

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF AFRICA

DIRASĀT IFRIQIYYA

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IN THIS ISSUE:

**THE ROLE OF POLICY-MAKERS IN FORMULATING AND
DEFINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEDIA AND
CULTURAL IDENTITY IN THE ARAB WORLD**

PROF. MUDDHIR ABDEL RAHIM

PIGS AND POLITICS IN MEDIEVAL SUDAN :

DR. ALI TIGANI ELMAHI

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FOREWORD

Many Muslim scholars in Africa feel that there is a pressing need for a journal to bridge the academic gap between Africa and the rest of the Muslim world, and also to serve as a forum through which scholars can exchange ideas and develop research ties.

This task is being taken up by the **INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF AFRICA**. This is an academic institution set up for the purpose of strengthening Islamic culture in "Africa South of Sahara". One of the challenges which we have to face is the lack of accurate information about this area and the many misunderstandings about its history and societies. Such areas of study have, in the past, been the monopoly of a few western scholars who have not always been unbiased vis-a-vis Islam and African Muslims. The time is now ripe for Muslim scholars, who specialize in this area, to come forward and bring some balance to the world of research.

We are accordingly inviting our readers, to join hands with us, so that we may set this project moving. We hope that you will be able to participate by sending papers on any of the subjects mentioned below. It will also help if you would kindly circulate this journal among your colleagues and (or) draw our attention to any scholars whom you feel will be able to help in realizing this project.

Dirasat Ifriqiyya takes special interest in the following areas of specialization.

1. Islamic education in Africa.
2. The Arabic language in Africa.
3. The spread of Islam in Africa.
4. Islamic Da'wa and Christian missionary activities in Africa.
5. The cultural background of African Muslim societies and their impact on African practice of Islam.
6. Social, economic and political relations between Africa and the rest of the Muslim World.
7. Institutions of scholarship in and (or) having to do with Africa.

The journal will publish essays in Arabic, English or French. It will initially be published twice annually.

Authors of papers accepted for publication are offered an honorarium in appreciation.

Guiding Notes to the Contributors:

- (*) Papers should range between 3000/5000 words.
- (*) Typing should be clear, double spaced and on one side of paper.
- (*) A margin of 1¼ inches should be left on the right in case of Arabic, on the left in the case of papers in either English or French.
- (*) Sources and footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the paper, but reference to them should be indicated by numerical figures throughout the paper. The figures must also be between brackets.
- (*) Authors are requested to indicate their qualifications, their present occupation, address etc.
- (*) The author should enclose with his paper a signed letter to certify that the paper has not been published in part or whole before. He should also under-take not to pass it to any other publisher before the journal decides on it. On the other hand the editors will decide whether or not the paper is accepted for publication not more than three months after it has been received.
- (*) The author will receive 20 off prints of his published paper.
- (*) The author will be offered an honorarium of \$ 200 or its equivalent.
- (*) The journal welcomes reviews of books recently published and in case the reviews are accepted the reviewers will be offered \$ 100 or its equivalent. Documentation work such as bibliographies will be treated as reviews if they include less than 3000 words but will be considered full papers if they contain 3000 words or more.
- (*) All papers, reviews & documentary material should be mailed to the Editor in-Chief of "Dirasat Ifriqiyya" the I.A.C., P.O.Box 2469, KHARTOUM, SUDAN.
- (*) In transliteration, it is preferrable to follow the system of the Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition).
- (*) The journal is under no obligation to return unpublished papers.

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DIRASSAT IFRIQIYYA

Très nombreux sont les chercheurs musulmans en Afrique qui éprouvent le besoin pressant d' un journal qui puisse jeter un pont sur le fossé académique séparant l'Afrique du rest du monde musulman et qui serve de forum où les chercheurs peuvent échanger les opinions et développer des liens de recherche. Le project est maintenant pris par le Centre islamique Africian de Khartoum. C'est l'institution académique spécialement fondé dans le but de renforcer la culture Islamique en "Afrique au Sud du Sahara". Parmi les défis auxquels nous devons faire face est le manque d'information exactes sur cette région ainsi que les multiples malentendus concernant son histoire et sa société. Ces domaines d'études étaient, dans le passé, le monopole de quelques chercheurs occidentaux qui n'étaient pas toujours neutres vis-à-vis de l'Islam et des musulmans Africains.

Il est temps que les chercheurs musulmans dans ce domaine se montrent et établissent un certain équilibre dans le domaine de la recherche.

Nous vous écrivons maintenant pour vous inviter, en tant que chercheur accompli, à nous donner la main pour relancer ce projet.

Nous espérons que vous pouvez y participer en envoyant des études consacrées aux sujets mentionnés ci-dessous.:-

Il serait très utile si vous pouviez faire circuler cette lettre parmi vos collègues et/ou nous signaler les chercheurs qui vous paraissent capables d' aider a la réalisation de ce projet.

Les domaines de spécialisation du journal sont les suivants:

1. L'Education islamique en Afrique.
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5. Les relations sociales, économiques et politiques entre l'Afrique et le reste du monde musulman.
6. Un arrière -plan culturel des sociétés musulmanes africaines et leurs influences sur la pratique de l'Islam en Afrique.
7. Les établissements de Bourses en Afrique et/ou en rapport avec L'Afrique.
8. La coopération afro-arabe.

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Langue : Les articles doivent être rédigés en arabe, en anglais ou en français.

Durée : Le journal sera publié, au début, deux fois par an.

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Les articles acceptés par le Comité de la rédaction seront publiés et leurs auteurs seront rémunérés. une somme honorifique de 300 Dollars est consacrée au chaque article publié.

Dans l'attente de vous lire bientôt, nous vous remercions d'avance et nous vous prions d'agréer l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.

Les articles non-admis ne sont pas restituables.

The Role of Policy-Makers in Formulating and Defining the Relationship between Media and Cultural Identity in the Arab World

_____ Muddathir Abdel Rahim _____

The hitherto unprecedented capacity of modern media (by which we mean here radio, television, and the press, in addition to both earthbound and extra terrestrial transmission devices) to transmit information in standardized forms, rapidly and over a wide area is a phenomenon of farreaching importance with the capacity to influence, negatively or positively, the distinct cultural identities of societies in all parts of the globe.

If this is true and applicable to nations and societies that are industrially and economically advanced (such as those of Japan, Europe, and North America), it is even more true of those developing nations of the world in Asia, Africa, and Latin America among which are the Arab nations and societies. This is because the modest scientific and industrial capacities of these nations exclude them from the circle of producers that focus on the creation of international media, and make developing countries, instead, recipients of the waves of information that constantly gush forth and rush in upon them from the industrial nations often bearing within them many different, often destructive, cultural values and patterns of behavior.⁽¹⁾

The power and efficiency of modern media make them potent instruments which can be used for the promotion of either constructive purposes or for destructive and nagtive ends. Therefore, the role of policy-makers, responsible for safeguarding the cultural values of the people and developing them in a way that preserves their essence and at the same time permits them to creatively interact with others, may generally be described as consisting in trying to derive the greatest possible benefit from the available media in the service of these goals while, at the same time, endeavoring to minimize the negative elements as much as possible, if it is not possible to get rid of these elements completely.⁽²⁾

The most important features of the media strategy emanating from this general statement may be seen as variations on four main themes. Discussion of the first of these begins with a basic fact related to the nature of modern media themselves; they transmit information in standardized forms that tend to simplify information with a view to ensuring that it will be accepted and understood by millions of viewers, listeners, and readers. This is because the

media are ultimately tools of an industry, whose final objective is to achieve the same goal as all other industries, i.e. marketing and sale of their products in the widest market possible.

But this simplification and standardization of information will have the effect, if policy-makers do not step in with the appropriate guidance and corrective decisions, of discouraging, if not crippling, independent thinking and spreading low standards of understanding, taste, and behavior. It may also lead to a lowering of the intellectual level of people, in addition to encouraging passivity and acceptance in listening, viewing, and reading.

To protect society from these evils and correct this curse, planners and policy-makers should take appropriate measures to promote effective participation in cultural and intellectual activities, and encourage creative intellectuals and artists by honouring them, by granting awards of recognition to those who excel in various fields. They must also encourage discussion, criticism, and democratic participation in all social and cultural activities.

Discussion of the second of our four suggested themes relates to the fact that in Arab countries, most of those who are engaged in directing the media and derive the most benefit from them are drawn from among the better off urban classes, (or if you like, the bourgeoisie or those who are in the process of becoming part of the bourgeoisie) and that they have received their education and training, directly or indirectly, mainly from Western, and non-Arab source. As a result, the media under their leadership, if it is left entirely to them, will tend to serve their own interests and those of the social classes to which they belong or aspire to belong : urban rather than rural, wealthy or seeking to be so, rather than poor or oppressed, the bourgeoisie or those seeking to become bourgeois and, generally, those who have cast off the values of their society and are no longer interested in developing these values, tending instead to admire the West superficially, and be dazzled by its values and civilization but without much understanding.

It is thus clear that among the most important duties of the policy-makers is guidance of the media so that it will be firmly linked – in terms of commitment, expression, and development, to the nation and its cultural values and orientations, in a manner which would serve the interests of all the people, especially the poor and those living in rural areas, while, at the same time, remaining open to the cultures of other nations, interacting with them in a positive and creative manner based on respect for self and for others, without dependency or servile submission to the values and manners of either East or West. This approach will become likely to receive acceptance and support not only because it is equitable and conducive to healthier and more balanced national development, but also because it will be more likely to ensure stability and national security.

Third, moving from interests and behavior to the realm of cultural values and identity (which are after all the core theme of this conference), one must begin with recognizing the basic fact that Islam and the Arabic language are essential and distinctive elements in the cultural identity of the Arab nation and countries.

Certainly, modern media (alongside several other factors), have had, and continue to have, various positive effects especially with regard to strengthening intellectual and emotional ties between citizens of different Arab countries individually, as well as between the peoples of the Arab world from the Atlantic to the Gulf. In addition, the dissemination of information concerning scientific and intellectual progress in different countries around the world stimulates interest in and commitment to progress and development.

It is nevertheless true that visual and audio transmissions as well as printed materials disseminated by the local and international media often include negative features among the most important of which (in addition to those already mentioned above) is that many people especially those whose intellectual and psychological abilities do not allow them to critically examine what is presented or distinguish between what is paltry and what is of value, are seduced and enticed into abandoning perfectly sound Islamic values of their society, falling into the abyss of what I have called "istiqlaad" (derived from the Arabic word "qird", or monkey), that is, the aping or imitation of those Western values and behavioral patterns that seem attractive to them (oftentime simply because they appear exotic or unusual), even though those values happen to be hollow in themselves and completely contradict the values upon which Arab Islamic societies are based.⁽³⁾ What makes the situation even more unfortunate is that the values and patterns of behavior in question are not necessarily among the positive aspects of thought and behavior patterns in Western societies or the fruits of their great civilization in the fields, for example, of science, art, organization, industry, compassion for fellow-human beings and so forth, but oftentime have to do with appearances rather than essentials, with what is considered trivial and distorted by Europeans themselves.

Perhaps one of the clearest and most obvious examples of this is what one of our German colleagues participating in this conference indicated during the presentation of his paper: that among things he observed with astonishment while watching Egyptian TV news and other programs, was the distinctly non-Egyptian appearance some female broadcasters try to present of themselves. Even the choice of the make-up they extravagantly use on their faces and the dyes with which they assiduously colour their hair demonstrate their desire to appear like European women, thus strongly, if not crudely, suggesting to both male and female viewers that Europe and its fashions should be adopted (or aped) in this Egyptian Arab Muslim society.⁽⁴⁾

This observation brings to mind several parallels, including Ibn Khaldun's famous analysis in a chapter of his splendid *Muqaddima* in which he discusses how defeated and conquered people tend to imitate their conquerors and oppressors. An example from the modern history of European Jews is the phenomenon of the self-hating Jew who, in order to escape from the persecution and oppression to which he was subjected in various parts of Europe, denies his own identity and instead imitates the European gentry who oppress and treat him only with contempt. Other examples may be found in the gripping autobiography of Malcolm X and other literary works of black Americans, describing how many of them, both men and women, tried energetically to whiten their faces and skins with powders and chemicals, and to straighten their hair with irons and ointments. And yet another, and no less striking example is that of the many Japanese women, who, since World War Two and Japan's crushing defeat and surrender in the wake of the notorious dropping of atomic bombs upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki, have repeatedly gone to such lengths in imitating European and American women that some of them even underwent surgery on their eye sockets in order to eliminate the natural angle that distinguishes them and the eyes of tens of millions of Asian men and women in order to make their eyes look more like those of western women.⁽⁵⁾

Such regrettable mutilation related to external characteristics, despite the importance of its tragic psychological and social implications, is not the greatest or most dangerous of the negative expressions of psychological defeat (or warfare) facing Arab and Islamic peoples and their cultural values which may be spread and promoted by local and international media. Even more dangerous is the convulsion and mutilation which afflicts language and thus rock values and thoughts to their very foundations.

Perhaps the first thing that may be noted about the state of the modern Arabic language, (and language is of course not merely a set of verbal symbols for the transmission of information, but is rather the medium of thought and the medium whereby emotions and values are expressed) is that it is a language – although the Arabs love it passionately and have rightfully taken pride in it over the centuries, so that many of its talented sons produced monumental creative works in it and continue to do so – which is bedevilled by the fact that most of those who speak it today including many who are considered to be educated, and a great many media specialists and planners among them are not proficient in it : a situation which, I believe, is unparalleled among speakers of any other living language.⁽⁶⁾

But the severe damage suffered by modern Arabic has not been limited to the spread of grammatical errors and incorrect speech, and the vertical disappearance of eloquence and style but has engulfed terminology and basic

categories and thus thought itself. The scales have been so thrown off balance that many modern Arabs have begun to view the world, and even themselves and their nations, and Islam and its civilization, and the values and principles upon which it is based, not with their own eyes and viewpoints but with the eyes of those Americans and Europeans whom they ape and imitate. Evidence of this state of affairs is substantial and can be found in all fields of contemporary Arab thought, historical, social and political, as well as geographical (pertaining to the names of the very land upon which the Arab world is physically located).⁽⁷⁾

Regarding confusion about historical views, it suffices to note the way in which the expression "the Middle Ages" is used as a metaphor for cultural backwardness and narrowness of thought. If this and similar expressions are used with reference to the history of European nations and societies where it originated and acquired this meaning, the matter would be in order and the intended statement would be in conformity with fact. But the expression is often used among contemporary Arab intellectuals and media specialists even when they speak of Muslim Arab history whose "middle ages", as school children would very well know, were as far as can be from the meanings attached to it by those imitators.

Similarly, in the fields of geographic and strategic thought, it is well known that American and British strategists have tended to divide the globe into sections named, from their own viewpoint, the Far East, Near East, and Middle East. We have taken this last designation over and have continued to use it without asking ourselves about the extent of its applicability (or that of any of its many different meanings) to the facts, interests, or positions that concern us. The explanation seems to lie, once again, in pure unthinking imitation on our part that leaves no room for rational justification or explanation. One is therefore driven to ask the question whether we are doomed to go on imitating and being dependent even in the naming of the very land that nurtures us and upon which we stand?

In our contemporary social life too there is a tendency among many who have been blinded by some of the superficial aspects of modern European culture to address a female spouse as Madame so-and-so, as it is customary in Western societies.

It goes without saying that this is incompatible, not only with the established customs of our own society, which for centuries called women by their own names and those of their fathers rather than husbands' but also with modern women's liberation movements which, in support of women's dignity and independence, call for the adoption of those forms of designation which have for centuries been part and parcel of our tradition, which however we are now deserting for outmoded Western styles.

In our religious and political life there is much that is similar to this. We will

content ourselves with mentioning an expression that is often repeated in our media as though it were a given and incontestable fact, the saying attributed in the New Testament to Jesus Christ, the Messiah, son of Mary (upon whom be peace): Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's. This utterance, no matter what may be the divergent views of Christians about its meaning and significance, is logical and acceptable within the framework of Christian thought in which it appears, and in the context of European and Western societies whose historical, social, and intellectual development are welded to this and similar sayings relating to the separation of politics from religion. But those among us who are either ignorant of our cultural values or, for reasons of their own, choose to ignore these values and the Islamic principles and norms upon which they are based (including a number of leading policy-makers and writers) incessantly repeat this statement alleging that there is "no religion in politics and no politics in religion", even in these Islamic societies where religion is distinguished, among other things, by the fact that it ties and unifies the different dimensions of human life, including politics and religion. This is also necessarily known from Koranic principles and the Sunna of the Prophet Muhammad, and from the consensus of Muslims over the centuries. It is also known and recognized even by Orientalists, but apparently not by those amongst us who are bent on imitating Western styles of thought and action.

Media, provided their affairs are in order and well-led and guided, are able to play a large and effective role not only in the correction of the various distortions and misconceptions that impede our path to advancement and self-realization, including those promoted by advocates of a closed-door cultural policy coupled with imitation of our forefathers (although they only attained their glory and impact through creativity, and innovation) as well as ideas promoted by those who are being uprooted from our social and cultural values through imitating contemporary Westerners although they and, for example, the Japanese, have only attained distinction and advancement through creation and innovation within the context of their respective cultural values and imperatives. Media are able to participate in a singular way in the mobilization of our social forces for progress and development in the context of our own cultural values which are characterized, *inter alia*, by openness to humanity and preparedness to learn from others while teaching them, a give-and-take attitude based on mutual respect and a dignified independence of mind.

This requires among other things that our media attempt to correct the unfair and distorted stereotype of Arabs and Muslims that is widespread in the West not only on the level of media and their products (from which we draw much of what is spread and promulgated in our own countries) but even in the writings of many academics and specialists.⁶⁹ It goes without saying

that this may be done by presenting accurate and detailed facts about the Arabs and Muslims in convincing ways characterized by intelligence, sensitivity, and good taste, and consequently inducing respect for their humanity and awareness of their intellectual, artistic, and scientific accomplishments, both ancient and modern, in different fields.⁽⁹⁾

Discussion of the fourth of our suggested themes for media strategy is related to two issues both of which are necessary for the healthy growth and development of Arab media but can, unless used carefully, lead to increased dependency and "aping", and ever-growing erosion of national culture which is threatening the industrially backward Third World societies faced by the flood of information pouring in from the industrialized nations. These two important issues are: media training and technology:

The dangers related to training, despite its pivotal importance, emanate from a simple, fundamental fact: namely, that most media specialists in Arab countries obtain their training, directly or indirectly, from Western, mainly American, sources or institutes.⁽¹⁰⁾ Therefore they absorb, along with their training and media studies, many values, theories, assumptions and behavior patterns that do not merely contradict the values and cultures of their own societies, but often do so to the point of completely negating the said values and cultures.

As for media technology and its international networks, both electronic and otherwise, it is known that Arab news agencies, those that have been nationalized and are subject to governments described as "revolutionary", rely greatly, in some cases almost completely, upon international news agencies. This ensures their dependence as well as that of the Arab nations and societies that rely upon them or draw their information and news from them⁽¹¹⁾ not only about the world around them, and about one another, but even about themselves and their own internal affairs individually

Hence it becomes imperative for responsible officials, political leaders and administrators to formulate the means by which their countries and media bureaus will be able to become more independent and self-reliant, especially regarding training and technology.⁽¹²⁾

In view of the aspiration of these countries and societies to end their dependency and achieve independence—which requires the possession of technical knowledge and financial means which they may not have on their own — there must be effective cooperation among them as well as with nations that are in a similar position on both the regional and international levels in order to establish a new international media system in which different nations and societies will be able to exchange experiences, benefits, and knowledge on the basis of mutual respect and without either external control or internal submissiveness. The doors to the future will thereby be opened to humankind to proceed on the basis of equality and mutual respect, along the path of

brotherhood and cooperation to the benefit of all. The hope that these objectives stand a good chance of being realized is strengthened by the fact that those responsible for media in the Arab countries have expressed more than once their desire to work, individually or in cooperation with each other, and on different levels, to achieve some of what has been mentioned above. Perhaps the clearest example of this is the declaration which was adopted at the end of the international Governmental conference held in Khartoum in July 1987.⁽¹³⁾ The following passages are quoted from it.

“There is an urgent need to give the utmost priority to the planning and policy-making in the field of communications and media in the Arab region so that mass communications and media in all their forms may become an effective element in the strengthening of the ties binding the peoples of the Arab nation to one another and to the inhabitants of the rest of the world; to participate in the process of economic and social development; to participate in the endeavour of human civilization through give and take; and to face cultural invasion and loss of identity with due regard for the cultural content of development and support of cultural identity which are consistent with the goals of the international decade for cultural development and the protection of cultural identity”.

“Full use must be made of the fact that the Arab nation has a uniquely rich language and a common literary heritage which they have shared for many centuries. This, in addition to the flexibility of the language and its ability to express complex modern ideas and concepts, and that it is a vehicle which bears cultural experiences no less varied and rich than those of even the most advanced and sophisticated civilizations which humanity has created. Media of information and communication in all their different forms must be used to protect the spiritual values that are the hallmark and common inheritance of all Arabs and must never lose sight of the fact that Islam is the fundamental spiritual point of departure for the Arab nation, and the Arab home-land has been the cradle of heavenly messages and the home that embraced and protected them”.

“We realized the advantage of opening our cultures to all the civilizations of the world and the consequent necessity for cooperation as an ideal formula for the regulation of relations among nations and peoples. At the same time however we will not equieece in subjugation whether material or ideological, nor will we accept aggression, exploitation, or oppression”.

These excerpts make it clear that the chief features of the policies approved by policy-makers, once their details have been spelt out and implemented, may be relied upon to protect and develop national cultural values within the context of an open intentional order characterized by fairness and mutual responsibility.

FOOTNOTES

1. Many studies have been published on different aspects of this subject and from different points of view; the following are examples : UNESCO, Cultural Policy: A Preliminary Study (Paris, 1969); Anthony Smith, The Geopolitics of Information (London, 1980); and Awatif Abd al-Rahman, Qadaya al-Taba^Ciyya al-I^C lamiyya wa al-Thaqafiyya fi al-^CAlam al-Thalith (Problems of informational and cultural dependency in the third world, Kuwait 1984).
2. Abd al-Rahman gives an excellent account of various aspects of this subject in her above-mentioned study.
3. Muddathir Abdel Rahim, Bayn al-Asala wa al-Taba^Ciyya: Tajribat al-Isti^Cmar wa Anmat al-Taharrur al-Thaqafiyya fi al-Bilad al-Asyawiyya wa al-Ifriqiyya (Between authenticity and dependence; Patterns of colonial domination and cultural emancipation in Asian and African countries, Khartoum 1981). This paper was first a public lecture which was presented during the cultural festival held in Abu Dhabi in March 1975, and was published there at the end of the same year.
4. The scholar to whom reference here is made is Hans Wagner.
5. Cf. no. (3) above.
6. On this , see the study of Muhyal-Din Abd al-Halim and Hassan Muhammad Abu al-Aynayn al-Faqi, Al-Arabiyya fi al-I^Clam: Al-Usul wa al-Qawa^Cid wa al-Akhta' al-Sha'i^Ca (The Arabic language and the media: Basic principles, and common mistakes) Cairo 1988.
7. Abdel Rahim, *ibid.*
8. Many studies have been published on this subject, among the best and most perspicacious of which are those of Norman Daniel, Islam and the West: The Making of an Image (Edinburgh 1980); Daniel, The Arabs and Medieval Europe (London, 1973); Edward Said, Orientalism (New York, 1978); and Said, Covering Islam (London, 1981).
9. I consider two films produced by the innovative cinematographer Mustafa al-Aqqad (Al-Risala "The Message" and Omer al-Mukhtar) to be among the best examples that can be seen in this category. They are however apparently still unique in a field which still remains largely unexplored.
10. Abd al-Rahman, *ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*

12. A good study on this matter in Arabic is that of Mustafa al-Samudi, Al-Nizam al-^Clami al-Jadid (The new international informantion order, Kuwait 1986), but the principal study is that of McBride's International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (UNESCO 1980).
13. UNESCO supervised this conference under its then Director General Ahmed Mukhtar Ambu, with participating delegations representing Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, J̄rdan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Mauritania, Morocco, North and South Yemen, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, and the United Arab Emirates – in addition to others from East and West Germany, France, India, Pakistan, the PLO, the Soviet Union, the Vatican and Yugoslavia, as well as representatives from the United Nations and non-government international organizations, ALESCO, the Arab Journalists' Union, and the Arab Broadcasting Union. I am indebted to Engineer Faruq Ibrahim Ali, head of the Egyptian delegation, for his kindness in providing me with a copy of the closing speech of the conference published in Majallat al-Dirasat al-^Clamiyya, Cairo 1987.

