige" and the "dignity" of her people. In a speech to air force pilots in November 1971, Sadat declared,

> ... All hopes for a peaceful solution with Israel had come to an end, and nothing remains but to fight to regain our land, honour, and dignity.
However, Egypt's centrality and leadership in the Arab world continued throughout the era of President Sadat. In spite of Sadat's assertion that his first responsibility was to Egypt, Sadat emphasized in his speeches on various occasions Egypt's centrality and leadership in the Arab world. "It is Egypt who bears the major responsibility." Sadat asserted Egypt's leadership in his speech to the Israeli Knesset, which will be discussed in the following section.

One factor which remained unchanging and invariable throughout the leadership of Nasser and Sadat was the Egyptian and Arab elite's perception of Egypt's centrality and leading role in the Arab world. However, Sadat lacked the charismatic authority of Nasser.

The Post-1973 Period

The Administrative Rhetoric of President Sadat from the Time of his Visit to Israel (November 19-22, 1977) to the Peace Treaty at Camp David (March 1979)

The Peace Mission--The Cronkite Summit. In the era of President Anwar el-Sadat, Egyptian broadcasting tended to reflect the changing international political orientation of the country more than any other Egyptian mass medium. President Sadat announced in the Egyptian parliament (the People's Assembly) on November 9, 1977 that his dedication to peace was so great that,
I would go even to the home of Israelis, to the Knesset, to discuss peace with them. ... I am ready to go to Geneva. ... I would go to the end of the world to spare an injury to one of our men, much more the death of one. Israel must be greatly surprised to hear me say that I am even ready to go to the Knesset and discuss with them.37

In the same speech on the occasion of the inaugural session of the People's Assembly on November 9, 1977, President Sadat asserted and enhanced Egypt's leadership and centrality in the Arab world. He declared,

Egypt's destiny was and still is to bear the greatest burden in any confrontation between the Arab nation and its enemies or those coveting it. This is a tax that the Egyptian people accept willingly out of conviction, and not surrendering to fate. It is a deliberate choice as they are convinced of the need for struggle, while fully aware of its serious consequences, unlimited dangers and the sacrifices involved, whether material or on the battlefield.38

President Sadat continued:

... our nation was true to itself when it waged its glorious battle four years ago, as has been and still continues to be true to its call for peace, and to its desire to establish such in the area.39

When Begin was quoted in U.S. newspapers as welcoming a visit from Sadat, it was at this time that CBS scheduled a taped satellite interview between Walter Cronkite and Sadat.40 The two men had met each other on several previous occasions. They taped an exchange the following Monday, November 14, 1977.41

The network's Tel-Aviv bureau manager, Joel Bernstein, caught up with Begin six and one-half hours later at the
city's Hilton Hotel, and from a room that CBS had hastily rented and equipped with a satellite link to New York, Cronkite and Begin taped a long-distance interview. Two and a half minutes of highlights were fit together with three and one-third minutes of Cronkite's earlier Sadat interview and broadcast that night on "The Evening News."

The CBS presentation that night, opening with pictures of Sadat and Begin on a split screen behind Cronkite, almost made it seem as if Cronkite had actually sat down with the two leaders to work out the arrangements. "I'm just waiting for the proper invitation," said Sadat. Cronkite asked how such an invitation could be transmitted between countries that have no formal relations. "Why not through our mutual friend, the American?" Sadat replied. He stated that his only condition was that he be allowed to discuss the situation with the 120 members of the Knesset.

Begin told Cronkite that he planned to send a letter the next day through the U.S. ambassadors in Tel-Aviv and Cairo. "Let us sit together and talk peace," Begin said. The anchor man beamed, after Egyptian President Sadat and Israeli Premier Begin were shown agreeing on Cronkite's "CBS Evening News" to schedule their historic meeting in Jerusalem. Says Cronkite, "We knew we were on top of something big."

Newspapers around the country credited Cronkite with clearing the way for a meeting. Only television, print
According to journalist William Safire, it was a matter of a couple of good interviews coming at the right time, said William J. Small, Senior Vice President of CBS, "Both sides have a vested interest in the world knowing what they said."
he presented the Arab case to the Knesset. Sadat's trip was an event of epic proportions, the first official visit to Israel by an Arab leader since the Jewish state was created in 1948. No one expected the Egyptian president's dramatic gesture to resolve thirty years of conflict between Arabs and Jews, but the consensus of Mideast experts was that Sadat succeeded in changing entirely the dynamics of that conflict.51

Of all the historic moments in Sadat's visit, his speech on Sunday (November 20, 1977) to the Israeli Knesset was the most important.52 In this address, he set out the terms and conditions for peace with the Arab world. An analysis of the speech delivered by the late President Sadat, and his other speeches later at home regarding the Camp David Accords and the separate peace treaty with Israel, show three major issues, or themes:

1) Egypt's leadership in the peace process in the Middle East
2) The right of the Palestinian people to a national homeland
3) Israel's right to exist

Sadat's decision to make his historic trip to Israel demonstrated that he, more than any other Arab leader, was bent on ending the thirty-year Mideast conflict.53 Sadat stressed Egypt's leadership in his speech to the Israeli Knesset by saying,
If God Almighty has made it my fate to assume the responsibility on behalf of the Egyptian people, and the entire Arab nation to save them from the horrors of new, shocking and destructive wars.

In his speech to the Egyptian parliament and to the Israeli Knesset, Sadat insisted that he had no intention of seeking a separate peace with Israel. His only purpose in offering to go to Israel, he maintained, was to present the Arabs' case and their demands directly to the Knesset.

In his speech to the Knesset he asserted,

I did not come to you to conclude a separate agreement between Egypt and Israel, for this has no place in Egyptian policy. The problem does not concern Egypt and Israel alone. Hence, any separate peace between Egypt and Israel or between any of the front-line states and Israel is bound to fall short of establishing a durable and just peace in the entire area. Furthermore, it would not be possible to achieve the just and durable peace so pressingly advocated by the entire world in the absence of a just solution to the Palestine problem even though peace may have been achieved between all the front-line states and Israel.

He continued:

I came here to you to build together a durable and just peace and to prevent any Arab or Israeli bloodshed.

In an effort to win acceptance by the Israelis, Sadat presented the Arab's case and their demands and not in a single word did he deviate from the traditional Arab demands. He was not sparing in harsh phrases aimed at Israel's being an aggressor and the source and cause of the conflict. "Between us and you," he said, "there has been a great, high wall that you have been trying to build up for
twenty-five years. "57 Such being the case, all he was demanding was unconditional surrender.

To be explicit, our land cannot be the object of bargaining. None of us can, nor agree, to give up even an inch of it, nor anyone of us agree to the principle of discussion or bargaining over it. I have to tell you unhesitatingly that I didn't come to you in this place to ask you to evacuate your forces from the occupied land. The complete withdrawal from the Arab land captured in 1967 goes without saying. We shall not agree to discuss it with anybody or make it the subject of a request from anybody. This is Arab land which Israel occupied by force of arms, and continues to occupy it, and we insist on the fulfillment of the complete withdrawal from all of it, including Arab Jerusalem.58

In his speeches, Sadat did not in a single word deviate from the Arabs' demands. The demands, spelled out by Sadat, were as follows:

1) The return of all occupied territory

2) The establishment of a Palestinian state and participation of the Palestinians in any future peace negotiations.59

President Sadat, in all his speeches, endeavored to convince the other Arabs of the necessity of founding a comprehensive, durable, and just peace settlement in all parts of the area under Egypt's leadership.

The Right of the Palestinian People for a National Homeland

In most of his addresses, President Sadat laid out the terms and conditions for peace with the Arab world. His
rhetoric shows that Egypt recognized the core of the problem: "... a national home for the Palestinian people." In his speech to the Israeli Knesset, Sadat stressed the Palestinian question:

The Palestinian question is the root and core of the problem. The legitimate rights of the Palestinians cannot be ignored or denied and as long as this problem is not solved the conflict will increase and grow to new dimension ... peace cannot be realized without the Palestinians ... The way to achieve a just and lasting peace is that the Palestinian state should be established. 60

President Sadat intended to outline the issues dividing the Arabs and Israelis and to reiterate the Arab's view that total withdrawal from occupied territory and the creation of a Palestinian homeland were prerequisites for a Mideast peace. In the same speech to the Israeli Knesset, Sadat reminded the masses of Israel's fight for self-determination thirty years before and urged the Israelis to grant the same right to the Palestinians. 61 On every occasion and in every speech, Sadat emphasized that Egypt was insisting on "a total withdrawal from the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights and the creation of a Palestinian entity." This phrase was repeatedly used by the Egyptian president. He repeatedly called for the recognition of the "core of the problem, and "a national home for the Palestinian people." These words were key words used by President Sadat. Other phrases often used by him were,
1) "Egypt is insisting not to ignore any rights of the Palestinian people."
2) "... achievement of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people."
3) "... including their right to establish their own state."62

Before, during, and after the visit, Sadat made it clear that a solution to the Palestinian problem was the key to any Middle East peace settlement.63

He emphasized that "the Palestinians should participate in the determination of their own future." On the grounds that there must be a resolution of the Palestinian problem and a homeland for the Palestinians as an integral part of the peace settlement envisaged, the phrase, "a homeland for the Palestinian people," was the key wording in the Egyptian president's campaign for peace in the Middle East.

In all faith I tell you that peace cannot be achieved without the Palestinian. It would be a grave error with unpredictable consequences to ignore or brush aside this cause.64

Sadat made it clear also that without a solution for the Palestinian refugee problem, there could be no durable peace in the region. He insisted on the recognition of the Arab Palestinian people as a national entity, with the right to self-determination in their part of the common
homeland: "The (Palestinians) have the right to participate in deciding their own future." "The right of the Palestinian people in deciding their own future" was a phrase repeatedly used by President Sadat. He later confirmed that the Camp David Agreements were a real step toward a comprehensive, durable peace which secured the Palestinians' right. He assured the Palestinian people that autonomy "is the first step on the road to self-determination and statehood." But Sadat had a rough time trying to convince other Arab leaders (the rejectionists) that face-to-face negotiations were not really a way of selling out the Arab cause.

Israel's Right to Exist

In his address to the Israeli Knesset, Sadat emphasized that his trip to Israel broke down the barrier of suspicion, fear, illusion, and misinterpretation that for so long had prevented the two neighbors from even talking about peace.

In the strongest acknowledgement ever made by an Arab leader of Israel's right to exist, Sadat welcomed the Israelis to live peacefully in this part of the world.

... this psychological barrier is what I meant when I said in official statements that it constitutes seventy percent of the problem.

Sadat continued,
I have come to you in order that we may build together a lasting and just peace, in order that no drop of blood may be shed by either party. . . . You would like to live with us in this region of the world, and I tell you in all honesty that we welcome you among us. . . . This corner is yours.

Today, I proclaim to the whole world that we accept to live with you in lasting and just peace. We don't want to surround you, or have you surround us with missiles of hatred.

. . . I tell you today, and declare to the whole world, that we accept to live with you in durable and just peace. We do not want to encircle each other with rockets ready to destroy or with missiles of feuds and hatred. I have declared more than once that Israel has become an established fact recognized by the entire world. The two super-powers have committed themselves to security and the safeguarding of its existence.

Sadat added that Egypt would accept all the international guarantees that Israel might require. He then moved to explain that the Arab states had rejected Israel in the past, refusing to meet its representatives, "But today, we agree to live with you."  

After the Camp David Accords and the separate peace treaty, Sadat confirmed in his speeches and public addresses to the Egyptian people and to the rest of the Arab countries that what had passed was the end of suffering and what would come was a new life. He asserted that the Camp David Agreements were a settlement acknowledging the existence of a Jewish state. "We accept to live with (Israel) in a lasting and just peace." This was recognition of Israel's right to exist; thus Sadat was
recognizing both Israel as a state, and its right to exist.71

After his visit to Israel on November 19, 1977, Sadat, through his addresses and speeches, helped to accomplish the recognition of Israel's right to exist in the area of the Middle East. "We truly welcome you to live among us in peace and security."72

Through his visit and a tough but compassionate speech to the Knesset, and his other speeches, Sadat had acknowledged Israel's right to exist in a way few Israelis ever expected from an Arab leader.73

The Reaction to Sadat's Speech in the Arab World

Through his visit to Israel and his speeches to the Israeli Knesset, Sadat, in fact, had split the Arab world.74 Sadat's Israel visit received a mixed welcome in Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan, Oman, Jordan, Somalia, and Saudi Arabia.

The strongest opposition came from Syria and the PLO. They took the lead in organizing a new rejectionist coalition directed against Sadat's diplomacy. At a meeting in Tripoli that Libya held in December of 1977, the Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation was formed. The two co-founders were joined by Algeria, Iraq, Libya, and South Yemen. In Tripoli, Libya, the Front issued a declaration,
attacking Sadat's initiative as a "great betrayal" of the principles of the Arab nation and called for a "freeze" in diplomatic and political relations with Egypt. It also called for an Arab economic boycott with Egypt and future consideration of withdrawing Arab League headquarters from Cairo.75

Sadat's speech was more effective in the moderate Arab states (Tunisia, Morocco, Sudan, Jordan, Oman, Somalia, and Saudi Arabia) than in the radical states (Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Libya, and Southern Yemen).76

In Egypt, Sadat had notable success in affecting both the masses and public opinion. Most Egyptians greeted Sadat's decision to visit Israel, and the Camp David Agreements later, with relief and approval. They hailed Sadat as the "Peace Hero" and the "Savior of the Masses." President Sadat was welcomed home from Israel and acclaimed as the "Man of Peace" by hundreds of thousands of Egyptians. "The crowds cheered, laughed, chanted, clapped, whistled," and proclaimed "with our souls, and our blood we redeem you, Sadat." Hundreds of thousands lined the twenty-mile route President Sadat took from the airport to his residence in Geza, when he returned from Israel.77

Many Arab states appeared ready to give Sadat a chance to bring peace. Tunisia, Morocco, Sudan, Oman, and Somalia
openly endorsed Sadat's peace mission to Israel (later endorsing the Camp David Agreements) and gave President Sadat their approval. Saudi Arabia and Jordan were cautiously leaning toward support of Sadat's initiative.78

Jordanian officials believed that Sadat opened the way to peace by his trip and his speech at the Knesset. They added that Sadat's peace mission to Israel had achieved its purposes, opening and paving the road to progress toward a Middle East peace settlement.79

Opponents of the visit and the speech (to the Israeli Knesset) included Kuwait, Syria, Libya, Iraq, Algeria, Southern Yemen, and the PLO. These states were opposed to Sadat's rhetoric, and Sadat was denounced furiously as a traitor to the cause. Libya closed its docks and airports to any traffic arriving from Egypt.80

These countries opposed a negotiated peace settlement.81 PLO leaders were worried that they might end up as the losers in the new Middle East diplomatic moves. Their fears were intensified when Sadat spoke to the Knesset about Palestinian rights to a homeland, and did not mention the PLO, which Arab leaders, at their 1974 Rabat Summit (in Morocco) had designated as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.82

The Arab states, composing the "Front of steadfastness and confrontation," exploded in criticism and violent
demonstrations. They feared that Sadat would conclude a separate peace with Israel.  

These "Front" states accused Sadat of a humiliating surrender, in his appearance before the Israeli parliament. The omission of any mention of the PLO was seen among the "Front" states as an important concession by the Egyptian leader to the U.S.A. and Israel, neither of which recognized the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). However, the major concession made by Sadat, in the view of the "Front" states, was his acceptance and declaration that,  

"Israel must live with its own borders, with its Arab neighbors, with all the international guarantees afforded to it." Thus, the Arabs expressed a mixture of anger and praise for Sadat's trip to Israel and his speech there.  

In Egypt itself, the most powerful opposition to Sadat came from the Nasserites, the left, and the Muslim Brotherhood (Al Ikwan al Muslimun), who rejected Sadat's rapprochement with Israel.  

The moderate Arab states believed that Sadat had opened the way to peace by his trip and his discourse to the Israeli Knesset. They also believed that his speech brought hope for resuming the Geneva Peace Conference within a new framework.
Television Goes into Diplomacy

The events of Anwar el-Sadat's mission to Israel on November 22, 1977, appeared to many to have been profoundly influenced by the participation of television, its superstars, and its world audience.

CBS's Walter Cronkite served as a kind of electronic matchmaker in helping to set up the visit (though it undoubtedly would have occurred in any case).

During Sadat's flight, three of his four journalist guests on the plane were ABC's Barbara Walters, Walter Cronkite, and NBC's John Chancellor. For three days, the late 20th century's video technology monitored the principals in one of the planet's oldest enmities, as they performed for the world on their Biblical homeground. The effect was both eerie and complicated. Time Magazine, in its issue the week following the event, raised some interesting and important questions of the role of television in this historic event by asking,

Was there something potentially sinister about television's intrusion into this striking moment of history? Or did TV in fact, serve history well in the episode? Or was TV, as the networks defensively insist, merely a neutral professional, bouncing its image off a satellite with no intention or effect beyond good journalism? Oddly enough, the answer to all these questions is probably "yes."

There can be no doubt that the presence of television changed the significance of Sadat's visit. President Sadat
confirmed in his speech that 70 percent of the Middle East problem is psychological—and television produced delightful effects in creating a new psychology in Israel and Egypt, if not in the rest of the region. Television certainly influenced the way that Begin and Sadat behaved, because they knew that "the whole world is watching." They both seemed to have realized quite well the effect and the influence they were creating; and they probably consciously used the medium.

Television, plus the very nature of the event, enhanced their behavior and their gestures—which in this case were gestures in the right direction. "It was purely as a wide, onlooking eye that television served a magnificent function." As television critic, Michael Arlen, remarked, "TV is a kind of language that people have learned how to read." McLuhan himself took a benign view of the Sadat visit. That visit, he believed, "was the human family sitting down together. It bypassed history unexpectedly."

The Rhetorical Necessities in the Rhetoric of Presidents Nasser and Sadat—An Analysis

The necessities of good rhetoric are:

a) unity;
b) coherence;
c) emphasis; and
d) credibility.

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The necessities of good rhetoric are:

a) unity;
b) coherence;
c) emphasis; and
d) credibility.
Unity. Unity may be maintained by dealing with a single subject, relating all relevant material to the central and main idea of the speech.

Coherence. Coherence can be attained by making the divisions of the talk clear and the steps in the progress of the thought apparent; in other words, the speech should stick together.97

Emphasis. Emphasis should be placed on the ideas and material which need emphasis, particularly the central idea. Emphasis is aided by such phrases as "and this is the most important point of all" or "if you forget everything else I say, I want you to remember this." Such phrases are elemental but effective methods of accomplishing emphasis where desired to make the central idea clear and interesting and persuasive.98

The Speaker Credibility. The components which affect our perceptions of a speaker's credibility are

1) competence;
2) trustworthiness; and
3) dynamism.

Our perception of a speaker's credibility is probably an overall or wholistic response. When Aristotle spoke of "ethos," he explained that it included the honesty and expertness of a speaker. The competence component refers to this expertness. When Aristotle discussed the
importance of honesty, he was concerned with what is today called trustworthiness. The speaker's "goodness" and ethics, and the social confidence we have in the speaker, all greatly affect credibility. The way we perceive a speaker in terms of his energy level and responsiveness to us is referred to as the dynamism component. These three components—competence, trustworthiness, and dynamism—work together as a whole to, in turn, produce a wholistic perception of a speaker's credibility. The speaker's credibility determines, to a great extent, the way in which his/her messages will be received and/or accepted. The more competent, trustworthy, and dynamic the speaker is perceived to be, the more effective he/she will be in getting his/her message accepted.

The analysis of the speeches and public addresses of both President Nasser and President Sadat reveals that these necessities of good rhetoric apply to President Nasser as well as to President Sadat. Both presidents maintained unity, coherence, and emphasis in their speeches. This is what made their talks clear and the steps in the progress of the thought apparent. To make the main or central idea clear, both of them used simple language of present use, understood by every listener in the Arab world.

Both of these leaders were credible sources, but Nasser surpassed Sadat in his radio personality, his
natural manner of delivery, and his overall rhetorical ability. By radio personality, I mean that Nasser had all the qualifications of a successful speaker to "get across." For example, if a good speaker or broadcaster has good material for a speech but fails for some reason to "get across," he is simply lacking "radio personality." Radio personality is not necessarily a college product. Sadat lacked the rhetorical ability and radio personality of Nasser. I believe that the success of Nasser as a speaker is measured by his ability to make the greatest possible number of listeners feel that he was talking to each individually, or person-to-person, which had tremendous appeal in speeches and public addresses.

On the other hand, the rhetoric of President Sadat was characterized by a high level of sincerity, not less than that of Nasser himself. In all his speeches, Sadat was honest, sincere, and credible. In all his speeches, Sadat kept his promises to the Egyptian people, and in his superb speech in the Knesset where he addressed the people of Israel, Sadat did not, in a single word, deviate from the traditional Arab demands. It is relevant to recall that Sadat was perhaps the most vehement of the Arab leaders in pronouncements against Israel and the most competent leader to start war on Israel.

In all his speeches, Sadat reiterated Egypt's conditions for a comprehensive, durable, and just peace
settlement. He insisted on Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and a just solution to the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. His position may be summed up by the announcement in all his speeches that there would never be a viable peace based on the occupation of other people's land.

According to the particular situation, the message was either rational or emotional. Due to the high level of illiteracy in the Arab world, President Sadat, as well as the Egyptian broadcasters, tended to follow the latter pattern. However, Sadat also utilized logical and rational appeals in his speeches in an attempt to convince and persuade the educated and elite people in the Arab world. His speeches were designed to affect the minds and emotions of the Arab nation in order to attain strategic and tactical objectives. Regarding his visit to Israel, his address to the Knesset, and his other speeches later at home concerning the Camp David Accords, Sadat was more effective in the moderate Arab states than in the radical Arab states. In Egypt itself, Sadat had notable success in affecting both the masses and public opinion. The majority of Egyptian people greeted Sadat's decision to visit Israel and the Camp David Agreements later with relief and approval. They hailed Sadat as the "Peace Hero" and the "Savior of the Masses."
We can say that Sadat achieved notable success in two-thirds of the Arab world, if we take into account the population of Egypt itself at that time (almost 41,000,000) and that of the moderate Arab states. Sadat's speech in Jerusalem captured the imagination of the entire world. Possessing all the hallmarks of historic drama, it became the "event of the year" in the American news media. Sadat had won a resounding victory in the contest for world public opinion, especially in the U.S.A. He became an overnight "international hero" for the courage he had displayed in launching such a daring peace initiative, in defiance of the radical Arab countries. In his trip to Israel and his speech at the Knesset, Sadat announced a major new policy, with flair and flamboyance seldom seen in Middle Eastern political history.

One of the major reversals in the 1970s was the televised image of Egypt. Researchers appear unanimous in the view that Sadat and his country became the beneficiaries of enormously more favorable coverage in the American news media, with favorable images of Egypt.

In a series of four surveys in 1978 and 1979, Gallup asked those Americans who followed Middle Eastern news, "Do you think Israel is or is not doing all it should do to bring about peace in the Middle East?" The identical question was posed for Egypt. In each of these surveys,
Americans were more likely to say that Egypt was doing more of what it should do for peace than was Israel.\textsuperscript{102}

The Harris Poll, in early January 1979, found a distinction in perceptions of the Arab states. "Americans were asked if particular countries really want a just peace in the Middle East;" at the top was Egypt.\textsuperscript{103} Bagnied and Schneider found in their study about American coverage and the Middle East that "Sadat was given intensely favorable treatment during his trip to Jerusalem in November 1977." Asi's study revealed that Sadat and Egypt received overwhelmingly favorable or at least neutral coverage in the American news media in 1979; prior to Sadat's trip, Egypt's coverage was much more negative. Gallup surveys showed a large increase in the proportion of people who were "highly favorable" toward Egypt.\textsuperscript{104}

Sadat's image was strengthened, further enhanced, and solidified as a "Westernized," rational, peaceful, and personable leader. Having acquired that status, Sadat was then able to speak to Americans, in modulated and moderate tones, on such key and important issues as the Palestinian problem. Sadat emerged in the American news media, particularly television, as the first Arab leader able to validate as worthy of discussion most of the accusations and indictments and major complaints about the state of Israel.\textsuperscript{105}
Several studies revealed increased television attention to the Palestinians and the PLO. Magda Bagnied and Steven Schneider indicate in 1977 that Sadat frequently discussed the Palestinian issue in a manner that helped to "legitimize the topic as a reasonable and important one." The Palestinians were frequently portrayed as "helpless," passive victims.106

Morad Asi pointed not only to the increase in the amount of coverage given the PLO, but to a sharp drop in the amount of negative coverage and an increase in the proportion of neutral coverage. The PLO received fairly large amounts of coverage in the American news media. Gallup Polls indicated increased support for an entirely independent Palestinian nation.107 By television standards, the Middle East problem had attained a high degree of attention.

The 1973 war and oil embargo was the turning point for a reorientation of Western media toward greater concern with the Middle East, for increased interest in Arab news and opinions, and for a growing awareness of the status and situation of the Palestinians.108 Sadat's trip to Jerusalem and his speech at the Knesset followed by the Camp David Accords represented a major new policy in Middle Eastern political affairs, and an important transition.109

While most media coverage was usually sympathetic to Israel, Sadat had won a resounding victory in the contest
of world public opinion. Many studies* concluded that in the late 1970s, television news coverage became increasingly critical of Israel, displaying less favorable images of Israel and leading to a decline of Israel's image throughout the late 1970s.\textsuperscript{110}

In sum, Sadat achieved a tremendous victory for Egypt in world public opinion. Shmuel Katz, in his book \textit{The Hollow Peace}, stated that "... they handed to Sadat on a silver platter a sympathetic public opinion."\textsuperscript{111} Sadat was making a tremendous impression. He was actually conducting propaganda against Israel. The powerful, personal impression Sadat made on people and the self-confidence and quiet tone with which he presented his unbending, inflexible, and unyielding attitudes, the moderate semantic garb in which he succeeded in clothing them, won the hearts of the different masses around the world. Sadat's victory and Israel's defeat in world public opinion reverberated and repeatedly reflected from one end of the world to the other. Nonetheless, Sadat said, "I have given Begin security and a legitimate status, and I have received nothing in return."\textsuperscript{112}

\footnotesize*Studies about American news media coverage and the Middle East by Morad Asi, Itzhak Roch, Magda Bagnied, and Steven Schneider.
Although Sadat was extensively covered by the broadcasting media in the same manner as Nasser was, he was, as noted earlier, never as commanding an orator as Nasser. President Nasser was clearly the most commanding orator in the Arab world. He was a sophisticated man, but he came from modest rural beginnings,\textsuperscript{113} and that gave him insight into how effective an orator could be, and how effective radio could be in conveying Arabic rhetoric for persuasion and propaganda purposes. His humble origins enabled him to understand how to communicate with the masses. Nasser had a natural rhetorical ability, a charismatic radio personality, and other characteristics that made him peculiarly fitted to be a rhetor, and which contributed to his uniqueness as a politician and commanding orator.

The success of President Sadat, on the other hand, depended upon the understanding, respect, and goodwill of the Egyptian people, and the support on the part of moderates in the rest of the Arab world. Professor James L. Golden et al. (1983) pointed out that one of the most classical examples of image change in the contemporary period occurred during the era and career of President Sadat. In his acknowledgement and recognition of Israel's right to exist, in demonstrating his willingness to go anywhere to achieve a comprehensive peace settlement for all parts of the Middle East, and in his journey to Israel
and speech to the Israeli Knesset (which would mark an historic breakthrough toward an Arab-Israeli peace), Sadat utilized a form of administrative rhetoric which deeply changed his image.\textsuperscript{114}

Whenever Sadat spoke out on the Middle East problem and the peace settlement, his ideas had an enormously positive effect and impact on public opinion in many countries of the world, particularly the United States and Israel. Consequently, this image-change played a key role in the Camp David Accords which ultimately were signed.\textsuperscript{115} Sadat consistently emerged as the more visually open and expressive leader. A strong image of Sadat as an active, friendly, expressive, and popular leader was enhanced.

William Adams states that Sadat was someone who listened and interacted as well as spoke:

By way of gestures, actions, and context, Sadat's television persona suggested what, using Barber's typology of political leadership styles, would be called "active-positive," an enthusiastic and assertive leader initiating bold new policies.\textsuperscript{116}

On the other hand, Sadat's rhetoric and speeches were at odds with what he had done. If there was a glaring weakness in the rhetoric and speeches of Sadat, it was the act of contradicting himself. He accomplished the opposite of what he had asserted and expressed in his speech at the Israeli Knesset. What he declared and confirmed therein was inconsistent and discrepant with his subsequent
actions. In his speech to the Knesset, Sadat confirmed that:

I did not come to you to conclude a separate agreement between Egypt and Israel, for this has no place in Egyptian policy. The problem does not concern Egypt and Israel alone, hence, any separate peace between Egypt and Israel or between any of the front line states and Israel is bound to fall short of establishing a durable and just peace in the Middle East.117

It was crucial for Sadat to show the Arab world that he was not seeking a separate peace. However, Sadat subsequently signed the Camp David Agreement followed by the separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel on March 26, 1979. This might be justified by Sadat's unequivocal assertion that his first responsibility was to Egypt.118 However, Sadat did not keep his promise to what he declared in his speech at the Knesset to the Arab nation. The Arab masses felt that Sadat had let them down by making a separate peace and bilateral peace treaty with Israel in exchange for the return of Sinai. Another contradiction between his speeches and discourses to the Egyptian people was that, when he promised, in his speeches, real power to the people and then gathered most of the government into his own hands. His open-door policy served only to widen the gap between the very rich and the teeming masses of the poor.119 On September 26, 1981, Sadat delivered at Mansura what was fated to be his last major speech. "As he
defended the imprisonment of his opponents," Sadat confirmed: "They have to understand that democracy has its own teeth."\textsuperscript{120}

Actually, democracy had ceased to exist in Sadat's Egypt.\textsuperscript{121} After Sadat's trip to Jerusalem and the Camp David Agreements, Menahem Begin's policies progressively destroyed Sadat's credibility and legitimacy by expanding Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank, annexing East Jerusalem, destroying Iraq's atomic reactor, and bombing Beirut, and Israel's invasion to Lebanon subsequently. While Israel withdrew from Sinai, Egypt kept its promises of diplomatic recognition and normalization in the era of President Husni Mubarak, until the Israeli invasion to Lebanon in 1982 whereas the Egyptian government recalled Egypt's ambassador to Israel. The Palestinian autonomy talks remained and came to a deadlock.\textsuperscript{122}
CHAPTER VI
NOTES


3 Golden, et al., The Rhetoric of Western Thought, pp. 18-21.

4 Ibid., pp. 18-24.

5 Ibid., pp. 10-12.


8 Shmuel Katz, The Hollow Peace (Drive & The Jerusalem Post, 1981), p. 188.


10 Boyd, Broadcasting in the Arab World, p. 18.

11 Dawisha, Egypt in the Arab World, pp. 125-138, 166.

12 Ibid., p. 125.

13 Ibid., pp. 128-129.

14 Ibid., pp. 129-130.

15 Ibid., pp. 131-132.


17 Ibid., p. 78.
18 Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World*, pp. 136-137.


20 Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World*, p. 112.

21 Ibid., pp. 112-113.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., p. 193.


26 Ibid.; Ibid.

27 Dawisha, *Egypt in the Arab World*, p. 194.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., p. 195; Al-Ahram (leading Egyptian newspaper), 26 July 1972, (in Arabic).


32 Ibid., p. 196; Al-Ahram (leading Egyptian newspaper), 23 Nov. 1971, (in Arabic).


34 Ibid., pp. 195-196.

35 Ibid., p. 201.


37 The Peace Initiatives of President Anwar el-Sadat, 1971-1977 (Cairo, Egypt: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1979), p. 143, (Arabic text); Al-Ahram (leading Egyptian

38 el-Sadat, Speeches and Interviews on the Occasion of his Visit to Jerusalem, p. 36.

39 Ibid., pp. 37-38.


42 Time 28 Nov. 1977, p. 47.


45 Time 28 Nov. 1977, p. 47.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 Newsweek, 28 Nov. 1977, p. 129.

49 Ibid., p. 47.


51 Newsweek, 28 Nov. 1977, p. 37.


55 el-Sadat, Speeches and Interviews on the Occasion of his Visit to Jerusalem, p. 154.

56 Ibid., p. 155.

58Ibid., p. 184; el-Sadat, Speeches and Interviews on the Occasion of his Visit to Jerusalem, p. 162.

59Al-Ahram, 15 Nov. 1977; Radio Cairo--Script, (Nov. 15, 1977) (Arabic text).

60el-Sadat, Speeches and Interviews on the Occasion of his Visit to Jerusalem, p. 163-164; Newsweek, Nov. 1977.


62Newsweek, 28 Nov. 1977; Radio Cairo--Script, (Nov. 15, 1977) (Arabic text); el-Sadat, Speeches and Interviews on the Occasion of his Visit to Jerusalem, p. 145-171

63Time, 5 Dec. 1977, p. 41.

64el-Sadat, Speeches and Interviews on the Occasion of his Visit to Jerusalem, p. 164.


67el-Sadat, Speeches and Interviews on the Occasion of his Visit to Jerusalem, p. 158.


69el-Sadat, Speeches and Interviews on the Occasion of his Visit to Jerusalem, p. 157.


74Ibid., p. 41; Chicago Tribune, 18-23, Nov. 1977.


77 Ibid. pp. 27-28; Al-Ahram, 18-24, Nov. 1977.

78 U.S. News and World Report, 28 Nov. 1977, p. 27.


89 Time, 5 Dec. 1977, p. 44.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid., pp. 44-45.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid.
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97 Lawton, Radio Speech, pp. 31-33.

98 Ibid., pp. 33-39.


100 Ibid., pp. 93-94.

101 Ibid., pp. 92-94.


103 Ibid., p. 18.

104 Ibid., p. 17.


106 Ibid., p. 19.

107 Ibid., p. 20.

108 Edmond Ghareeb, "The Arab Image in the American Media," May 9, 1985 lecture at The Ohio State University. Sponsored by the National Union of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Students (NUGAPS)

109 Ibid., p. 18.

110 Ibid., pp. 18-19.


114 Golden, et al., The Rhetoric of Western Thought, p. 300.

115 Ibid.


117 el-Sadat, Speeches and Interviews, p. 154.

118 Dawisha, Egypt in the Arab World, p. 195.

119 Bill, et al., Politics in the Middle East, pp. 231-233.


121 Ibid.

122 Ibid., pp. 205-206.
CHAPTER VII
RADIO CAIRO AS A VEHICLE OF PROPAGANDA FOR PEACE IN THE ERA OF PRESIDENT SADAT—ANALYSIS

Content Analysis of Some Political and News Programs in Cairo Radio's "Voice of the Arabs" Regarding Camp David Accords and the Separate Peace Treaty

The Camp David Summit Conference (September 5-17, 1978). At U.S. President Jimmy Carter's invitation, Israel's Prime Minister Menahem Begin and the Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat joined President Carter at Camp David in a last-chance effort to break the dangerous stalemate and deadlock in the Middle East.1

The Camp David conference started on the 5th of September and ended on the 17th. After thirteen days at Camp David, Egypt's President Sadat and Israel's Prime Minister Begin signed two agreements:2 The first agreement dealt with an overall Mideast settlement—the West Bank and Gaza framework; the second agreement was the Sinai Agreement and a plan for an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.3

The Meaning and Impact of the Camp David Agreements

The two agreements reached at Camp David represented an initial step toward a final peace settlement and involved only two parts in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The
first accord which provided a "framework" for overall Mideast settlement—dealing with the question of the West Bank and Gaza Strip—assumed that the Jordanian government could be quickly linked with the projected negotiations, along with representatives of the Palestinian people.\(^4\) Paragraph one of the framework agreement, headed the "West Bank and Gaza Strip," says, "Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the representatives of the Palestinian people should participate in negotiations on the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects."\(^5\)

Initially, Egypt and Israel would make overall arrangements for a five-year transitional period to ensure the peaceful and orderly transfer of the authority, the self-governing authority to be freely elected by the inhabitants of West Bank.\(^6\) After this election, both the Israeli military government and the civilian administration would be withdrawn, and would be replaced by Arab authority.

Secondly, Egypt, Israel, and Jordan would agree on "electoral modalities" for the self-governing authority, referred to as an administrative council. Palestinian representatives would join the delegations of Egypt and Jordan, and the four parties would define and determine the council's powers and responsibilities.

At that point, 6,000 Israeli troops would be redeployed into "security locations," at some distance from
the heavily-populated centers.  

After three years of autonomous regime, negotiations would be conducted among Israel, Egypt, and Jordan, and the elected representatives of the Arab inhabitants of the West Bank would determine the final state of the West Bank and Gaza and conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan by the end of the transitional period.  

Jerusalem, as wisely agreed by Sadat, Begin, and Carter at Camp David, should be left to the end. Reaching agreement on other related issues would ease the atmosphere, the condition, the tension, and emotion surrounding Jerusalem. Begin refused to include Jerusalem in the territory of the "autonomy," declaring that Jewish settlement would not be terminated on the West Bank, and the establishment of new settlements on the West Bank would continue unabated as before.  

The "Framework for Peace in the Middle East" invited the other Arab states to negotiate peace with Israel on the basis of the U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principles and provisions of the framework agreement. The Security Council resolutions mainly emphasized "the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by war" and consequently called for Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied during the 1967 War. At Camp David, Begin, together with president Carter and President Sadat,
put his signature on the final document supporting Resolution 242 "in all its parts." No mention of the PLO or Jerusalem was made in the agreement.

The second agreement reached at Camp David between Egypt and Israel, set forth a "framework" for concluding an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty which was more clear-cut, distinct, sharply defined, and outlined than the first accord. This agreement involved the return of the whole of the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt with its three air bases and oil fields and "provision for withdrawal of Israeli settlements there, pending approval by the Israeli Knesset." Full withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the Sinai back to the 1967 War border within three years was directed in order to establish normal relations between Egypt and Israel.

The second agreement, also, involved limiting the size of the Egyptian forces stationed in the Sinai, contiguous to Israel, and the initial withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Sinai was to occur within three to nine months, following the signing of an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. This bilateral peace treaty was to be completed within a three-month period, and would trigger full diplomatic relationships between the two states with no restrictions on trade and tourism, beginning with the interim forces' withdrawal.
This agreement also provided for the stationing of U.N. forces in the Sinai, west of the Israeli border, (the removal of which was to be under the full agreement of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council). In addition, the right of free passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal and the recognition of the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba as international waterways to ensure freedom of passage, "insuring their unimpeded use by all states was discussed." 17

Toward the conclusion of the Camp David negotiations, it was decided that on issues that were still disputed or that required and needed some clarification, there would be an exchange of letters among Sadat, Begin, and Carter, prior to the signing of the agreement. Letters were exchanged concerning Israeli settlements in the Sinai and on the issue of Jerusalem. 18 The status of Israeli settlements in eastern Sinai was left unresolved. President Sadat stipulated in a side letter to President Carter that this accord would be ineffective, useless, and void if Israel did not agree to the removal of the Sinai settlements, and that Egypt would not resume negotiations until this assurance was obtained from Israel. In a side letter to Carter, Begin agreed and undertook to put the future of those settlements to a free vote in the Knesset. The Knesset rapidly ratified and consented officially to the
removal of the Sinai settlements. In a similar exchange of side letters relating to the general framework, Sadat wrote to Carter that "Jerusalem is an integral part of the West Bank" and should be under Arab sovereignty. Whereas Begin, in his letter to Carter, wrote that Jerusalem was "one city indivisible. It was united and incorporated in the state of Israel and it was the capital of Israel."

In a letter to Sadat, Carter said that the American position considered east Jerusalem to be "occupied territory." When Begin heard of this, he declared immediately that if Carter used this term, Begin would not sign the agreement.

Carter wrote a rephrased letter which stated that:

The position of the United States on Jerusalem remains as stated by Ambassador Goldberg in the United Nations General Assembly on July 14, 1967, and subsequently by Ambassador Yost in the United Nations Security Council on July 1, 1969. ... Goldberg had stated that the status of Jerusalem must be determined by negotiation, and Yost had stated unequivocally that the U.S. considers Jerusalem to be occupied territory. When this altered, amended, and rephrased version was brought to Begin, he signed. However, the exchange of letters between Carter and Begin on a moratorium and suspension on Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza during the autonomy negotiations never took place.

That is how the Camp David Agreement was conceived. There can be no doubt that the first Camp David Agreement
was clearly weighted in Israel's favor, while the second accord on the Sinai Peninsula represented greater mutuality of benefits. Israel was widely considered to be the primary beneficiary at Camp David.24

Camp David and the Partial Peace--
The Arab View of the Peace Process

The Baghdad Summit Conference. On October 1, 1978, the Iraqi government circulated a memorandum calling for immediate joint Arab action against Sadat's "retreat is concessions" in the Camp David "Framework for Peace" in the Middle East. Iraq viewed itself as an integral part of the eastern confrontation front with Israel. The Iraqi memorandum encouraged the Arab governments to take a serious and responsible position in order to prevent the implementation of the Camp David Agreements, and invited them (with the exclusion of Egypt) to an Arab summit conference hosted by Iraq. The rich Arab countries were requested to establish a national fund for catering to Egypt's financial needs and to the needs of all the Arab confrontation countries and the PLO.25

In response to the Iraqi memorandum, an Arab summit conference was held in Baghdad on November 2, 1978, and was attended by all invited Arab states. The declared objectives of the conference were to attempt to persuade and convince Sadat to rejoin the Arab line and front by
forfeiting and surrendering his commitment to the Camp David Agreements, which were viewed as the unconditional humiliating surrender of the Arab cause and the Palestinians' rights.²⁶

In the Arab view (particularly the radicals—rejectionists—Arab government) of the peace process, the "Framework for Peace in the Middle East" and the "framework for the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel" were very different from the Resolution 242 which called for the Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories and for the acknowledgement of the right of every state in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. The Arab countries concluded that they could not participate in the extremely limited autonomy offered by the Camp David Agreement to the Palestinian people in the West Bank. They could neither endorse nor approve an accord that contained no indication whatsoever of the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people.²⁷ The retention of Israeli forces in the West Bank and Gaza reinforced the suspicions in the Arab world that the chances of an independent Palestinian state, as a result of the negotiations in Camp David, were slight.²⁸ It was soon evident that the expected Jordanian involvement would not take place and that Egypt and Israel would have to proceed on their own to create an autonomous Palestinian regime.²⁹
The Camp David agreements represented a step backward from Resolution 242. The Palestinian people were offered nothing but a phony autonomy under continued Israeli occupation, while the Arab countries defended the right of the Palestinian people to a home of their own. Begin himself stated what Camp David meant insofar as the "eventual self-determination for the Palestinians was concerned." Three days after signing the agreements, he stated,

> I hereby declare the Israeli defense forces will stay in Judea, Samaria (the West Bank), and the Gaza Strip to defend our people and make sure Jewish blood is not shed again. I hereby declare they will stay beyond five years.

Just three days after signing the Camp David Agreements, Begin, as a representative of his country, declared that he had no intention of adhering to one of its most basic tenets and principles: "That Israel would withdraw from the occupied territories within five years of signing the accords in September 1978."  

In an interview with Israeli television on September 18, 1978, Begin said that the phrase "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people," a phrase he had signed off on the Camp David Agreements, "has no meaning." He said that he accepted it only to please Presidents Carter and Sadat. In the meantime, continued Israeli settlement activity in the occupied lands and increased oppression and persecution on
the West Bank and Gaza Strip never ceased. Furthermore, no reference was made to Jewish settlement in the agreement.

Also, the Israeli prime minister had gone too far when he declared after the signing of the agreements that U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338, whose validity was once again reaffirmed in the Camp David Agreement, did not apply to the West Bank and Gaza because those were "liberated" and not "occupied" areas. This was followed by an explanation that autonomy was not to be "territorial," but only "personal," and that the establishment of new settlements would continue unabated.

Furthermore, the Begin government made very clear that its main objective was a bilateral peace treaty between Israel and its strongest Arab neighbor, Egypt. For this reason, it was ready and willing to make a considerable concession, only in the bilateral realm: the eventual return of the Sinai. The provisions concerning the general process of peace-making at Camp David were rather vague and no true agreement was ever reached.

The Arab countries (particularly the radical non-moderate Arab states) and the PLO, could not endorse the accords and remained adamant, firm, and unyielding in their refusal. They were convinced that the Israeli government would continue to push and intensify its settlement
policies in the occupied lands, with a view toward their ultimate and eventual incorporation into Israel. 36

In the Arab view, Camp David constituted an abandonment of a comprehensive settlement in favor of a separate Egyptian-Israeli peace. This view was widely held in most of the Arab countries. 37 They felt that Sadat had let them down by making a separate peace with Israel in exchange for the return of the Sinai Peninsula. 38

The agreement made no mention of the PLO, which was excluded from any role in the peace process. 39 It left the position of Jerusalem uncertain, since it indicated that Jerusalem would be handled within the context of a letter exchange, while Begin publicly declared and insisted that Jerusalem would remain eternally the united capital of Israel. 40 Also, Camp David's Agreement offered no recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, but it merely stated that a stage of self-rule would be reached under Israeli military control, giving some consideration to the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza concerning the future of these occupied territories. In summary, the Arab countries were convinced that the Camp David Accords represented only a separate peace agreement between Egypt and Israel and that these agreements did not represent a just, durable, comprehensive peace settlement in the area.
As previously stated, the Camp David Agreements made no mention of the status of east Jerusalem nor of the PLO, the latter being the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Also, the Israelis had a veto on who should be party to the negotiations of the self-governing authority.

In the overall Arab view, Camp David had only produced a mere bilateral agreement between Egypt and Israel—-the fulfillment of a "long, cherished dream." Furthermore, nothing in the peace treaty or the relevant document obliged Israel to negotiate the conditions of its withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israel merely agreed to "decide the question of the West Bank sovereignty by the end of a five-year transitional period." Consequently, the Soviet Union promptly took steps to capitalize on the mounting Arab criticism of the Camp David Accords. The Soviet leader Brezhnev charged the United States with attempting to split the Arab countries and forcing them to accept the Israeli conditions. During the Camp David Agreements, Egyptian broadcasters stood ready to propagate to the public their opinions concerning this matter. In the following section, the content of Radio Cairo's political broadcasts will be analyzed.
Content Analysis of Some News Commentary and Political Programs of Radio Cairo's 'Voice of the Arabs'

Method and Procedures. The content analysis research tool was utilized in this study. The place of content analysis in communication research is indicated by the following paradigm for communication research: Who says What to Whom with What effect.

The Arabic material and the scripts of the programming utilized for analysis of the Egyptian broadcasters programming were obtained directly from Cairo, Egypt during a three-week study trip in Summer 1982.

Steps in the analysis of the content of four Egyptian broadcasts programming included the following:

1. Selecting the appropriate sampling of the daily and weekly political, news, dialogue, and commentary programs purposively from the schedule of Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" programs.

2. Selecting the appropriate sample of the scripts of these programs randomly. The guiding principle in the sampling was to give every script of the sampling programs an equal chance of being drawn for the sample. The purposively selected programs were carried by the Egyptian political broadcasts between the first of August 1978 and the end of April 1979, the period which witnessed the Camp David Summit and the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel, which were signed on March 26, 1979.
The name of the daily programs were "Comment on the News" (15 minutes) which was run daily at the peak time period (1:40 P.M.) and repeated at 8:10 P.M. The second program was "The Talk of the Press" (15 minutes) which was run daily at 8:45 A.M. The third program was "Dialogue With a Listener," a five-minute daily program which was run at 10:45 P.M.

The name of the weekly program was "The Arabs and the World" (30 minutes) which was run at 10:30 P.M. every Monday.

3. Selecting the unit of analysis. A theme was considered (a single assertion about a subject matter, statement, or issue and argument, comments, or any other self-contained expression in radio).

4. Constructing categories. A category system was used to classify the content of the preceding programs in order to identify the pertinent symbols. Such categories covered the full range of the content of the purposively selected sampling news and political-commentary programs. In this step other categories were created, in addition to using an existing set of categories outlined in a study similar to this one. There were real advantages to using a category system that had been used in previous studies. One of these advantages is that it can be decided whether or not it is a workable system. The decision to create
original categories, in addition to using some of an existing set, was based primarily on the conclusion that no existing system of categories enabled the objectives of this study to be met. When the set of categories was devised, it was kept in mind that these categories must be pertinent to the objectives of this study and that categories should be both functional and manageable.

Each category was given careful consideration as to whether it was pertinent, or in other words, whether the information it yielded addressed the research questions of this study.

In the suggestion that categories are functional, it is assumed that a content study intends to say something about a media process and the decision-making within that process. It is also assumed that through content analysis, insight can be gained into the decisions, strategies, tactics, and techniques that were made by announcers, commentators, editors, or anchorpersons.

Keeping the system of categories manageable depended a great deal on keeping the objectives of the study in mind.

5. Coding the content--To code the content, a unit of analysis was placed into a content category according to the established definitions.

Reliability of Coding. The fact that content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and
quantitative description of the manifest content of communication means that reliability must also be a concern. Reliability stated here is simply consistency of classification. If no two coders will agree completely, and unless some level of agreement is achieved, it cannot be claimed that this study is systematic or objective.

In order to increase reliability, precise definitions of categories were derived. In addition to being reliable, a content analysis of the study must yield valid results. Validity is usually defined as "the degree to which an instrument actually measures what it sets out to measure." If categories overlap, or if reliability is low, then the results of the study probably possess little validity.

The final step in undertaking the content analysis of this study was analyzing the data, and interpreting the results. Perfect objectivity is seldom achieved in a content analysis study. When the data were analyzed and the results interpreted, there was an attempt to be objective in such a way that the result of the analysis would be the same if replicated by another researcher. Through all these steps, the objectives of the study were clearly kept in mind.

The purpose of analyzing some of the news, commentary, and political programs on Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" is to show the following:
1. The goals and objectives of the Egyptian news and political broadcasts between the first of August 1978 and the end of April 1979.

2. To whom those broadcasts were directed.

3. What the major themes carried by the Egyptian political comments and news broadcasts were.

4. What methods, strategies, and techniques were employed by the Egyptian broadcasters to justify the Camp David Accords and the separate peace treaty with Israel, and to influence and affect public opinion, convincing and persuading the people in the Arab countries to support and champion the Egypt initiative and Egypt's leadership in the peace process in the Middle East, and to win the minds and emotions of the masses for peace in the area.

The content analysis of the Egyptian political, commentary, and news broadcasts shows that the Egyptian broadcasters concentrated on three major issues, or themes, in communicating their messages to the Arab populations regarding the Camp David agreements and the separate peace treaty with Israel. These major themes could be divided as follows:

1) Egypt's leadership in the peace process;

2) The right of the Palestinian people for a national homeland; and

3) Israel's right to exist.
domestic affairs in the West Bank and Gaza and sought Israeli withdrawal from east Jerusalem. At the same time, Egypt called for the creation of a Palestinian entity on both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This was an historical truth and could be realized by all Arabs.

The programs kept criticizing and condemning the attitudes of the radical Arab leaders. Those leaders who claimed that they were for peace and against war, were with the Palestinian settlement just in order to recognize Israel.

Egypt's broadcasts questioned those Arab leaders: What had Egypt done more than work toward peace, if you knew its position and its demands in the current negotiations at Camp David?

The Egyptian broadcasts emphasized to the Arab audience that the Palestinian problem was the essence, the heart, and crux of the conflict in the Middle East and that Egypt would try to break the stalemate in the Middle East talks (referring to the Egyptian objective of helping the Palestinians to put an end to Israel's military government of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip). But a bomb here or a bomb there was not going to liberate the land.

The political programs in Radio Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" confirmed that the Palestinians had the right to participate in deciding their own future, and questioned
whether there were other alternatives to the offered solutions. These alternatives will be discussed objectively.

The Egyptian rulers, in their endeavor to convince the other Arabs of the necessity of establishing a comprehensive peace settlement for all parties in the area under Egypt's leadership, threw in all their efforts and talent. They indicated that the Camp David Agreement was a real step toward a comprehensive peace which recognized the rights of the Palestinian people. This was the main theme, and it was used on all possible occasions.

Egypt's radio broadcasts indicate that those who followed the Mideast peace talks at Camp David found Egypt alone fighting in the battle for peace; meanwhile, Egypt's target was to achieve a comprehensive peace settlement in all parts of the Middle East area. The Egyptians ask why the rest of the Arab states did not expand any effort in this respect. The Egyptian radio broadcasts emphasized that the agreements of Camp David were not a framework for peace solely between Israel and Egypt. This framework was a comprehensive settlement to establish a just and lasting peace in the Mideast according to the United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338.

The Egyptians confirmed that these resolutions had been accepted by the Arab states in the Rabat Conference of
1974. In other words, the agreement came as a fulfillment of what the Arab leaders agreed to in the Arab summit conferences. It was not a partial or individual agreement. It was a framework for a comprehensive settlement to liberate the Golan Heights as well as the Sinai Peninsula and involved the liberation of the West Bank as well as the Gaza Strip.

During the negotiations in Camp David between Egypt and Israel, Radio Cairo focused on Egypt's position as a representative of the Arab states; moreover, it geared toward the key issues of the settlement and maintained that these positions were identical with the Arab views and demands. Radio Cairo indicated that the Egyptian positions in the current negotiations in Camp David were as follows:

1. Total Israeli military withdrawal with Arab sovereignty restored after five years;
2. A Palestinian entity linked to Jordan after that five-year period of transition to Palestinian control; unlimited right of return for Arab refugees;
3. Total Israeli withdrawal; possibility of U.N. peacekeeping forces; demilitarized zone;
4. All settlements on occupied land were illegal and obstacles to peace; and
5. Israeli withdrawal from east Jerusalem—no division of the city.
The Egyptian broadcasts emphasized that in her position Egypt demanded a "total withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the creation of a Palestinian entity." This phrase was repeatedly used by Cairo Radio which moved to give some details to highlight the Camp David Agreements, thus intensifying the image which made it stand out to the Arab masses in the Arab world.

The Egyptian broadcasters emphasized to the masses that these two agreements were the framework for the overall Middle East settlement and a plan for an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.

The first document was a "framework" for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute through negotiations between Israel, Egypt, Jordan (if it chose to take part), and "representatives of the Palestinian people." During a five-year transition period, Israel would end its military administration of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, withdraw some troops, station the others in defensive enclaves, and grant the Palestinians full local autonomy.

The Egyptian broadcasters explained that the other document provided for the conclusion of a separate peace treaty within three months. Egypt would regain full sovereignty over the Sinai, the Israeli troops would withdraw completely within three years, and the Knesset
would decide to close Jewish settlements. Four Israeli air bases would be turned over to Egypt for civilian use, and the U.S. would build Israel two new bases in the Negev.

The Egyptian broadcasts considered the Camp David Agreements a real step toward a comprehensive peace which would secure the rights of the Palestinian people. They (the Egyptian political broadcasts) confirmed that autonomy "is the first step on the road to self-determination and statehood" for the Palestinians. These catch-phrases were the main theme in the Egyptian political broadcasts and were repeatedly used by Cairo Radio's "Voice of the Arabs." Concepts the Egyptians wished the audiences in the Middle East to retain were repeated to the point of saturation. Making a special effort to tune in, predisposes the listener to pay more attention to and believe what he hears.

Radio Cairo moved to explain to the masses in the Arab world the meaning of the coming peace to the area of the Middle East. Similarly it confirmed that the coming of peace to the Middle East meant stability and prosperity for the whole area; it meant getting rid of suffering and wars—no more wars, no more bloodshed. It meant abandoning decades of confrontation with Israel; it meant the return of all territory seized by Israel in the June 1967 War. It meant putting an end to the state of no war/no peace that
had existed since the 1973 Mideast conflict which threatened the area with disaster. This peace would be a lasting and just peace to all parts of the area. Radio Cairo confirmed that the new peace was essential to the success of ambitious reconstruction and development projects; money that was being spent on weapons could be channeled into new industries and development enterprises.

2. The Right of the Palestinian People for a National Homeland. The content analysis of the Egyptian political programs shows that Egypt called listeners to recognize the core of the problem—"a national home for the Palestinian people." The Egyptian broadcasts intended to outline the issues dividing the Arabs and Israelis and to reiterate the Arabs' view that total withdrawal from the occupied territory and the creation of a Palestinian homeland were prerequisites for a Mideast peace. The Egyptian political broadcasts reminded the masses of Israel's fight for self-determination 30 years ago and urged the Israelis to grant the same right to the Palestinians.

The Egyptian broadcasters emphasized that Egypt was insisting on "a total withdrawal from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights, and the creation of a Palestinian entity." This phrase was repeatedly used by the Egyptian broadcasters. These words were key words
which were used by Cairo Radio. Other phrases repeatedly used by the Egyptians were

a. "Egypt is insisting not to ignore any rights of the Palestinian people."

b. "Achievement of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination."

c. "Including their right to establish their own state."

Radio Cairo made it clear that a solution to the Palestinian problem was the key to any Middle East peace settlement. The Egyptian political broadcasts emphasized that "the Palestinians should participate in the determination of their own future." On the grounds that there must be a resolution of the Palestinian problem and a homeland for the Palestinians as an integral part of the peace settlement envisaged, the words, "a homeland for the Palestinian people," were the key words in the Egyptian campaign for peace in the Middle East. Radio Cairo made it clear, also, that without a solution to the Palestinian refugee problem, there could be no durable peace in the Middle East. Radio Cairo insisted on the recognition of the Arab Palestinian people as a national entity, with the right to self-determination in their part of the common homeland. This homeland could be independent or linked in some manner with Jordan. They would have the right to
participate in deciding their own future. Radio Cairo contributed to Israel's recognition of the Palestinian people's right to participate in their own future and the creation of a Palestinian entity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip linked to Jordan.

"The right of the Palestinian people in deciding their own future" was a phrase repeatedly used by Radio Cairo. The Egyptian political programs confirmed that the Camp David Agreements were a real step to a comprehensive peace which secured the rights of the Palestinian people and pointed out that autonomy "was the first step on the road to self-determination and statehood." As it stood, Radio Cairo had a difficult time trying to convince other Arab leaders that face-to-face negotiations did not sell out the Arab cause.

3. Israel's Right to Exist. Radio Cairo emphasized that Sadat's trip to Israel broke down the barrier of suspicion, fear, illusion, and misinterpretation that for so long had prevented the two neighbors from even discussing peace. In the strongest acknowledgement ever made by an Arab broadcast of Israel's right to exist, Radio Cairo welcomed the Israelis to live peacefully in this part of the world: "We welcome you in sincerity." The Egyptian broadcasts added that Egypt would accept all the international guarantees that Israel might require. Radio Cairo
moved to explain that the Arab states had rejected Israel in the past, refusing to meet its representatives, "but today, we agree to live with you." Israel had become a fait accompli recognized by the whole world. Radio Cairo insisted that Israel could have peace with justice and security, but on the conditions that they return all Arab territory occupied during the Six-Day War and that they recognized the "core of the problem, a national homeland for the Palestinian people."

After the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty, the Egyptian political programs confirmed that what had passed was the end of suffering, and what was to come was a new life.

Radio Cairo pointed out that Egypt began a direct Arab-Israeli dialogue which significantly altered the psychological environment of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Egyptian political broadcasts indicated that the Camp David Agreement was a settlement acknowledging the existence of a Jewish state. "We accept to live with you (Israel) in a lasting and just peace."

That was recognition of Israel's right to exist. Radio Cairo had in effect recognized Israel as a state and recognized its right to exist.

Radio Cairo added, in one totally unexpected step, that Israel and Egypt had broken their diplomatic
stalemate, adding a hopeful, new dimension to the search for peace in the entire Middle East. Radio Cairo made it clear that, after the conclusion of peace, nothing would be difficult; nothing would be impossible in relations between the Arabs and Israelis, on all levels and in all senses. But, as long as the war went on, as long as there were factors likely to lead to a new war, there was separation by blood, even though there may have been the best of intentions and purest of thoughts.

Radio Cairo pointed out the possible areas of cooperation between the Arabs and Israel such as transportation, trade, travel, and telecommunication, information exchange (environmental aspects), agriculture and irrigation technology, public health methods, techniques, trade and commerce including the development of investment capital once the state of war was removed and energy research and development (including oil and solar sources), mineral resources, and water management (increasing productive exploitation of the Nile, in small part for use in the Negev.) A new era was beginning; there was peace, and peace was imminent whatever the difficulties that remained.

After Sadat's visit to Israel on November 22, 1977, Radio Cairo sought to make Israel acceptable to the Arabs (particularly the moderate Arab states and the Egyptian
people) for the first time and contributed to the recognition of Israel's right to exist as a *fait accompli* in the area of the Middle East.

The Strategical Techniques that were Employed by the Egyptian Broadcasters Regarding Camp David

According to the particular situation, the message might be rational or emotional. Primarily due to the high level of illiteracy in the Arab world, Egyptian broadcasters tended to follow the latter pattern. Nevertheless, whatever their type or pattern, propaganda messages were delivered through a variety of techniques.

In this case, the Egyptian broadcasters concentrated mainly on six major techniques in communicating their messages to the Arab populations regarding the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty with Israel, which included the following:

1. **Focusing Attention**, or **Spotlighting**, as it is graphically named, expedites perception by intensifying the image to make it stand out.

Hitler illustrated this technique of "visibility" by saying that if the vision of the people could not be turned toward the object, the object should be moved into the direct line of vision. The result was the same: perception occurred.
The Egyptian broadcasters effectively employed this technique in focusing attention on Egypt's positions towards the key issues and towards the Camp David Agreements.

Radio Cairo praised Sadat's courage and imagination and continued to refute the arguments of the rejectionists, whose arguments, it proclaimed, were contrary to the truth; Egypt had not turned its back on the Arab world. On the other hand, it remained the vanguard of the Arab world and would continue the struggle for the Palestinians' rights and for their right of self-determination.

The rejectionists had never participated in any war and had not suffered its hardships. The (Arab) rejectionists lived in (oil-derived) plenty. On the other hand, it was Radio Cairo's message that

It was better to make peace in justice and negotiation than to wage war; the blood that was shed on the battlefield, let it flow through the veins of humans engaged in building and reconstructing our peoples so children and their mothers on both sides should not become orphans and widows and so that a new era of peace and prosperity could begin.

Peace meant an end to poverty, backwardness, disease, ignorance; these difficulties could not be dealt with as long as all the resources were diverted to the waging of endless war. Only with peace could Egypt catch up with the caravan of the world. Sadat was able to show tangible results. He was getting back his occupied territory without shedding a drop of blood.
2. **Testimonial**: In this technique, the propagandist used an esteemed person or political entity; in other words, the target was asked to believe something simply because some "authority" said it was so. For this technique, the Egyptian broadcasters used religious sanction to affect public opinion in the Arab world.

Egypt's radio broadcasts gave as evidence verses from the *Holy Quran*, particularly this verse: "And if they incline to peace, incline thou also to it, and trust in Allah. Lo! He is the hearer, the knower." Even the Mufti of Egypt and the Rector of Al-Azhar were brought to the microphone to assure Muslims in the Arab world that Islam approved of such peace settlements between the Arabs and Israel. From the *Holy Quran*, it could be derived that "if they incline to peace, incline thou also to it." There was an historic precedent for what Sadat had done. The Quran permitted treaties with infidels if they were concluded from a position of strength. Mohammed made an armistice with the Jews of Medina, and they lived in peace thereafter. A peace treaty was even concluded with the crusaders, for Islam was not a religion of war. Islam preaches peace to all men of good will. Egypt wanted peace and quiet and the good things of life.

Also used in Egypt's radio broadcasts were excerpts from the speeches of President Sadat to the People's
Assembly, in which he strongly defended the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty with Israel.

In replying to the Arab charges of treason, Sadat emphasized that "Egypt is not and has never been a traitor." He indicated that Egypt did not achieve peace for the sake of materialism, but to put an end to an unending situation; and, when he could save his people from the misery of war, there was no price tag involved.

He added, "We in Egypt acted and will continue to act in what we believe to be the best interest of the Palestinian people, regardless of how we are viewed in Washington or anywhere else. That would be proven by our demanding a total withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the creation of the Palestinian entity."

Egypt's radio broadcasts reminded the audiences in the Arab world of Egypt's sacrifices and of how the Egyptian people sacrificed a lot and presented so much for Palestine.

3. **Strategy of Division and Name Calling:** This aimed at splitting the country under attack into various antagonistic elements. This form of propaganda was directed by the Egyptian radio against every other radical Arab country. Egyptian broadcasters utilized the terms, "reactionary" and "feudalist" to describe the anti-Egypt leaders of the Arab world. They attacked the Arab
hard-liners and criticized their opposition. "Those who reject the peace, reject the war too; those who think the price of peace is too high, should remember the cost of war." Those people were not interested in solving the problem of the Palestinian people.

Radio Cairo broadcasts denounced a one-time friend and ally to Egypt, Syrian President Hafez Assad. As for another old friend, Jordan's King Hussein, Radio Cairo recalled scornfully that while the Syrians and Jordanians were massacring the Palestinians in years past, Egypt was helping them gain recognition. Radio Cairo also denounced Libya's Muammar Qaddafi, who has been Sadat's enemy for several years. Radio Cairo broadcasts warned the leaders of the PLO against trying to seize or harm one of the Egyptian ambassadors.

At the same time, the "Voice of the Arabs" addressed the Arab leaders, stating that there was still a chance for all the Arabs to participate in the coming peace of the Mideast, implying that it would be a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace. Radio Cairo urged the Palestinians to join in forthcoming talks on autonomous rule for the West Bank and Gaza, asking the Arabs to realize that demonstrations would not throw the occupation troops out of the land.

4. Self-Interest or "Ad Hominem": This technique was so basic that some politicians stress it as the "primary"
propaganda technique. The propagandist's theme song is "See what we are doing for you." The Egyptian propagandists effectively employed this slogan:

We, the Egyptian people, realize that we form an organic part of a greater Arab entity and are aware of our responsibilities and obligations toward the Arab Nation. Egypt is fighting alone in the battle for peace, while Egypt's target is to achieve a comprehensive peace settlement for all parts of the area, to liberate the Golan Heights as well as the Sinai Peninsula, and the liberation of the West Bank as well as the Gaza Strip. Peace means stability and prosperity for the whole area. We should congratulate ourselves after thirty years of war and sufferance."

5. **Omission of Material:** This is the other side of the "selection" coin. It is natural that human beings should want to hide their faults and weaknesses, particularly when they are anxious to make a good impression. Omission of material is a convenient way to forget everything unfavorable to the persuasion campaign.

In Camp David, no agreement was reached on east Jerusalem, which was occupied by Israel in the War of 1967. Begin insisted he would never divide Jerusalem. Israel offered the Arab world control over its holy places, while the Arabs were and still are demanding complete Israeli withdrawal from east (old) Jerusalem.

The Egyptian political broadcasts did not refer to Jerusalem because no agreement was reached on it. The omission of such material by the Egyptian broadcasts was a convenient "forgetting" of everything unfavorable to the persuasion campaign.
6. Bandwagon: Radio Cairo assured the masses that the opposition was marginal and disorganized.

Most broadcasts, which addressed the masses and carried messages supporting the Egyptian initiative or attacking rival Arab leaders or government, contained such phrases as "everyone knows . . .," "you all believe . . .," "all people share . . .," and so forth. These phrases were usually made the focus of the message conveyed in order to add weight to its content. For example,

Everyone knows that Egypt is insisting not to ignore any rights of the Palestinian people. And everyone knows that, without Egypt, the Arabs can achieve politically, economically, and militarily no progress and can do nothing in the fields of social and cultural development.

Broadcasts addressed the Arab masses with such phrases as "You all believe Egypt is working for the interest of the Arabs, particularly the Palestinian people." They addressed the Arab audiences in the Middle East, asking God to bless the efforts of peace--peace which meant stability and prosperity for the whole area, instead of the destruction and blood. War caused only sorrow and destruction for all. In seeking peace, President Sadat was not leading, but following the Egyptian people. The Egyptian people came out very strongly in favor of the peace.

Radio Cairo broadcast a three-hour speech by President Sadat to the People's Assembly, in which he strongly
defended the treaty he signed with Israel. Sadat dismissed the Baghdad meeting of the foreign ministers of eighteen Arab countries as "emotional, hysterical, and insulting to Egypt."

The hate campaigns directed against every single other Arab country, particularly the radical states, undermined and weakened the "Voice's" credibility. Although it was sometimes said that the Arab audiences were able to believe the Egyptian propaganda with one-half of their minds and reject the underlying Egyptian propaganda with the other half, the distinction could not be made with total clarity.

It was no longer the sole voice that claimed to speak for all the Arabs. By its very moderation, it has been overtaken as the voice of the masses by Tripoli Radio, by the Palestinian stations, and by the powerful (at least in terms of kilowatts) new voice of Saudi Arabia's Riyadh Radio.

Cairo's appeal, directed more and more to the Arab elite and to the moderates, was in danger of being swamped, as far as the masses were concerned, by the more strident revolutionary voices of those who remembered the pre-war success of Nasser's operation.

Colonel Qaddafi encouraged the spread of propaganda in a way that made all other national Arab radios seem pro-Zionist by comparison. Although Cairo Radio's "Voice of
the Arabs" had been overtaken as the voice of the masses by Tripoli Radio and the Palestinian stations, it was uncompromising and still drew a lot of attention in other Arab countries.

Regarding the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, the Egyptian broadcasts achieved a considerable success and were more effective in the moderate Arab states than the radical Arab states. The PLO and the radical Arab states designed special programs for their broadcasting stations to attack the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty. The denouncements by the hard-line Arab rejectionists were based on the fear that Egypt would make a separate peace with Israel to recover Egyptian territory in the Sinai and, in the process, sell out Syria, Jordan, and the Palestinians. The Syrian broadcasts urged the Egyptian army to "overthrow" Sadat and drown him in the Nile. The PLO radio denounced Sadat as a traitor and urged an economic boycott of both Egypt and the U.S. Iraqi Radio and Adeni Radio also denounced the Camp David Agreements and the separate peace treaty. The radical Arab states broke diplomatic relations with Egypt.

At the same time, many Arabs appeared ready to give Sadat a chance to bring peace. Five moderate Arab states--Tunisia, Morocco, Sudan, Oman, and Somalia--openly endorsed
the Camp David Agreements, and gave President Sadat their qualified approval. In Egypt itself, most Egyptians greeted Sadat's decisions and the Camp David Agreements with relief and approval. They hailed Sadat as the "Peace Hero" and "The Savior of the Masses." But even so, Sadat faced potential problems at home.

After Sadat's assassination, President Husni Mubarak, who succeeded the late president, affirmed his intention to pursue the Camp David peace process. In the meantime, Mubarak directed and ordered a halt to the propaganda war against the Arab states and signaled Egypt's willingness to return to the Arab fold. Mubarak represented a new style of leadership, sharply contrasting with Sadat's methods, both in tactics and strategy, which seemed to affect his utilization of the media (linked and connected with substantive, actual, and real changes in policy).
CHAPTER VII
NOTES


4Ibid.


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16 Vance, "II Excerpts from Hard Choices, the Middle East Camp David," p. 184.


19 Vance, "II Excerpts from Hard Choices, the Middle East Camp David," p. 184.


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23 Vance, "II Excerpts from Hard Choices, the Middle East Camp David," p. 185.


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32 Ibid., pp. 73-74.


35 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
36 Ibid., p. 6.

37 Vance, "II Excerpts from Hard Choices, the Middle East Camp David," p. 185.

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CHAPTER VIII
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

What Induced the Egyptian Government to Utilize Radio as a Primary Device in the Campaigns in the Eras of Presidents Nasser and Sadat

The peculiar characteristics of radio. Why did the Egyptian government use radio as a primary instrument and vehicle for political propaganda and persuasion in Egypt's foreign policy during the eras of Presidents Nasser and Sadat? Why did they also during this time, take into account the efficient use of radio as the most effective political weapon? What are the reasons for radio supremacy as a vehicle for propaganda throughout the Arab world? Why does radio play the most significant role in the political and social life of the Arab countries?

In answer to these questions, there can be no doubt that the power of the spoken word, along with other factors, lends radio its uncontestable effectiveness in reaching the minority of educated and literate Arabs, as well as the majority of the illiterates who are unable to be reached by any other medium.

President Nasser was interested in rapid social, political, and economic change, and realized that radio as
a mass medium surpassed the print media, which was generally the medium of the literate elite, who could both afford to buy the circulated papers and periodical magazines, and also to read them.

Broadcasting for all Arab countries is an important political and developmental tool. It is worth noting that there is hardly an Arab who does not own a radio set. Even in the Arab villages, radio has a priority over sanitation, water pipes, and so forth. The advent of the relatively inexpensive transistor radio sets enabled lower-income people to purchase receivers. The sets, which could be operated by batteries, became popular in villages where electricity had not yet been provided. This is what made owning radio sets considerably easier.

The transistor revolution was taken into consideration by President Nasser. The general social patterns of the Arab countries, particularly in the 1950s and the 1960s may also have been a factor. The rarity of clubs, theaters, and dance halls made listening to the radio a primary form of entertainment and relaxation. Even after the advent of television, it was not unusual for groups of people to listen to radio and watch television either in commercial establishments or in their own residences. When a person was in public listening to the news or to radio programs, there was an implied invitation for others to join him.
Still another factor was the Arabs' love of the meaning of words as presented in various songs. These factors and the interest of the Arab population (whether illiterate or educated) in politics, made radio the most effective weapon of political persuasion.

The Egyptian government realized early that while the other Arab governments could prevent circulation of Egyptian newspapers and magazines within their own countries, they were unable to defend themselves against the Egyptian broadcasts because they lacked the adequate facilities. Few Arab countries in the 1950s had a viable, domestic radio service to provide an alternative to Radio Cairo and its broadcasts. In fact, no jamming transmitters were available to stop these broadcasts. In addition, the Egyptian leaders understood and realized the oral Arab culture and the power and emotionalism of the Arabic language. Heavily leaning on the spoken word rather than on the written word, they realized that it was only the spoken word that could sway people into great deeds. The Egyptian leaders and the Egyptian decision-makers recognized the peculiar characteristics and advantages of radio as a mass medium of communication.

As a way of receiving information, listening was easier than watching. Radio had great advantages over the other media of communication. It was not easy to "turn off
one's ears." Usually, one heard the message before he twisted the dial, refusing to listen.

The program producer had available every sort of voice or sound effect which he needed to carry his message. This meant that he had a great variety of tools to reach a widely diverse audience. One of the greatest advantages of radio was its emotional power. Because radio appealed more to the emotions than to the intellect, it commanded a powerful appeal because of the psychological fact that emotional drives were stronger than intellectual ones. It was held that the speaker could arouse certain associations and emotional responses in the listeners. However, the most important advantage of the medium was the size of the audience.

Radio had a full-time audience, and it could reach them in a way no other medium could. The actual impression of a word or a sound transmitted by radio went much deeper than, for instance, that of a newspaper article or other piece of writing which had to undergo a transformation in concept before it could be absorbed by the audience's consciousness. Radio broadcasting, however, produced immediate effects without this added mental process and therefore had actually much more power of expression than all printed matter.

The most important sense after the eye was undoubtedly the ear. Not radio itself, but what was broadcast over it,
determined the effect. The point was not where radio, according to its true nature was heading, but for what it might be employed.

Radio could have the same impact as the newspapers, but it was more up-to-date, more versatile, and more profound. The Egyptian leaders viewed the task of radio as that of forming the will of the nation and determining the choice of its means.

All the preceding factors and the peculiar characteristics of radio induced the Egyptian leadership in the eras of Presidents Nasser and Sadat to utilize radio as a primary instrument of Egypt's foreign policy as a political and social tool, since radio could help bring needed information to rural areas for purposes of development. It is believed that radio will be with us as one of the most powerful media as long as the masses have ears to hear.

Conclusions

One purpose of this study was to explain and examine the role of Radio Cairo in the peace process in the Middle East in the era of late President Sadat. However, Radio Cairo played a different role in the era of President Nasser to influence public opinion and to inflame the masses for revolution, playing a significant role in the independence struggles of various Arab countries in the
1950s and 1960s. Anti-imperialism and the Arab rulers were depicted by Radio Cairo as "lackeys of imperialism" who identified and associated themselves with imperialism.

This study attempted to address these major research questions:

1. What was the role of Radio Cairo as a vehicle of political persuasion, and as an instrument of propaganda in the peace process in the Middle East during the era of President Sadat?

2. What were the conditions at that time, that induced the Egyptian leadership to utilize propaganda as a primary instrument of Egypt's foreign policy?

3. What strategies, tactics, techniques, and principles of propaganda were employed by the Egyptian leadership to achieve its goals, and what were these goals in the era of President Nasser? What strategies, tactics, techniques, and principles of propaganda were employed to justify the Camp David Accords and the separate peace treaty with Israel in the era of President Sadat?

4. To what degree did Egyptian propaganda succeed with the Arabs? In what ways, if any, can these efforts be assessed? (Throughout this study, a comparison and analysis of the role of Radio Cairo in these two eras of Presidents Nasser and Sadat was conducted.)

5. One of the main purposes of the study was to contribute to the theory or knowledge of propaganda, and to
explore the method of propaganda analysis.

6. Did the governmental policy statements and Egypt's foreign policy as guidelines affect the use of Radio Cairo and other Egyptian mass media?

**Summary of Methodology.** The research tool of content analysis was utilized in this study. The Arabic materials and the scripts of the broadcast programming mentioned in this study were obtained directly from Cairo, Egypt in the Summer of 1982. This analysis applied to selected programs between August 1978 and April 1979.

To increase validity and reliability, precise categories of program content were defined.

The unit of analysis was a theme (a single assertion about one subject) or entire script, a subject-matter statement, or issue and argument, speech or news story, comments, or any other self-contained expression. Several conclusions about Egypt's use of radio broadcasting may be stated as follows:

1. In terms of regional/domestic and international radio services, Egypt has established the most extensive system of any developing country in the region, perhaps in the world.

2. The Egyptian leaders realized the immense potentials of radio propaganda in the Arab world, and since the revolution of July 1952, the Egyptian leaders have
improved and extended radio coverage on both the regional and international level. In the eras of Presidents Nasser and Sadat, of all the instruments of propaganda, Cairo Radio played, and still plays, a predominant role in the political and social life of the Arab countries.

3. The assessment of Egypt's own capability centered on her status as the leading cultural center in the Arab world. This allowed her to utilize a variety of radio programs in the eras of Presidents Nasser and Sadat, in order to ensure maximum impact.

4. The late President Nasser was clearly the most influential person in Egypt's radio expansion. The single, most important reason for Nasser's attention to radio broadcasting was a background which made him unique among Arab leaders in the 1950s. Nasser was a sophisticated man, yet, like President Sadat who succeeded him, he came from modest, rural beginnings, and that gave him insight into how effective radio could be in conveying Arabic rhetoric for propaganda purposes. Nasser paid much attention to the transistor revolution which started in the late 1950s and understood that it would be very helpful to the Egyptian revolution.

5. Nasser realized that other Arab countries had modest radio services to meet their domestic needs and to broadcast to other countries in the area. By 1956, when
when the "Voice of the Arabs" began to have a notable impact on other countries in the region, such as Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia, they found themselves unable to use the same medium to defend themselves against what Egypt was saying about them. *Time* referred to Nasser as "virtually a creature of radio." He once indicated during one of Egypt's propaganda attacks on other Arab countries, how important he believed the medium to be, when he gave the following response to United Nation's Secretary General Hammarskjold's question "Can we disarm the radio?"

> How can I reach my power base? My power lies with the Arab masses. The only way I can reach my people is radio. If you ask me for radio disarmament, it means that you are asking me for complete disarmament.

Nasser fell short of his goal of bringing economic prosperity and military success to his country, but he did make Egypt an international broadcaster to be dealt with.

6. In the era of President Nasser, radio was employed to influence the masses, to propagate anti-imperialism, to attack Nasser's political opponents in the Arab world, and to promote revolutions and discontent in other Arab countries. Radio Cairo's apparent success in achieving and attaining desired political reactions in Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Yemen during the late 1950s and early 1960s seemed to give the Egyptian broadcasters and other government officials the idea that Cairo possessed a powerful instrument of political change.
However, Radio Cairo's impact began to diminish during the late 1960s. This apparently was due to two factors: First, the other Arab countries established radio services sufficient to challenge Radio Cairo and provide an alternative to it. Another reason for the loss of impact seems to be the loss of credibility; exaggerations and lies during the 1967 Middle East War undermined the "Voice's" credibility and made those responsible for that policy blind to the dangers of lying. It is essential for communicators to present the audience with the truth, which in turn, will keep the confidence of the receivers of the messages. This helps to explain the mistakes of June 1967, not just the exaggerations and lying, but also the disastrous policy errors. Therefore, the 1967 War had an effect on Egypt's use of radio. Nasser found himself in a defensive, rather than an offensive position after the war, and he became economically dependent on subsidies and financial support from Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich Arab states to compensate for revenues lost when the Suez Canal was closed. Nasser also realized that attacks on other Arab leaders were counterproductive to his goal of uniting the Middle East under his own leadership. All these circumstances altered the tone of Radio Cairo.

7. When Sadat became president in 1970 following Nasser's death, Egypt's tone became more temperate. The
primary reason for this was evident in the posture of the Sadat government. In comparison to Nasser, Sadat was less egocentric, and generally more statesmanlike. Egypt's informational efforts and the Egyptian mass media tended to reflect the Sadat style, rather than the Nasser style of diplomacy.

The powerful Egyptian radio services once used by Nasser to promote revolutions in other Middle East Arab countries were used by Sadat to inform Arab masses throughout the Middle East of the rationale behind Egypt's various agreements with Israel over the occupied territory during the 1967 War. They also attempted to justify and persuade the Arab masses to accept the Camp David Accords, and to win the minds and the emotions of the masses for peace. In the era of President Sadat, Radio Cairo played a role dissimilar to that in the era of President Nasser. Radio Cairo contributed significantly to the peace process in the era of President Sadat, and was used as a vehicle of political persuasion for peace in the region. It also conveyed to the Arab masses what is believed to be the persuasive rationales regarding Camp David and the peace process in the Middle East. In the era of President Sadat, Egyptian broadcasting tended to reflect the changing international political orientation of the country more than any other Egyptian mass medium. Egyptian Radio was
used as a vehicle of propaganda for peace by Sadat's government. During that time, Radio Cairo and the "Voice of the Arabs" both played their most difficult roles. For the first time, the "Voice of the Arabs" encountered a new communication challenge; it was "swimming against the current." In the era of Nasser, on the other hand, at a time of liberation and national extension, the "Voice of the Arabs" and the Egyptian broadcasters were flowing with the current, effectively influencing the thoughts of a receptive population.

In the late 1970s, the situation reversed and Radio Cairo was impelled to formulate a difficult strategy. Part of this strategy was to clarify Egypt's policy, focusing on Egypt's national role in the peace process, and in the struggle for just, durable, and comprehensive peace.

The other part of the strategy was to maintain the organic relationship between Egypt and the Arab masses to preserve their trust in Egypt and Egypt's peaceful political line, regardless of the stands and positions that were taken by the Arab regimes against Egypt.

8. In both the eras of Nasser and Sadat, Radio Cairo was the primary instrument of Egypt's foreign policy attainment. The Egyptian leadership in both eras utilized political persuasion, based on propaganda, using both similar and different strategies or techniques.
9. Regarding Sadat's initiative, the Egyptian broadcasts concerning his visit to Israel on November 22, 1977, and the Camp David Accords were effective in many Arab countries in addition to Egypt itself. These countries include Tunisia, Morocco, Sudan, Oman, and Somalia, plus other Arab countries which were leaning toward support of Sadat's initiative and the Camp David Agreements.

In Egypt itself, Cairo Radio had notable success in affecting the masses and the public opinion therein. The majority of the Egyptian people greeted Sadat's decision to visit Israel and the Camp David Agreements with relief and approval. They hailed Sadat as the "Peace Hero" and the "Savior of the Masses."

10. Cairo Radio played a highly important role in bringing the people of the Middle East, including the Israelis, closer to peace by stimulating positive thinking.

Radio Cairo helped to make Israel acceptable to the Arabs, particularly the moderate Arab states and the Egyptian people themselves, for the first time.

11. The most classical examples of image change in the contemporary period occurred during the career of President Sadat. In his acknowledgement and recognition of Israel's right to exist, his willingness to go anywhere to achieve a comprehensive peace settlement for the entire Middle East, and his journey to Israel and speech to the Israeli
Knesset, he captured the imagination of the entire world (which would mark an historic breakthrough toward an Arab-Israeli peace). Sadat utilized a form of administrative rhetoric, which deeply changed his image. Whenever Sadat spoke out on the Middle East problem and the comprehensive peace settlement, his ideas had an enormous positive effect and impact on public opinion in many countries, particularly in the United States and Israel.

Sadat made a positive impression on the masses around the world, increased the favorable image of Egypt, increased the recognition of the Palestinians, and slightly increased the overall "pro-Arab" opinion. There can be no doubt that the role played by television during these events contributed largely to the change of Egypt and Arab images in the Western societies.

The study stressed the rules of good speaking and the need for ethics in communication, including the idea that communicators, to be persuasive, must present the audience with the truth, keeping a moral purpose in view in all their work.

Persuasion is a powerful instrument for the advancement of personal and national causes. The communicator as a persuader should enhance his credibility whenever possible. Modern propaganda is based largely on the effect of the spoken word. The power of speech is the most
distinctly human faculty that man possesses and the spoken word is preferred to the printed, and should be used whenever possible.

12. To what degree did Egyptian propaganda succeed with the Arabs in the eras of Presidents Nasser and Sadat? There is no doubt that it had considerable success; but despite its success, it also had its Achilles' heel.

Those Egyptian propagandists were too impatient; they were seeking quick results, and they utilized radio propaganda as a tactical weapon instead of using it for strategic purposes. From the technical point of view, propagandists can use radio as a tactical weapon to help advance and further some very important operation in time of war; but in a time of peace, such utilization is detrimental, causing damage and harm to the medium's reputation and prompting listeners to lose their confidence and belief in its (radio) reliability and trustworthiness. This was the cardinal mistake committed by the Egyptian broadcasters during the 1967 War.

Egyptian propaganda drew heavily on the Nazi pattern of psychological warfare; but to their credit, the Egyptian broadcasters did not blindly copy and simulate the Nazis' principles and methods, rather they adapted them to suit their own audience in the Arab world.

There can be no doubt that the rate of illiteracy in the Arab world was, and still is, high. This makes the
radio an effective medium and tool of development and political persuasion for a diversified and large population.
Following are the texts of the two Agreements reached at the Camp David Summit and signed September 17 at the White House.

Mohammed Anwar Al-Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and Menachem Begin, Prime Minister of Israel, met with Jimmy Carter, President of the United States of America, at Camp David from September 5 to September 17, 1978, and have agreed on the following framework for peace in the Middle East. They invite other parties to the Arab-Israel conflict to adhere to it.

The search for peace in the Middle East must be guided by the following:

-The agreed basis for a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Israel and its neighbors is United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, in all its parts.

-After four wars during thirty years, despite intensive human efforts, the Middle East, which is the cradle of civilization and the birthplace of three great religions, does not yet enjoy the blessings of peace. The people of the Middle East yearn for peace so that the vast human and natural resources of the region can be turned to the pursuits of peace and so that this area can become a model for coexistence and cooperation among nations.

-The historic initiative of President Sadat in visiting Jerusalem and the reception accorded to him by the Parliament, Government and People of Israel, and the reciprocal visit of Prime Minister Begin to Ismailia, the peace proposals made by both leaders, as well as the warm reception of these missions by the peoples of both countries, have created an unprecedented opportunity for peace which must not be lost if this generation and future generations are to be spared the tragedies of war.
The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the other accepted norms of international law and legitimacy now provide accepted standards for the conduct of relations among all states.

To achieve a relationship of peace, in the spirit of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, future negotiations between Israel and any neighbor prepared to negotiate peace and security with it, are necessary for the purpose of carrying out all the provisions and principles of Resolutions 242 and 338.

Peace requires respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force. Progress toward that goal can accelerate movement toward a new era of reconciliation in the Middle East marked by cooperation in promoting economic development, in maintaining stability, and in assuring security.

Security is enhanced by a relationship of peace and by cooperation between nations which enjoy normal relations. In addition, under the terms of peace treaties, the parties can, on the basis of reciprocity, agree to special security arrangements such as demilitarized zones, limited armaments areas, early warning stations, the presence of international forces, liaison, agreed measures for monitoring, and other arrangements that they agree are useful.

FRAMEWORK

Taking these factors into account, the parties are determined to reach a just, comprehensive, and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict through the conclusion of peace treaties based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, in all their parts. Their purpose is to achieve peace and good-neighborly relations. They recognize that, for peace to endure, it must involve all those who have been most deeply affected by the conflict. They therefore agree that this framework as appropriate is intended by them to constitute a basis for peace not only between Egypt and Israel, but also between Israel and each of its other neighbors which is prepared to negotiate peace with
Israel on this basis. With that objective in mind, they have agreed to proceed as follows:

A. West Bank and Gaza.

1. Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the Palestinian people should participate in negotiations on the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. To achieve that objective, negotiations relating to the West Bank and Gaza should proceed in three stages:

(a) Egypt and Israel agree that, in order to ensure a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority, and taking into account the security concerns of all the parties, there should be transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding five years. In order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants, under these arrangements the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas to replace the existing military government. To negotiate the details of a transitional arrangement, the Government of Jordan will be invited to join the negotiations on the basis of this framework. These new arrangements should give due consideration both to the principle of self-government by the inhabitants of these territories and to the legitimate security concerns of the parties involved.

(b) Egypt, Israel, and Jordan will agree on the modalities for establishing the elected self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza. The delegations of Egypt and Jordan may include Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza or other Palestinians as mutually agreed. The parties will negotiate an agreement which will define the powers and responsibilities of the self-governing authority to be exercised in the West Bank and Gaza. A withdrawal of Israeli Armed Forces will take place and there will be a redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces into specified security locations. The agreement will also include arrangements for assuring internal and external security and public order. A strong local police force will be established, which may include Jordanian citizens. In addition, Israeli and Jordanian forces will participate in joint patrols and in the manning of control posts to assure the security of the borders.
(c) When the self-governing authority (administrative council) in the West Bank and Gaza is established and inaugurated, the transitional period of five years will begin. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional period, negotiations will take place to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and its relationship with its neighbors, and to conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan by the end of the transitional period. These negotiations will be conducted among Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. Two separate but related committees will be convened, one committee, consisting of representatives of the four parties which will negotiate and agree on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and its relationship with its neighbors, and the second committee, consisting of representatives of Israel and representatives of Jordan to be joined by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, to negotiate the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, taking into account the agreement reached on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza. The negotiations shall be based on all the provisions and principles of U.N. Security Council Resolution 242. The negotiations will resolve, among other matters, the location of the boundaries and the nature of the security arrangements. The resolution from the negotiations must also recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestine people and their just requirements. In this way, the Palestinians will participate in the determination of their own future through:

1) The negotiations among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to agree on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and other outstanding issues by the end of the transitional period.

2) Submitting their agreement to a vote by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza.

3) Providing for the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to decide how they shall govern themselves consistent with the provisions of their agreement.
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4) Participating as stated above in the work of the committee negotiating the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan.

2. All necessary measures will be taken and provisions made to assure the security of Israel and its neighbors during the transitional period and beyond. To assist in providing such security, a strong local police force will be constituted by the self-governing authority. It will be composed of inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. The police will maintain continuing liaison on internal security matters with the designated Israeli, Jordanian, and Egyptian officers.

3. During the transitional period, representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the self-governing authority will constitute a continuing committee to decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Other matters of common concern may also be dealt with by this committee.

4. Egypt and Israel will work with each other and with other interested parties to establish agreed procedures for a prompt, just and permanent implementation of the resolution of the refugee problem.

B. Egypt-Israel

1. Egypt and Israel undertake not to resort to the threat or the use of force to settle disputes. Any disputes shall be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. In order to achieve peace between them, the parties agree to negotiate in good faith with a goal of concluding within three months from the signing of this framework a peace treaty between them, while inviting the other parties to the conflict to proceed simultaneously to negotiate and conclude similar peace treaties with a view to achieving a comprehensive peace in the area. The framework for the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel will govern the peace negotiations between them. The parties will agree on the modalities and the timetable for the implementation of their obligations under the treaty.
C. Associated Principles

1. Egypt and Israel state that the principles and provisions described below should apply to peace treaties between Israel and each of its neighbors—Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

2. Signatories shall establish among themselves relationships normal to states at peace with one another. To this end, they should undertake to abide by all the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. Steps to be taken in this respect include:

   (a) Full recognition;
   (b) Abolishing economic boycotts;
   (c) Guaranteeing that under their jurisdiction the citizens of the other parties shall enjoy the protection of the due process of law.

3. Signatories should explore possibilities for economic development in the context of final peace treaties, with the objective of contributing to the atmosphere of peace, cooperation and friendship which is their common goal.

4. Claims Commissions may be established for the mutual settlement of all financial claims.

5. The United States shall be invited to participate in the talks on matters related to the modalities of the implementation of the Agreements and working out the timetable for the carrying out of the obligations of the parties.

6. The United Nations Security Council shall be requested to endorse the peace treaties and ensure that their provisions shall not be violated. The permanent members of the Security Council shall be requested to underwrite the peace treaties and ensure respect for their provisions. They shall also be requested to conform their policies and actions with the undertakings contained in this framework.

In order to achieve peace between them, Israel and Egypt agree to negotiate in good faith with a goal of
concluding within three months of the signing of this framework a peace treaty between them.

It is agreed that:

The site of the negotiations will be under a United Nations flag at a location or locations to be mutually agreed.

All of the principles of U.N. Resolution 242 will apply in this resolution of the dispute between Israel and Egypt.

Unless otherwise mutually agreed, terms of the peace treaty will be implemented between two and three years after the peace treaty is signed.

The following matters are agreed between the parties:

(a) The full exercise of Egyptian sovereignty up to the internationally recognized border between Egypt and mandated Palestine;

(b) The withdrawal of Israeli Armed Forces from the Sinai;

(c) The use of airfields left by the Israelis near El Arish, Rafah, Ras en Naqb, and Sharm el Sheikh for civilian purposes only, including possible commercial use by all nations;

(d) The right of free passage by ships of Israel through the Gulf of Suez and the Suez Canal on the basis of the Constantinople Convention of 1888 applying to all nations; the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba are international waterways to be open to all nations for unimpeded and nonsuspendable freedom of navigation and overflight;

(e) The construction of a highway between the Sinai and Jordan near Eilat with guaranteed free and peaceful passage by Egypt and Jordan; and

(f) The stationing of military forces listed below.
STATIONING OF FORCES

a. No more than one division (mechanized or infantry) of Egyptian Armed Forces will be stationed within an area lying approximately 50 kilometers (KM) east of the Gulf of Suez and the Suez Canal.

b. Only United Nations Forces and civil police equipped with light weapons to perform normal police functions will be stationed within an area lying west of the international border and the Gulf of Aqaba, varying in width from 20 km to 40 km.

c. In the area within three km east of the international border there will be Israeli limited military forces not to exceed four infantry battalions and United Nations observers.

d. Border patrol units, not to exceed three battalions, will supplement the civil police in maintaining order in the area not included above.

The exact demarcation of the above areas will be as decided during the peace negotiations.

Early warning stations may exist to insure compliance with the terms of the agreement.

United Nations forces will be stationed: (a) in part of the area in the Sinai lying within about 20 km of the Mediterranean Sea and adjacent to the international border, and (b) in the Sharm el Sheikh area to ensure freedom of passage through the Strait of Tiran; and these forces will not be removed unless such removal is approved by the Security Council of the United Nations with a unanimous vote of the five permanent members.

After a peace treaty is signed, and after the interim withdrawal is complete, normal relations will be established between Egypt and Israel, including: full recognition, including diplomatic, economic and cultural relations; termination of economic boycotts and barriers to the free movement of goods and peoples; and mutual protection of citizens by the due process of law.
INTERIM WITHDRAWAL

Between three months and nine months after the signing of the peace treaty, all Israeli forces will withdraw east of a line extending from a point east of El Arish to Ras Muhamad, the exact location of this line to be determined by mutual agreement.
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Lecture


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