An Inquiry Into The Influences Of American Democracy On The Arab Middle East, 1819-1958

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AN INQUIRY INTO THE INFLUENCES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY ON THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST, 1819-1958

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
College of the Pacific

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Edward Augustine Raleigh
June 1960
APPROVAL OF DISSERTATION

by

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March 9, 1960
The investigator expresses his appreciation to Professor Rom Landau, whose intimate acquaintance with Middle Eastern affairs made the work interesting and profitable; to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Edward Saathoff, who typed the preliminary manuscripts; and, to his wife, Velva, who proofread each section and consistently encouraged him to continue the research.
PREFACE

The purpose of this dissertation is to present an analysis of the American contributions to democracy in the Arab Middle East. Research will be confined, for the most part, to the American impact upon the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Iraq between 1819 and 1958. Yemen, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, and the Trucial Sheikdoms will be treated incidentally because the American impact is so slight as to be virtually non-existent; while Turkey, although not an Arab country, will be studied in some detail in the chapter on Education primarily because of Robert College and the part it played in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The importance of a study in this area may be gauged by selected unsolicited responses to letters asking for information on various parts of the dissertation project.

The field of investigation you have chosen for your doctoral dissertation is significant, and your findings will be timely and useful. . . .

Affi I. Tannous, Chief
Africa and Middle East
Analysis Branch
U. S. Department of Agriculture

. . . You most certainly have carved out an interesting and large project for your doctoral dissertation and I am sure the results will be of interest to a number of sources.

Donald T. Shea
Public Affairs Officer
American Consulate General
Syria, UAR
You have chosen a very unusual and interesting subject for your doctoral dissertation.

Henry E. Edmunds, Manager
Research and Information
Department
Ford Motor Company

I applaud the subject you have chosen for your doctoral dissertation. . . . With all good wishes to your worthwhile and ambitious project, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Harry B. Ellis
International Correspondent
The Christian Science Monitor

You have an extremely interesting dissertation subject, which will demand a great deal of delving into often inaccessible sources.

Professor W. F. Albright
Oriental Seminary
The John Hopkins University

A considerable amount of material is available for certain sections of the study. The Arabian American Oil Company, for example, publishes scores of pamphlets which purport to show the influence of this American business on Saudi life. Numerous texts allude to the impact made by the American missionaries in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt, but there appears to be little evidence collected which attempts to show the specific contributions made by these and other American agents and agencies towards democracy in Arab lands.

Two books in Arabic bear some relation to the dissertation subject. Nabih Faris devotes ten pages of his America And The Modern Arab Awakening to the impact made by American
missionaries and Arab emigrants to the United States upon political thought in the Arab Middle East. Mustafa Khalidy and Omar A. Farrukh in *Missionaries and Imperialism* direct their discussion primarily towards the role of the European missionary as a forerunner of political intervention in the Arab world. Two books that may be pertinent to the subject will be published in the near future. Emil Lengyel's *America and the Middle East Today* will be on the bookshelves sometime in 1960. John A. DeNovo, Associate Professor of American History at Pennsylvania State University, has started research for a book to be published in two or three years on "American Interests and Policies in the Middle East, 1900-1939." Mr. DeNovo will "touch on any American influences he can detect on institutions and attitudes in Turkey, Iran, and the Arab Middle East," but he does not plan a detailed investigation of the theme.

The aim of this dissertation is to discover the contributions to democracy made by Americans and American institutions to the Arab Middle East during the span of 138 years between 1819 and 1958. The writer hopes the survey will provide an opportunity for the reader to evaluate current American-Arab relations in the light of past success and past failure. It is hoped, further, that the reader may discover ways in which the United States may continue to encourage democracy in Arab countries while avoiding the pitfalls of previous mistakes.
Primary sources have been used as much as possible. Missionary letters and journals, letters and messages of American presidents, Congressional documents, State Department bulletins, United States Department of Commerce statistical reports, American philanthropic foundations' reports, documents of the International Cooperation Commission, and the Constitutions of Arab states have been consulted extensively. Numerous interviews with Arab students at various universities; interviews with Arab consular representatives stationed in the United States; over one hundred replies to letters sent to Arab leaders, United States Information Officers, and American schools, and American businessmen in the Middle East; and, eighty-six questionnaires to Arab students currently enrolled in American universities have been used in an effort to provide as reliable a background as possible for the study. Secondary material has been used to provide continuity to the narrative when primary material was not available.
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CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Americans have lived and worked in the Arab Middle East for almost 150 years. They carried American democratic ideals into lands quite different from New England's rocky, rain-drenched soil and to people with different cultural, religious, and political backgrounds. It may be appropriate, therefore, to take a brief look at the land and people of the Arab Middle East in which and among whom these Americans have labored.

I. THE LAND

The Arab Middle East extends from the western boundary of Egypt to the eastern boundary of Iraq. It includes the United Arab Republic - Syria and Egypt, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Kuwait, Bahrein, Qatar, Trucial Oman, Oman, Aden Protectorate, Lebanon, and Iraq.

Geologically speaking, the Arab Middle East consists of two distinctive zones: the northern mountains and the southern plateaus. As would be expected in an area of approximately 1,700,000 square miles, the climate is varied. Along the northern and northeastern boundaries of Lebanon and Syria there are hot, dry summers and cool, rainy winters; the amount of

rainfall fluctuates between 35 and 50 inches annually. On the southern plateau, in Jordan, the temperature ranges from \(35^\circ F\) in January to \(92^\circ F\) in July; rainfall varies from 26 inches in the north to 10 inches in the south.

Water is the greatest need of the Arab Middle East today. Rainfall is practically non-existent over much of the area. Cairo, Egypt, records less than two inches of rain per year while Assuan, the site of President Nasser's new high dam, scarcely feels a trace while it swelters in temperatures that have been known to reach \(118^\circ F\).

Saudi Arabia is a desert land dotted with oases. It has no forests and no rivers. Almost all of Saudi Arabia's 600,000 square miles has an annual rainfall of less than two inches.

Mineral resources except for oil, are scarce in the Arab Middle East. Lebanon has iron ore deposits in the south and thick deposits of an inferior lignite coal in the mountain regions. Egypt mines manganese, phosphate, gold, iron ochres, nickel, sodium carbonate, sulfate talc and tungsten but not in sufficient quantity to satisfy its own needs for industrial expansion.

Agriculture is the chief industry among the Arabs. Over one-half of the people eke out a meager existence from the soil. Iraq supplies about 80 per cent of the world's dates, Lebanon exports barley, fruits, vegetables, wool and cotton, and Egypt is one of the largest cotton producing countries in the world;
but in general agricultural production has not kept pace with growing populations.

Aridity and barrenness have stunted agricultural development in the Middle East for over fifteen hundred years. Only Arabia Felix, that Happy Arabia of the Romans on the tip of the peninsula, the nations of the Fertile Crescent at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, and the lands along the Mediterranean Sea stepped over the threshold of civilization in Pre-Islamic times. The lack of arable land still retards Middle Eastern progress; at least 95 per cent of Jordan, 80 per cent of Saudi Arabia, 96 per cent of Egypt, 50 per cent of Syria, and 92 per cent of Iraq are desert.

The lands of the Arab Middle East occupy a unique geographical position at the crossroads of three continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe. We may expect, therefore, that potent cultural influences from all three continents will be strongly represented among Middle Eastern peoples. While it is true that some parts of the Middle East are easy of access and have acquired a mixed culture, there are also extensive areas of difficult terrain behind which ancient ways of life still exist undisturbed and relatively unaltered by foreign impacts.

II. THE PEOPLE

The inhabitants of the Arab Middle East are as diversified as the terrain and climate. Nomads tend their flocks in
Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq in much the same way as did their ancestors in Biblical times. The city dweller of Cairo, Beirut, or Baghdad may deign to tear himself away from his television set long enough to discuss these wandering Bedu but is apt to refer to them specifically as "the Arabs."

The majority of Saudi Arabians are still nomadic. Nevertheless, Saudi Arabia is moving slowly out of feudalism towards a more modern way of living. Saudis are taking advantage of the increased educational opportunities in their desert kingdom and are assuming more of the responsible positions in society which formerly went to foreigners.

Kuwait, Qatar, and Bahrein on the Persian Gulf are oil rich. Their peoples, who number less than one-half million, enjoy a very high per capita income. The spirit of nationalism has caught hold among them and they are becoming increasingly attentive to the need for political partnership.

The people of Yemen are, perhaps, the poorest in the Arab Middle East. Little is known about Yemen since foreigners usually are forbidden to enter and travel about the country. Periodically her people make the news by engaging in border

---

2Emile Bustani, Doubts and Dynamite, p. 80. Qatar's annual income, for example, works out at $2,800 per capita of her population.
clashes with the British troops of Aden Protectorate, but Bustani claims that these Yemeni are "bare-footed ill-clad guerrillas."³ Arab nationalism has made little progress in Yemen. The old legal system remains, and there is very little evidence that much is being done to change it.⁴ Although a member of the Arab League, the United Nations (1947), and the United Arab Republic (1958), the people of Yemen appear as far removed from the activities of these organizations as do the bushmen of Africa.

Many Egyptians are still pathetically poor by modern Western standards. Nevertheless, great strides have been made in the last few years to raise the living conditions of the peasant. The Egyptian Government has opened hundreds of social centers to serve the peasant, each one with an authority on agriculture, a doctor, and a schoolteacher. It has instituted land reforms and built hospitals. Generally speaking, the Egyptian peasant seems to be slightly better off today than ever before in history.

Syrians are among the most politically conscious and vehemently nationalistic peoples in the Arab Middle East. After independence in April, 1946, they formed numerous political

³Ibid., p. 41.
parties and agitated constantly for government reform. The army, however, held the balance of power and between 1949 and 1955 three major coups by the military overthrew incumbent regimes.

The fall of the Shishadli government, in 1954, signalled the beginning of increased communist activity among the Syrians. A strong Communist party, led by Khalid Bikdash, threatened to bring Syria into the Soviet camp. By 1957 there were many indications that the communists might soon have complete control of the country: trade, financial, and arms agreements had been signed with Communist China, the Soviet Union, and every nation in the Eastern Communist bloc; a rumor circulated in Damascus that the American Embassy planned to overthrow the Syrian Government; and, Afif Bizri, a communist sympathizer, replaced General Nizam ud-Din as Syrian Chief-of-Staff.

But the Syrians proved to be less susceptible to communist propaganda than the West supposed. In a burst of patriotic enthusiasm Syria joined Egypt in the United Arab Republic in February, 1958. Khalid Bikdash fled the country, and, for the moment at least, communist agitation in Syria lies dormant.

The people of Jordan cannot live without outside aid. An impoverished group of nomads and semi-nomads, which may run to one-fourth of the total population, exist under extremely primitive conditions. Poverty increased with the influx of Palestine refugees after the Arab-Israeli War, and there appears
little hope that it will be reduced unless other nations subsidize this sparsely settled kingdom.

The people of Lebanon are, perhaps, the most "Western" in the Arab Middle East. Nationalism, however, is no less strong because of this. The very taproots of the nationalist movement reach deep into Lebanon's soil; Lebanese have spread ideals of freedom wherever they have travelled.

Lebanon is the most densely populated Arab nation in the Middle East and one of the most literate nations of the earth. Approximately 17 per cent of Lebanon's population are in school.5 There are innumerable newspapers; in Beirut alone, a city of 211,000, there are thirty-two dailies, fifteen weeklies, and four monthly newspapers.

The Lebanese are natural traders. Descendants of the Phoenicians, they have continued to be active as commercial agents, promoters of finance and shipping, and prominent bankers. A prosperous nation, Lebanon stands at the opposite pole from impoverished Jordan.

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5Compiled from Information Please Almanac, 1959, pp. 262, 264. Approximately 10 per cent of Syrians, 15 per cent of Egyptians, 7 per cent Iraqis, 16 per cent of Jordanians, and slightly more than 1 per cent of Saudi Arabians are in school. Lebanon's 17 per cent puts her in the same class as France and England, while the United States has almost 25 per cent of its population in schools.
Various racial strains are evident in the Middle East. Some Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, and Jordanians have dark skins and almost jet-black eyes while others are blue-eyed and fair-skinned, a legacy, perhaps, from the Graeco-Roman and Crusader invasions. Saudi Arabia and Yemen, more isolated and less open to invasion, exhibit less evidence of racial mixture, but there has been some dilution of the "Arab stock" over the centuries through the importation of wives and concubines from the outside.

Approximately forty million people live in the Arab Middle East today. Despite their diversities, two primary forces have bound them together for almost 1400 years: religion and language. The language is Arabic, the religion is Islam.

The Arabic language is a concise vehicle of expression. It is beautiful to hear but difficult to learn. Perhaps of

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6 This figure of forty million is compiled from information in Rom Landau, op. cit., pp. 278-282; Information Please Almanac, 1959, pp. 732-788; and Rand McNally-Cosmopolitan World Atlas, pp. 136-139. No completely accurate statistics are available.

7 From Landau, op. cit., p. 29. Islam comes from the Arabic word aslama (submit), and those who profess it are called Muslims, meaning those who have submitted themselves to God and thereby have found peace.
greater importance to Arab unity is the fact that it is the
language of the Koran, the word of God as given to Muhammad by
the Angel Gabriel, and, therefore, it affords a basic tie
among all believers.

Over 90 per cent of the Arabs profess the Islamic
faith. Islam teaches the oneness of God in a universe filled
with His presence. Its basic precepts are encompassed in the
five pillars of faith: the declaration, \textit{la ilaha illa-l-ah},
(There is no God but God); the ritual of prayer which requires
the believer to pray at least five times a day; the fast which
requires abstention from all food, drink, tobacco and sexual
intercourse during the daylight hours of the ninth month,
Ramadan, of the Muslim year; the \textit{haj}, or pilgrimage to Mecca,
to be undertaken, if possible, at least once in a Muslim's life;
and the payment of a religious tax, \textit{zakat}, usually $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent
of an individual's capital, for the support of the poor. Islam
encompasses all phases of Muslim living. It is more than a
religion; it is a way of life. Through Islamic law, sharia, as
it developed from the Koran and the sayings and examples of the

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\textsuperscript{8}Estimates range from 100 per cent in Saudi Arabia and
Yemen to 50 per cent in Lebanon. 91 per cent of Egyptians are
Muslims, 92 per cent Jordanians, 94 per cent of Iraqis, and 85
per cent of Syrians.
Prophet Muhammad, the Muslim is regulated in his social, ethical, and legal activities. 9

Western law has made its impact upon Arab societies in the last two hundred years. Sharia has undergone change in some areas and has been virtually eliminated in others. The United Arab Republic, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq have adopted modern constitutions patterned on those of the West; only Yemen and Saudi Arabia cling to sharia courts for other than personal matters.

* * *

Lest it be supposed that religion and language are the only ties that bind the people of the Middle East, there is another that is perhaps more universal and is certainly more current. This is the force of Arab nationalism. Muslim majorities and other religious minorities appear dedicated to the proposition that the Middle East shall be free to work out its own destiny.

In the words of Bustani, "It is impossible to overrate the strength of Arab nationalism today."10 Before it, all other considerations pale to insignificance. The Egyptian Copt, the

9Edward Atiyah, The Arabs, p. 25.
10Bustani, op. cit., p. 17.
Lebanese Christian, and the Saudi Muslims appear as one on two topics; national freedom and the creation of the State of Israel. For these, the West, and particularly the United States, bear some measure of responsibility.
CHAPTER II

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

The Learned Ones are the heirs of the Prophet - they have knowledge as their inheritance; he who inherits it inherits a great fortune.

Bukhari, Hadith
Bk. 3, Chap. 10.

* * *

American schools in the Middle East played a major role in conveying western democratic ideals into Arab lands. The American University of Beirut, Robert College in Istanbul, the American University at Cairo, and hundreds of smaller American institutions have made certain specific contributions to the process of democratic thought among the Arabs with whom they have had contact.

For the purposes of this chapter, nationalism is equated with patriotism. The Arab nationalist of the twentieth century finds he holds much in common with the American missionary patriot of the early nineteenth. American schools and American teachers transmitted to their Arab students some of the intense nationalism they felt for the new United States.

American schools stressed literacy. In doing so, they opened opportunities for Arabs to learn about the glories of
Arab history. This study, in turn, helped strengthen the pride of Arab youth in their native lands.

American missionary teachers generally avoided the stigma of proselytism. Their schools were opened to all races and creeds and conducted in a non-sectarian atmosphere. Arabs journeyed to them from all parts of the Ottoman Empire, lived together in a spirit of cooperation, settled differences of opinion by discussion, learned the importance of social responsibility, and learned of the premium placed on physical labor by the educated class in a free society.

* * *

I. THE BEGINNING

American influence in the Middle East may be traced directly to the nineteenth century when a small group of dedicated Protestant missionaries landed at Malta and set out to convert "the heathens" in the Holy Land. These early Americans intended to bring the "Word of God" to the Muslim; their avowed interest in education centered upon opening the Scriptures to the masses.

How desirable it is, that a powerful Christian influence should be exerted in all these regions, with the design of improving common schools and causing them to be nurseries of pure religion.¹

The innumerable letters sent by the missionaries to the American Board of Control for Foreign Missions\(^2\) attest to their overwhelming religious zeal, and the choice of books to be printed first by the mission press gives further evidence of their desire to direct reading towards religious indoctrination.\(^3\)

However, at least one request was made to the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM for elementary school books; a request that met with mixed success as the publishing of primers was relegated as secondary to the publishing of religious tracts.

The power of the press to instruct, to influence, and to reform in a country already free and enlightened like our own, can hardly be estimated too highly... But we ought to reflect, that it is upon its readers that it produces its effects. Where ignorance deprives it of these, its influence ceases... Such, to a considerable extent, is its situation in the Levant... 

What shall be done?...

It is our urgent duty to request the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Missions to direct the Superintendents of their press at this place to print, among other publications, a series of elementary school

\(^{2}\)Hereafter referred to as ABCFM.

\(^{3}\)Among the first books printed on the Malta Press, in Arabic, were Portions of the Scriptures, Dr. Watt's First Catechism for Children, and the Dairyman's Daughter. The last, written by the Rev. Legh Richmond (1772-1827), was "designed to bear a testimony, drawn from real facts and occurrences, to the infinite value of Christian truth when received in the heart." The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine, I, (April, 1814), p. 116.
books for the several nations which use the Greek, Armenian-Turkish, and Arabic languages.¹

Thus, while missionary writings lean heavily towards religious proselytism, the phrase "already free and enlightened like our own" suggests an undertone of democratic idealism and the desire to bring this enlightenment, through reading, into the Middle East.

Coupled with the drive for literacy, secularism, or, more precisely, non-sectarianism, found expression among the missionaries as early as 1828.⁵ That American missionaries in the 1820's made some reference to non-sectarianism and mass education should not be surprising since they were reared in the shadow of the American Revolution, were contemporaries of Jefferson and Madison, and were exposed to countless discourses on the new government of the United States in the fledgling American press.⁶ That these pioneer missionaries carried with them into the Ottoman Empire an enormous pride in national

¹"Editorial Remarks on the Use of the Press in the Middle East," The Missionary Herald, XXVI (March, 1830), pp. 78-82.

⁵The Missionary Herald, XXIV (November, 1828), p. 352. "Our opinion is," writes the Rev. Bird from Beirut, that the physicians sent to Syria...ought not to be ministers of the Gospel in name, though they should be so in fact."

citizenship—pride which, one day, would be transferred through education into Arab consciousness—may be attributed to the emotional environment created by Thomas Paine and other revolutionary leaders.

The missionary cloak of religious fervor showed only occasional patches of nationalism, but these cursory glimpses leave little doubt concerning the intensity of feelings in the wearer. Dr. Eli Smith, missionary pioneer and translator of the Bible into Arabic, wrote in glowing terms of the visit of two American warships to the harbor at Beirut.

... Besides the pleasure anticipated from the sight of our flag... we had wished such a visit that it might give the people an idea of our distinct national existence:

It was a most affecting scene... the capstan covered with our national flag. I recalled... the unequalled privilege of that land we called our country.

Dr. Smith and his fellow workers carried nationalism into the Middle East in much the same way that Napoleon's troops carried the "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" of the French Revolution...

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7Extract from the "Journal of Mr. Agar," dated Dec. 1, 1834, cited in The Missionary Herald, XXXI (August, 1855), p. 104. "American citizenship is as valuable to us as Roman citizenship was to the apostles." Cf. H. I. Katibah, The New Spirit in Arab Lands, p. 29. Katibah calls nationalism "a religion of democracy" and hails the American colonies as the first true nation.

into a disunited Italy.\textsuperscript{9} Both were done incidentally and yet each has had the most lasting effect on its respective area.

Most sections of the Arab Middle East have felt the educational drive of the American missionary.\textsuperscript{10} His emphasis on education reflected the best traditions of Thomas Jefferson, who preferred that the words "Father of the University of Virginia" be engraved on his tombstone rather than his title of "President of the United States."	extsuperscript{11} Traditionally, Americans have sought education and literacy as the panacea for public and private ills, and, consequently, they have emphasized quantity as much as--some would say more than--quality. The American style of mass education, limited, of course, by resources and personnel, has been transported into the Middle East.

Table I lists the major American schools in Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. Thousands of smaller American

\textsuperscript{9}Henry M. Jessup, "Letter to ABCFM," cited in The Missionary Herald, LVII (June, 1861), p. 167. "The political horizon is still dark and uncertain; but after all, what have we to do with the political concerns of Syria, so long as God remains on the throne."

\textsuperscript{10}Saudi Arabia is a notable exception. Here, the missionary found it difficult to penetrate the feudalist barriers of tribal governments and the strict orthodoxy of the Wahabis. Yemen, also, was physically and politically inaccessible to the nineteenth century Americans.

\textsuperscript{11}Henry Steele Commager, Living Ideas in America, p. 554.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Robert College, American College for Boys, American School for Girls, Talas Boys School, American High School for Boys, American Collegiate Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>American University of Beirut, Near East School of Theology, American School for Boys, American School for Girls (Beirut), American School for Girls (Sidon), Gerard Institute for Boys, Middle East College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>Aleppo College, Aleppo High School for Boys, Damascus College, American School for Boys, American School for Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>American School for Boys, American School for Girls, Baghdad College for Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>American University at Cairo, Assiut College, American College for Girls</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*From F. C. Mattison (ed.), A Survey of American Interests in the Middle East, pp. 85, 93. Damascus College in Syria is no longer in existence as an American school.
schools, equally important, function in the villages of the Arab world. The American Friends Board of Missions, for example, has established separate schools for boys and girls at Ramillah, Jordan. Although it is a modest venture, at present, because of inadequate finances, the Friends hope to expand above the twelve grade levels now in operation. The ABCFM, with which the Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches were affiliated, have founded over sixty schools in Lebanon and Syria.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America operates an American School for Girls in Baghdad and several other schools in Amarah, Basra, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Muscat. Three schools, one each in Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, have been started by the Church of God Missionary Board of Anderson, Indiana. Seventh Day Adventists have a vocational school near Heliopolis, Egypt, elementary schools in Jordan and Jerusalem, and both elementary and secondary schools in Baghdad, Mosul, and Basra.\(^{12}\)

American education in Arab lands, however, is not solely the function of missionaries and religious societies. American colonies abroad occasionally organize schools without benefit of professional direction. Government workers, businessmen,

\(^{12}\) F. C. Mattison (ed.), *A Survey of American Interests in the Middle East*, pp. 85, 93.
and other expatriates band together for the educational advancement of their own children and soon expand their school to include the children of the native population.\textsuperscript{13} This impetus towards mass education appears a compelling ideal in American democratic life which is thus carried into Arab lands.

Acting upon the theory that a literate population is a barometer of profit as well as a force for democracy, American business has entered the field of education. The Arabian-American Oil Company, among others, grants scholarships to deserving students for training in the United States and Europe and has established technical schools for workers on-the-job.

Belatedly realizing the political significance of American education among the Arabs, the government of the United States furnishes financial aid to schools in the Middle East through the Smith-Mundt Act.\textsuperscript{14} Public Law 584, the Fulbright Act, provides funds for student exchange.\textsuperscript{15} Seventy-eight

\textsuperscript{13}Harrison Negley, "Why They Love Us In Tangier," Collier's (May 16, 1953), pp. 68-73. The American colony in Tangier opened an elementary school in September, 1950. Now the non-professional founders of this institution dream of an American University of Tangier fashioned after the American University of Beirut or Robert College. This school has now achieved high school status.

\textsuperscript{14}An Act of Congress designed to foster international understanding through education. Cf. \textit{Ibid.} for a discussion of its application in an Arab country.

students from the Middle East studied in American universities under Fulbright grants in 1956.\textsuperscript{16} Most of these students will return to their native lands as government workers or as teachers in the mushrooming educational facilities.\textsuperscript{17}

Thus, the primary American agencies in the Middle East have charted their separate courses; missionary societies for conversion, business organizations for profit, and government for political security. They find in education a common meeting ground through which they seek, often inadvertently, to fulfill the democratic promise of an enlightened people, and, hence, an enlightened electorate.

It is too early to assess the full impact of American government and business upon democracy in the Arab Middle East. American government in the nineteenth century was too busy fighting a civil war, realizing its "manifest destiny," and following the cautions of Presidents Washington and Monroe about "foreign entanglements" to bother much with the Middle


\textsuperscript{17}Cf. International Cooperation Administration, \textit{Technical Cooperation in Education}, March, 1956, pp. 1-20. One must not conclude from a discussion of American aid that the peoples of these lands are not helping themselves insofar as it is possible for them to do so. A few countries of the Middle East can set aside monies for a comprehensive school program—oil-rich Iraq and Saudi Arabia, for example—but many Arab countries find this impossible. Nevertheless, even impoverished Jordan, under the guidance of the International Cooperation Administration, has established two demonstration schools for bedouin boys.
East. The young American business community faced a virgin continent and an increasing domestic population which made it unnecessary to look afield for additional resources and markets. Missionary educational activity, as typified by the American University of Beirut,\(^\text{18}\) provides then the longest and most consistent American contact with the Arab world.

Words fail to describe the enormous size of the task that faced the American educator in the nineteenth century Middle East. Here was a disorganized Arab society chafing under a reactionary Ottoman rule,\(^\text{19}\) unaware of its great past and uncertain of its future; an Islamic culture cut off from its ancient moorings and alien to the mainsprings of the modern world. One hundred years later Arab society remains disorganized and chaotic but very much in the forefront of the modern world; its people have become increasingly aware of their place in history and look with more confidence towards the future. By supplying the "tools of learning" to a relatively broad stratum of Arab society, American educators have shared in the initiation of this change from apathy to vigor.

\(^{18}\) Hereafter sometimes referred to as AUB.

\(^{19}\) Henry H. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, Vol. II, p. 586. "In January (1909) the zealous censor of the press expunged from our weekly Nesrah (publication) an account of the oppression of the Israelites by Pharaoh. He said that Egypt is under the Sultan and oppression of the Jews could not occur in Egypt."
What was there in the Arab past to inspire confidence and pride and to bring the Arabs to a fever pitch of nationalism? The story begins in the seventh century when Arab tribes erupted from their desert homes to conquer east, south, north, and west; it ends in the thirteenth century with the rape of Baghdad by Hulagu, grandson of Jenghiz Khan. The maximum duration of Islamic culture was from mid-seventh century to A.D. 1258. Military ascendancy was practically over by the 12th century. There have been no re-creations or renascences since. The Persian and Turkish movements relied heavily on ethnic revival and are recognized by some authorities as conscious successions from the more genuinely Arab-Islamic tradition.

Damascus, under the Umayyad Dynasty, set the stage for later Arab glories. For almost one hundred years this city ruled an area larger than the Roman Empire at its zenith. Consolidation of an ever-expanding empire became the primary task of the Umayyads, and, consequently, the soldier held first rank in the Damascus regime.

Despite this preoccupation with military affairs, the

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21Cf. Philip K. Hitti, History of Syria, pp. 409-41, for a detailed account of the Umayyad Dynasty.
Umayyads found it necessary to keep in their government those Greeks and others whose knowledge of bookkeeping and finance made them indispensable. Under their influence, the Umayyads absorbed a certain measure of appreciation for Greek culture even though Greek science and philosophy had long since ceased to be a living force and had become a tradition in the hands of Syriac-writing commentators and practitioners.

Four hundred years before Christ, Herodotus, a native of Halicarnassus, had travelled the known world in search of knowledge. An Athenian in spirit, he questioned some of the most profound beliefs of his age. Homer's great river ocean encircling the earth he dismissed as unproved:

I am unable to write with certainty. I can learn nothing of the islands from which our tin comes, and though I have asked everywhere I have met no one who has seen a sea on the west side of Europe. The truth is no one has discovered if Europe is surrounded by water or not. I smile at those who with no sure knowledge to guide them describe the ocean flowing around a perfectly circular earth.

Even that "holiest of holies," the Delphic Oracle, came under the scrutiny of Herodotus as he related that quite often the priestess at Delphi was bribed to render a favorable decision to one of the parties in a dispute. The recording of such a statement by an author, honored by his countrymen even after

22Ibid., p. 497.
24Ibid.
the statement was made, shows forcibly the extent of Greek liberties.

Greek thought put a small dent in the Umayyad warrior's shield, but the discontented elements within the Empire, probably as much as the Umayyad's natural inclination for battle, kept his major emphasis directed towards the military. 25

Umayyad education, true to its tribal heritage, stressed manliness, courage, generosity, hospitality; the educated man could swim, read and write, and use the bow and arrow. 26 At mosque schools, Arab boys memorized the Koran and Hadith 27 and Arab princes returned to the desert to learn the Arabic language undefiled by foreign influences. While this contact with "pure" Arabic helped to preserve the language, it also served to preserve the Umayyad belief in Arab superiority. In numerous ways the rulers cut themselves off from the conquered peoples of the Empire, and, eventually, this exclusiveness contributed to their downfall. It remained for the second important Arab

25 Among the discontented elements in the Empire may be counted the rival tribes that continued their ancient vendettas; the Shiites, who revered Ali and, particularly, his son Husayn, whom the second Umayyad Caliph had murdered; the Kharijites, a fanatical group of desert warriors originally allied with Ali; and, finally, those Persians, Greeks, and others who had been reduced to the status of second-class citizens in the new organization. Arab racialism, excessive taxation, corrupt government, and secularism among the rulers contributed to the Umayyad eclipse.

26 Hitti, op. cit., p. 496.

27 The Koran is the Holy Book of the Muslims and the Hadith are the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad.
dynasty, the Abbasid,\textsuperscript{28} to open the floodgates of Greek learning upon the Arabs.

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The Abbasid Empire was a combination of east and west. Removal of the capital from Damascus to Baghdad lessened the western influence of Byzantium and increased the oriental influence of Persia. Eastern culture held little hope for education in democratic ideals. Persia, at its highest, was an absolute dictatorship with the common people reduced to slavery and even the nobility subjected to the transitory whims of the king. Children were often put to death for the sins of their parents. "It is a Persian custom to bury people alive," says the historian Herodotus. "One of Darius' daughters-in-law had fourteen young children of the best Persian families buried alive."\textsuperscript{29} Little wonder that men, living under such adverse conditions, turned from the affairs of this world and sought to obtain happiness in the next.

Persia was a society of extremes, a pyramid of privilege built on a base of poverty and superstition; whereas, Greece enjoyed a more temperate atmosphere. Nowhere is this contrast

\textsuperscript{28}The Abbasid Dynasty was founded by Al-abbas in A.D. 750. Cf. Philip K. Hitti, \textit{History of the Arabs}, pp. 228-428, for a complete discussion.

\textsuperscript{29}Hamilton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 172.
more evident than in a comparison of Greek and eastern art. Homer's gods were not transcendent mysteries but comfortably real personages who lived and acted just the way the Greeks did. Therefore, representations of the gods, while perfect in form, remained quite human in appearance. Place these against the monstrous Eastern bird-and-beast deities or the golden statue of the god Marduk, half-man and half-animal, seated on a golden throne beside a table of pure gold with a footstool of the same precious material, worshipped by starving Babylonians, and the contrast stands out in bold relief.30

Although the Abbasids continued to pattern the form of their government along Persian lines, certain Greek influences in philosophy and science began to penetrate their court. The Arabs found the saying of the Delphic Oracle, "Nothing in Excess" and "Know Thyself," compatible with Islam and the inquisitive spirit of Aristotle more in keeping with the teachings of Muhammad than was the mysticism of Zoroaster. The search for knowledge made the ninth century reigns of Harun al-Raschid and Ma'mun the cultural apex of Arab Middle Eastern civilization. Baghdad was like the hub of a giant wheel with spokes radiating in all directions. A continuous stream of scientists, theologians, musicians, poets, and merchants walked these spokes

30G. W. Caram, Gods, Graves, and Scholars, p. 291, for a description of the worship of Marduk.
to pay homage to the Abbasid caliphs. They, in turn, listened, learned, and patronized. The golden age of Arab arts and letters, the zenith of Arab sciences, was at hand. The Caliph Ma'mun established a Bayt al Hikam (House of Wisdom) at Baghdad that surpassed any center of learning in the medieval world. In this combination library, academy, and translation bureau, many Greek texts, particularly those of Aristotle, were studied and translated into Arabic. Greek thought flowed through the House of Wisdom, across North Africa, and eventually reached Europe where it helped to spur the Renaissance.

The Arab translations of Aristotle began in early Abbasid times—about the same date as the coronation of Charlemagne in the West (A.D. 800), and for the next three hundred years, there can be no question that, intellectually, Baghdad and Cairo far outshone any contemporary European city, including both Rome and Constantinople. Indeed they vied with one another for intellectual supremacy, with Arab Cordova in Spain running a close third.31 Abu Bakr al-Razi, the physician; al-Ghazzali (Algazel), the theologian; Ibn Sina (Avicenna), the Neo-Platonist; Ibn Rushd (Averroes), the Aristotelian; and Ibn Khaldun, the historian-sociologist, were among those guiding lights of Medieval genius fostered by Arab patronage. The modern Arab could look back

31Anne Fremantle (ed.), The Age of Belief, p. 112.
upon the contributions of these men with no small measure of pride for, while Europe slumbered in the "Dark Ages," they had kept alive the flames of Greek learning which sparked the western rebirth.

II. THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

American scholastic institutions played significant roles in teaching the Arab about his heritage. Among them the American University of Beirut occupied a prominent position. Arab chroniclers, following the lead of George Antonius, generally credit the American University with an important share in the formulation of modern Arab nationalism.32

If, indeed, American influence has had any impact upon Arab nationalism, this same nationalism must contain some sprinklings of American democracy, for as Edward Jurji points out:

In the formative period (1820-1914) teachers from the New World had instilled in their pupils something of the political philosophy that had inspired the American Revolution. The discrepancies between the concept of freedom in the truth of God and in the deistic creeds of some frontline figures among the founding fathers was obvious. Yet the early missionaries almost intuitively communicated the ideals of statesmen such as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and Hamilton.33

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33 Jurji, op. cit., pp. 118-119.
Nationalism among American missionary-educators, as has been discussed previously, sometimes went beyond intuitive communication and, on at least one occasion, it became a statement of policy for the ABCFM. Dr. Anderson of the American Board, in considering English as the language of instruction for missionary schools in the Levant, expressed the fear that such a step "would result in denationalizing the Syrians." Only the difficulties involved in transmitting, in Arabic, western scientific advances forced American schoolmen to resort to their native tongue. Since the Bible was already available in Arabic, it was evident from this decision that the American missionary placed a premium on the secular aspects of education. The emphasis on nationalism and secularism was destined to create a store of "good will" among the Arabs and secure the existence of American Schools through two world wars and numerous local uprisings.

Within this secular-nationalist framework, the American University of Beirut was able to make of itself an important contributor to democratic thought in the Middle East. AUB stressed literacy, dignified manual labor, emphasized social responsibility, and exerted a unifying influence upon Arab students from diverse parts of the old Ottoman Empire. Egyptian, Saudi, and Syrian dined and slept, laughed and argued, played

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and studied in an arena dedicated to the search for knowledge, a common meeting ground for all Muslims. Some attention must be paid to the genesis of AUB, for in its formative years may be discovered the wellsprings of its democratic influences on Middle Eastern society.

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Early in 1819, the ABCFM sent Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons into the Middle East. A matter-of-fact announcement of the venture appeared in the Missionary Herald for February, 1819, and caused relatively little commotion among its readers.

In the course of last summer the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Foreign Missions, determined under the favor of Providence, to send a mission to Western Asia, with a view to its ultimate establishment at Jerusalem. Two of the missionaries of the Board, the Rev. Levi Parsons and the Rev. Pliny Fisk were assigned to the service.35

A much greater commotion arose among the natives at the missionaries' point of debarkation, and, for a time, native antipathy threatened to thwart their mission. Fisk and Parsons traveled a rough road of bigotry in attempting to convert the people to Protestantism. When Pliny Fisk journeyed to Jaffa, a rumor preceded his caravan that forty cents a head would be paid to the converts; while another story alleged that Fisk and Parsons drew a picture of each

35The Missionary Herald, XV (February, 1819), p. 44.
convert and, should the new Protestant return to his old religion, they would shoot the picture, causing death to the renegade. 36 Despite numerous religious setbacks, the missionaries succeeded in studying the climate, charting endemic diseases, and exploring the territory from their base at Jerusalem. Eventually, they chose Beirut as a more suitable site for mission headquarters. 37

Beirut, in the nineteenth century, served as the primary port of trade on the Mediterranean coast. Caravans from Aleppo, Damascus, and the cities of Egypt arrived regularly carrying precious cargoes of silks for transshipment to Europe. 38 These trade facilities undoubtedly influenced Fisk and Parsons to

36 Ibid., p. 35.

37 Edward Robinson and Eli Smith, Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petraea, pp. 441-442. Beirut is the ancient Berytus of the Greeks and Romans. Under the Emperor Augustus, it became a Roman colony, Felix Julia, and, later, was endowed with the rights of an Italian city. (Cf. Pliny, H.N.V. 20, "Berytus colonia quae Felix Julia appellabatur," and Josephus, B. J. VII. 3. 1. Leg. VII, Dig de Censibus, "Juris Italici sunt Tress, Berytus, Dyrrachium.") The elder Agrippa greatly favored the city and adorned it with a splendid amphitheatre, baths, and games of every kind, including shows of gladiators. (Josephus, Antiquities, XVI, 11, pp. 1-6.) By the sixth century, under the reign of Justinian, Berytus had become a center of Greek law and many young men of wealth and rank studied in its academy. During the crusades, Beirut became a center of trade because of its geographical position; a sought for prize that exchanged hands on at least three occasions in the next hundred years.

38 Ibid., p. 447.
choose Beirut as the seat of the Syrian Protestant Mission.

As it respects gaining and imparting information, this is indeed the centre of the world. This station must not be relinquished. The door is already opened. Difficulties must be expected; but the good resulting from a mission established here will be an infinite reward.39

Succeeding events were to prove their choice a fortunate one for the dissemination of democratic concepts.

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In the beginning, Protestant missionaries underestimated the strength of Islam; a miscalculation that may have been brought on, in part, by British reports from Africa.

I would beg you to send me a few Arabic Bibles, the distribution of which will perhaps be attended with great blessings. I had five Bibles, four of which I have given away. . .two I gave to Dalamodu, a strict Mahomedan, and, as a great number of Mahomedans visit the king of Bullom, I presented one to him. . .

Sometime afterwards, I went to see the king, and saw about twenty Mahomedans sitting together in deep conversation, and an aged Mahomedan teaching in the midst of them reading the Bible; he visited me and begged for a Bible. . .With great thankfulness he accepted [one from me], and said, "When I go home, I shall read this book to all my people."40


This story was circulated among American missionaries and led some of them to believe that the Muslim waited eagerly for the opportunity to accept Christianity.

The Muslim, however, had no desire to change religion and, furthermore, apostasy carried severe penalties for the apostate.41 He was especially secure in his faith when he observed the religious practices of the numerous Christian sects about him.42 In Muslim eyes, the icons were idols and priests were superstitious and ignorant men.

Western visitors seconded the Muslim's appraisal of Christianity in the area. The story is told of an American millionaire who came to Lebanon with a Nubian servant and asked that the resident missionary baptize the African. When asked what proof he had that the servant was Christian, the millionaire replied, "He eats pork and gets drunk, and that proves he is not a Muslim, so he must be a Christian."43 It was readily apparent to the American missionaries that a start had to be made among the Christians before any inroads could be made among the Muslims.

42Among the diversified Christian sects in the Levant may be numbered Orthodox Greek, Maronite, Nestorian, Nestorian Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Jacobite Syrian.
43Jessup, op. cit., p. 301.
The first school opened by the missionaries in Beirut, in 1824, had only three Muslims in attendance out of a student body of between eighty and ninety. Most of the pupils ranged in age from five to twelve years and belonged to the Greek Church. The plaintive complaint that "these Mussulman boys attend solely for the purpose of learning to read and write" is re-echoed throughout the files of missionary correspondence. 44

In former reports we have stated that this is not a reading people. The same testimony we might again bear; yet there are some indications the evil complained of is diminishing; and though the religious books are not the ones sought after, we still hope that those we have published will do great good at Tripoli, as well as in other parts of the land. 45

At a later date the rejection of Christian religious tracts became even more acute among the Arabs. By 1866, there were seven presses in Beirut, and, according to the Rev. Dr. Jessup, all of them were printing books of an "injurious tendency."

The devil has translators enough at work, reducing Voltaire, Eugene Sore, and other similar authors to an Arabic dress; and infidel clubs are springing up all around us among the young men. 46

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So, while the first school was planted upon Arab soil to orient the people towards Christianity:

Our school is particularly important, as it brings us more and more into contact with the children and their friends, and multiply our opportunities of discoursing on the things concerning the Kingdom of God—it may have borne a fruit quite different from its seedling.

Or was something more than religious indoctrination intended by American scholastic enterprises? It has been mentioned that the drive for an enlightened electorate was a compelling facet of early American life, and the succeeding portions of the letter quoted above reinforce this view. The correspondents, the Reverend Mr. Bird and the Reverend Mr. Goodell, assert their concern for literacy, outside a religious framework, by referring cryptically "to their [the students'] usual studies" and dwelling with noticeable pride on spelling in that "the school would probably not sink in comparison with any of the common schools in New England."

* * *

Protestant schools faced the concerted enmity of other Christian sects in the areas of their activity. Bigotry took the life of more than one convert. Asaad es Shidiah, a fine Arabic scholar, was martyred upon the instigation of the

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Maronite Patriarch of Lebanon. Isaac Bird, the missionary historian, met persecution from the Maronites at Ehden and was compelled to leave the city and seek sanctuary among the Muslims in B'whyta, "where he had peace." Although the Muslim often protected the Protestant Christian from the vengeance of the Latin Christian, on occasion Muslim and Latin joined forces to harass Protestant efforts. The Reverends Messrs. Fisk and Bird, one time, suffered imprisonment for distributing religious texts which the Latins said were not Christian books. After their imprisonment, criers were sent through the streets of Beirut forbidding all citizens from purchasing missionary tracts.

Despite these hardships, Americans struggled arduously

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48 Jessup, op. cit., pp. 39-40. Asaad was walled up in the convent of Kannoubi, near the cedars of Lebanon, and died slowly of disease brought on by the filth of his narrow confines. One of the favorite pastimes of visitors to the convent was to pull the rope attached to his neck and extended through a hole in the door.

49 Isaac Bird, "Letter to the ABCFM" cited in The Missionary Herald, XXIV (November, 1828), p. 348. Ibid., p. 45. An interesting sidelight on the dependence of the Protestant missionaries on Muslim goodwill is found in the joint correspondence from Messrs. Bird, Goodell, and Smith after their evacuation to Malta following the outbreak of the Greco-Turkish War in 1828; "Heretofore, when pursued as outlaws by papal fury, we had found a quiet refuge among the Muslims of Syria. Should these, therefore, become our enemies what resort should we have left."

to secure a foothold in their adopted land. Dr. Edward
Robinson, sometime Professor of Biblical History at the Union
Theological Seminary of New York, and Dr. Henry Jessup, Yale
alumnus, class of 1821, were two noteworthy Americans whose
early explorations made the struggle easier. They amassed a
catalogue of information on geography, climate, and social
customs which was invaluable to those who followed them into
the Middle East.

Dr. Eli Smith, Robinson's companion on many exploratory
expeditions, may be considered among the fathers of modern
Arab education. When a severe textbook shortage threatened
educational advancement, Dr. Smith collected samples of Arabic
caligraphy from Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, and had a font of
Arabic type cast from them in Leipzig, Germany. 51 Thus, an
important step towards the spread of literacy among the Arabs
was accomplished. Mrs. Smith was no less active in promoting
the cause of literacy, for it was she who opened a girls' school
in 1833 at Beirut and, two years later, erected the first
building solely for the education of girls in the Middle East. 52

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51 The difficulty of this achievement may be appreciated
if one realizes that the ordinary English font of type has
approximately one hundred characters whereas its Arabic counter-
part has more than eighteen hundred.

52 Jessup, op. cit., p. 54. Cf., also, excerpts from the
"Journal of Messrs. Goodell and Bird" cited in The Missionary
Herald, XX (August, 1824), p. 241, for a discussion of the need
for female education.
Numerous other Americans contributed to Arab education in the three decades between 1830 and 1860. William N. Thompson opened a seminary for boys at Beirut in 1835, and Dr. and Mrs. H. A. DeForest started a school for girls that continued operations until 1854. Dr. Cornelius Van Alan Van Dyck founded the Abei High School at Abei, Lebanon, and during his six-year association with the school, Dr. Van Dyck prepared Arabic texts in geography, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, navigation, and philosophy.

By 1860, the American Mission had established thirty-three schools with 967 pupils, including 176 females. The Mission Press was printing four million pages annually. From the start of operations, it had printed a total of 112,825,780 pages; a creditable achievement under extremely adverse conditions.

1860 marked a turning point in the direction of American education in the Middle East, for this was the last year of the Druze-Maronite War that had been fought sporadically over a hundred-year period. 53 A Druze massacre of Christians in

53 Hitti, op. cit., pp. 583-586; Jessup, op. cit., pp. 157-214. Cf., also, Antonius, op. cit., pp. 56, 92, for reference to the ulterior motives of European Powers in the intervention. The Druzes, members of a curious religious sect, believe in One God who has become incarnate in ten men, the last of whom was the mad Egyptian Caliph, Hakim b'amr Illah. The sect was founded by Ismail al-Darazi, a Persian, in order to venerate the Fatimid Caliph, al-Hakim (A.D. 996-1021). Druzes are concentrated in Hauran and in the mountains northwest of
Damascus had brought French intervention on behalf of the Maronites and compelled the Turkish Sultan to institute reforms in Syria. An international commission fixed the French occupation at six months and established a semi-independent Lebanon under the terms of an "Organic Statute" which provided for a governor to be appointed by the Turkish Sultan with the confirmation of the six signatory powers, England, France, Germany, Russia, Austria, and Italy. It stipulated further that the

Mount Hermon.

Maronites are members of a Christian sect allied to the Church of Rome. They have lived in Lebanon for almost two thousand years.

In the beginning of the 18th century, the Druzes supported the Moslem family of Shahab for the governorship of Lebanon. The conversion of two Shehab emirs to Christianity, in 1756, increased the ambition of the Maronite Patriarch to crush the Druzes and bring all Lebanon under his control. A virtual campaign of extermination was carried on by Jezzar Pasha of Acre, a cruel tyrant whose policies drove a broad wedge between Druze-Maronite relations.

With the conquest of Muhammad Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, in 1831, an uneasy peace settled over the two factions. But, nine years later, Ali's son, Ibrahim, was driven back to Egypt by England, Austria, and Turkey and a new Shehab government, equally oppressive as its predecessors, came to power. The Druzes were threatened with placement under the immediate jurisdiction of the Maronite Patriarch and all Protestant schools were ordered closed. The Bishop of Beirut boasted that before long the Maronites would drive the Druzes out of the country.

Between 1841 and 1860, Druzes and Maronites fought each other with increasing ferocity until the Damascus Massacre brought in the French Army.
governor had to be a Latin Catholic, not a native of Syria, and could be removed from office only by consent of the European ambassadors at Constantinople. Needless to say, Muslims viewed this law with violent trepidation, and only the guns of the French prevented more bloodshed.

The bitterness engendered by the "Organic Statute" among the Muslims convinced many American Protestant Missionaries that their best course lay in stressing secular education. They hoped, in this way, to steer clear of the Muslim-Christian religious dispute, and to provide in American schools an opportunity for all Arabs to seek knowledge free from the demands of conflicting religious ideologies. This decision to concentrate on secular education has been a fundamental reason for American success in the Middle East.

American missionaries had met requests for education from the people of the Levant almost from the moment they first stepped ashore. The enforced peace following the Druze-Maronite War brought increased demands for education from the Syrian population. Led by Lebanese Christians, the Arabs clamored for additional educational facilities. Turkey responded in a series of school laws which increased the number of mosque

schools from 12,500 in 1864 to over 35,000 in 1890. Four thousand government schools not connected with mosques were erected in the same period. Americans entered into the feverish race, so that by 1890 there were no less than one thousand American schools with nearly 50,000 students in the Middle East. Beirut, in fact, had become a city of schools.

It was in this foment of educational activity, religious animosity, and confused panorama of Muslim hatred for Europeans and Arab hatred of Turkey, that AUB was born. As early as 1858, many prominent Lebanese families had withdrawn their children from American schools because of an edict from ABCFM requiring all courses to be taught in the Arabic vernacular. Lebanese Arabs sought western technology, and they appreciated the hopeless task facing them if they wished to learn about it through Arabic. Consequently, many Arabs enrolled in French Lazarist and Jesuit schools. The exclusion of the English language from the Abbeih Seminary prompted the Syria Mission, a

55 Jessup, op. cit., pp. 221-227

56 Catholic missions among the Arabs were not less active than were those of the Presbyterians. Carmelites, Franciscans, and Dominicans had come to Syria in the 12th and 13th centuries and were followed by the Jesuits some four hundred years later. The Lazarist Order replaced the Jesuits after their suppression by the Pope.

In 1831, the Jesuits returned to Syria and opened several schools. Among them, the University of St. Joseph has exerted a decisive influence on the rising Arab generation. Cf. Hitti, op. cit., pp. 626, 674, and Antonius, op. cit., pp. 44-45.
semi-independent group of American missionaries, to propose the organization of a "literary institution to be located in Beirut."57

A plan for the new school was submitted to the Prudential Committee of the American Board and was accepted with the following reservations:

That such a school should not be supported by missionary funds, that the vernacular institution at Abeih could not be modified to meet the wants here contemplated, that it is difficult to educate without denationalizing and that this tendency may be corrected by emphasizing the vernacular part of the educational course, that Asians acquiring civilized habits will be unfitted to live at home in their native region, and do good to their people.58

The tone of these reservations suggests the Board's lack of awareness of events in the Middle East. However, the members of the Syria Mission, through years of close contact with the area, had correctly appraised the need for such a school and pressed for its establishment.59

Reverend Mr. Daniel Bliss, as principal elect of the proposed Literary Institute, embarked on an extensive fund-raising

57 Jessup, op. cit., p. 300.

58 Ibid., p. 301.

59 The Society of Arts and Sciences, whose membership included Arab nationalists Butrus Bustani and Nasif Yazeji as well as Americans Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck, was the first group in the Arab world to promote knowledge by organized collective effort. From this base grew the Syrian Scientific Society, which is said to have uttered the first cry of Arab nationalism. Cf. Antonius, op. cit., pp. 45-54, for a discussion of the role played by these societies in promoting literacy and nationalism.
tour of the United States but found little help available because of the Civil War. His next stop, England, proved more productive, and Bliss returned to Beirut with sufficient funds to initiate the venture. And in 1866, with Daniel Bliss as president and a faculty of four, the Syrian Protestant College opened its doors to sixteen pupils.60

At first the college faced serious financial difficulties. The nominal tuition paid by students covered only a fraction of the expense, and contributions had to be solicited abroad from month to month in order to maintain operations. Of no mean merit was the idealism of the school's faculty, who gave of their own limited resources to sustain the dream of American education in the Middle East.

The opening of the Syrian Protestant College stirred divers elements of Syrian society into action. The Greek Patriarch started a school; the Jesuits removed their college from Ghazeer to Beirut and reconstituted it a university; the Jews opened an academy; and, the Turkish Government opened several institutions of learning. That this rivalry had its advantages is best illustrated by a story AUB likes to remember about one of its first teachers, Cornelius Van Dyck. One day,

60Reverend Mr. Cornelius V. A. van Dyck, M.D., Professor of Medicine, Astronomy, and Chemistry; Reverend Mr. George E. Post, M.D., Professor of Surgery and Botany; Mr. Harvey Porter, Instructor in History; Mr. Asaad Shidoody, Instructor in Arabic.
as he was riding towards Sidon, the Reverend Mr. van Dyck was stopped by a band of Druze tribesmen who asked where he was heading. "To Sidon to open four schools," replied van Dyck. "But we heard it was but two schools," responded the Druze. "Ah," said van Dyck, "it will be four. I will open two and the Jesuits will hurry down and open two more. So, you see, for you I open four schools today." 61

At least for the moment, a competitive free society existed in education. Muslim and Christian leaders alike vied for opportunities to educate the masses. The race towards literacy had begun, and at the finish line lay the hope of an enlightened electorate in a democratic society.

The growth of AUB has been phenomenal; enrollment swelled past three thousand in 1957. 62 Certainiy, a portion of this success may be attributed to the wisdom of its founders in separating sectarianism from classroom instruction. The decision to emphasize secular education may have been easier for the American Protestant to make than it was for the French Jesuit, but it was not really an easy decision for either.


62 Cf. Roderic D. Mathews and Matta Akrawi, Education in Arab Countries of the Near East, pp. 400-401. Cf. APPENDIX A for the number of students enrolled at AUB, by year, from 1866 to 1957. Damascus College was opened in the fall of 1945 by the American University of Beirut to relieve some of the pressure for educational facilities occasioned by the closing of the French schools. Student applications to the American University increased to the point in the years immediately after World War II that it was hoped that the new school at Damascus would serve to siphon off lower division aspirants from the Beirut campus.
Perhaps happily for the consciences of both groups, a growing nationalism in the Ottoman Empire helped resolve the issue. As an outgrowth of the Turkish Revolution of 1904, strong nationalist feelings swept Beirut and centered among the students at the Syrian College. Since religion afforded a recognizable point of difference between Muslim student and Christian teacher, it soon became a center of irritation.

To bring matters to a head, the Muslims petitioned to be excused from the observance of chapel exercises on the grounds that required attendance constituted and infringement of religious liberty. This demand presented a dilemma to the administration, for, after all, many of them were ministers of the Christian faith. Correctly judging that the student request sprang from patriotic rather than religious motivations, the college administration temporized by excusing Muslims from chapel for the remainder of the school year, but notified parents that attendance would be again required in the following academic session. Meanwhile, the faculty sought a method whereby both Muslims and Christians could be accommodated in a single chapel service. A reasonable solution excluded all sectarian prayers and sermons and dwelt, instead, on the similarities between Islam and Christianity as presented by a college professor who discussed the moral values common to both religions.
It would be begging the American ideal of church-state separation to suggest its complete acceptance at AUB by this chapel modification, for the fact of compulsory chapel, in any form, negates the ideal. However, within the limitations herein described, the college came a long way in making its offerings more palatable to Muslims.

Because of this abstention from proselytism, many Muslims traveled thousands of miles and endured severe hardships in order to matriculate at the American University. "I have talked with a gentleman who traveled over six thousand miles to place his son in AUB. . . .," recalls Dr. Bayard Dodge. Muslim leaders and Muslim institutions rallied to the support of the school that teaches modern technology without proselytizing. The late King Faisal II was numbered among its champions, as was the leader of the Lebanese revolt of July, 1958, Saeb Salam. Faisal sent as many as two dozen students at a time for training as secondary school teachers, and Salam, himself, is an alumnus of the university. The Sheikh of the Al-Ahsar Mosque at Jerusalem insisted that his grandson attend AUB. The housing of so many students from various parts of the Arab world and from various stations in Arab life under one academic roof gave them opportunity to discuss mutual problems and to seek mutual

63Bayard Dodge, "The Genius of America in Eastern Education," Asia, April, 1925, p. 287.
solutions. For these discussions, the university provided the machinery for the election of student leaders and, in effect, became a miniature political society in the democratic mold. Courses in government at AUB aimed to reinforce the democratic atmosphere.

The courses in history, civics, political science, economics and sociology as given in our American institutions fill the students' minds with the philosophy upon which American democracy is based. The content of the courses is usually quite different from the content of courses in most of the European schools of the Near East. The European schools try to develop a fondness for the European country concerned, whereas the American spirit is to develop a love of freedom and loyalty to the student's native land.

Nevertheless, the impact of these courses was probably less significant than the daily "give and take" of democracy in action.

It is a recognized fact that the Muslim, the Jew, the Druze, the Protestant, and the Oriental Christian who have

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64 Cf. Near East College Association, Bulletin, No. 25, February, 1943, p. 3; No. 26, April, 1943, p. 3; and No. 36, December, 1946, p. 2 for many prominent students from various parts of the Arab world.

65 The nephew of Saeb Salam was the President of the Student Body in the School of Agriculture in 1958.

66 One example is the course, "History of the United States," which, according to the description in the Catalogue of the American University of Beirut, 1956-57, p. 63, is designed "to study an experiment in an 'Open Society.' This course covers the forces and ideas that led to colonization, revolution, civil war, and industrialization. Emphasis will be put upon the growth of a democratic society and federalism and how this society met the internal and external challenges that faced them."

been students at this college (AUB) can work together as businessmen, or serve on the same committee, with a degree of success that would be absolutely impossible had they not had this levelling experience of a tolerant American education.68

Perhaps the best summation of AUB's role in shaping Arab political life is given by former President Bayard Dodge:

The teaching of ideals forms the backbone of education at the American University. Promotion is based on actual achievement; special privilege is not an ideal of modern democratic society. A continuing lesson shows that progress depends upon the interest and activity of private individuals who accept the responsibility for improving the political and social life of the community; legislation alone is not enough. There must be cooperation among the people for the good of the group and the educated man must lead the way to effect the solution of problems by democratic means. Students are encouraged to trust their elected representatives for democratic government thrives in an atmosphere of mutual confidence. But, this is neither the blind trust of the ascetic nor the resigned trust of the fatalist. It is, rather, the sometimes tolerant, sometimes demanding, trust of the participating elector aware of his opportunity to make changes in representation by orderly democratic processes.69

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Four Islamic societies contribute financially to deserving students at AUB, and the Governments of Sudan and Ethiopia have made, in the past, substantial grants to its scholarship fund. Some portion of the college's endowment now comes from

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68 Margaret McGilvary, *The Dawn of a New Era in Syria*, p. 44.

the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations and from the gifts made by the oil companies in the Middle East. Additional support is received through the American Point Four Program, but, at present, this is confined to the training of engineers.70

The prestige of AUB graduates is enormous in their native lands; at one time over fifty were serving their peoples at the United Nations.71 Charles Malik, Lebanese representative to the UN and, perhaps, the most respected Arab statesman in the modern western world, taught at the American University. Dr. Philip Hitti, Princeton University professor and noted author of many comprehensive books on the Middle East, is an alumnus. Scores of other graduates have left their mark on world society.72

There is, however, a discordant note that should be recorded along with the achievements of AUB. In spite of the measures taken to insure students a successful adjustment to both European and Middle Eastern societies, there have been failures. The case of Abdul Mohsen es Sa'dun, an Arab graduate of AUB, points up the problems faced by many a youth coming out of these halls of learning and meeting the realities of a world crisis centered in his homeland. Abdul Sa'dun resolved his dilemma by suicide, an unforgivable and rare sin among Muslims.

70UPI dispatch, Stockton Record, July 23, 1958.
71"In the Family," Time (September 29, 1947), p. 69.
Trapped between the political policies of the British Government and the nationalistic aspirations of his own people, he could find no other way out. He was too honorable a man to become a cynic—this was his Arab inheritance; and, he was too cultured a man to become a revolutionary—this was the result of study at the American University. Intellectually, he knew his people were right in their demands for independence, but it was difficult to do violence to those whose culture he had learned to enjoy. Es Sa'dun had learned to feel physically comfortable in European society and mentally insecure among his own people.73

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The number of schools opened within the framework of AUB, since 1866, is a partial barometer of its acceptance by the peoples of the Middle East. Six graduate divisions—Medicine, Pharmacy, Commerce, Engineering, Agriculture, and Public Health—now function as integral parts of the university. While AUB originally emphasized medical science because of the low standards of health in the territory and, also, because of the fact that two members of the founding faculty held medical degrees, its present course offerings encompass all phases of

73Leo Matthias, "Americans in Beirut," The Living Age (July, 1931), p. 487.
community living.

It may be significant that Schools of Engineering, Agriculture, and Public Health did not come into existence until 1951, 1952, and 1954 respectively. Apart from the severe shortage of textbooks and the continual short supply of monies to finance new ventures, another factor may have retarded their establishment. Somehow, perhaps because of oriental influences, Arab tradition separated education and manual labor, and educated Arabs avoided occupations which soiled the hands and brought sweat to the brow.

The great problem is to develop in the Near East itself a willingness to soil the hands and do the work honestly, rather than to allow "effendis" to give orders and expect servants to provide the practical application. 74 That the educated American would not hesitate to do manual labor was a constant source of wonder to many Middle Easterners. 75 American institutions, in general, and AUB, in particular, have helped dignify physical toil by providing the opportunity for


75Dodge, Op. cit., p. 343. Dr. Dodge tells the story of an Arab gentleman who consistently refused to visit the American University until he chanced to be at a railroad station in Nablus, during World War I, when a south bound train unloaded medical supplies for transshipment across the desert by camel to Egypt. Because it was late at night and the porters had gone home, the accompanying doctors took off their coats and loaded the camels. When the Arab returned to Beirut, he called at the University, "to pay tribute to an institution that could induce doctors to work like porters to save the sick."
all students to learn by doing. So far American education has been more successful than either European or Asiatic education in training men who are willing to do practical work and to train their labor by force of example. Our American institutions in the Near East force every student to do laboratory or shop work with his own hands, from the secondary school to the professional courses. At Beirut, students wait at tables, sweep buildings, water lawns, and so on, without feeling the stigma of social inequality. This labor, in turn, has helped break down the stratification of Ottoman society, for the sheik's son and the son of the cobbler have found opportunity to work together at their various duties without reference to rank.

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AUB has flourished in the political turmoil of the Middle East because it has emphasized education for education's sake. This emphasis permitted her founders to submerge sectarian religious convictions beneath their desire for the spread of knowledge. Indeed, the religious impact of the early American missionaries was somewhat weak; they had converted and baptized

76Ibid.

only a handful of Muslims by mid-century.

Even the most enthusiastic students in their college asked them to de-emphasize religion and concentrate on secular affairs. A direct consequence of the missionaries' willingness to do this was the founding, in 1847, of a Society of Arts and Sciences; ten years later the Syrian Scientific Society was founded. It was in these centers, and others less famous, that the nationalistic Arab opponents of the Ottoman Empire received much of their encouragement and education. 78

Horace Mann's 79 premise that compulsory education is the right of every child became an ideal to be transferred into Middle Eastern society. Educational representatives from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Kuwait, and Bahrain reaffirmed the ideal of universal education at a conference at AUB in August, 1955. They characterized the school as a miniature society in which the potentialities and personality of each child should be developed. 80

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Patriotism with nationalism played a significant part in

78 William Appleman Williams, America and the Middle East, p. 5.

79 Massachusetts pioneer in free public education.

the continued success of AUB. While the nationalism of the founding missionaries was evident and lasting,\textsuperscript{81} it was not an exclusively American nationalism. Indeed, Americans sought to bring to the Arabs a sense of pride in the Arab race and to the individual student a sense of duty to raise the lot of his fellow Arabs. The American University preferred to produce "educated Arabs rather than uneducated half-Americans."\textsuperscript{82}

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AUB provided a forum to students from all parts of the Ottoman Empire for the exchange of ideas in an atmosphere pregnant with the glories of an Arab heritage.\textsuperscript{83} The piety of Caliph Umar ibn-al-Khattab, the tolerance of Khalid ibn-al-Walid, the political acumen of Muawiyah, and the intellectual achievements of Mamun, lived again on the lecterns of American teachers.

\textsuperscript{81}Rom Landau reports in his \textit{Search for Tomorrow}, p. 127, a conversation with Dr. Bayard Dodge, then President of AUB, in which Dr. Dodge states that nationalism is the motivation used by the University to interest Arab boys in matters of social welfare and charity.

\textsuperscript{82}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 126.


At AUB there are students from over 41 countries. There are seven Jews on AUB's faculty and staff and 44 Jews in the student body among over 1200 Arabs. Despite tense feelings over Israel, they live together as friends. Several years ago when bad feelings broke out among Muslims and Americans at Beirut, a leading Muslim graduate and a much respected American graduate of the Medical School went from house to house together, until they quieted the movement and restored confidence.
Little wonder that Arab existence under the Ottomans showed to disadvantage against the backdrop of history.

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Americans emphasized literacy as a necessary tool in life, and the political life they knew and admired was the democracy of the United States. The missionary who boasted of his students' spelling progress in Beirut saw a common bond between his Arab charges and the students of his youth in New England classrooms. While making little conscious effort to teach democracy per se, the early environment of these teachers compelled them to live democratically. The American missionaries stimulated freedom of expression among their students and encouraged physical labor as an obligation of the educated class.

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Graduates of AUB have spread American ideals of political and social life wherever they have traveled although the extent of their influence has been seriously restricted. According to one authority, at least, Professor George Haddad of the Syrian University, Damascus, American influences through education reached only a limited number of people. He points out that graduates of American schools have had little opportunity to exercise leadership among their peoples either under the Ottomans or later under the French. Under the French mandate in Syria,
for example, graduates of American schools and colleges could not enter government services. Even now, graduates of French schools and graduates of government schools, which are modeled on the French pattern, hold the important positions in Syrian political life.  

It is, of course, an exaggeration to describe the Arab national movement as an American-inspired movement, but there is no doubt that Americans have helped considerably in the development of the Arab renaissance. AUB, in particular, has played a great part in the creation of the modern Arab world, for it was here that many of those who now work for that new Arab world received their inspiration from American ideals of freedom.

III. ROBERT COLLEGE

On a bluff overlooking the Bosphorus in the city of Istanbul stands Robert College, another bulwark of American

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84 George Haddad, Professor at the Syrian University, Damascus, in a letter dated May 30, 1959. Cf., also, J. T. Wertenbaker, "Summary of Reports on French Influence in Syria," (unpublished manuscript, Hoover Library, Stanford University), April 3, 1918, for an indication of pre-Mandate French influence. Wertenbaker estimated the number of non-Muslim schools in Syria at 2,863 with 139,831 pupils; more than one-half of these pupils, 70,952, were in French schools; Le Temps, December 4, 1914, estimated the number of pupils in French schools in Syria at 40,099.

educational prestige in the Middle East and another harbinger of democracy to the Arab world. Darius, Xenophon, and Alexander the Great knew well the waterway that so beautifully separates Europe from Asia; Jason rode its waves in search of the Golden Fleece. Here, in Greek mythology, Io, mistress of Zeus, fled the wrath of Hera and, in the form of a white heifer, swam the strait, the "ox ford," which gave the Bosphorus its name. Here, too, in 1863 was founded the first American college in the Middle East, and the story of its endowment sounds as improbable as a Greek fable.

Istanbul, under its former name, Constantinople, was capital to a sprawling Turkish Empire which included vast portions of Europe, Asia, and Africa. At various times for a period of five hundred years, Ottoman Sultans ruled all of the Arab world except Morocco. It is, therefore, difficult to avoid reference to Turkey in any discussion of Arab history, but note must be taken of the fact that the influence of Robert College on democracy among the Arabs was neither as direct nor as compelling as was the influence of AUB.

Robert's location at the center of the Turkish power made it easier for the authorities to enforce the prohibition against Muslims attending "infidel schools." Thus, Robert's democratic message was confined, primarily, to Armenian and Bulgarian students, many of whom participated in numerous revolts against
the Ottoman regime.86

The only justification for including Robert College in a dissertation about the Arabs is based on the assumption that any force at work within the Ottoman Empire which worked towards its dismemberment was a force towards Arab independence. Robert College has added significance because it provided a forum for the same democratic ideas in Turkey as were at work in Syria. Many of the men who paved the way for the establishment of AUB performed the same service for Robert.

It was on June 9, 1831, twelve years after Fisk and Parsons arrived in the Mediterranean area, that the first missionary of the American Board landed at Constantinople.87 The operations of the American Board in Syria had been temporarily interrupted by the Greek War for Independence, and the missionaries had retired to Malta. Two of them, the indefatigable Dr. Eli Smith and Dr. David O. Dwight, were commissioned

86 In September, 1875, Bulgaria made an abortive attempt to secede from the Turkish Empire and, in 1878, realized limited independence with the setting up of a small Bulgarian principality under the terms of the Treaty of Berlin. Complete independence came on October 5, 1908, when Ferdinand assumed the title of Tsar.

Armenians suffered severe persecution at the hands of the Turks in their struggles for independence. History refers to their battles as the "Armenian Massacres" of 1894, 1896, 1909, and 1915.

87 Reverend Mr. William Goodell was the first American missionary to arrive in Constantinople. Together with the Reverend Mr. Harrison Dwight and the Reverend Mr. William Schaufler, he labored for over thirty years in mission work.
by their committee to undertake a journey of exploration and research throughout Asia Minor, Armenia, and northwestern Persia in the hope of finding new avenues for religious education. After travelling for sixteen months, they wrote of their adventures in a book, *Christian Researches in Armenia*, which convinced the American Board that among the Armenians could be found the best opportunity for success in conversion to Protestantism.

Two important factors directed the American missionaries towards the Armenians in Constantinople. First, Ottoman education was a function of organized religious groups; and, consequently, Greek and Armenian children attended schools maintained by the Greek Orthodox Church, Jewish children attended Synagogue schools, and Muslim children attended mosque schools. This organizational pattern enabled the Americans to move in upon the Greek Orthodox Church without serious opposition from the Sultan, who considered all "unbelievers" as "cut from the same cloth." Second, the Armenians in Constantinople wanted American education. Certain influential merchants and bankers had come to the conclusion that the superiority of European nations was based, to a great extent, upon their advanced culture and that good schools provided the best channel for this life-giving stream. They were, therefore, actually looking for teachers

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to bring them ideas from the West. At the head of this enlightened party was the educator, Peshtimaljan, who has been called the Erasmus of Armenia. From among his students, the early Protestant missionaries obtained their first assistants.89

In 1834, the first American grammar school was established among the Armenians in Constantinople. Although the government of Turkey remained adamant in its prohibition of Muslim attendance, individual Turks expressed an interest.

A Turk of great influence came to visit us. . . . He was very interested in our terrestrial globe and books on natural sciences and expressed his pleasure that we had come here to reside.

Went today to return the visit of Nesah Effendi. He remarked, "We must have schools here." He proposed to send his son to the school we had established among the Armenians since it is being taught in English. . . . He made many inquiries respecting our government. The governor consults him in all cases of high importance.90

As the American Board supplied more workers, the grammar school grew into a "Seminary" and, in 1848, moved to the suburb of Bebek with Dr. Cyrus Hamlin as its active and capable principal.

Dr. Hamlin had come to Turkey from the State of Maine, and, like his brethren in the Levant, he carried a built-in set of American revolutionary ideals. Originally intent on


90Schneider, "Journal of Mr. Schneider," cited in The Missionary Herald, XXI (August, 1835), pp. 299-301.
conversions, 91 Hamlin succumbed to popular demands for non-sectarian schools and, soon after his arrival, he was devoting a substantial part of his time to secular activities. His inventiveness astounded the Turks, who referred to him as the greatest "satan" in Constantinople. 92 Despite this awesome appellation, Dr. Hamlin gained the respect of the villagers by his ministrations to the sick and needy. He never shunned hardship or danger. On one occasion a student had died of cholera and no one in the town would enter the house of death to bury the boy. Hamlin built a coffin, wrapped a vinegar-soaked rag about his face, and while an astounded populace looked on, he, single-handedly, removed the corpse for burial. Deeds of this sort spread his fame and later helped fill his college.

A loaf of bread furnished the fairy tale beginning for the story of Robert College. One of Dr. Hamlin's many side-lines was a knowledge of baking, and, by starting a bakery in Constantinople to provide employment for his Protestant converts, he inadvertently laid the cornerstone for his dream of an American college in the Middle East. A wealthy American, Christopher Robert, chanced to taste a sample of Hamlin's

91 There is little hint of nationalism or of specific, democratic idealism in Cyrus Hamlin, My Life and Times.

92 Richter, op. cit., p. 127.
product and eagerly sought out the baker in order to compliment him on his prowess with the ovens. He met a dedicated educator in Dr. Hamlin and left their meeting ensnared by the vision of American education in Turkey. Mr. Robert made a generous contribution to the proposed school—at the time of his death, he had given in excess of $400,000—which was to bear his name.

A charter for Robert College was granted by the State of New York and a building site was purchased soon after. However, the Sublime Porte found various and divers reasons for causing delay. The Sultan disapproved of the first site, and when Hamlin bought another, he disapproved of this also. For obvious reasons, the French and Russian ambassadors and the Jesuits added their voices to the growing opposition against the American college. Negotiations between Hamlin and the Turkish government dragged on for almost seven years until, just when hope had reached its lowest ebb, another set of strange circumstances wrote the second chapter to the fabled opening of Robert.

Admiral Farragut, United States Navy, on a courtesy call to Constantinople, had had lunch with one of Dr. Hamlin's friends, and the proposed college entered their conversation. This friend, wise in the ways of politics, suggested to Farragut that he

93 This term was used to describe the Ottoman government and, sometimes, it was used as a synonym for Sultan.
question the Porte as to why permission for opening the school had been delayed. With the typical naïveté of the nineteenth century American in international affairs, the Admiral could not see how an inquiry from him would help the situation, but he promised to make it anyhow. Within a matter of days, Cyrus Hamlin received a construction permit. It seems that Farragut's visit had come at a time when an insurrection on Crete occupied all the energies of the Turks, and, somehow, a rumor was circulated that the American Admiral intended to help the rebels if the Sultan procrastinated further in granting a permit to build Hamlin's school. So, from the ovens of an amateur baker, with monies given by a bread-loving millionaire tourist, and with the assistance of a reluctant admiral came the pioneer American college in the Middle East.

Before 1914, Robert College served mostly Armenians, Greeks, and Bulgarians. Indeed, according to Mr. Herbert Lane, Secretary of the Istanbul American College Alumni Association, very few Muslims attended Robert, although a Turkish teacher, Terfih Fikret, was one of the first members of the revolutionary committee in Istanbul at the time of Abdulhamit and did play a part in the revolution of 1908. 94

94Cf., Appendix B, Letter From Herbert H. Lane, Alumni Secretary, Istanbul American College Alumni Association.
Creation of the Turkish Republic, after the Young Turk Revolution, brought all foreign schools under the Turkish Minister of Education. In a burst of patriotic fervor, the new government decreed that all courses, henceforth, must be taught in Turkish; a practical impossibility in scientific and technical fields considering the shortage of texts in the Turkish language. Despite this restriction, Robert College continued to function but with a curtailed curriculum.

During World War II, Turkish military engineering students were withdrawn from Germany and enrolled in the engineering school of Robert College. By waiving the ban on English, the Turkish Government permitted these students to acquire enough prerequisites for admission to engineering schools in the United States. Engineers trained at Robert have helped to build Turkey into a modern industrial nation. They have constructed the railroads, raised the factories, and installed the sewage systems. Robert graduates have entered all phases of Turkey's cultural, economic, and political life.95 Basketball, softball, and other American sports have spread from the campus into the villages.96

95 Cf., Appendix C for a list of prominent Robert College Alumni.

Government restrictions, however, still hamper the expansionist plans of Robert's directors. These restrictions, for example, prohibit the building of an adequate engineering school with much needed modern facilities. They served, also, to close the medical school at Constantinople College, after its building had been completed and the first girls enrolled. Even in friendly Turkey, there lurks a latent suspicion of the West, and each new venture by Westerners is viewed and reviewed before the government grants approval.

IV. THE AMERICAN IMPACT IN EGYPT

Education in Egypt after the Muslim invasion in 18 A.H. (640 A.D.) centered in the mosques, where memorization of the Koran became a prime requirement of the curriculum. Important schools of Shafi and Maliki law97 prospered up to the coming of the Fatimid Dynasty (909 A.D.), when all education was reorganized after the Shiite-Isma'ili fashion.

The Fatimids, great patrons of learning, endowed numerous scholars, founded the first Muslim university, and appointed Koran readers, jurists, grammarians, and physicians to it. The

97Cf., Rom Landau, *Islam and the Arabs*, pp. 131-132 and *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, p. 20. Two of the four orthodox legal schools (Hanafi and Hanbali are the other two) in Islam. Malik ben Anas (713-795), founder of the Maliki school, adopted the traditions of Muhammad and the Companions by using customary law and individual reasoning. Al-Shafi (767-820) systematized tradition. He is given credit for founding the science of Muslim jurisprudence.
library of the Fatimid Caliph testifies to their active interest in intellectual pursuits. This activity did not, however, reach its zenith until the Seljuk religious reaction entered Egypt with Saladin (1171 A.D.). It is a peculiar feature of these warlike times that not only the Ayyubids (1171-1250, the dynasty of Saladin) but also the great Mamluks (1250-1517), who were all simple soldiers, richly endowed intellectual endeavors, particularly those connected with religion.

Early in the sixteenth century, Ottoman sultans made themselves masters of Egypt and spread anarchy in order to keep the country in a passive state. These Turkish rulers divided authority among their representatives, the pashas, the Divan of Notables, and twenty-four beys whose sole task was to offset the pashas' authority and to collect taxes. In all this amazing system of organized impotence, only the tax system functioned on a positive base. Eventually, even this failed as the exhausted and desperate country became less productive. Al-Azhar, founded by the Fatimids in 970 A.D. and the foremost center of Arab learning at the time, sank into a leaden sleep.

98. The Mamluks were originally Circassian slaves imported from the Caucasus by the Fatimid Caliphs. Al-Zahir Baybars (1260-1277) consolidated Mamluk power in Egypt after defeating the Mongols and ending the threat of the Crusaders. He was the first to introduce the Hanbali legal school into Egypt, but this school never attained great influence.

The reactionary laws of the Turks smothered the few remaining rudiments of science; the whole culture of Egypt was in a state of decadence.100

So it remained until Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1798, forced a breach in the Egyptian citadel through which flowed the new ideas of Europe. Under Muhammad Ali Pasha, the Albanian general sent by the Ottoman Sultan to drive out French invaders, Egyptian education revived along the French model. This education was not intended as an end in itself, but as a means of creating a strong army on the one hand, and of improving and exploiting agriculture, as well as increasing the material wealth, on the other. But one of the chief attributes of knowledge is that it develops readily into an end when used as a means, and Egypt soon acquired a desire for knowledge for the sake of knowledge.101 Because Egypt enjoyed more freedom than many parts of the Ottoman Empire, educated Syrians and Lebanese took refuge there and contributed to the modern cultural movement.

With the British occupation in 1882, the Egyptian Ministry of Education came under British control. Neither the French language nor French influence, however, were really

100Ibid., p. 43.

101Taha Hussein, "Education," Mid-East, World Center, p. 213.
The British, apart from insuring an adequate supply of trained clerical help in government, did little in the educational field. Although Lord Cromer, first British resident and consul-general, made Egyptian education the privilege of a small class, he did appoint the one man to the newly created Department of Education who was capable of giving it a good start, as well as the least likely to let it serve British interests, namely Sad Zaghlul Pasha. Zaghlul laid the foundations of present elementary, secondary, and university education with a nucleus of only 6,000 pupils. By way of contrast, there were over 40,000 pupils in Egypt's three universities alone in 1956.

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102 George L. Harris (ed.), Egypt, p. 302.

103 Ibid. Cf., also, Russell Galt, The Effects of Centralization on Education in Modern Egypt, p. 44; Taha Hussein, op. cit., p. 215; Lacouture, op. cit., p. 78; and Abu al-Futouh Ahmad Radwan, Old and New Faces in Egyptian Education, p. 94. The British Information Services, New York, explains, "I know of no British effort in the field of education in the Middle East—except for what was done in Palestine during the period of the British Mandate—of the scope of the American Protestant schools which developed into the American University of Beirut, Roberts College and other similar institutions." (Personal letter dated January 16, 1958.)

104 Cf., Landau, op. cit., p. 249. Founder of the Wafd (Delegation) party who in 1919 demanded autonomy for his country.

105 Lacouture, op. cit., p. 416. The University of Cairo, founded in 1925 by King Fuad, when it grew out of an Institute for advanced studies set up in 1908 by Zaghlul, now has its counterparts in Alexandria and Heliopolis.
Three distinct historical streams of influence have affected education in modern Egypt; Arabic, French, and English.\textsuperscript{106} There is little evidence to support the existence of an American tributary and even less to show the democratic influences of American institutions.\textsuperscript{107} American missionary activity in the Middle East, initially centered in Lebanon, began to be felt elsewhere in the Arab world in the late 1800's.\textsuperscript{108} The American United Presbyterian Mission started work in Egypt in 1854. Its objectives were then and continue to be,

\begin{quote}
The development of an educated leadership for the church, together with improving the understanding of the Christian faith by its adherents and a demonstration that Christianity means unselfish service to all men regardless of race or creed.\textsuperscript{109}
\end{quote}

To reach these objectives, the Mission established training schools for religious workers, carried general education into villages and smaller towns where no schools existed, encouraged the education of girls and young women, and recently conducted

\begin{footnotes}
\item[106]Galt, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 28.
\item[107]Dr. John S. Badeau, President of the Near East Foundation and former President of the American University at Cairo, writes. . . "European cultural influences on political thinking have been dominant." (Personal letter dated August 25, 1958.)
\item[108]Harris, \textit{op. cit.}.
\item[109]Mathews and Akrawi, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 113.
\end{footnotes}
experimentation in rural education and the improvement of
dairy cattle through the importation of Jersey stock. Only
if increased literacy, a higher standard of living, and more
leisure time can be considered as components of democracy, may
the activities of the American United Presbyterian Mission be
considered a democratic influence.

Assiut College, founded in 1865 by prominent and well-
to-do families, served as the center of the American Mission's
educational endeavors in Upper Egypt. At the turn of the
century, this institution enjoyed remarkable prestige with
alumni in parliament, civil service, and big business.

Many attribute the prosperity of Assiut, its flourishing
inhabitants, the relative accuracy and honesty of its
artisans, to the influence of Assiut College. Its graduates
and former students occupying positions in government and
private concerns, or administering their own businesses,
have long been recognized as honest, straightforward,
thorough and conscientious.

Although at one time Assiut offered postsecondary work, its
present program is confined to preparing boys for the Egyptian
Secondary-School Certificate examination. A school for girls,
the Pressley Memorial Institute, may be noted, not for its size
(510 girls in 1945-46 spread through 12 years of education in

| 110 | Ibid. |
kindergarten, primary and secondary) or its importance in Egyptian political life but rather because the date of its founding, 1865, shows it to be among the pioneer female schools in the Middle East.

The best known American institution of higher learning in Egypt today is the American University at Cairo, which grew out of the activities of the American Mission but is administered by an independent board of trustees in the United States. World War I created in the youth of Egypt a desire to know more of the world and to understand what was going on in other countries. To help fill this desire the American University at Cairo was founded in 1920, with parallel secondary sections, one leading to the government examinations and the other preparing students for advanced institutions in which English is the language of instruction. The new school met with immediate acceptance, and, for the first time in Egyptian history, the sons of Muslim leaders matriculated at a Christian university. In 1922, five sons of pashas, forty-eight sons of beys, and five seyyids were in attendance. This acceptance of the new school

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114 Mathews and Akrawi, op. cit., p. 115.

115 Pashas - governors; beys - originally military commanders charged with the duty for tax collections; seyyids - descendents of the Prophet Muhammad.
was not surprising, for education had been conceived as an indispensable instrument in the struggle for both national independence and democracy from the beginning of the national movement in Egypt.\textsuperscript{116}

Education, and education alone, provided it is sound, can secure for the Egyptians justice and equality among themselves, and dignity and safety among other nations.\textsuperscript{117} Nagrib al-Hilali Pasha, former Minister of Education, in his official report on education, expresses the same views by stressing that "the higher aims of democracy can only be achieved when they rise from a sure foundation of sound education, the bedrock of all civilization."\textsuperscript{118}

The faculty of the School of Education and others at the American University at Cairo have been advocating a progressive philosophy of education for over a quarter of a century. In politics the progressives stand for national sovereignty, political democracy, and for good international relations.\textsuperscript{119} As a training device in the spirit of political democracy, the university established a student council composed of elected

\textsuperscript{116}Radwan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 114.

\textsuperscript{117}Taha Hussein, \textit{The Future of Culture in Egypt}, p. 118.


\textsuperscript{119}Sadek H. Samaan, \textit{Value Reconstruction and Egyptian Education}, p. 17.
class officers to encourage free discussion.\textsuperscript{120} The university advocates among its principles of modern education a "regard for the local environment and respect for the personality of pupils" and asks that Parent-Teachers organizations, such as those found in the United States, be established in all schools, primary and secondary. The school, especially in provincial and rural districts, should be the center for gatherings, meetings, conferences, instruction in the simple principles of hygiene and sanitation, home building, recreation, amusements, adult education, and scores of other activities.\textsuperscript{121}

In highly centralized Egypt, private schools assume a place of importance which they may not possess in a decentralized state, for it is the private school, if left free from excessive state interference, that can introduce and demonstrate variety in the state system. The powerful machine of centralization, however, has gathered most of the private schools into the central organization. Instead of being pioneers in innovation and experimentation, private schools, Egyptian and foreign, have been caught in the rush for government certificates; and, in order to obtain Egyptian students, they have been compelled to cater to the popular demand. As a result most private schools have become dull and inferior imitations of the government.

\textsuperscript{120}\textit{Catalogue, American University at Cairo}, 1956, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{121}Boktor, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 183, 213.
The Egyptian government took cognizance of this trend as early as 1950.

Egypt has sensed an inadequacy in its educational program and has already embarked on a program of reform whereby elementary education is to be decentralized and adapted to local conditions. There is some evidence available to suppose that decentralization has not yet reached the higher levels of private education in Egypt. A noted scholar writing from the American University at Cairo states:

Egyptians are at the moment extremely suspicious of even the most innocent of research projects in the social science area, whether done by Egyptians or foreigners—so suspicious, indeed, that all proposed research of this nature must be passed by a high government research council.

Centralization, the limited number of students in attendance at American schools, and the European, particularly French, background of modern Egyptian education tend to keep American democratic influences through education at a minimum. Present political tensions between the governments of Egypt and the United States do not permit more.

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122 Ibid., op. cit., p. 116.
124 Letter from George E. Gardner, Professor of Sociology, The American University at Cairo, dated April 21, 1959, Appendix F.
125 Ibid.
In retrospect, American education and American educators have made a distinct impression upon the political lives of the Arab peoples of the Middle East. Arab scholars George Antonius and Edward Jurji, among others, credit them with significant roles in the new spirit of nationalism which fills the land. American missionary-educators were subversive of the entire structure of the Ottoman Empire. They operated on the assumption, as one of them phrased it, "that what is good for communities in America, is good for the Armenians, Greeks, and Mohammedans of Turkey." To the American missionary, Christian theology was but one side of the good life. William Goodell, Pliny Fisk, Levi Parsons, Eli Smith, Cyrus Hamlin, and their successors became crusaders for literacy and through a literate population sought, almost instinctively, to carry democracy into the Middle East.

Foreign influences other than American have been at work in Arab lands during the 19th and 20th centuries. Reference

126 Williams, op. cit., p. 4.

127 Cf. Hamlin, op. cit., pp. 265-268. While most missionary writings seem to reflect the missionary preoccupation with conversions, his actions often leave doubts as to his intention. As mentioned previously, Cyrus Hamlin dwelt, at first, almost exclusively on conversions, yet he fought long and diligently to bring Western progress to Turkey through education. Education, sanitation, and industry are just as important as theology.
has been made to the tremendous impact of the French schools upon the culture of Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt particularly. British influence may not be ignored, for while British schools cannot compete in number and size with either American or French institutions, they need fear no rival in the quality of their instruction. Victoria College, in Alexandria, for example, is noted for its sound educational program and has trained leaders for all the countries in the Middle East. 128

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Anti-Westernism among the Arabs increased during and after World War I. It became particularly violent under the British and French mandates of the inter-war years. Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points, especially the enunciation of self-determination of peoples, allowed Americans to escape the stigma of colonialists attached to their war allies. American schools enjoyed a prestige unparalleled by other foreign institutions. 129

128 Sir Reader Bullard, Britain and the Middle East, pp. 173-175. Mathews and Akrawi, op. cit., p. 117.
129 William Yale, The Near East, p. 332. In fact, much of the opposition by the Arabs of Syria and Lebanon to the French mandate was attributed by the French to the activities of Dr. Bliss and his associates at the American University of Beirut. G. E. Von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam, p. 206. Muhammad Kurd Ali, for many years President of the Arab Academy at Damascus, praised only America among Western Powers. "The Americans are the only nation who do not use their missionaries as a vanguard of conquest."
The state of Israel has become the focal point of Arab anti-Westernism, and the United States' participation in its creation brought a serious and lasting decline to American prestige in the Middle East. American schoolmen often find themselves regarded with the same suspicion formerly reserved for the French and British. Regulations and denunciations come regularly from Arab governments and the Arab press respectively.\textsuperscript{130}

Although American prestige is dangerously depleted among the Arabs today, it is not, in the word of one observer, "dry."\textsuperscript{131} An overflow exists from the reservoir of goodwill credited to the American account by AUB, Robert, the American University at Cairo, and other American educational enterprises that have reflected abroad the true greatness of American democracy and tradition.\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{130}Landau, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 239. The Egyptian Government required that Islam be taught in all foreign schools. Non-compliance with this law renders a school liable to seizure by the state. A Jordan monthly, \textit{hadi 'l'islam}, contends that the danger of "imperialism" to Muslim society is to be found lurking even in Western-run schools. Philip Warren Thayer, \textit{Tensions in the Middle East}, pp. 174-175.

\textsuperscript{131}Ibid., p. 83.

\textsuperscript{132}Ibid., and Halford L. Hoskins, \textit{The Middle East}, p. 236.
CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be on him, said: "Obedience is due only to that which is good."

Bukhari, Hadith Bk. 64, Chap. 61

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American missionary-teachers built a storehouse of goodwill for the United States during the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries. Woodrow Wilson and his policy of self-determination increased the American store of goodwill to the point where, had the Arabs had the opportunity to choose a tutelary power under a League of Nations mandate, they would have chosen the United States.

Since World War II there has been a decided change for the worse in Arab feelings towards the United States. The most profound single cause for this change was the creation of the State of Israel. Arabs, generally, hold the United States directly responsible for the loss of Arab lands to a "European" nation which is inimical to the best interests of the Arab Middle East. America's withdrawal of support for President Nasser's high dam at Assuan has served, also, to decrease American prestige in Arab eyes.
Except for the policies of Woodrow Wilson and, perhaps, the early humanitarian efforts of American diplomats, the government of the United States appears to have exerted a negative influence upon democratic tendencies in Arab lands.

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I. AMERICAN INFLUENCE TO WORLD WAR I

Americans have been drawn to the Middle East under the influence of five primary incentives: Trade,\(^1\) religion, and education in the nineteenth century, democratic idealism and the maintenance of world peace in the twentieth. The United States government emphasized trade in its first treaty with the Ottoman Empire on May 7, 1830, and, subsequently, humanitarianism and religious toleration engaged the rather limited activities of American diplomats.

\(^1\)Harvey P. Halb and Carl Hermann Voss, *American Interests in the Middle East*, p. 10. The Barbary pirates molested American commerce in the Mediterranean until 1815. In that year, Captain Stephen Decatur exacted treaties from the rulers of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which permitted American trade in the area.

These same Barbary pirates were the reason for the first visit of an American warship to Constantinople. Commodore Bainbridge, commanding the USS Washington, visited Algiers to pay the annual tribute but was told to make payment to the Ottoman Sultan. It may be of interest to note that Commodore Bainbridge sailed to Constantinople under the Algerian flag, having been compelled to haul in the "Stars and Stripes" as a prerequisite for the visit.
The object of this firm instrument ... is that - No treaty or diplomatic and official convention, having heretofore, existed between the Sublime Porte, of perpetual duration, and the United States of America; ... We, the Undersigned, Commissioners, ... with our friend, the Honorable Charles Phind, ... have arranged, agreed upon and concluded, the following articles:

Art. I. Merchants shall pay the same duties and imposts that are paid by the most favored nations. . . .

Art. II. The Sublime Porte may establish Shahbenders (Consuls) in the United States of America; and the United States may appoint their citizens to be Consuls at the commercial places in the dominions of the Sublime Porte, . . . .

Art. IV. If litigations and disputes should arise between the subjects of the Sublime Porte and citizens of the United States, the parties shall not be heard unless the American Dragoman be present. . . . Citizens of the United States of America . . . shall be tried by their Minister of Consul: according to the usage observed towards other Franks.2

Despite Washington's official notice of the Ottoman Empire, the government of the United States chose to treat the Middle East almost as an afterthought.3

Three years after the Ottoman treaty, in 1833, American interest in East African trade prompted negotiation of a treaty

2 Excerpts from the United States "Treaty with the Ottoman Porte, May 7, 1830." The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, XIII.

3 Among 114 documents dealing with Middle East-West diplomacy, Jacob Hurewitz lists only two in which the United States participated; The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1830 between the United States and the Ottoman Empire, and The Treaty of Amity and Commerce of September, 1835, between the United States and Muscat-Oman. J. C. Hurewitz, Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, I, pp. 102, 108.
between the United States and the ruler of Muscat-Oman, Sayyid Said. This agreement, alleged to be the first concluded by a Gulf ruler with the Government of a Great Power on the basis of equality, did not, however, continue after Sayyid's death. Not until 1880, with the appointment of a British merchant as American Consul, were formal relations re-established. 4

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Occasionally, American diplomatic and consular officials interceded for the oppressed in the Ottoman Empire. Mr. Carroll Spence, Minister of the United States at Constantinople, in a letter to the Honorable William L. Marcy, Secretary of State under President Franklin Pierce, wrote concerning the expulsion of the Greeks by the Sultan in 1854, "...Certain I am, that the people of my own country will regard as an act of humanity any attempt to alleviate the misfortunes of these innocent people." 5 William S. Thayer, United States Consul-General in Egypt, rallied to the cause of religious toleration when a certain Mr. Faris, Syrian physician and agent for

4 Olaf Caroe, Wells of Power, p.107, Cf., also, Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, pp. 321-22.

American missionaries in Upper Egypt, was beaten seriously at the Court of the Cadi of Assiut. Thayer succeeded in having the Cadi imprisoned and $5,000 in damages paid to the injured man. It may be of interest to note that this action prompted the following letter from the President of the United States.

To Mohammad Said Pacha, Viceroy of Egypt and its dependencies, etc., etc.

Great and Good Friend: I have received from Mr. Thayer, consul-general of the United States at Alexandria, a full account of the liberal, enlightened, and energetic proceedings which, on his complaint, you have adopted in bringing to speedy and condign punishment, the parties, subject to your highness in Upper Egypt, who were concerned in an act of cruel persecution against Faris, an agent of certain Christian missionaries in Upper Egypt. I pray your highness to be assured that these proceedings, at once so prompt and so just, will be regarded as a new and unmistakable proof equally of your highness's friendship for the United States, and of the firmness, integrity, and wisdom with which the government of your highness is conducted.

Wishing you great prosperity and success, I am your good friend.

Washington, October 9, 1861

Abraham Lincoln

By the President
William H. Seward, Secretary of State

Some strain was placed on Lincoln's friendship during the American Civil War when the Khedive of Egypt furnished five hundred Sudanese troops for service with the French in Mexico, where they remained until 1867. After the war, however, the


7Ibid.
Khedive employed United States officers to help reorganize his enlarged army, and one of them, General Charles Pomeroy Stone, continued as Chief-of-Staff of the Egyptian Army until 1883.

Missionary activities continued to be the most important aspect of American penetration of the Middle East throughout the nineteenth century. The missionaries, for the most part, relied on their own initiative in establishing their schools, churches, and hospitals with only an occasional request for government help. A letter from the commanding officer of the flag ship Independence records one such request:

The missionaries around the Mediterranean, . . . feel it to be a matter of very considerable importance, in many respects, that visits of our ships of war and naval officers should be made not infrequently in the fields of their labor.

In response, the United States frigate Cumberland proceeded "to the coast of Syria and to Alexandria in Egypt, for the general purpose of giving protection to our commerce and citizens."

In another instance, the acting agent of American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire protested Turkish apathy in

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8J. C. Hurewitz, Middle East Dilemmas, p. 59.
10Ibid.
solving eight cases of robbery on mission property. American Legation authorities at Constantinople brought the matter to the attention of the Turkish Government, and, in a very short time, persons involved in four of the robberies were brought to justice.11

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In 1909, the United States government backed negotiations for a railroad in the Middle East: The famous Chester concession to build a railway line in southeastern Turkey and northern Iraq and to exploit all natural resources for about twenty-five miles on either side of the right-of-way. This would have given American concessionaires possession of the Kirkuk and Mosul oil fields at a later date. The scheme collapsed, however, when its financial backers withdrew from the venture.12

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There appears to be very little consistency in American foreign policy in the Middle East during the nineteenth century.13 If there was an American policy, it was one of

11 United States Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1882.
12 Hall, loc. cit.
13 Hanson W. Baldwin, Middle East in Turmoil, p. 5.
simple reaction to existing conditions. Private American citizens labored in chosen fields, and the American government reacted to their efforts; missionaries asked for a martial display from American naval forces and the American government obliged. Other foreign governments received capitulatory privileges from the Ottoman Porte, and the United States reacted by asking for like privileges. Not until the twentieth century, and more precisely, not until World War I and Woodrow Wilson, did the United States express a more compelling interest in Middle Eastern affairs.

The year 1917 was marked in Europe by a growing demand for a statement of war aims and a negotiated peace. In May the Kerensky government took office in Russia with a pledge to promote a peace based on the self-determination of peoples and without annexation or indemnities. On August 1, Pope Benedict XV circularized the leaders of the belligerent powers and suggested as one basis for a lasting peace the examination of territorial claims in a spirit of equity and justice.14

All during the war there had been considerable Allied pressure to bring about a split in the Ottoman Empire. Numerous pledges of national freedom had been made to the Arabs for the purpose of enlisting their aid in the fight against the Turks. Nevertheless, in 1916, Britain and France signed a

secret treaty, known as the Sykes-Picot agreement, which contradicted many of the promises given to the Arabs in the Hussein-McMahon correspondence. When the Bolshevik Revolution (November, 1917) made public the text of Sykes-Picot and other secret Allied treaties, it became imperative that the Allies state their war aims in unequivocal language.

An Interallied Commission met in Paris (Nov. 29 - Dec. 3, 1917) to discuss Allied war aims, but its members were unable to agree. Subsequently, the task of formulating a statement of policy fell to the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, who set forth in an address before Congress on January 8, 1918, fourteen points as the only possible program for peace. Among others, Wilson propounded in Article 5 the principle of self-determination:

> A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining such questions of

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15 Of George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, pp. 243-75; and Rom Landau, *Islam and the Arabs*, pp. 242-245. The Hussein-McMahon correspondence were eight letters exchanged between Sharif Hussein, ruler of Mecca, and Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, from July 14, 1915, until January 30, 1916. In McMahon's third letter, he implies that Great Britain would support Arab independence after World War I: "In these circumstances, the Government of Great Britain have authorized me to declare to your Lordship that you may rest confident that Great Britain does not intend to conclude any peace whatsoever, of which the freedom of the Arab peoples... do not form an essential condition."

sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined. 17

Wilson's enunciation of self-determination shocked European statesmen, for its application could deprive them of the spoils of war. 18 They reasoned that, since self-determination had not been recognized in international law, 19 there was little reason for them to support its acceptance now. As late as 1871, Europe's leaders had acknowledged the right of conquest in the cession of Alsace-Lorraine to Prussia. At that time, France broached the subject of Alsatian political aspirations as a deterrent to German annexation, but her plea fell on deaf ears.

The United States had been no less culpable in asserting the right of conquest: In 1867 the St. Croix and St. John plebiscite was rejected by Secretary of State W. H. Seward; in 1897 the Hawaiian Islands were annexed by force; and, in 1898, war with Spain brought Cuba and the Philippines under American

17 James D. Richardson (ed.), Messages and Papers of the Presidents, XVII, p. 8424.

18 Bailey, op. cit., p. 652.

19 "The Plebiscite," New Republic, XVIII, No. 233 (April 19, 1919), p. 373. "Almost in vain do we search in our textbooks on international law for the terms self-determination and plebiscite." According to one authority, W. E. Hall, "the principle that the wishes of a population are to be consulted when the territory which they inhabit is ceded ... is a/ misapprehension and cannot be adopted until title by conquest has disappeared."
domination. On the other hand, the United States refused to annex Cuba and has since granted independence to the Philippines. The ideal of self-determination appeals to most Americans, but there seems to be some disagreement as to how best to serve its intended purpose; "the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience."

* * *

Of all ideals sponsored by an American government, none made more immediate impact upon the Arabs' political consciousness than did the principle of self-determination. It has most often been equated with national independence in western minds, and the same equation carried into Arab lands.

"No right is more sacred and inalienable than that of every people to rule itself, to give itself that form of government best suited to its temperament and its aspirations," writes Abd-el-Krim, self-styled Provisional Regent of the Rif Republic, during the revolt against Spanish rule in Morocco. These

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20 Ibid., p. 374.


22 V. I. Lenin, The Right of Nations to Self-Determination, p. 11. Professor George Haddad writes from Damascus on May 30, 1925, that "in the post-war years, Wilson was a symbol of self-determination because of his 14 Points, and people then were interested in independence."

sentiments had echoed throughout the Arab World for almost one hundred years. They found expression in numerous Arab societies dedicated first to cultural unity but soon to political freedom.

Two Christian Arabs, Nasif Yazeji and Butrus Bustani, in the early days of their association with the American Mission in Beirut, proposed the formation of a learned society dedicated to bring adults into contact with Western culture. The project matured in January, 1847, when an organization came into being, under the name of the Society of Arts and Sciences. Within two years the society had fifty members, the majority of them Christian Syrians living in Beirut. Yazeji and Bustani appealed to Arabs of all creeds to write in the service of their language, and Muslims agreed to join in the formulation of a new group provided missionary influence was eliminated. Thus the Syrian Scientific Society came into being in 1857. Probably the first time in the history of Syria, certainly for the first time in the 350 years of Ottoman domination, a common ideal had brought the warring creeds together and united them in an active partnership for a common end.24

The reign of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul-Hamid (1876-1909) was marked, for the most part, by a slow and almost imperceptible

24 Antonius, op. cit., p. 54. "It was at a secret gathering of certain members of the Syrian Scientific Society that the Arab national movement may be said to have uttered its first cry."
growth in Arab national aspirations. Syria took the lead in fomenting revolt, and Egypt, because of its distance from Constantinople, was best able to respond to Syrian exhortations. Cairo became one center of conspiracy against Abdul-Hamid's rule, and Paris was the other. In these two capitals, groups of political refugees - Young Turks they called themselves - were plotting the Sultan's downfall.

The abortive Turkish Revolution of 1908 compelled Abdul-Hamid to promulgate a constitution which proved to be a reissue of the Constitution of 1876 with all its incongruities magnified by the passage of time and the growth of national sentiment. At first, Arab elements of the Empire rejoiced in their new "freedom," but soon they realized the deficiencies in a document that called for a fusion of all races into the Ottoman pattern. Arab secret societies again agitated for political freedom. It was in this atmosphere, charged by Arab political unrest, that World War I came to the Middle East. Allied promises during the war coupled with Turkey's defeat renewed Arab hopes.

25 Ibid., p. 99. Antonius mentions the work of a secret society in Beirut and the agitation of Abdul-Rahman Kawakebi as the only significant contributions to the Arab nationalist movement.

26 Katibah, op. cit., p. 47. In 1913, Arab representatives from Arab lands, from the United States, and from South America met in Paris. Their deliberations convinced the Turks that Arab nationalists were irrevocably committed to local autonomy and ultimate independence.
for independence; Allied adoption of Wilson's Fourteen Points appeared to give Arab aspirations the final stamp of Western approval.

II. WOODROW WILSON AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Arab nationalists looked hopefully towards Wilson and the Allied Peace Conference at Versailles for redress of their grievances. They viewed President Wilson's policy of self-determination as compatible with promises made to them by England in 1915-16, and reaffirmed by England and France in 1918. Instead of hope, Versailles offered only frustration to the Arab quest for independence. When the Emir Faisal arrived in Paris in January, 1919, as head of the Hejaz Delegation to the Peace Conference, he was politely taken on a tour of the battlefields. At the same time, he was informed by the French that they welcomed him as a visitor but could not credit him in any official capacity. Eventually, the Hejaz Delegation received two seats at the Conference, and Faisal did succeed in submitting

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27Cf. Antonius, op. cit., pp. 413-436 for texts of Hussein-McMahon Correspondence, Declaration to the Seven, and the Anglo-French Declaration. Cf., also, Article XII of Wilson's Fourteen Points, in which he states, "... the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development. ..." Richardson, op. cit., p. 8425.

28Antonius, op. cit., p. 280.
a plea for Arab independence based "on the principles enunciated by President Wilson."29 Continued French opposition, however, brought failure to most of Faisal's proposals save one: The steps to be taken to ascertain the wishes of the population concerned, about which more will be said later.

Other Arab nationalists found similar rebuffs in their petitions to the peacemakers at Versailles. Saad Zaghlul Pasha, Egyptian nationalist leader and founder of the al-Wafd al-Misri, the Egyptian Delegation Party, inspired by Wilson's pronouncements,30 sought permission from England to go to Paris, but was, instead, deported to Malta on March 8, 1919. The Wafd had grown tremendously during the war as a result of Egyptian resentment at Britain's forced labor conscription, requisition of materials, and so on. Zaghlul's deportation caused a major national insurrection which had to be put down by the British military under Field Marshal (later high commissioner for Egypt) Allenby.31

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29 Ibid., p. 287.
30 J. C. Hurewitz, Middle East Dilemmas, p. 69.
31 An Encyclopedia of World History, p. 1081; Edward Atiyah, The Arabs, pp. 108-109. Incidentally, this was the same General Allenby who on October 17, 1918, gave the following assurance to the Arabs:
"I reminded the Emir Faisal that the Allies were in honour bound to endeavor to reach a settlement in accordance with the wishes of the peoples concerned, and urged him to place his trust wholeheartedly in their good faith." FayeZ A. Sayegh, Arab Unity, p. 34.
Arab Nationalists of the General Syrian Congress (Damascus, July 2, 1919), meeting on the premise that the Allies would attempt an inquiry to determine the wishes of the people, also petitioned to be allowed to send a delegation to Versailles. Their petition was summarily ignored by Britain and France.

Emir Faisal made a second trip to Paris on November 27 for an interview with the French Premier Clemenceau, at which, the conditions of a provisional Franco-Arab arrangement were discussed and agreed upon. France was to occupy the Lebanon and the rest of the coastal regions of Syria as far north as Alexandretta, and it was further stipulated that the Arab State should henceforth turn to France for any assistance it might require. Since this agreement was considered provisional pending a final settlement by the Peace Conference, Faisal remained in Europe awaiting a meeting of the Powers.

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The Syrian Congress had based its deliberations on the promise of a free Syria and "the lofty principles of Woodrow


33 Bailey, op. cit., p. 753. Clemenceau sneered at the Fourteen Points. "God gave us the Ten Commandments," he quipped, "and we broke them. Wilson gave us his Fourteen Points—we shall see."
The lofty principles proclaimed by President Wilson encourage us to believe that the determining consideration in the settlement of our own future will be the real desires of our people; and that we may look to President Wilson and the liberal American nation, who are known for their sincere and generous sympathy with the aspirations of weak nations, for help in the fulfillment of our hopes. 34

What the Syrian delegates could not know was that Woodrow Wilson's ideals would soon be repudiated not only in Europe but in the United States as well.

America had entered World War I with crashing bands and waving flags, swept on by a wave of patriotism that almost amounted to hysteria. "Make the world safe for democracy, the war to end all wars, freedom of the seas" caught the favor of a dedicated and aroused citizenry. Somewhere among the heatless Mondays and the bloodbath in Belleau Wood, 35 however, American enthusiasm waned. Letters from soldiers at the front reflected this changed attitude.

There will be so much bunk after this affair is over that the people will become sick of the word "war," I used to be ambitious. I desired a war cross and honor, but my ideas have changed. I have seen too many men with those ambitions go down riddled with bullets. 36

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34Ibid., p. 442.

35Of the 8,000 marines in the Fourth Marine Brigade who went into battle (June, 1918), 6,000 were casualties.

36In a letter from Sergeant Karl P. Spencer cited in Paul M. Angle, The American Reader, p. 503.
American suspicion of European entanglements returned with renewed vigor to plague Wilson at every turn. A hostile Senate, piqued by Wilson's slight in not including one of its prominent members, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, on the delegation to the Peace Conference, prepared to undermine his program at Paris. The inclusion of a League of Nations in the Treaty of Versailles became the focal point of their attack, and Wilson hurried home to fight. Senate renunciation of the League delighted Wilson's Allied adversaries, for they knew he would be forced to come back, hat in hand, to beg for changes in the Covenant that would safeguard the "sacred Monroe Doctrine and other heritages so precious to the Senators."37

In succession, French, and Japanese delegates forced a series of compromises that seriously damaged Wilson's reputation as the champion of self-determination. Japan was granted economic rights in Shantung Province, against the wishes of the Chinese, and the much coveted Saar Basin became a League charge in an agreement with France. On one point, however, Wilson would not compromise: the proposal to send out a commission of inquiry to determine the wishes of the Arab people as originally requested by Emir Faisal. Great Britain, France, and Italy found various excuses to drop the inquiry. Even

37 Bailey, loc. cit.
certain members of the United States delegation believed that sufficient facts could be had in Paris to resolve the political fate of the Arab World. Wilson remained obdurate, and, in one final convulsive effort to implement the ideal of self-determination, he authorized Dr. Henry Churchill King, President of Oberlin College, and Charles R. Crane, a Chicago businessman, to proceed into the Middle East on a fact-finding mission.

The King-Crane Commission38 arrived in Jaffa on June 10th and visited Jerusalem, Acre, Damascus, Amman, Beirut, Homs, Aleppo, and numerous other smaller districts. During a six-week stay, the commissioners interviewed Arabs in all walks of life and received a total of over 1,800 petitions. On August 28th, they deposited a copy of their report with the secretariat of the United States delegation. It included a mandate program for Syria based upon a limited term for the Mandatory Power to be used in the education of Syrians for a democratic state.

38Its official title was "The Inter-Allied Commission on Mandates in Turkey, American Section." The Commission was composed of two commissioners, King and Crane, three advisers, Professor Albert H. Lybyer, Dr. George Montgomery, and Captain William Yale, and a secretary-treasurer, Captain Donald M. Brodie. Dr. Sami Haddad, instructor in the school of Medicine at the Syrian Protestant College acted as physician and interpreter to the Commission. King-Crane Report on the Near East, from the files of the Inter-Allied Commission on Turkey, American Section, published in Editor and Publisher, LV, No. 27, December 2, 1922. Cf., also, Antonius, op. cit., pp. 443-458 and William Yale, The Near East, pp. 315-317, 335-337.
The Mandatory should definitely seek, from the beginning of its trusteeship, to train the Syrian people to independent self-government as rapidly as conditions allow, by setting up all the institutions of a democratic state, and by sharing with them increasingly the work of administration.

According to the King-Crane report, the United States ranked an overwhelming first choice to assume the Mandate in Syria. Over 60% of the 1863 Arab respondents to the Commission questionnaire favored America, with Great Britain receiving 21% of the vote and France receiving less than 1%. The Syrian people detailed their reasons for choosing United States:

They declared that their choice was due to knowledge of America's record; the unselfish aims with which she had come into the War; the faith in her felt by multitudes of Syrians who had been in America; the spirit revealed in American educational institutions in Syria, especially the College in Beirut (AUB), with its well-known and constant encouragement of Syrian national sentiment; their belief that America had no territorial or colonial ambitions, and would willingly withdraw when the Syrian State was well established as her treatment both of Cuba and the Philippines seemed to them to illustrate; her genuinely democratic spirit; and her ample resources.39

But this was not to be. The Allies chose to ignore the recommendations of the King-Crane Commission, and, indeed, if President Wilson did read the Commission's report, he made no public note of its content.40

39 Ibid., p. 452.
40 Richardson, op. cit., XVIII, p. 6888. In a special message to Congress, December 8, 1920, Wilson includes a $10,000 expense account for H. C. King and C. R. Crane.
The American people preferred to isolate themselves and return to "normalcy."

* * *

Emir Faisal regarded as provisional the agreement with Clemenceau (November, 1919) which permitted French occupation of the Lebanon and other Syrian coastal territory. He was aware that the Arab world was strongly against the dismemberment of Syria, but to him the understanding was the only alternative to a complete breach with the Allies. Faisal fully expected help from Great Britain and the United States when the Arab question came up for final settlement. America's indifference and England's designs on Iraq and Palestine made their help an unlikely possibility.

The Supreme Council of the Allied Nations met in the spring of 1920 in a small town in northwest Italy, San Remo, and buried Arab hopes for independence. On April 25, the Conference at San Remo placed Syria and Lebanon under mandate to France, while Iraq and Palestine were assigned under mandate to Great Britain. The American people accepted the mandates although it was obvious from the first that they fell short of Wilsonian ideals of self-determination.  

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A sick and disillusioned Wilson, worn from his campaign to win acceptance for the League of Nations in the United States, made little protest. Mr. Bainbridge Colby, Wilson's Secretary of State, penned a note to the British Government in which he refers to "the application of equality of treatment to the territories of the Near East to be placed under mandates," but Mr. Colby's letter deals "specifically" with the petroleum resources of those territories affected by that principle. In one brief paragraph, surrounded by economic considerations, the principles of temporary tutelage and self-determination raise themselves.

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44 Perhaps Atiyah's supposition that Woodrow Wilson was "cynical enough to regard the Arabs as an inferior people whose rights did not have to be respected in the same way as the rights of Americans and Europeans," is too severe. Atiyah, op. cit., p. 102. According to Harvey P. Hall, "The mandatory system was fathered in part by Wilson as a scheme to bring Arab independence." Hall, op. cit., p. 10. Wilson's own words seem to support this conclusion. In an address at Columbus, Ohio, on September 4, 1918, the President commented on the mandate provisions in the Covenant of the League of Nations: "There isn't a single act of annexation in this treaty. . . . The object of the arrangement is the welfare of the people who live there and not the advantages of the government which is trustee."

Richardson, op. cit., p. 8793.

This Government welcomes your pledges to the effect that the natural resources of Mesopotamia are to be secured to the people of Mesopotamia and to the future Arab State to be established in that region, and that it is the purpose of the British Government, fully alive to its obligation as a temporary occupant, not only to secure these resources to the Mesopotamian State, but also its absolute freedom of action in the control thereof, and in particular that it is far from the intention of the mandatory power to establish any kind of monopoly or preferred position in its own interest.46

About France and Syria, Wilson is silent.

III. AMERICAN INFLUENCE BETWEEN THE WARS

The war was over; the "Hun" defeated; Americans entered the 1920's in a burst of vitality. Neither the short-lived business collapse (1920-1921) nor the scandals of the Harding Administration served to sap their buoyant energy. Emancipated women bobbed their hair and shortened their skirts; "speakeasies," where liquor was sold illegally, flourished in every city and hamlet; sex magazines crowded the bookstall counters; a bull market made young and old, rich and poor "investment happy;" and, through it all, Europe became a bitter and hazy memory.47 The Middle East became even more remote in American minds. The United States considered the area largely one of British and French influence48 except for occasional reference to an "open

46Ibid., p. 8878, underlining mine.

47Cf. Frederick Lewis Allen, Only Yesterday, et. passim, for one description of the "fabulous twenties."

48Baldwin, loc. cit.
door policy," particularly in oil-rich Mesopotamia. 49

As the United States reverted to isolation, the British and French exercised a rigid control over their mandates in the Middle East. Their sovereignty did not go unchallenged, however. As soon as the proceedings of the Conference at San Remo were made public, Iraqi nationalists rose in revolt. The insurrection continued from June to August, 1920, and resulted in over 8,000 Arab casualties to 1,600 British. The French, also, were compelled to secure control of Syria by military operations in a campaign that ended officially with the fall of Aleppo and Damascus in July, 1920. 50 Numerous Arab rebellions marked the mandate period of the next two decades. Antonius ascribes this condition to the "various regimes which were wrongfully and forcibly imposed upon the Arabs in Iraq, Syria, and Palestine in violation of the pledges which had brought them into the War." He relegates "other causes" to subsidiary roles below "the revulsion of feeling which the post-War provisions engendered." 51 Among the "other causes" given by the British for the Iraqi uprising was the part played by Turkish nationalists in the revolt. 52

49 Yale, op. cit., p. 321.
50 Ibid., pp. 319, 339.
51 Antonius, op. cit., p. 277.
52 Yale, op. cit., p. 319. "The Anglo-Indian officials . . . attributed the uprising to the Syrian and Iraqi nationalists, . . . , to Turkish nationalist agents . . . , and to the Shiite clergy. . . ." Yale concludes that "the Anglo-Indian apologists confused the means with the causes."
Nationalism, republicanism, statism, revolutionism, and secularism were the slogans of the new Turkey; and the adoption of a civil code of laws, the Latin alphabet, and European dress became symbols of their popularity. 53 The revolutionary strains of Turkish nationalism played loudly in Arab ears in the years immediately preceding World War I; 54 they reached a crescendo with the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. 55

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Iraq, in 1930, received some measure of sovereignty by the conclusion of a treaty with Great Britain but her foreign

53. La Turquie Contemporaine, p. 59.

54. The first Arab society in Turkey, Arabi al-Uthmani (The Ottoman Arab Fraternity) was organized in Constantinople, September 2, 1908. Its avowed purposes were to protect the Constitution (Abdul-Hamid's Constitution of 1908), unite all races in loyalty to the Sultan, promote the equality of all races in the Empire, spread education in the Arabic tongue and foster the observance of Arab customs. When the Turks suppressed the Ottoman Arab Fraternity in line with their policy of exalting the Turkish nationality, Arab leaders were forced underground and a series of new societies, dedicated to home rule for Arabs, came into being. Cf. Antonius, op. cit., pp. 101-123.

55. Syrian nationalists were impressed particularly by Ankara's defiance of the Allied occupation after World War I. The Turks defeated the Greeks and forced the Allies to accept the terms of the Turkish National Assembly. Yale, op. cit., pp. 338-339. "Though the Allied Powers proclaimed neutrality in the war and attempted to mediate, Lloyd George nevertheless encouraged the Greeks in their aggressive policy." An Encyclopaedia of World History, p.1095. "When Lloyd George, after the Great War [World War I], could not wage a direct war against Turkey on account of the opposition of the soldiers and the British taxpayers, Greece was supported to do so." Mecure de France, September 1, 1922, cited by William George Wirth, "The Recent Near East, A Study and A Solution." (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of California, Berkeley, 1923), p. 126.
affairs remained under the former mandatory power. Egypt was afforded like treatment by the British and both countries gained membership in the League of Nations. Syria did not fare so well.

The internal political crisis in France between 1934 and 1936 brought Leon Blum, who was sympathetic to the Syrian cause, to power. A Syrian delegation went to France and concluded a Franco-Syrian Treaty somewhat similar to the British treaties with Egypt and Iraq. The French Government, however, casting frightened glances at Hitler and Mussolini, retreated from its liberal policy, and Syria continued as a colony.56

A discussion of Palestine and Saudi Arabia may be left to another time, for, indeed the government of the United States exhibited little interest in them up to World War II. The government of the United States, in fact, showed very little interest in foreign affairs.57 Even the invasion of Poland by Germany in 1939 and the subsequent declaration of war by France and Great Britain evoked no more than a firm determination on the part of Americans to avoid the conflict. "If they want to

56 The Franco-Syrian Treaty was never presented to the French Chamber of Deputies for ratification. In July, 1939, the French high commissioner suspended the Syrian Constitution and divided Syria, once more, into separate administrative units.

57 "We were continuing to suffer deep disillusionment born of our participation in World War I, which we now regarded as a colossal blunder." Bailey, op. cit., p. 862.
fight and think might makes right, let them keep it over there," were the opening words of a popular song, and only the Japanese planes over Pearl Harbor on that fateful December 7th could drown out its message in a hail of bombs.

IV. ISRAEL AND ITS EFFECT UPON AMERICAN INFLUENCE FOR DEMOCRACY

The United States entered World War II at the time when Germany was threatening to engulf the entire Middle East in a tremendous "pincer" movement. General Rommel's panzer divisions, less than one hundred miles from Cairo, menaced Suez in the south while German troops hammered towards Kharkov in the north. British victory at El Alamein (October, 1942) and Russian victory at Stalingrad (January, 1943) cut the German "claws" and prevented Hitler's "squeeze play." Thus the Middle East escaped the consequences of the battlefield, but it could not escape the economic distress and dislocations resulting from the world conflict.

Through lend-lease and various presidential funds, the United States supplemented British measures to avert economic collapse. Saudi Arabia became an important recipient of

58The Lend-Lease Act (March 11, 1941) enabled any country whose defense the President deemed vital to that of the United States to receive arms and other equipment and supplies by sale, transfer, exchange, or lease.
American aid, partly because of the Arabian American Oil Company and partly because of the air routes which crossed Arabia on the way to the Pacific War theater.\textsuperscript{59} It was at a meeting with King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia in February, 1945, that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt promised that he would take no action in Palestine which might prove hostile to the Arab people.\textsuperscript{60} In the years to follow these words haunted American foreign policy as Washington supported Zionist ambitions in the Holy Land.

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The British Foreign Office had issued a statement on November 2, 1917, which, by one interpretation, provided the

\textsuperscript{59}Yale, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 401.

\textsuperscript{60}President Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud met on a cruiser in the Suez Canal when FDR was on his way back from the Yalta Conference. A letter from Ibn Saud after the meeting evoked this response from Roosevelt: "Your Majesty will recall that on previous occasions I communicated to you the attitude of the American government toward Palestine and made clear our desire that no decision be taken with respect to the basic situation in that country without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews. Your Majesty will also doubtless recall that during our recent conversation I assured you that I would take no action, in my capacity as Chief of the executive branch of government, which might prove hostile to the Arab people."

base for a Jewish State in Palestine. Universally titled the Balfour Declaration after Lord Balfour, British Foreign Secretary in the Lloyd George war cabinet, it stated that "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." President Wilson praised the Balfour Declaration in a letter to Rabbi Wise of New York City dated September 1, 1918.

I have watched with deep and sincere interest the reconstructive work which the Weizmann commission has done in Palestine at the instance of the British Government, and I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist movement in the United States and in the Allied countries since the declaration of Mr. Balfour, on behalf of the British Government, of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries.


62 Atiyah, loc. cit. The date may be significant in that it was written two months before the Congressional elections. Woodrow Wilson believed that his hand would be strengthened at the Paris peace table if the voters returned a Democratic Congress. He felt so strongly about this that he appealed directly to the people and, thereby, antagonized Republican politicians. Bailey, op. cit., p. 748. There is some difficulty in reconciling Wilson's words in the letter to Rabbi Wise with his stand on the principle of self-determination, if we remove them from the context of that turbulent election year. Atiyah offers "ignorance" as the most charitable explanation.

63 Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a Jewish scientist of Russian origin, whose chemical researches in England helped the Allied war effort.
I think that all Americans will be deeply moved in this time of stress that the Weizmann commission has been able to lay the foundation of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, with the promise that bears of spiritual rebirth. 64

President Wilson's approval of the Balfour Declaration was not reflected in the report of the King-Crane Commission, however. The Commissioners point out that if self-determination is to rule and that "the wishes of Palestine's population are to be decisive... then it is to be remembered that the non-Jewish population of Palestine--nearly nine-tenths of the whole--are emphatically against the entire Zionist programme." 65 A similar dichotomy of purpose reappeared in the years following World War II.

* * *

As early as colonial times, American Jews came to the financial aid of the impoverished Jewish community in Palestine. An American, Judah Touro, in 1854, set aside a substantial sum in his will to build the first Jewish housing project outside the walls of Old Jerusalem. From the very inception of Zionism, American Jews participated in the movement and supported its multifarious educational and developmental schemes. 66

64 Richardson, op. cit., XVII, p. 8575.

65 King-Crane Report on the Near East, Inter-Allied Commission on Turkey, American Section, published in Editor and Publisher, LV, No. 27, December 2, 1922.

66 J. C. Hurewitz, Middle East Dilemmas, p. 107.
There is little question that the sympathies of the American people after World War II leaned towards the mitigation of Jewish suffering in Europe. Hitler's program for Jewish extermination caused widespread condemnation among all racial and religious groups in the United States. When Secretary of State James Byrnes made public the contents of Roosevelt's letter to Ibn Saud there was consternation in political circles, for Roosevelt's message suggested a halt to Zionist plans for the occupation of Palestine. Speaking in the House of Representatives, the Hon. Charles W. Vursell of Illinois said:

When Palestine was mandated to the British Government after the First World War it was under the authority of the League of Nations with the expressed conditions that this land was to become a home and a sovereign nation ultimately for the Jewish people. 67

Whatever may be the historical validity of this statement, 68 it is not an isolated quotation and generally shows the attitude of Congress towards the establishment of a Jewish state in

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68 The mandate of Palestine to Britain (April 25, 1920) was approved by the League of Nations on the terms set forth in the Balfour Declaration. Numerous solutions were sought by the British Government to the Arab-Jewish problem from 1920 to 1939 culminating in the so-called British Plan of March 17, 1939. It provided for an independent Palestine in 10 years with Arabs and Jews sharing the government. Both sides rejected the proposal. An Encyclopedia of World History, pp. 1100-2.
Palestine.69

Arab neutrality and the pro-Axis leanings of certain Arab leaders, among them the powerful Mufti of Jerusalem, were given wide circulation by Zionist propagandists in the United States after 1943. Thereby Congress and a major portion of the American public were made sensitive to the Zionist position. American oil companies, on the other hand, and missionaries operating in the Arab East were influenced by Arab views. Spokesmen for the oil companies, whose commodity possessed such strategic value, found attentive ears in the departments of State, War, and Navy. These conflicting pressures helped transform the Palestine problem into a domestic issue of American politics.70


70 J. C. Hurewitz, Middle East Dilemmas, p.130. The crux of the problem was summed up by President Truman when he said: "I am sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism; I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents." United States Congress, Study of United States Foreign Policy: Summary of Views of Retired Foreign Service Officers prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, (86th Congress, 1st Session, June 15, 1959), p. 68.
On August 13, 1945, the World Zionist Congress demanded that Palestine be opened to 1,000,000 Jews, and two weeks later President Truman asked that 100,000 Jewish displaced persons from Europe be admitted immediately. England's Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin, countered by suggesting the appointment of an Anglo-American inquiry body whose function would be to study Jewish-Arab relations and recommend a solution to the impasse in Palestine.

The committee, none of whose members had ever been to the Middle East, began its work in Washington during the spring of 1946. According to David Horowitz, Washington's environment was more "amenable to Zionist interests than elsewhere: a sympathetic public opinion, a congenial attitude towards the Jewish population of Palestine, a friendly government, and restricted Arab influence."71 Over the deliberations of the committee hung the implied threat voiced by the late Mayor Fiorello La Guardia of New York that "if Britain wants credit, the best way to get it is the indication that the borrower knows how to keep his word."72

The principle of self-determination received some attention from committee delegates, but new interpretations seemed to arise from the discussions.

71 David Horowitz, State in the Making, p. 244.
72 Yale, op. cit., p. 407.
The absolute sovereignty of peoples over the territories which they occupy no longer obtains in the modern world. The sole priority is world interest, and that interest demands the rehabilitation of the ravaged Jewish people. Democracy is not a formal concept of a majority and minority alone. Moreover, if there is to be a plebiscite, it should not be held on a country-wide basis but only among the inhabitants of that area which the Jews are claiming and in which there is already a Jewish majority.73

The unanimous report of the Anglo-American Committee was published on April 20, 1946. It recommended that 100,000 permits be granted to Jews for immigration into Palestine, that restrictions on Jewish land purchases be removed,74 and that a state with local and provincial autonomy be established under a United Nations trusteeship to Great Britain. This solution satisfied neither Arab nor Jew since both demanded the withdrawal of the British mandate.75 Great Britain, in turn, refused to carry out the proposals favorable to the Jews, and so the stalemate continued throughout 1947 and into 1948.

On April 2 Britain referred the Palestine problem to the United Nations and on May 14 the British mandate came to an end.

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73Horowitz, op. cit., pp. 243-245.

74The King-Crane report warned of a Zionist plan to dispossess the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine by purchase. "The fact came out repeatedly in the Commission's conferences with Jewish representatives, that the Zionists looked forward to a practically complete dispossess of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, by various forms of purchase." Antonius, op. cit., pp. 448-449.

In the afternoon of that same Friday, May 14, 1948, in a museum room in Tel Aviv, David Ben-Gurion read Israel's Proclamation of Independence and the Israeli-Arab War began.76

Within a few hours after Ben-Gurion's Proclamation, President Harry S. Truman extended de facto recognition to Israel.

American prestige plumbed a new low in the Arab world.

Michael Cheney, an American public relations worker for the Arabian American Oil Company, describes the effect of President Truman's recognition on one household in Saudi Arabia that may be indicative of reaction throughout the Arab Middle East. Mr. Cheney had been invited on the evening of May 14, to the home of an Arab friend, Musa, to celebrate the birth of the Arab's new son. The radio message declaring the birth of Israel, however, occupied the center of conversation.

Musa conveyed as best he could the highlights of the reports. A Jewish state called Israel had been proclaimed, we gathered, and there was bitter fighting in progress in the Holy Land. Our host's face was carefully expressionless as he tried to translate for us, but I shifted in mental and physical discomfort on my cushions... . . The Arabs, as I well knew considered America and Britain responsible for this situation - . . .

Presently the radio began to speak in even more urgent tones. The uncle turned up the volume and our Arab companions leaned forward, listening grimly to the impassioned tones beating out against the walls... . . At last the amplified voice paused again. The uncle turned it down and sat back, as did the others. Their eyes carefully avoided ours, . . . . I looked nervously at Musa. He too sat silent.

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76Cf. David Ben-Gurion, Rebirth and Destiny of Israel and John Bagot Glubb, A Soldier With the Arabs, for contrasting accounts of the Israeli-Arab conflict.
for a long moment. At last he looked up and tried, fumbling for words, to tell us what they had just heard. "Amrika say--is okay--Israel. President Truman, he give order--Amrika will keep Israel."

... Bob and I sat back, wordless, deeply aware of silence and unspoken resentment. ... The tense stillness held for a moment. Then Musa called something into the outer darkness, there was a hasty rattling, and another round of orange squash was handed through the door. Musa ceremoniously presented the first glass to me. I smiled at him gratefully and he grinned back, rather sadly. The uncle too turned his bluff, bearded features toward us and smiled. The meaning was clear. No matter what bitter thoughts they might be entertaining about our country's policy, we as individuals were welcome here; and as guests our comfort and pleasure--and safety--were the first concern of the household.

The goodwill towards the United States fostered by American missionaries and the ideals of Woodrow Wilson crumbled before the onslaught of United States recognition of Israel. To the Arab, America seemed to have declared a moratorium on self-determination.

In current American thought, self-determination has two interdependent facets: 1. The right of a people to choose its own government; and, 2. The assurance that the choice is made by democratic processes. President Eisenhower, at a meeting commemorating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the

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77 Michael Sheldon Cheney, *Big Oil Man From Arabia*, pp. 62-64.

78 Arabs maintain that, of all the Great Powers, the United States did most to bring Israel into being and to support it morally and financially. Charles Issawi, "United States Policy and the Arabs," *Current History*, XXIV, No. 199 (March, 1958), p. 137.
United Nations, expressed the idea of an orderly and resolute transition from colonial status to self-government. He said:

In every nation in possession of foreign territories, there exists the responsibility to assist the peoples of those areas in the progressive development of free political institutions so that ultimately they can validly choose for themselves their permanent political status. 79 Congress concurs that the United States should administer its foreign policies and exercise its influence so as to support other peoples in their efforts to achieve independence under circumstances which "will enable them to assume and maintain an equal station among the free nations of the world." 80 In these statements, spokesmen for the government of the United States request "free elections" in western tradition as a proper function of self-determination.

Middle Eastern elections often fall short of determining popular will. 81 It is inconceivable that the great democrat


80 Ibid. Underlining mine.

81 Cf. "99.6% Yes," Time (July 20, 1953), p. 27; "American Style," Time (June 29, 1955), p. 25, and, "It's Heads I Win," Newsweek (July 15, 1957), p. 46. Mr. George C. McGhee, former Assistant Secretary of State and United States Ambassador to Turkey writes, "You understand, of course, that there has been little development of democracy, as we understand it, in any of the Arab states. . . ." In a letter dated September 9, 1958.
Wilson, would have accepted the exchange of foreign control for domestic despotism as compatible with his ideal. Self-determination requires democracy.

Certain Arab states possess constitutions that acknowledge the principle of "free elections" and specify guarantees which intend to safeguard democratic ideals. A separate section of this paper, Chapter IV, is needed, however, for a discussion of these points.

V. AMERICAN ECONOMIC AID

There was not the least inkling in Washington or elsewhere in the fall of 1945 that the decline of British power in the Middle East was so close at hand. The United States still considered this part of the world a fundamental concern for European powers.\textsuperscript{82} British withdrawal from Palestine, however, and the ensuing hostilities between Arabs and Jews alerted American leaders to the dangers of a world conflict arising from this Middle Eastern problem. After 1949, the United States sought to divert attention from the tensions engendered by the creation of Israel and to prevent the USSR from taking advantage of the turbulent situation. Washington planners hoped to soften the sting of Israel's recognition and to thwart Russian ambitions by a comprehensive economic and technical assistance program.

\textsuperscript{82}Baldwin, \textit{loc. cit.}
designed to hasten the day when Middle East lands would enter into a firm military alliance with the West. President Truman's inaugural address of January 20, 1949, outlined a program for economic assistance to underdeveloped areas in certain parts of the world. This Point Four operation—so titled because it was the fourth part of the President's address—caused the world to know the United States not only as a great land of private enterprise, but as a crusader for *laissez faire*. According to one author, "freedom of enterprise was equated with democracy." Aimed specifically towards help for Greece and Turkey, Point Four made little impact on the Arab Middle East.

During the Korean War (1950-52), Congress passed the Mutual Security Act of 1951, but only twenty per cent of the total authorization of $7.5 billion was allocated to technical and economic phases of the program. The rest went for building up Allied military power. Of the actual appropriation between

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1951 and 1953, Point Four received $100 million, the United Nations refugee program $110 million, and the program to settle new immigrants in Israel $135.5 million. The amount of aid given Arab countries of the Middle East in proportion to that given Iran, Turkey, and Israel (Table II) emphasized the security provisions of the Mutual Security Act. Iran, Turkey, and Israel, presumed to be solidly in the Western Alliance, received $1,168,000,000 for defense purposes and $409,000,000 in economic assistance not directly related to the military program. The Arab countries received only $193,750,000 for defense and $69,000,000 in other aid. "To each according to his deeds rather than his needs would appear to be the basis of United States generosity," which may have some bearing on American democratic influence in the Arab Middle East. Stability became the cornerstone of American policy, whereas, historically democracies are usually born of revolutions.

American economic support to Arab countries increased somewhat following the election of President Eisenhower. The

87 Yale, *op. cit.*., p. 427.
TABLE II
U. S. AID TO THE MIDDLE EAST, 1951 to 1957,
IN MILLIONS OF U. S. DOLLARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Mutual Security Obligations</th>
<th>Other Aid</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>35.25</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>36.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>1361.75</strong></td>
<td><strong>478</strong></td>
<td><strong>1839.75</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
United States provided $40 million for Egypt in 1954, which included $32.5 million in grants and a $7.5 million loan. Another agreement in December, 1955 allowed Egypt to purchase 80,000 tons of American surplus foods, to be paid in Egyptian currency, which, subject to supplemental agreement, was in turn to be devoted to Egyptian economic development. 90 The Egyptian-American Rural Improvement Service under the auspices of the International Cooperation Administration attempted a large scale demonstration project aimed at raising the standards of rural life in the provinces of Beheria and Fayoum. Egyptian and American specialists in agriculture, health, and education proposed to develop appropriate services and training programs for villagers. It is perhaps worth noting that the chief of the ICA Mission reported that "the single greatest block to community development in Egypt is the difficulty in overcoming the peasant's inability to believe that anyone is sincerely interested in his welfare or in giving him any real participation in the determination of his future." 91

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90 George L. Harris, *Egypt*, p. 257.
91 International Cooperation Administration, *Community Development Programs in India, Iran, Egypt, and Gold Coast*, pp. 45-68.
of the Baghdad Pact, was among the beneficiaries of $12.5 million in special aid granted in 1957 by the United States under the "Eisenhower Doctrine." This amount, however, together with $1.4 million dollars from Great Britain was to be devoted to linking the member states of the Pact through tele-communication, road, rail, and shipping projects. Defense against Russian penetration of the Middle East continued to be a primary concern of the United States Government.

* * *

American economic aid finds appreciation in Arab lands, but it has not served to deter Arab political aims. Indeed, one such attempt by the United States to mix economic aid with politics, the withdrawal of funds from Egypt's proposed High Dam at Assuan, almost precipitated World War III.

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92 Turkey, Iran, Great Britain, Pakistan, and Iraq signed the Baghdad Pact in November, 1955. Its purpose was to provide a shield on the northern border of the Middle East against the Soviet penetration. The United States inspired the alliance but never became a member. Information Please Almanac, 1958, p. 60.


94 George L. Harris, Iraq, p. 242.

95 "Among these political aims may be listed political freedom, political unification, and political reform which includes the establishment of democratic institutions." Mohammad T. Mehdi, Director, Arab Information Center, San Francisco, California.
VI. ASSUAN AND SUEZ

Following the Egyptian revolution and the deposition of King Farouk, President Nasser launched a land reform movement which promised 600,000 acres to 200,000 landless families. As an accompanying measure, Nasser proposed to construct a high dam above Assuan in order to bring an additional 1,300,000 acres into cultivation. For over two years, the World Bank investigated the proposed project. It acted favorably only when the USSR promised to loan Egypt $300 million for 30 years at 2 per cent interest and promised to complete the dam in 6 years instead of the 15 years that had been estimated by the West. Originally, the World Bank intended to advance $200 million and the United States and the United Kingdom intended to advance another $200 million for the dam. President Nasser had hoped to get $600 million from the World Bank but preferred to settle for less rather than permit Communist engineers to enter Egypt.

96The proposed dam was to give Egypt ten times its present electrical power, raise the national income by $1,000,000,000, and increase tax revenues by $63,000,000. It would form the world's largest man-made lake, covering 1,158 square miles—almost the size of the entire state of Rhode Island. Egyptians estimated the cost of the project (364 feet high and 16,400 feet long) at $673,000,000. Stockton Record, February 15, 1956.


98"Egypt," Time, LXVII (February 20, 1956), p. 28.
American diplomats expressed mixed reactions on the subject of a loan to Egypt for the Assuan Dam. *Time* reports that "American diplomats, though glumly mindful of the political blackmail involved, are still convinced it is a worthy project, and that it had better be built by the West." The U. S. State Department felt that the loan would help bring stability to the Middle East and that it would strengthen Egypt against communism.

In this atmosphere the United States and Egypt entered negotiations for a construction loan. Presumably, an equitable agreement was reached, for on December 17, 1955, Mr. Abdel Moneim El Kaissouni, Egyptian Minister of Finance, received assurances from Acting Secretary of State Herbert Hoover Jr., British Ambassador Sir Roger Makins, and World Bank President Eugene Black of their support for the Assuan Dam. Seven months later, however, on July 19, 1956, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles withdrew American support in "a humiliating and public announcement."

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99 Ibid.


102 Thompson, *loc. cit.*
Many reasons have been proposed for this reversal of American policy. There were, for example, persistent reports circulated in the United States that Egypt's finances were heavily mortgaged to Czechoslovakia in order to pay for arms to be used against Israel. Further, Egypt had recognized Communist China on May 16, 1956, which served to antagonize many Americans. Opposition to the dam developed, also, in southern sections of the United States, for its construction would increase Egypt's capacity to grow cotton and thereby make the Egyptian crop a stronger competitor for world markets. In any event, the official reason given by the United States for its withdrawal of support was that Egypt herself could not furnish the necessary economic cooperation and that other countries adjacent to Egypt had not worked out the necessary agreements on water rights.

President Nasser hinted that the United States was demanding control in return for financial aid.

We spoke with American representatives. We told them: "Within a period of five years, 370 million dollars will be expended on the High Dam, of which 300 million dollars will be paid by Egypt and 70 million dollars by you. The total project will cost over 1 billion dollars of which we will pay about 730 million dollars. How can I


who will pay 730 million dollars hand over my Treasury and Accounts to you and do nothing except by your orders. 106

At least one segment of the American press argued that some measure of American control appeared justified.

In America and Europe there are persons loyal to our side who believe it is wise to give taxpayers' money away to foreign governments without strings... Yet for what other purposes but military defense do the American taxpayers make sacrifices... Countries that hesitate to make up their minds on a simple issue--whether the gangsters in Moscow are better partners than the leaders of the free governments of the West--perhaps need a period of meditation. And that's what they undoubtedly will have now.107

So the charges and countercharges raged between the United States and Egypt.

Reaction to the withdrawal was swift and vehement in the Middle East and Asia. Arabs offered the theory that United States aid was canceled because of Zionist pressure.108 President Nasser exclaimed: "I look at Americans and say, 'May you choke to death on your fury.'"109 Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru told India's Parliament: "More than the decision, the way it was done hurt Egypt's pride and self-respect and


107Lawrence, loc. cit.


disregarded the people's sentiment.\textsuperscript{110} American prestige sank to a new low in Arab eyes.

Shortly after Secretary of State Dulles announced that the United States would not provide funds for the Assuan Dam, Egypt nationalized the Suez canal. England, fearing the loss of shipping privileges through the canal, and France, angry over alleged Egyptian aid to the North African revolutionaries, pressed for immediate military action to regain control of Suez.\textsuperscript{111} The United States proposed an international conference to discuss the situation. Meeting in London (August 2 and September 19-26, 1956), the leading twenty-four nations that used the canal agreed to form a users' association. But before it could be established, fighting broke out in the Sinai Peninsula.

On October 29, 1956, Israeli armed forces launched a major attack into the Gaza Strip ostensibly undertaken for the purpose of removing Egyptian commando bases in the territory.\textsuperscript{112} England and France sent ultimatums to both Egypt and Israel that


they "would send troops into the Suez Zone unless all fighting is stopped within 12 hours." President Eisenhower cabled London and Paris to defer action until after the United Nations convened. They refused and joined Israel in the attack against Egypt.

An emergency session of the General Assembly of the United Nations met through the night of November 1-2. It adopted a resolution by the United States calling for an immediate cease-fire in the area. American prestige regained a notch in the stature it once held in the Arab Middle East.

During all these critical and anxious moments, the only power that stood between a world war and mankind has been the United States of America. To America goes the credit for averting by a narrow margin what might have been a Third World War. America's stand has also gone a long way towards saving the East for democracy.

How much prestige America regained in the Arab World by her stand on Suez is difficult to calculate; indications are that it remains dangerously low.

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113 Atyeo, op. cit., p. 163.


115 "Today, it is safe to say that the United States is very much disliked [in the Arab Middle East]," Charles Issawi, "United States Policy and the Arabs," Current History, XXXIV, No. 199 (March, 1955), p. 136. "Large volumes can be written on the Arab sufferings of the United States policy towards Israel. Every day the feeling of hatred towards all westerners is growing in the Middle East." Letter from Affif Khudr, Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, May 25, 1959. "You perhaps know that the American prestige in the Middle East is nowadays not high... Now the U.S. is considered a colonial power of the worst aggressive type." Letter from Dr. Omar A. Farrukh, Member of the Arab Academy, Damascus, October 24, 1959.
American espousal of self-determination was, perhaps, the greatest single influence towards democracy exerted by a foreign government upon the Arabs. Wilson, the symbol of self-determination, reinforced the good impression made by American missionaries, educators, and businessmen that, indeed, America was the great champion of oppressed people. Even Versailles and the League mandates did not dampen Arab ardor in the justice of America. At the end of the Second World War, the United States was "undoubtedly the most popular Great Power in the Arab countries." 116

Since World War II, America has reserved a spot next to England and France as an imperial nation. A portion of the blame for this lowly status may be laid to the denial of self-determination in the creation of Israel. But, this is not the complete story. In its zeal to contain the spread of communism, American foreign policy has been, at best, inconsistent in Arab eyes. American concern for the defense of Western Europe necessitated aid to France at a time when Algeria sought freedom; its concern for stability in the Middle East permitted aid to a Baghdad Pact, which "simultaneously angered Egypt, Syria, India, Israel and France; 117 and it has used economic assistance

116 Issawi, loc. cit.
117 Ibid., p. 138.
as a lever to exact political conformity. It becomes exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to maintain the status quo in the Middle East as a preventative to Soviet expansion and, at the same time, to help the Arabs achieve political freedom.
CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

But if thou judgest, judge between them with equity. Lo! Allah loveth the equitable.

Koran, Sura V; 42.

# # #

Certain ideals of American political life as expressed in the constitution of the United States may be found in the constitutions of the Middle East. The carryover is not easily identified because there is a mixture of native and European elements in Arab constitutions, just as the American document is itself a mixture of native and European ideas. There seems to be enough basis for an opinion, however, that Arab constitutions reflect some American influence and that the old Syrian and Egyptian constitutions and the new Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic are the best examples of American influence.

# # #

I. A PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

Any statement on the impact of western constitutional ideals, in general, and the impact of the constitution of the
United States, in particular, on Arab political life assumes the discovery and isolation of fundamental western political concepts. Some concepts lend themselves readily to isolation while others are incredibly nebulous and only vaguely discernible. Religious freedom, by American standards, for example, demands a complete separation of church and state. An Arab nation accepting this ideal must incorporate it into law to exclude all other ideals in the church-state relationship. This has not been done. Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt have explicit provisions in their constitutions designating Islam as the state religion. The Syrian assertion that "freedom of belief shall be guaranteed" is a different concept of religious freedom from that found in the United States because Syria also "declares its attachment to Islam."

Even Lebanon, which does not mention specifically any religious preference in its constitution, divides its National Assembly

1Written before the Iraqi Revolution of 1958.

2Constitution of Transjordan, 1946, Art. 2; Constitution of Iraq, 1925, Art. 13; Constitution of the Kingdom of the Hejaz, 1922, Art. 2; The Egyptian Constitution, 1956, Art. 3.

3The Constitution of Syria, 1950, Art. 3 (3).

4Ibid., Preamble, paragraph 9.

by an electoral law into religious denominations and, thereby, negates the American ideal. With this analysis we may reasonably infer that the western concept of church-state separation is not a part of Arab law.

Also, to isolate "freedom of speech" solely in terms of the simple statement that appears in Article I of the Amendments to the United States Constitution and to discover this phrase in all Arab constitutions is a relatively easy task.

To isolate the limitations of "free speech" in the West and to evaluate the extent of their transfer into the Middle East, however, presents a more ambitious project, for these western limitations have been evolved through centuries of political experimentation whereas the limitations on "free speech" in Arab lands have been so telescoped by the rush of twentieth century history that they assume the import of arbitrary decrees rather than the expressions of popular will. It is impossible to say with any degree of assurance that "freedom of speech," as it is understood in the United States, exists in any Middle Eastern nation. What can be said is that the words "freedom of

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7Infra, p. 160.
speech" do exist in Arab constitutional law and, therefore, "free speech" is a recognized ideal among Arab lawmakers.

We reach a more serious impasse with a consideration of the term "democracy." Surely it is one of the most abused words in any vocabulary. Many governments claim title to its "true meaning" and masquerade under various hyphenated forms. The Oxford Universal Dictionary defines democracy as "government by the people; that form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people, and is exercised either by them or the officers elected by them." This definition, however, does not go far enough in describing the democratic way of life in the West. Even the most involved and lengthy discussions fall short of describing this complex idea. It is easier, in effect, to say what is not meant by democracy than to attempt an all-inclusive definition. Democracy does not mean the rule of a chosen few as it did in Plato's Greece; benevolent despotism is incompatible with the western ideal.

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8Cf. Alexis D. Tocqueville, Democracy in America, pp. 199-253; Ithiel de Sola Pool, Symbols of Democracy; Wm. H. Riker, Democracy in the United States, pp. 1-38; Boyd H. Bode, Democracy As A Way of Life; Tead Ordway, The Case for Democracy, pp. 5-9; and Max Lerner, America As A Civilization, p. 365, for discussions of the controversy over the use of the words democracy and republic.

It does not mean the rule of one man chosen by village elders and acting upon the advice of a tribal council.\textsuperscript{10} Democracy, in essence, has nothing to do with being kind, simple, humane and socially accessible in the Bedouin style.\textsuperscript{11} Nor can such terms as economic-democracy, social-democracy, and so on, in themselves, point to the substance of our discussion, for democracy is a political word historically applied to government.\textsuperscript{12} Thus, it remains to examine those facets of western democracy which make it unique among all other governmental ideals.

There are many criteria which may be used to assess the extent of democratic practices in the political life of any country:

1. Does the machinery of government provide a legal means whereby the minority may become the majority and take over the control of the government?

2. Is there universal suffrage on a reasonably broad base?

3. Are there elected representatives responsible to the popular will?


\textsuperscript{11}Philip Warren Thayer, \textit{Tensions in the Middle East}, p. 71.

4. May the personnel of government and the basic ideals of government be changed by legal means according to the will of the people?

5. Is there evidence of a constitution or laws with adequate checks on power to protect the rights of the people, collectively and individually?

An affirmative answer to all of these questions indicates the adoption of western-style democratic government. On the surface, the constitution of the USSR appears to be a democratic document. It guarantees universal suffrage, stresses the ideal of representative government, and has a "bill of rights" to insure personal freedom, but it does not provide the legal means for a minority to become the majority.  

Further, it may be inferred by contrasting the number of changes in Russian governmental leadership since 1917 against the leadership in England and the United States for the same period (Table III) that the Russian constitution lacks another attribute of democracy. It is more reasonable to assume that the many changes of leadership in England and the United States were a better barometer of the political opinion of these two peoples than that of the longevity of Stalin was an indication of Russian political will. So, by reading the laws of a nation and by observing its political practices, we may assess its political structure. Using these two investigative tools, this

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>USSR</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>ENGLAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lenin</td>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>Lloyd-George</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stalin</td>
<td>Harding</td>
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<td>Eden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MacMillan</td>
</tr>
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</table>
section will attempt to evaluate the acceptance of American democratic ideas by Arab countries.

II. MIDDLE EAST LAW: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The prophet Muhammad, over one thousand years ago, transmitted a religion that encompassed all phases of human activity. Under the early Arab Empire and continuing down through most of the Ottoman reign, Muslim religious law, the sharia, was the only law in the Middle East. Sharia was taken originally from the Koran and is the keynote of the Muslim's existence. His religious, political, social, domestic and private life is completely bound up and regulated by its precepts. After the death of the prophet, sharia drew upon a second source, the sunna, or life of Muhammad, as recorded in the Hadith. It is in the sunna that we find the first introduction to customary law. Still a third source, the interpretation of law by learned and pious men, provided the last significant contribution to the legal control of orthodox Muslim society until the 19th century.

Islam is a religion of the community and sharia reflects this emphasis on the social order. From Muhammad to Ibn Khaldun (1406 A.D.), the individual's rights and obligations were always

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14 Literally, the way to the watering place.
15 Rom Landau, Islam and the Arabs, pp. 127-140.
defined in terms of the community's interests. Legal apologists in Islam, true to their Aristotelian heritage, have declared, "The man who is isolated...is not part of the city and must therefore be either a beast or a god." 16

Western law stresses the importance of the individual man and that he is endowed, indeed, "with certain unalienable rights" which the law must protect. 17 It is the function of law in the West, if necessary, to protect these rights against the encroachments of the community.

* * *

French influence in carrying Western constitutional ideas into the Middle East cannot be underestimated. Napoleon's proclamation to the Egyptian population after the French invasion in 1798 enunciated the principle of the Declaration of the Rights of Man that, according to a contemporary Arab historian, were unfamiliar to Egyptian ears. 18


17 The United States Declaration of Independence.

18 Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh, The Ideas of Arab Nationalism, pp. 108-109. A member of a student mission to France shortly after the invasion, Rafaah Rafi al-Tahtawi, translated the constitution of Charles X into Arabic and sought to show his countrymen that French political ideas were compatible with Arab tradition. Nuseibeh quotes the comparison between Caliph Omar's celebrated question—Whence have you enslaved people when
Egypt was not the only channel through which Western political thought converged upon the Arab world. Turkey felt the onslaught both from within and without. Balkan demands for independence, the disastrous Russo-Turkish War of 1877, an empty treasury, a growing Arab nationalism, and pressure from European powers forced the Ottoman Sultan, Abdul-Aziz, to institute constitutional government. 19

American schools, as explained in Chapter II, played a part in the movement towards Balkan and Arab independence. 20 Missionary secular education, however, emphasized medicine and the physical sciences, two fields of study somewhat divorced from political science and the law, for the Ottomans would brook no interference with sharia. 21 Hence a more compelling

their mothers gave birth to them free?—and the opening of
Rosseau's Social Contract—Man is born free; and everywhere he
is in chains. H. K. Sherwani, "Development of Political Thought
from Jesus Christ to Muhammad," The Islamic Review, XLI (Sep-
tember, 1953), p. 17. Sherwani asserts that the Islamic State
was built on a contractual base and cites the Constitution of
the City of Medina (622-23 A.D.) as the first written constitu-
tion of any society extant.

The Turkish Constitution of 1876, however, was sus-
pended after a few months and Turkey lived under the tyranny of
Abdul-Hamid until 1909. Cf. George Antonius, The Arab Awakening,
pp. 61-78.

Cf., also, Clara Erskine Clement, The City of the
Sultans, p. 300: "Robert College... has been largely instru-
mental in establishing the Bulgarian nationality."

Charles Roden Buxton reports in Turkey in Revolution
(1909), pp. 170-176, that Turkish officials now view the
principles of representative government as being in accord with
sharia.
force had to act upon the Arab community in order to ripen the fruits of missionary secular enterprise. This force was Arab nationalism expressed politically by the rise of Arab States after World Wars I and II.

III. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES COMPARED WITH ARAB CONSTITUTIONS

Since the constitution of the United States was adopted in 1787, most new nations have had some sort of a written constitution, and it was logical for Arab political leaders to turn to them for guidance in establishing governments for their nations. If, indeed, Arab politicians did turn to Western constitutions for guidance, there should be evidences of Western orientation in the political ideals expressed in Arab constitutions.

The Constitution of the United States may serve as an organ of comparison to show the transfer of Western political thought into the Middle East because "it is the first written and comprehensive constitution of modern times to operate in a national sphere, formed by a nationally representative constitutional convention, defining the structure of a popular... government..."22 If further justification is needed for the choice of this particular Western document, it may be remembered

22 John Hawgood, Modern Constitutions Since 1787, p. 13.
that the Virginia Declaration of Rights of June 12, 1776, served not only as a model for the first ten amendments to the American Constitution but stimulated the French Declaration of Rights of 1789 which, subsequently, spread these ideals throughout Europe.23

Certain important features of the Constitution of the United States have been singled out for comparison with constitutions now in force in Arab countries:

1. The Ideals of the Preamble
2. The Separation of Powers
   a. An independent executive, legislature, and judiciary
   b. Legal checks on the three divisions of government
3. The Bill of Rights
4. Ex Post Facto Laws, Bills of Attainder, and Equality Before the Law
5. The Constitution as the Supreme Law of the Land

THE IDEALS OF THE PREAMBLE

"We, the People of the United States," the opening line of the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, is an integral part of American political philosophy. There is little

23 Herman Finer, Theory and Practice of Modern Government, p. 120.
evidence of "We, the People," in the constitutions of the Middle East. Egypt, in fact, is the only country using these exact words, although the Syrian phrase, "We, the Representatives of the Syrian Arab people," is an approximation of the American ideal. The Lebanese and Iraqi omit preambles, while the Constitution of Transjordan,24 in keeping with the monarchy, opens thus:

"We, Abdullah Ibn El Hussein, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan, in accordance with Article 19 of the Organic Law and in pursuance of the decision of the Legislative Council at its meeting held on November 28, 1946, approve the following law and order the issue thereof:"

Comparison, then, is narrowed to the constitutions of Syria and Egypt as being the best examples of American carry-over in the preamble area. With numerous amplifications these two Middle Eastern constitutions stress establishing justice, insuring domestic tranquility, providing for the common defense, promoting the general welfare, and securing liberty for their peoples.25 It should be noted also that these ideals find expression in other parts of the documents under discussion and that all Arab constitutions imply some knowledge of the ideals.

24 The name of the country was officially changed to Jordan in April, 1949. The title of the constitution remains the "Constitution of Transjordan."

25 The Egyptian Preamble contains ten paragraphs and its Syrian counterpart has eleven.
stated in the United States Preamble. Only Syria and Egypt, however, mention "ordination by the people," which suggests a serious lack of transfer for this basic tenet of Western democracy into Arab nations.

* * *

THE SEPARATION OF POWERS

Government has three sorts of power: the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. American political theory separates these three power agents into law-making, law-enforcing, and law-interpreting groups. The constitution of the United States provides for a president, in whom is vested executive power, a congress, in which is vested legislative power, and a supreme court, in which is vested judicial power. It is the ideal of American politics to keep these agencies separate in order to prevent the concentration of authority in any one of them. To implement this ideal, the framers of the American constitution provided for an independently elected executive and legislature and a supreme court appointed for life.

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26 Cf. post, pp. 158-161.

27 Constitution of the United States, Articles I, II, III.
"The judiciary is beyond comparison the weakest of the three departments of power," asserted Montesquieu. Hamilton echoed these words at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 as he sought to make the courts as independent as possible. "The complete independence of the courts of justice is peculiarly essential in a limited Constitution," writes Hamilton in The Federalist. By granting to the judges of the Supreme Court tenure "during good behavior," he helped establish an independent judiciary that has stood the test of time.

The Constitutions of Iraq and Jordan carry almost identical wording to declare that the courts "shall be free from interference." It is assumed that this interference could come only from the other two branches of government since only they would have sufficient power to interfere effectively with the proceedings of the courts. There is, however, no constitutional check placed upon encroachments from these quarters, for the removal of judges is governed by legislature and king.

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29 The Federalist, #78.
30 Constitution of Iraq, Art. 71; Constitution of Trans-Jordan, Art. 58.
31 Constitution of Iraq, Art. 68; Constitution of Trans-Jordan, Art. 55.
Lebanon's constitution in Part IV, Article 80, designates a High Court of fifteen members "seven of whom shall consist of deputies elected by the Chamber of Deputies." It is difficult to imagine an independent judiciary with such a large and influential group of legislators taking part in its deliberations.

The Egyptian constitution states flatly that, "Judges are not dismissable, . . . ."\(^{32}\) This seems to indicate life tenure for judges except that the rest of the Article " . . . and this in the manner prescribed by Law," leaves room for doubt. If the concluding phrase means that a legislative act sets up conditions for the dismissal of judges, then Egyptian judges are not independent under the American term of reference, for their tenure is dependent on the will of the legislature. The whole area is somewhat ambiguous, for no section of the Egyptian constitution defines judicial tenure. Article 175 sheds little light on the discussion, for it, also, refers to "the law."

Judges are independent. No authority shall be exercised over them in the administration of justice except that of the Law. No state power may interfere in lawsuits or in judicial affairs.

In any event, all Arab constitutions call for an independent judiciary, but none provides "life tenure" as a necessary concomitant.

\(^{32}\)The Egyptian Constitution, Art. 179.
The closest approach to the American ideal comes in the Syrian constitution. The seven members of the Syrian Supreme Court are elected for a five year term from a list submitted to the Chamber of Deputies by the President of the Republic. A member of the Court may not be dismissed "except by virtue of a decree approved by four or more of its members." Thus, the service of any judge is set by law at five years and his removal is attendant upon a decree by his peers on the bench. This appears to insure independent judicial decisions in keeping with the American view.

Despite the allegation that "the doctrine of the separation of powers has no true application to judicial matters," the security realized by the judiciary under the American phrase "during good behavior" and in the Syrian dictate of a five-year term assures more independent decisions unrestricted by personal economic considerations than might be realized without this security. If these independent decisions go further and limit the powers of the executive and legislature, they raise the court to equality with the other two branches of government.

33 The Constitution of Syria, Articles 116, 118.
34 Charles H. McIlwain, Constitutionalism, Ancient and Modern, p. 141.
35 Cf. The Federalist, #51, for the limitations placed upon the organizing of the judiciary within the doctrine of separation of powers.
Of all the power checks in American government, none compels more attention than that of judicial review as exercised by the Supreme Court of the United States. No other limiting factor on legislative and executive will has been so generally accepted by Americans. Chief Justice John Marshall first asserted the right of the Supreme Court to nullify legislative enactments by proclaiming, "It is, emphatically, the province and duty of the judicial department, to say what the law is." In the course of vindicating this high prerogative of the Supreme Court, Marshall developed a conception of the constitution which included the right of the judiciary to hold acts of Congress unconstitutional and, therefore, null and void.

The Syrian constitution is the single example in the Middle East which accepts the American development of judicial review. Article 122 specifically states that the Supreme Court shall "consider and decide on the following matters:

a. The constitutionality of laws referred to it in accordance with Article 63. (Article 63 provides that a bill may be submitted to the Supreme Court by a quarter of the Deputies who object to it on constitutional grounds or by the President for the same reason.)

b. The constitutionality and legality of draft decrees referred to it from the President of the Republic.

Petitions to suspend or to nullify administrative acts, decisions, or decrees inconsistent with the Constitution, with laws, or with organizational decrees, when such petitions are submitted by individuals who may suffer from the application thereof."

It should be made clear that the point of "nullification" in section "c" above is of primary importance. The word "interpret" as used in many Arab constitutions carries a different connotation.

The Constitution of Transjordan provides for "the interpretation of laws" by the Minister of Justice and two senior officials of the Ministry of Justice chosen by the Senior Judicial Council. But the interpretation is given only at the request of the Prime Minister and is not valid until confirmed by the King. This becomes merely an advisory procedure somewhat akin to the opinions on points of law delivered to the President by the Attorney-General of the United States.

Article 83 of the Iraqi constitution requires that the High Court assemble by royal decree with the consent of the Council of Ministers "to decide a matter connected with the interpretation of the provisions of this law..." If the royal call to assembly and the assent of the Council of Ministers

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37 *Constitution of Transjordan*, Art. 68, b.
were not enough to restrict nullification, article 31 (3) would leave any decisions of the High Court open to question:

"The High Court shall be constituted of eight members, besides the President, to be chosen by the Senate, four of them being senators and four of them being judges of the Court of Cassation or other senior judges. The Court will sit under the presidency of the President of the Senate, or, if he cannot be present, his deputy." 40

It is conceivable that a court so constituted might be swayed by its connection with the legislative body. 41

* * *

Arab nations may be divided into two classes according to the manner in which they choose their executive officers: either hereditary monarchs occupy the executive branches of government, or legislative bodies choose the executives. Yemen and Saudi Arabia grant almost unlimited power to their kings while the Lebanese Chambers of Deputies elect the President of the Republic. Iraq, before 1958, and Jordan give their kings not only executive jurisdiction but legislative power as well. 42

40 Underlining mine.

41 Article 5, Judicial Section, Constitution of the Arab Federation, specifies one function of the Supreme Court to be the right to pass on "the constitutional validity of federal laws." The Arab World (February-April, 1958), p. 7.

In this document, however, there is no change in the organization of the Court.

42 Constitution of Iraq, Art. 28; Constitution of Trans-Jordan, Art. 33.
The Egyptian constitution, now replaced by the Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic, presented an anomalous situation by its attempt to combine features of the American and British systems in choosing the President of the Republic. It provided that the National Assembly "shall propose the candidate for the Presidency" and that this candidature shall be "submitted to a popular plebiscite." A candidate was considered President if he obtained an absolute majority of votes. If he did not obtain this majority, the Assembly proposed another candidate and the same electoral process was repeated.43

The Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic brings Egypt into the British-European tradition by stating that, "The Assembly shall elect a President and Vice-President at the first ordinary meeting."44 It is obvious that the Middle East has chosen to ignore the American system for an independently elected executive and legislature. Instead, wherever representative government has had opportunity to function outside the monarchies, Middle Eastern nations chose the European pattern.

There is further evidence to substantiate the interdependence of executive and legislative functions in the

43 The Egyptian Constitution, Art. 121.
44 The Provisional Constitution of the UAR, Art. 20.
countries of the Middle East. Such executive actions as calling and dismissing the legislature are outside the authority of the American president whereas they are perfectly compatible with the scope of the European approach to executive power. See Table IV.45

While Arab constitutions draw from both American and British sources in designating executive authority, they tend to lean more towards the British. Here again, the division in the Arab states roughly follows a line drawn between monarchies and republics, with the king and the American president on one side and the republican executive and the British prime minister on the other. This analogy is used to differentiate a strong, independent executive from one limited by, and responsible to, a legislature. In other particulars the comparison is obviously faulty. See Table V.

There are numerous inconsistencies apparent in the reduction of constitutional provisions to tables. Although Arab executives are empowered to call legislatures, it is a token authority. If the President of the UAR or the King of Jordan, for example, do not call the legislatures in their respective countries, they meet anyway as provided in their

45Adapted from Finer, op. cit., p. 666.
TABLE IV
COMPARISON OF CERTAIN FUNCTIONS OF EXECUTIVES IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE WITH THOSE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Executive Action</th>
<th>U. S. President</th>
<th>British Cabinet</th>
<th>French Cabinet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calls Legislature</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissolves Legislature</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercises Veto</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible to Legislature</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Action</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>UAR</td>
<td>Syria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calls Legislature</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissolves Legislature</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exercises Veto</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible to Legislature</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
constitutions. In addition, it should not be assumed that executive responsibility to legislature is always clearly defined by the laws of Arab nations. The UAR and Lebanese executives are elected for specific terms and so do not share precisely the same relation with their National Assemblies as does the British prime minister with parliament.

To carry executive comparisons one step further, let us examine the governments of Yemen and Saudi Arabia. Both states bind their executives by Muslim law, which, in fact, makes their kings absolute by western standards. Under the provisions of the Constitution of the Hejaz, the King of Saudi Arabia nominates the Legislative Assembly, which meets to discuss questions put to it by the Agent-General, another appointee of the King. Yemen has no constitution. There is, in Yemen, an advisory body called the Mejlis, but it has no more power than the Legislative Assembly of Saudi Arabia. Significantly, the two countries in the Middle East which have been furthest removed from western influence over the past one hundred years have not, as yet, evolved any form of limited executive.


48 Helen Davis, Constitutions, Electoral Laws, Treaties of States in the Near and Middle East, p. 505.
The veto is the executive weapon designed to limit legislative power. The President of the United States may veto legislative acts, and Congress must repass them with a two-thirds majority before they have the force of law.\(^4\) The old Egyptian Constitution and the new Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic carry statements almost identical with the wording of the American document.\(^5\) On the other hand, Syrian, Iraqi, and Lebanese constitutions accept legislative authority. The executive may call for consideration of a disputed act but a simple legislative majority may pass the measure a second time and the act then becomes law with or without executive sanction. Thus, executive consideration

\(^4\)Constitution of the United States, Art. I, Sec. 7.

\(^5\)The Egyptian Constitution, Articles 132, 134; The Provisional Constitution of the UAR, Art. 51. Mr. Hisham Ames, UAR Consul-General in San Francisco, writes in a letter dated June 29, 1959:

"The Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic is based on the general principles of Constitutional Law applied by democratic systems. As the presidential form of government was chosen for the United Arab Republic, the framers of the Constitution were undoubtedly inspired by the American pattern." On the other hand, The Islamic Review, KLIV (April, 1956), pp. 27-29, in an article entitled "An Account of the New Constitution of Egypt," states, "The new constitution is derived from the circumstances of the Egyptian people. It does not emulate foreign constitutions, as was the case in that of 1923, which was taken from the Belgian Constitution."
appears to be a delaying procedure, at best, with little use as a legal check on legislative power.

Proposals by the Jordanian Assembly must be approved by the Council of Representatives and the Council of Notables and sanctioned by the King before becoming laws.51 Article 50 of the Constitution of Transjordan uses incisive language to state, "No law shall have effect until the King shall have assented thereto. . . ."

If the President of the United States does not sign a legislative act within ten days after it has been presented to him, the bill automatically becomes law. Article 81 of the Syrian Constitution specifies this same ten-day waiting period before a bill becomes law without executive signature.52 The Syrian executive, however, must promulgate bills within a fifteen-day period.53 If a bill is not marked urgent by the Chamber of Deputies, the President may return it to the legislature for reconsideration. Should the Chamber confirm its

51 Constitution of Transjordan, Art. 48.

52 The new Constitution of Syria is a prototype of the Constitution of the United States of America and gives to Syria, for the first time, the chance of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Muhammad Abu, "The Political Scene in the World of Islam," The Islamic Review, XLI (September, 1953), p. 31.

Cf., also, "99.6% Yes," Time, XLII (July 20, 1953), p. 20. "Syrians went to the polls last week to . . . endorse a new constitution, which. . . resembles that of the United States."

53 The Constitution of Syria, Art. 61.
its former vote by an "absolute majority of its members," the law is promulgated immediately.54

The Constitution of the Lebanese Republic allows the President a one month period to promulgate laws. A bill marked urgent reduces the time to five days.55 The President may request further discussion of a law, and "this request may not be refused." He may make the request once for any law and then must promulgate the law if it succeeds in passing the legislature a second time by a simple majority.56

# # #

The American "separation of power theory" appears to find constitutional support only among Syrian and Egyptian lawmakers. Dr. John S. Badeau, past President of the American University at Cairo and now President of the Near East Foundation, says:

The only Constitution that shows any real evidence of American impact is the Constitution of the UAR, which, in some respects adopts certain aspects of American parliamentary life.57

54Ibid., Art. 62.
55Constitution of the Lebanese Republic, Art. 56.
56Ibid., Art. 57.
The Syrian Constitution, until 1958 the legal base for the Syrian Region of the UAR, details the process of "judicial review" of legislative acts; whereas the Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic adopts the "executive veto" with a two-thirds legislative majority necessary to override it.

Completely separate elections for executives and legislators, in the American tradition, are unknown to Arab politics. Legislators nominate executives in every Arab republic. Although various methods are employed in the final process of selection and despite the fixed terms for executive office, Middle Eastern nations tend to emulate the European pattern of ministerial government popularized by England and France. 58

* * *

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

"Bills of Rights" are commonplace in western history. Magna Carta, the Petition of Rights assented to by Charles I, and the Declaration of Right presented by the Parliament to the Prince of Orange in 1688 are examples of their acceptance

into English law. The unique feature of the American "Bill of Rights," as opposed to those mentioned above, is that it was not a grant from sovereign to subject but, rather, a retention and reaffirmation of "inherent privilege" by a sovereign people.59 Today, this difference is academic among the western democracies, but the dichotomy does exist in Arab constitutional law. Egypt, Iraq, and Syria, at least in theory, reserve sovereignty to their peoples, while Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Jordan invest sovereignty in their kings.60 Lebanon makes no reference to sovereignty in its constitution, but the whole tone of the document suggests that it rests with the people.61

Every Arab constitution has a "Bill of Rights."62 Under various titles, each Arab constitution devotes a separate section to the "rights and obligations" of its peoples. Most Arab Bills of Rights are more detailed than the American version, ranging in length from the ten articles in the Lebanese Constitution to the sixty-three in the Egyptian. Some of their

59 Cf. The Federalist #84 for a discussion of Hamilton's reasons for thinking a "Bill of Rights" unnecessary in the United States.

60 The Egyptian Constitution, Preamble, Art. 2; Constitution of Iraq, Art. 19; and particularly in the Constitution of Syria, Art. 2, "Sovereignty is vested in the people. . . .," and "Sovereignty is based on the principle of the rule of the people, by the people, for the people."


62 The Constitution of the Hejaz is an exception but this feudal document would not qualify as a constitution by western definition.
provisions are peculiar to the twentieth century while others reflect Islamic influence.

Intriguing as the possibilities may be to investigate further the ramifications explicit in the detailed "Bills of Rights" of the Middle East, our particular task is to note the transfer of American ideas from West to East. Consequently, certain fundamental precepts of the "American Bill" will be listed below, and the numbers of Arab constitutional articles which carry similar provisions will be set down under them:

   - Egypt: 31, 43, 44, 45, 46, 62, 63.
   - Iraq: 12, 13.
   - Jordan: 16, 17, 18, 19.
   - Lebanon: 9, 13.
   - Syria: 3, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16.

2. No unreasonable searches permitted.
   - Egypt: 41.
   - Iraq: 8.
   - Jordan: 10.
   - Lebanon: 14.
   - Syria: 12.

63 "All postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communications shall be kept secret," says Art. 20 of the Constitution of Transjordan; Art. 55 of the Egyptian Constitution protects the rights of workers to form trade unions.

64 The Prophet enjoined all Muslims to "seek knowledge even unto China." Arab constitutions provide for education under "rights of the people." Art. 28 of the Constitution of Syria covers almost two pages in dealing with this topic.

65 On the subject of religion, the First Amendment of United States Constitution actually says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." Most Arab States, Lebanon excepted, establish Islam as the state religion somewhere in their constitutions.
3. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.
   Egypt - 11, 34, 57.
   Iraq - 7, 10(1) (2), 11.
   Jordan - 8, 11, 12.
   Lebanon - 8, 15.
   Syria - 10, 21 (3) (6).

4. Right to a speedy and public trial. 66
   Syria - 9, 10 (5)

5. No cruel or unusual punishments.
   Iraq - 7.
   Syria - 10 (3).

It is evident that there are many transfers of the ideals expressed by American "Bills of Rights" into Arab lands. There are, however, at least two ideals which are notably absent: namely, that no person shall be placed in jeopardy twice for the same offense and that no person shall be compelled to testify against himself in any criminal case. The second has received widespread attention in the United States and may possibly find its way into Arab constitutions of the future.

* * *

EX POST FACTO LAWS, BILLS OF ATTAINDER, AND EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

Ex post facto is concerned with punishing an individual for an action not defined as a crime at the time of its

66The Constitutions of Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan make provision for public trials in Articles 177, 72, and 59 respectively but make no provision for speedy trials. Lebanon provides for neither a public nor a speedy trial in its Constitution.
commission. Western constitutions prohibit the trial of persons charged under a law promulgated after an act has been committed. The Egyptian Constitution puts it more succinctly: "No punishment is inflicted except for acts subsequent to the enactment of the Law defining them." This provision has been incorporated into the Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic, Article 8, which makes it binding upon the governments of Egypt and Syria. These are the only Arab nations prohibiting the passage of ex post facto laws by constitutional dictum in the Middle East today.

* * *

Bills of attainder spring from tribal law wherein a "taint of the blood" was suffered by a whole family for the crime of one of its members. The inclusion of a legal provision against this practice seems superfluous in the twentieth century. It was superfluous, also, for eighteenth century society according to some members of the American Constitutional Convention, but, as James Madison put it: "Our own experience has taught us, nevertheless, that additional fences against [this danger] ought not to be omitted." 68

67 The Egyptian Constitution, Art. 32. The Constitution of Syria, Art. 10, carries a similar provision.

68 The Federalist, #44.
The Egyptians adopt the Madisonian view and conclude that "punishment is personal, i.e., punishment is confined to the convicted person."69 Thus, in following the American lead, they dignify by constitutional law this additional safeguard to personal liberty and private right.

* * *

"Equality before the law" is axiomatic in Arab tribal society70 and explicit in Koranic doctrine.71 There seems to be little basis, however, for suggesting any continuity in its application as practiced among the early, desert tribes down to the present national states. The Lebanese constitution, for instance, provides that,

All Lebanese shall be equal in the eyes of the law. They shall enjoy civil and political rights and shall also be liable to public charges and obligations without any distinction whatsoever being made.72

This is a different concept of "equality" than evidenced by Umayyad and Ottoman standards.

Sharia, as interpreted by the Umayyads and later by the Ottomans, did not include "equality" for religious groups outside Islam. Even converts to Islam ranked somewhat below the

69 The Egyptian Constitution, Art. 33.
71 Koran, Sura V, 42; Sura XLIX, 13.
Arab Muslims in Umayyad society. The sting of this insult rankled the Persians of the Empire, particularly, and they, consequently, joined forces with other dissident elements to overthrow the Umayyad regime. The Ottomans, like the Umayyads, usually expressed intransigent legal opinions in dealing with non-Muslims. Although the Ottoman government occasionally proclaimed the equality of all Ottoman subjects irrespective of religion or sect, non-Muslims never enjoyed privileges conferred upon them during the reign of Abdul Medjid (1839-61) and later under the constitutions of 1876 and 1909. Non-Muslims were tolerated but never accepted as equals. It is fair to add that quite often the great bulk of the Muslim population were as ruthlessly exploited as were the peoples of other faiths by the Turkish ruling classes. Historically, then, "equality before the law" is an early Arab-Islamic tradition which later became subverted to the interests of a ruling group in the empire.

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75 Cf. Henry Jessup, Fifty-Three Years in Syria, et passim.

76 Yale, op. cit., p. 25.

It is certainly true that this early period in the reigns of the first four caliphs, 632-661 A.D., is important as being more representative of the ideal spirit of Arab life than any other period.\textsuperscript{78}

Arabs became sensitive to the virtue of "equality before the law" in the nineteenth century rather than in the seventeenth or eighteenth, however, because of Western influence. Arab students in the nineteenth century studied French law and marveled at its provisions for "equality."\textsuperscript{79} The contribution of Rafaah Rafi al-Tahtawi has been referred to previously in this regard.\textsuperscript{80}

Modern Arab constitutions suggest a return to that form of "equality" in which neither race nor religion modifies its purity.\textsuperscript{81} Article 31 of the Egyptian Constitution is the clearest exposition of this premise: "Egyptians are equal before the Law. They are equal in respect of public rights, and duties without distinction of race, origin, language, religion or creed."

\* \* \*

\textsuperscript{78}Nuseibeh, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 118.

\textsuperscript{79}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 116-119.

\textsuperscript{80}Cf. footnote 18, p. 138.

\textsuperscript{81}Egypt, Art. 31; Iraq, Art. 6; Transjordan, Art. 6; Lebanon, Art. 7; and, Syria, Art. 7.
"Certainly, all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental law of the nation," insisted Chief Justice John Marshall in 1803. If this be a truism, then all countries having a constitution should recognize it, a priori, as the supreme law of the land. It appears unnecessary to examine Middle Eastern constitutions in this respect, for their existence is easily verifiable; but, it may be opportune to examine them for a specified or implied power that would nullify the claim for constitutional supremacy. To be more exact, are Arab legislatures and/or executives actually supreme despite the existence of written constitutions?

A comparison may be made between the oath taken by the President of the United States and the oaths taken by executives in Arab states to see if their wordings contain a partial answer to the question.

President of the United States: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." (Art. II)

President of Egypt: "In the name of Almighty God, I swear to safeguard the Republic Regime with unwavering loyalty, to respect the Constitution and the Law, unfailling to watch over the interests of the People, and to maintain

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82 Information Please Almanac, 1956, p. 85.
the independence of the country and the security of its territory." (Art. 123)

President of Lebanon: "I swear by Almighty God to observe the Constitution and Laws of the Lebanese People and to..." (Art. 50)

President of Syria: "I swear by Almighty God to observe the Constitution and Laws of the country, ... ." (Art. 78)

The words "the Constitution and laws" underlined above are worthy of attention, for they imply the possibility of laws outside the Constitution.

Article 81 of the Syrian constitution makes this implication probable:

If the President does not sign decrees or does not refer them to the Supreme Court within ten days of their transmission to him because they conflict with the Constitution or a law, the Prime Minister shall promulgate them...

By American definition there can be no law except as provided by the Constitution. It would be impossible, therefore, to obtain a judgment from the United States Supreme Court on a legislative act except in terms of conflict with the Constitution. Since the Syrian Supreme Court may adjudicate a legislative decree on "the Constitution or laws," there are laws outside the Constitution. Thus, the American ideal of constitutional supremacy has not been transferred to the Middle East. Arab nations have chosen instead to follow the British example, in which an act of Parliament is the supreme law of the land.

* * *
The transfer of American constitutional ideals into Arab political life varies with the extent and duration of western influence upon particular areas of the Middle East. Yemen, having relatively little contact with the West, supports a feudal government reminiscent of the "divine right monarchies" in 17th and 18th century Europe. Egypt and Syria, exposed to western ideas for 150 years, support a government, the United Arab Republic, which suggests the influence of Western democracy. Its constitution uses expressions familiar to the western ears, such as freedom of speech, press, and assembly, public trial, search warrants, due process of law, and so on. The other Arab states fall somewhere in between these two extremes.

83 "There is, indeed, a growing tendency among Arab statesmen to look with favor upon the pattern of government expressed in the American Constitution in which each state is sovereign in internal affairs with a federal government and in which interstate interests are centralized." Katibah, op. cit., p. 53.

"There is a movement in the Arab World to establish a style of government similar to the United States regime. The American style can do very well in the Arab World whether as a unity or in individual states. This fact is widely recognized by the Arabs." In a personal letter from Afif H. Khudr, Jiddah, Saudi Arabia. (Mr. Khudr is a Lebanese graduate of the American University of Beirut and has lived in Saudi Arabia since 1955. He works as an accountant and economic analyst. My letter to the American Embassy was referred to him for reply.)
In any attempt to categorize Arab nations by their theoretical acceptance of American democratic principles as stated in their constitutions, the UAR would probably rank first, followed by Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Lebanon comes below the UAR not because of what is said in its constitution but, rather, because of what is left unsaid by it. The Lebanese constitution is so brief that it omits many of the salient features of western documents. Saudi Arabia is ranked one step above Yemen solely because of the fact that it actually has a written constitution which, in itself, is a transfer, and the only transfer, from the West. Thus, by the end of the second quarter of the present century, "all the independent Arab countries with the exception of Saudi Arabia and Yemen had accepted in principle....modern Western democratic forms of government."85

Specific Western ideals of democratic government may be found in most Arab constitutions. In line with traditional British and French governmental forms, Lebanon and the UAR make executive power a function of the legislature. The constitutions of these two states, however, fix a specified term for

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84 It may be significant that both the soldiers of Napoleon in 1798 and the American missionaries in 1820 had just experienced democratic revolutions and so carried with them the ideals of popular government.

85 Nuseibeh, op. cit., p.159.
their presidents and, thereby, modify legislative power. So, while their presidents are nominated by legislatures, they may not be dismissed by them. In addition, Article 13 of the Provisional Constitution of the UAR provides:

The number of members of the National Assembly and their choice are determined by Presidential Decree. At least one-half of the number of members must be members of the Syrian Chamber of Deputies and the National Assembly of Egypt.

Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser barred half of the 2,500 candidates for 350 seats in the National Assembly before the election of July, 1957. "We should learn to walk properly," explained President Nasser, "before we try to run in a clumsy manner and trip ourselves." American law, calling for an independent election of legislature and executive, is unknown in Arab constitutions.

The courts of the Middle East are independent according to the letter of Arab constitutional law, but the control over them by the other two government divisions and the absence of "life terms for judges" make their decisions circumspect. The executive veto and judicial review may be found in the UAR but in no other Arab country. Bills of Rights, on the other hand, have found general acceptance in all Arab constitutions. These "Bills" are usually prominently revealed in great detail and,

thereby, stress the importance attached to them by Arab lawmakers.

A concept of constitution as the supreme law of the land is not evident from a study of Middle Eastern documents. On the contrary, Arab constitutions often indicate the presence of extra-constitutional acts which, in effect, make the promulgators of these acts the equals of the constitutions.
CHAPTER V

AMERICAN BUSINESS IN A CHANGING ARAB WORLD

The truthful, honest merchant is with the prophets and the truthful ones and the martyrs.

Tirmidhi, Hadith, Bk. 12, Chap. 4.

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American business is a relatively new phenomenon in the Arab Middle East. Its most immediate impact for democracy appears to be the opportunity it affords to raise living standards in its areas of operation. Philanthropic societies, notably the Rockefeller Foundation, the Near East Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, and the Ford Foundation, have contributed generously to the health and welfare of the people in some sections of the Middle East, but it should be noted that this help relieves but a small part of the total need.

The oil industry is the oldest and best developed American business in the Arab world. Over 6 per cent of the total United States direct investment abroad is in Middle East oil. Evidence of an American impact through business is found in the effect of Arabian American Oil Company's (Aramco's) operations upon Saudi Arabian society. Together with the late King Ibn Saud and now with his son King Saud, Aramco has built
hospitals, schools, highways, railroads, and modern means of communication. It has been instrumental in providing the necessary capital to dig water wells and thereby has helped increase the size and number of towns. A new laboring class has come into existence; complete with agitation for better working conditions and governmental reforms. So effective has been this new force in Saudi society that a new labor code has been approved by the Saudi Arabian Government.

Increased wealth, a settled populace, and a growing middle class have brought changes in the pattern of government in Saudi Arabia. During the last decade, there has been evidence of a shift away from the feudal structure into a cabinet system modeled somewhat upon the European ministerial system. Aramco has supplied a portion of the impetus for this change.

#  #  #

I. THE INCIDENTAL IMPACT OF AMERICAN BUSINESS

There are many reasons proposed for the alleged failure of the democratic form of government in the Middle East. Among them may be counted the absence of democratic traditions—-the habits and attitudes required to make democracy work, colonialism, the extreme individualism of Middle Easterners, and the lack of an adequate socio-economic base for the exercise of popular
sovereignty. American business tends to raise the socio-economic level of the people in the areas of its operation, but its impact is so recent that democratic influences, for the most part, are difficult to assess.

Individual American enterprises occasionally merit attention, for they appear to assist in changing social attitudes in Arab lands. A newspaper reporter writes from Cairo, Egypt, for example, that an American owned hotel "is quietly fostering a social revolution in the Arab world—the emergence of women into business and professional life." The Nile Hilton Hotel, one of many in the chain of the American businessman, Conrad Hilton, employs young women and girls as waitresses, elevator operators, floor personnel and clerks; about 200 in all. The influence of this move is far out of proportion to the size of the hotel or the numbers involved. Cairo has been for centuries one intellectual center of the Arab world; an idea that wins acceptance in Cairo may eventually spread to other Arab countries.

The new 14-story hotel has already made an impression on Cairo life. Taxi drivers take you out of your way to point it out to you. Factory hands, shopkeepers, and household workers consider it something to see and visit. Daily, dressed in their

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2Stockton Record, June 4, 1959.
best clothes, they stream through the lobby.

The hotel has President Nasser's blessing; he long encouraged its construction and favored the inauguration with a personal appearance. A commemorative postage stamp, issued by the United Arab Republic, which highlights the structure in bold relief, indicates the Government's interest in the project. The employment of women fits in with Nasser's own campaign to liberate Egypt's young people of both sexes from age-old restrictions.3

Certain American products find increasing use in the Arab Middle East. American exports totaled $273,800,000 in 1949.4 They increased by another $23,080,000 in 1957, according to United States Department of Commerce reports.5

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3Ibid. and M. Salah Eldin Farid, Director of Public Relations, Nile Hilton, Cairo, in a letter dated July 31, 1959.

4Information Please Almanac, 1958, pp. 784-5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Value of Exports in dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>40,188,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Republic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYRIA</td>
<td>17,762,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGYPT</td>
<td>40,085,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>40,054,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORDAN</td>
<td>6,635,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUWAIT</td>
<td>38,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA</td>
<td>68,954,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen, Oman, Qatar, and the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trucial States</td>
<td>6,181,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADEN</td>
<td>942,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAHRAIN</td>
<td>7,439,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
American automobiles, household appliances, office machines, furniture, clothes, and foodstuffs are in evidence. Even the American style of architecture has been introduced into some Arab countries; "one can notice complete American houses in Lebanon, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait."\(^6\)

The effect of this display on Arab politics is decidedly problematic in the opinion of many observers:

There is no question that the sight of Western products from an obviously economically productive nation with an advanced state of technology has had some effect. But the effect is, in the considered opinion of American observers here, rather superficial.\(^7\)

I would say, briefly, that aside from the oil industry American business is not sufficiently widespread in the Middle East to have made a "significant" contribution towards building of democracy.\(^8\)

I must say I don't quite see how American business has contributed to the development of democracy in Arab countries, but there may be much more than I know about.\(^9\)


\(^8\)Daniel Lerner, Professor of Sociology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and author of The Passing of Traditional Society, in a letter dated June 23, 1959.

I doubt that business in the Middle East has had much impact on the encouraging of democracy there.\textsuperscript{10} American firms, on the other hand, have introduced such things as complaint and suggestion boxes, a concern for the comfort of employees, studies of morale and other such behavior which tend to be eye-opening for people used to strict hierarchial relations in their working life, with sharp cleavages between blue collars and the various ascending hierarchies of white collars.\textsuperscript{11}

American business operates, generally, through the natives of the Middle East and attempts to identify itself with them as much as possible. Coca-Cola for example, is not sold in any country as an American product. All bottling plants and distribution outlets are owned by nationals of the various countries that sell this product; all supplies are purchased locally.\textsuperscript{12} "There is no conscious effort on the part of American business firms to sell democracy with their products."\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{10}George C. McGhee, former Assistant Secretary of State and U. S. Ambassador to Turkey, in a letter dated September 9, 1958.

\textsuperscript{11}Lerner, \textit{loc. cit.}


\textsuperscript{13}Thompson, \textit{loc. cit.} Coca-Cola is not sold in Jordan because the company has a branch plant in Israel. The Government of Jordan feels it will have little to do with companies who traffic with Israel.

Jafer Al-Khalili, manager of the Dar Attaar of Publishing Agency in Baghdad, Iraq writes in a letter dated July 7, 1959, "American business has been an influence for democracy [in Iraq]. However, . . . this influence has been rather limited in scope, not extending farther than relations between Iraqi businessmen and their American correspondents. . . ."
According to one authority, however, even the distribution of Coca-Cola has some sort of "democratizing" impact.

Apparently nobody ever cared enough about the village fellahin and urban proletarians to bring them a good soft drink for their nickel. I have been impressed in visiting villages throughout the area, by the speed with which Coke or Pepsi is replacing the traditional coffee as a drink to be offered to a distinguished visiting guest. For one thing, it relieves the villagers of the deferential ceremony of presenting coffee. When you and they are both drinking Coke out of a bottle, somehow the situation takes on a more egalitarian flavor.14

American commodities, on occasion, exercise a reverse impact. The Egyptian government recently tried to improve the clothing of the fellahin by putting them into American style jeans and work shirts. But the attire was considered a uniform--worn only when under scrutiny of officials from Cairo--and discarded for the customary flowing robes as soon as possible.15 There are still those in the Middle East who prefer the old ways, and, perhaps, governments and businesses need heed the complaint of the American Consul at Jerusalem to the Department of State back in 1905:

...the number of business letters received making inquiries about business matters is large.... If I

14Daniel Lerner, loc. cit. Cf., also, "Coffee Breaks in Arabia," Aramco World, IX, No. 9, (September, 1958), p. 13; "In Arabia drinking coffee is not only a social custom but quite often a ceremonial one."

15Plural form of the Arabic fellah, farmer or peasant.

16Stockton Record, July 4, 1959.
could be authorized to decline about half of them, because the questions become absurd when asked in view of the conditions existing in this country, our postage bill will be lessened by a few dollars each quarter."

II. AMERICAN BUSINESS PHILANTHROPY

American business carries on some philanthropic work in the Arab states. The Rockefeller Foundation, in particular, and the Carnegie Foundation "have given generously to the area." The Rockefeller Foundation, in 1913, established a traveling hospital camp under tents for the relief and control of hookworm in the Sharqia Province of Egypt. Its staff consisted of two doctors, a clerk, two male and one female attendants, a cook, a gate-keeper, a water carrier, and a messenger boy. Out of a total expenditure of $157,731.08 by the Foundation during 1913 and 1914, $19,466.66 was devoted to its Egyptian project.

Over the years the Rockefeller Foundation has supported education by its various fellowship grants. Typically, the Rockefeller Foundation Fellow has completed his formal training


18Nabih Faris, *America and the Modern Arab Awakening* (in Arabic), p. 35. Translation in English provided by Professor Nabih Faris, American University of Beirut.

and the usual advanced degrees. He is employed in a university, research institute, or in a post of government. The Fellowship is usually for a one or two year period and the Fellow works in a foreign country. Under this program, some 1250 foreign students have come to the United States on Rockefeller Fellowships. Seventy-four Fellows from the Arab countries of the Middle East engaged in advanced study between 1917 and 1955: Egypt - 9; Iraq - 4; Lebanon - 32; and Syria - 29.20

Grants-in-aid to various Middle Eastern Institutions totaled $386,500 in 1956-57.21 Rockefeller Foundation interests cover a wide range of activities in Arab lands. A grant of 6,500 Egyptian pounds (about $19,500) was made in 1955 for an Arab conference. Scholars from Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq met in Egypt to discuss economics, social structure, language and literature, and religion.22

The Ford Foundation is another agency dedicated by American business to philanthropy.23 Books, magazine articles,

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20 The Rockefeller Foundation, Directory of Fellowship Awards, Supplement for the Years 1951-1955, p. 60.


23 Information Please Almanac 1958, p. 763. Founded in 1936 by Henry Ford, American automobile manufacturer, and his family, its purpose is to devote resources to programs for advancement of peace, education, behavioral sciences, democratic institutions and economic stability.
### TABLE VII

GRANTS-IN-AID TO INSTITUTIONS IN THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST FROM THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION, 1956-57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Amount in $</th>
<th>Project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1956</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGYPT</td>
<td>1,450</td>
<td>Antiquities Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19,500</td>
<td>Historical Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>Music Study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>College of Arts and Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>101,400</td>
<td>American University of Beirut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1957</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>6,500</td>
<td>Iraq Development Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>Public Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10,450</td>
<td>Royal Faculty of Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>221,300</td>
<td>American University of Beirut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>French Institute of Archeology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and doctoral dissertations on the Arab Middle East have been published under its sponsorship. The Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut receives generous support from the Ford organization. ERC's largely western trained staff is, by one evaluation, "clearly the center of gravity of economic thought in the Middle East today." The Near East Foundation, a voluntary, philanthropic private agency with headquarters in New York, solicits funds in the United States for technical assistance programs in the Arab Middle East and elsewhere. During 1958, the Foundation operated programs in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria as well as in Ghana and Iran. Total cost ran to $1,743,000; $291,000 supplied by American contributors and $1,452,000 furnished by Middle Eastern governments. Agricultural extension agents, new marketing

24Ford Foundation, List of Publications Resulting from Fellowship Experience, et. passim. Between the years 1954 and 1958, some 70 studies about the Arab world have been published.


26Near East Foundation, New Ways for Old, p. 13. This is a basic principle of the Foundation's operation. It will not undertake a program unless the host government and the local community agree to become partners in the work. The Near East Foundation supplies only one-fifth of the cost of the overseas program; the other four-fifths must come from the host nation.
cooperatives, teacher training institutions, and schools of all descriptions have been among the beneficiaries of Foundation grants since its start almost thirty years ago.27

There is, however, a dearth of available information on the actual influence of these funds towards democracy in the Middle East.28 In recent years American aid of all sorts has been often associated with "economic imperialism" in many Arab minds.29 Alleged anti-Arab political activities by some fund recipients tend to blunt the effectiveness of the American

27Ibid., pp. 2-11 and Near East Foundation, In Their Own Words, (one page).

28The reply to a letter to the Ford Foundation, 477 Madison Avenue, New York, suggested writing to the Near East College Association for information. The Near East College Association suggested correspondence with "various information centers maintained in this country by Near Eastern governments." The Ford Motor Company had no information and suggested writing to the United States Information Services Department. John S. Badeau, President of the Near East Foundation, through his secretary, Mrs. Inez Bentzig, in a letter dated August 1, 1958, writes: "We cannot be of assistance to you in connection with the subjects mentioned in your letter. I am enclosing a few booklets...in the event that these may be of some small help." Subsequent correspondence with USIS offices and the American Embassies in Arab countries indicated such information was either not available or too intangible for evaluation.

29"In one case--namely that of Syria--an American offer of assistance was met with outright refusal." George Lenczowski, "Political Aspects of Middle East Industrialization and Resources Development: A Challenge to Public Responsibility," The Evolution of Public Responsibility in the Middle East, p. 52.
philanthropic program. Perhaps, the most that may be said for American business philanthropy in the Arab Middle East is that it has helped raise health standards by contributions to medical research and hospital facilities; it has encouraged cultural investigations through grants to individuals and organizations; and, it has raised, in some measure, the economic and social well-being of the peoples in its areas of operation. Foundation funds built hospitals, museums, and libraries; supported village welfare projects; enlarged educational programs in medicine, public health, and social sciences research; and, fostered agricultural experimental stations, irrigation and other developmental plans.

All foundation funds have and continue to make it possible for young Arab scholars in almost all fields to receive further specialized training in the United States. And herein lies one of the most important contributions these foundations have made to the general upbuilding of the Arab world. The majority of Arab experts and specialists worthy of the name is American made. Through this, Arab higher education was guided along the steep paths of scholarship.

If, in the words of Charles Issawi, democracy requires economic development and a degree of education, then American

30 Alfred M. Lilienthal, There Goes the Middle East, pp. 242-52. The Fund for the Republic, a recipient of Ford Foundation funds, drew Arab wrath for its pro-Zionist activities in the United States.

31 Paris, loc. cit.

32 Laqueur, op. cit., p. 35.
philanthropy may be counted as a contributor to democracy in the Middle East.

III. THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN OIL INTERESTS

The American business stake in the Middle East future is bound, primarily, to the development of oil resources. Of the total United States direct investment abroad, which is now in excess of $16 billion, something over $1 billion is invested in Asia. The greater part of this amount is the direct investment of the American oil companies in the Middle East.33 American companies have substantial shares in fifteen of the twenty-one oil enterprises operating from Yemen to Iraq in the Arab Middle East. (Table VIII.)

American financial interest in Middle Eastern oil companies increased from 35.3 per cent in 1946 to 53.4 per cent in 1955.34

Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia produce oil for export; none of the other Arab Middle Eastern states produces oil in excess of its internal requirements.35

33Middle East Institute, Middle East Resources, Problems and Prospects, p. 98 and The Americana Annual 1959, p. 268.
34Arabian American Oil Company, (Hereafter referred to as Aramco), Middle East Oil Development, p. 27.
35"Oil Production in the Arab World," The Arab World, V, No. 4–5, (May–June, 1959), pp. 9–10. Production during 1958 averaged 727,000 barrels a day in Iraq, 41,000 barrels a day in
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>% of American Interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iraq Petroleum Co.</td>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>23.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosul Petroleum Co.</td>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>23.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basrah Petroleum Co.</td>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>23.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian-American Oil and Gas Co.</td>
<td>SYRIA</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait Oil Co.</td>
<td>KUWAIT</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Independent Oil Co.</td>
<td>NEUTRAL ZONE (Kuwait rights)</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Western Oil Corp.</td>
<td>NEUTRAL ZONE (Saudi Arabia rights)</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar Petroleum Co.</td>
<td>QATAR</td>
<td>23.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain Petroleum Co.</td>
<td>BAHREIN</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum Development</td>
<td>TRUCIAL COAST</td>
<td>23.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum Development</td>
<td>MUSCAT</td>
<td>23.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhofar Cities Service Corp.</td>
<td>SHOFAR</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroleum Concessions</td>
<td>ADEN PROTECTORATE</td>
<td>23.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabian American Oil Co.</td>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen Development Corp.</td>
<td>YEMEN</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar feel a strong British influence. 36

Bahrain, 1,396,000 barrels a day in Kuwait, 174,000 barrels a day in Qatar, and 1,015,000 barrels a day in Saudi Arabia. "Oil Marketing and Consumption," The Arab World, V, No. 4-5, (May-June, 1958), pp. 13-14. In 1958, Iraq consumed 36,000 barrels a day; Bahrain - 27,900 barrels a day; Kuwait - 20,000 barrels a day (it is estimated that 80 per cent of the gasoline used in British cars originates in Kuwait); Qatar - 2000 barrels a day; and Saudi Arabia - 59,000 barrels a day. The United Arab Republic consumed 20,577 barrels per day over its production level and the United States government supplied Jordan with $4 million worth of oil during 1958 to meet its needs. Lebanon and Yemen have several concessions on file but no significant oil production.

36 Cf. Ibid., pp. 25-29, 34-35, and The Middle East, A Political and Economic Survey, pp. 281-282, 119-134, for British influence in Iraq and the Persian Gulf sheikdoms. E. A. Speiser, The United States and the Near East, p. 129. "American oil interests have been hampered by British cartel restrictions in most areas of the Middle East." Said Abuhamdeh, "Social Progress in Kuwait," Middle East Forum, XXXV, No. 2, (February, 1959), pp. 18-21. It should not be implied, however, that British oil interests have impeded social progress within their spheres of influence. Quite the contrary; Kuwait, with a population of approximately 200,000, for example, spends over 60 million pounds annually for internal improvements. Education is free up to the university level and, in 1957-58, 15 per cent of the population, 28,000 students, were in school. Recently, a new Labor Code was formulated for employees of government and business. One of its sections stipulates a maximum work week of 48 hours.

Gradually the machinery of municipal and central governmental administration is replacing the family as the basis of the social system.

Many women have already become accustomed to Western life. The old custom of women walking two paces behind their husbands in public is slowly disappearing. It is also becoming customary for wives to accompany their husbands to the movies—American "westerns" are quite popular. Women find employment as teachers and in various other government departments, notably Social Affairs and Public Health. It may be of some significance to note that Mr. Abuhamdeh, a graduate of AUB, stresses the dignification of manual labor in his article. He says that formerly "all kinds of manual labor...have always been looked down on by a majority of the people" (p. 20) and notes with pride that now the barber, the shoemaker, and other manual laborers have climbed up the social ladder.
Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, experiences an American impact that may be explored in some detail for it affords the opportunity to survey the democratic influences of an American business enterprise relatively unaffected by European commercial activities.  

*   *   *

Mecca, birthplace of Muhammad and center of Islam, long enjoyed commercial success at the crossroads of trade between East and West.  

For hundreds of years, spices, silks,  

37 Carleton S. Coon, "The Impact of the West on Middle East Social Institutions," Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, XXIV, 1952, p. 455. Dr. Coon suggests that British oil interests in Iraq and American oil interests in Saudi Arabia should be treated separately. "While their motives have been basically the same, their manner of operation has differed in terms of differences in the situation at home. Britain is overpopulated. Jobs are scarce and living is better abroad than at home. For centuries Englishmen have been brought up on the tradition of doing a stint of thirty years or so in the Colonies, followed by a comfortable retirement. Englishmen naturally like to keep the available jobs for themselves. Most Americans, spoiled by the good life at home, would consider working overseas for thirty years a hardship, even with air-conditioned houses, first-class company stores, and all the conveniences of Texas, in the middle of the Arabian desert. To train Iraqis to take over the elaborate skills of the oil business, would not be easy, and it would put Britons out of jobs. In Arabia, so to train Arabs is well worth the effort to the company, because of the great expense in keeping Americans in the field."

38 Walter J. Fischel, "The City in Islam," Middle Eastern Affairs, VII, (June-July, 1956), pp. 227-8. "Mecca had many of the characteristics of a medieval city; it was a center of commerce, a veritable merchant republic."
frankincense, and myrrh, followed tortuous caravan routes from Cathay, India, and Yemen, through Mecca, into the patriarchal mansions of imperial Rome. The Meccan aristocracy, which first opposed, then rallied to, and finally took over Islam, was a trading aristocracy; Muhammad, himself, led caravan trains in commercial enterprises. The Koran enjoins Muslims to be honest in business and promises eternal damnation to the dishonest trader. Thus, business occupied a prominent position in early Arab communities; Islam heightened its respectability.

There was little left in early 20th century Arabia to associate it with the world of businessman Muhammad. Trade had long since travelled other routes. Arabia was a poor land of small villages and of nomad tribes who wandered the desert wastes in search of pasture for their goat herds; it was a camel

Sidney N. Fisher, Social Forces in the Middle East, p. 116. "The Islamic state left industry and commerce free, and aided it with a stable currency... Monopolies were illegal, but prospered." Will Durant, The Age of Faith, p. 203. The English word "check" is derived from the Arabic work saak, a kind of promissory note used throughout the Arab Empire.

Rom Landau, Islam and the Arabs, p. 29.

Kor an, Sura II, 275. "As for him who returneth to usury--Such are rightful owners of the Fire. They will abide therein."

Saudi Arabia," The Arab World, IV, (February, March, April, 1958), p. 33. Out of a population of 7 million, there are approximately 800,000 people in the five largest cities: Mecca, Medina, Riyadh, Jidda, and Hofuf. Middle East Economic Papers, 1956, p. 52. Per capita income in Saudi Arabia was $40 in 1955 according to the Economic Research Institute of AUB.
trail covered by the hard blowing sands of the shamal under a blistering summer sun; but, most of all, it was a land of oil. Oil, the attraction for American business, the "Mecca" for its surplus capital, became a revolutionary force destined to reshape the social and political structure of Saudi Arabia.

* * *

The first concrete indications of foreign interest in Saudi Arabian petroleum possibilities came in 1922 when Major Frank Holmes, an energetic New Zealander who had been brought to Bahrein to assist in the development of water resources, initiated petroleum discussions with King Abdul Aziz Ibn Abdr-Rehman al Faisal al Saud. Holmes, heading a British group known as the Eastern and General Syndicate, received exclusive

43 Starting in late spring, shamals (North winds) blast across the country in spectacular dust storms ushering in the summer.

44 Arnold Toynbee, "The Arabs and the West," The Arab World, XXXVIII, (January, 1959), p. 9. "There is nothing like technology for revolutionizing people's outlook in double-quick time. . . . I have been in the American oil cities in Eastern Saudi Arabia and have had a glimpse of the mental and social transformation that shepherds and date palm gardeners undergo when they change their jobs by becoming Aramco [Arabian American Oil Company] employees. These American-made Saudi Arabian technicians are certainly going to be a power in their own country."

Alan W. Ford, The Anglo-Iranian Oil Dispute of 1951-1952, p. 53. "The real 'revolutionary' force in the Middle East has not been Communism, or any other ideology, but instead, the 'revolutionary' oil industry."

45 Aramco, Middle East Oil Development, p. 29. Cf. Ameen Rihani, Maker of Modern Arabia, for the story of Ibn Saud.
oil exploration rights covering the province of al-Hasa, which encompasses the whole of eastern Arabia. The syndicate, however, was unable to exploit its holdings because of financial reverses, and, four years after the grant, Ibn Saud revoked its charter.

Standard Oil of California entered upon the Saudi scene on May 29, 1933, by signing an agreement with the Saudi government which gave the American company, "exploration and drilling rights in the eastern part of the country and in the central and western Nejd." Almost five months from the day of this contract, the first American workers landed at Jubail, and, by the end of the year, they had started full-scale geological explorations. These Americans were the vanguard of thousands more who brought with them a western democratic tradition quite unlike anything in the tribal, feudal society into which they were thrust.

46 Michael Sheldon Cheney, *Big Oil Man from Arabia*, p. 70.

47 Aramco, *loc. cit.* Standard of California formed an operating company, California Arabian Standard Oil Company, which was incorporated in Delaware on November 8, 1933. The Texas Company acquired a half interest in the concession in 1936 and eight years later, on January 31, 1944, the name of the company was changed to Arabian American Oil Company, Aramco.

After World War II, a need for additional operating capital, caused Aramco to invite the other American companies into the corporation. In 1948 the present arrangement was concluded with Standard of California 30 per cent, Texas 30 per cent, Standard (New Jersey) 30 per cent, and Socony-Vacuum (now the Socony Mobil Oil Company) 10 per cent, as shareholders.
The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a new nation. The decree unifying the Nejd and the Hejaz came just one year and one day (September 22, 1932) before the American arrival. Saudi Arabia offers, therefore, the opportunity to observe the impact of American business on a recently created unified state that for centuries had resisted unification by some of the mightiest powers of earth. Now a new people, "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," came to Arabia not as conquerors nor even as conscious and dedicated apologists for any particular system of social order, but rather as businessmen in search of profit. Where Alexander failed and Rome met frustration, the organizational genius of Ibn Saud and the westernizing influence of American business prepared the groundwork for the possible democratization of a feudal state.

* * *

48 K. S. Twitchell, "Nationalism in Saudi Arabia," Current History, XXXVI, No. 210, (February, 1959), p. 92. Ibn Saud, called "Abdul Aziz" meaning "Servant or slave of the Beloved" by his people, captured Riyadh, the capital of Nejd in 1901. His conquests of Hasa, Hejaz, Asir and the remainder of Nejd were completed in 1926. His title of "Sultan of Nejd and Its Dependencies" was changed to the much simpler form, "King of Saudi Arabia" in 1934.

49 Ibid., p. 93. In 1932 King Ibn Saud requested K. S. Twitchell to help find American capital to develop roads, mines, and oil in Saudi Arabia. He specified "American" because he said "he had no fear of United States interference with his country's policies."
Ibn Saud dreamed of more than unity and independence when his followers conquered Arabia. He wished also for food, clothing, schools, mosques, hospitals, roads, water wells, a settled population, and the rule of law. Only a portion of his dream could be realized without outside help; Ibn Saud dispensed justice, eradicated raiding, and established safety of life and property. His stabilized realm encouraged the western investment so vitally necessary for the social improvement he sought.

* * *

American entrepreneurs, laborers, and their families find it difficult to escape the role played by business in the development of the United States. They carry something of the pioneering spirit that conquered a virgin continent and built an industrial nation. As one author put it:

-American greatness, I believe, is in the private initiative and pioneering spirit of its people--above all, in the pioneering spirit to which all Americans, even the humble contribute.52

50 George Kheirallah, Arabia Reborn, p. 5.

51 K. S. Twitchell, Saudi Arabia, p. 96.

52 Leonard M. Fanning, Foreign Oil in the Free World, p. 170. Professor George Haddad writes from Damascus, "American business has brought with it a number of American families... Those who have worked with Americans...have surely benefited from the democratic spirit in their daily contacts. They have seen the democratic organization of those companies, the freedom and responsibility left to those who work and cooperate with the enterprise." In a letter dated May 30, 1959.
American business waxed strong under a *laissez-faire* attitude from government.\textsuperscript{53} It stressed competition, free enterprise, profit and change, and brought to Americans the high living standard which Ibn Saud sought for his people.

"To keep up with the Joneses" is a typical expression of the American urge for bigger and better material goods, be they automobiles, homes, television sets, or football stadiums. This drive for easy living and constant change, carried into Saudi Arabia, has had serious, and perhaps lasting, effects on a land where people have had to fight nature in order to eke out a bare existence and where life has gone on in much the same way over a thousand years.

Landing at Dhahran\textsuperscript{54} airport today is like coming into any American city. Dhahran, the largest purely American community outside the United States,\textsuperscript{55} provides all the luxuries available in western living. Air conditioned bungalows, beauty parlors, drug stores, restaurants, theaters, automobile agencies,

\textsuperscript{53}The *Flying Red Horse*, XXIV, No. 2, (Autumn, 1958), p.10. That this desire for a "hands-off" policy still exists may be evidenced from the following telegram sent by a Socony Mobil shareholder to Albert L. Nickerson, president of the company, shortly after the Iraqi revolt in 1958: "As a stockholder, I should like to express my opinion that I would rather never get another cent from Socony than have our government intervene with force in Iraq to protect American oil interests."

\textsuperscript{54}Dhahran is an Aramco oil site on the Persian Gulf in northeast Saudi Arabia.

\textsuperscript{55}The *Arab World*, IV, (February-March-April, 1958), p. 33. Over 3000 Americans are employed here.
tennis courts, a baseball diamond, and a swimming pool grace the lives of its inhabitants. 56

A television station, one of the first in the Middle East, began operations in 1957. Originally constructed to broadcast within a 40 mile radius, freak weather conditions permit reception in Bahrein, Qatar, and other sheikdoms along the Trucial Coast. Recently, an Egyptian movie spokesman complained the American TV was ruining the Arabic movie industry in the Arabian Peninsula. Movie attendance has dropped appreciably while TV salesmen do a booming business in reception areas.

The Aramco-owned TV station submits to a rigid self-imposed censorship to conform with traditions of the country. Scenes in films showing liquor being served are deleted. Kissing scenes are out. Until this year (1959) the voice of women on television was prohibited by Saudi law; the station had men impersonate female voices when it showed movies. Television programs are all in Arabic with 40 per cent devoted to educational subjects. A typical daily program reads: Learn Arabic by TV; Your Health, Trachoma, documentary, Safety in the Home; Learn English by TV; Disneyland; The Big Council; Gunsmoke; Drama Hour; wrestling. 57

Dhahran's neon lights and indoor plumbing reflect a prosperity heretofore unknown to the Arab nomad and his city

56Clare Hollingworth, The Arabs and the West, pp. 206-7.
57Stockton Record, July 14, 1959.
cousin in Riyadh. This affluent American society serves as more than a showcase for the fruits of business acumen in a democracy; it sometimes becomes the cause célèbre for changes in native living. Tapline, Aramco's oil pipe from Dhahran to Sidon, Lebanon, changed the conditions of nomadic life all along its route. Desert tribes from prehistoric times wintered in Arabia, grazing their herds on the sparse vegetation that sprang up after the brief, torrential winter rains. As summer approached, the tribes moved slowly and painfully back through scorching heat and driving winds to the life-giving waters of the Euphrates. So the centuries-old trek continued—from Mesopotamia to Arabia and back again—until 1949, when Tapline construction gangs, ten thousand men and three thousand machines, came to lay their oil pipe diagonally across the ancient migration routes.

By agreement with the Saudi government, Aramco promised to dig enough water wells along the pipeline to satisfy "local

58 "Oil and Social Change in the Middle East," reprinted from The Economist, (July 2, 1955), p. 11. "Cynics for whom the Middle East has become a world poisoned with films and packed with Coca Cola signs smile at the naivety of the suggestion that a revelation of western habits is good for underdeveloped peoples. Unquestionably, the behavior these people observe and copy is not all good. But the sight of a lean tribesman fattening on a steady job, a mother escaping the tedium of seclusion in the queue at the clinic; a schoolchild painting a bold poster of a fly and what to do with it...such sights as these give grounds for thinking that the force of example is not wholly bad."
needs," little realizing that the smell of fresh water would attract thousands of bedouins from miles away. An estimated 100,000 Bedu with 150,000 camels had come to camp around the company's wells before the pipeline was completed.59 This is, perhaps, the most significant change made by Tapline on the desert society: the increase of a settled populace in place of nomads following their herds in search of pasture.

Even the herds have lost much of their previous importance in the new society. Once the camel was "king of the desert" and a visible symbol of wealth and prestige. It was transportation and food, clothing and shelter, hair oil and fuel: all things to all men who roamed the Arabian wastes.60 Now the American motor car is replacing the dromedary as a means of transport, and the bank is replacing it as a symbol of wealth.61

59 Cheney, op. cit., p. 163.

60 There are over one hundred words for camel in the Arabic language, which is no small measure of its importance.

The rise of towns and the increasing importance of a money economy are among the historic signs of middle class growth. Unlike the relatively slow, evolutionary process that attended the growth of a middle class in Europe, Saudi Arabia is experiencing a revolutionary movement under the impact of American capital. But it is a revolution based, to some degree, on the ideas of Ibn Saud.

Early in his career, Ibn Saud realized that any conquest of Arabia would be transitory unless measures could be taken to bring the Bedouin under permanent control. He determined that an agricultural community afforded a better opportunity for the exercise of central authority than did a nomadic culture, so he convinced two western tribes to sell their livestock and settle on the soil. The process of converting nomads into farmers, however, proved a difficult assignment even for this intrepid ruler. The tribesmen were not fond of tilling and, consequently, did not exert themselves to work the land. They preferred, instead, to live off the proceeds of their recent sale and whatever bounty the king would provide.

Undaunted, Ibn Saud instructed the ulema\(^{62}\) to search the Hadith for sayings that might spur the new farmers to greater

\(^{62}\)Learned doctors of Islamic Law.
efforts. The *ulema* uncovered a tradition of the Prophet which more than suited the king's purpose: "a rich believer is better than a poor believer." Armed with this tradition and fortified by the example of Abu Bakr, the first Caliph and one of the wealthiest men in early Arabia, Ibn Saud succeeded in transforming the two nomadic tribes into sedentary agriculturists.

Thus, at one stroke, the Saudi government approved and encouraged the acquisition of wealth and a settled populace, two conditions that would be accelerated by the impact of the American oil economy.

* * *

When, in 1933, Ibn Saud gave Standard Oil its original concession, certain members of his council protested against allowing infidels with a different way of life in the land.

63Rihani, op. cit., p. 193. At a later date, Ibn Saud used Islam, once again, in order to bring a phase of modern living to his people. Saudi Arabians follow a strict, puritanical school of thought—called Wahhabism after its founder, Abdel Wahhab—in religious matters. Wahhabi religious leaders considered the radio an instrument of the devil until Ibn Saud convinced them otherwise by having passages from the Koran broadcast. Raymond Mikesell and Rollie Chenery, Arabian Oil, p. 89.

64Will Durant, Our Oriental Heritage, p. 2. "A nomad stock, like the Bedouins of Arabia, may be exceptionally intelligent and vigorous, it may display high qualities of character like courage, generosity and nobility; but without that simple sine non qua of culture, a continuity of food, its intelligence will be lavished on the perils of the hunt... The first form of culture is agriculture."
The king replied,

I am letting in the Americans for our people's own benefit in order that they may help us improve our living conditions. Saudi Arabia is a desert. It lies barren and fallow. The Americans may, if they find oil, bring water and life to the desert. What brings water and life to the desert is good. What improves the desert and its people is good. The Americans can bring material prosperity to Saudi Arabia and raise the standard of living here, just as they have in their own country.68

Time has proven the wisdom of the king's judgment.

Following the discovery of oil, the Saudi-American partners built new schools and hospitals, constructed roads, ports, and piers, improved the water supply, instituted electrification projects, and initiated a public health program. The development of "dry farming" at the experimental station of Al Kharj occupied a generous portion of Ibn Saud's time and revenue. A great port-railroad project, with its terminal at Damman, was just one highlight of a four-year post-war program that involved contracts with one American engineering firm amounting to more than $20,000,000.66

The present ruler, King Saud,67 follows the paternalistic pattern established by his father. Table IX shows the major areas of projects under way in 1957 together with expenditures.

65 Fanning, op. cit., p. 163.
66 Kheirallah, op. cit., pp. 185-6 and Mikesell, op. cit., pp. 82-3.
67 Ascended the throne in November, 1953, following the death of Ibn Saud.
TABLE IX
SAUDI-ARABIAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, 1957#

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Saudi Riyals**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School construction</td>
<td>22,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highways</td>
<td>29,129,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railways</td>
<td>22,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post and Telegraph projects</td>
<td>11,705,416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitals and Dispensaries</td>
<td>19,026,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigation dams</td>
<td>1,902,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous projects (including</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reconstruction of the Kaaba area in Mecca)</td>
<td>198,300,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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#The Arab World, IV, Nos. 2-5, (Feb.-Mar._April, 1958), p. 36.

The Saudi-Arabian Health Budget increased from four million riyals, in 1954, to over thirty-nine million in 1957; the Education Budget from $12,000,000 to $32,000,000 between 1951 and 1956.68

Primary education in Saudi Arabia is free and compulsory. English as well as Arabic is taught in most schools because many of the students will find it necessary if they go to work with Aramco or other business organizations.69 New secondary schools in Medina, Nejd, al-Tasim, and Mecca emphasize economics, business administration, accounting, and secretarial training. Four new schools in Nejd Province place particular emphasis upon preparations for study abroad and the study of French and English.70 The University of Saudi Arabia will include faculties in arts and sciences, commerce, law, theology, medicine, engineering, agriculture, and veterinary science. Already in operation are the College of Sharia in Medina, the College of al-Hadith in Mecca, and the Institute of Higher Education. Over 74,000 students were enrolled in Saudi Arabian schools during 1957.71

68The Arab World, IV, Nos. 2-5, (Feb.-Mar.-April, 1958), p. 34.
69Aramco, Schools in Arabia, Public Relations Department, New York, (one page).
70Harry St. John B. Philby, Arabian Jubilee, p. 232. Oil has made it possible to send students to the United States for study. These students brought back many American ideas.
71The Arab World, IV, Nos. 2-5, (Feb.-Mar.-April, 1958), p. 34.
There are many job opportunities for Saudis in the expanding industrial economy. Aramco's experience at Dhahran demonstrated how quickly the bedouin, who for centuries had no life but the pastoral simplicity of the desert, can be taught to shift gears from the camel to the mechanical gadgetry of the West. Arab businessmen find themselves in such diversified activities as chicken farming, soft drink bottling, and auto-parts distributing. Skilled craftsmen polish tiles on modern grinding machines, repair automobiles, and operate tractors on up-to-date farms. A Saudi government training school in Dammam teaches employees of the Saudi Government Railroad how to operate a modern railroad. Surveying, dentistry, medicine and the myriad other occupations of twentieth century civilization become increasingly important to Saudi-Arabian society. Ibn Saud's dream of a better life for his people is on the way towards fulfillment.

* * *

72 Middle East Institute, Middle East Resources, Problems and Prospects, p. 55.

73 Aramco, Jobs in Arabia, Health in Arabia, Training For New Skills in Saudi Arabia, Muhammad Looks Ahead, The Industrious Saudi Arabia, Public Relations Department, New York, (one page each); "Local Entrepreneurship in Saudi Arabia," Business History Review, XXXIII, No. 1, (Spring, 1959), pp. 73-86.
A revolution has the peculiar habit of branching out in all directions. It cannot be confined to the economic phase of human activity. One of the first manifestations of social change is a shift in the distribution and structure of population. Any significant industrial development has, as a consequence, the growth of urban or semi-urban centers from which emerge new social classes. Thus, in a region that has hitherto known an agricultural or nomadic type of life, with a sprinkling of petty trading and artisan elements, new classes and new political forces make their appearance. The industrial proletariat, with new notions of workers' rights, new expectations and new loyalties, soon become articulate. Saudi Arabia proved to be no exception to this developmental process as the Arab workers at Aramco dared to form a labor union and strike against the company and the government. The aging Ibn Saud referred the matter to his son, the Crown Prince Saud, who appointed a Royal Commission to study the workers' grievances and to recommend any measures that the oil company should be advised to take.

Not satisfied with the Royal Commission and riding high on the wave of independent action, the strikers openly defied

74 Lenczowski, op. cit., pp. 42-43.
75 Cheney, op. cit., pp. 227-228. "...any form of labor organization was strictly illegal in Saudi Arabia. The king (Ibn Saud) considered a labor union about as desirable as a branch of the United Jewish Appeal."
the government order to return to work. Troops sent by the
Crown Prince seemed reluctant to enforce the order, and the
local police openly sympathized with the workers. More back-
to-work directives issued from Riyadh but still the strike
continued. The soldiers did little except send detachments
through the barracks to chase the men back to their jobs; the
workers promptly went to other barracks and sat down again.
At the end of the second week of the strike, on payday, the
workers returned to the plant on their own volition.

Even more surprising than the reluctance of the troops
to enforce a royal decree was the attitude of the government
after the disturbances had quieted.

All strikers except the actual members of the Strike
Committee returned to work without any loss of rights. As
for Salah [the leader of the Strike Committee] and his
comrades, they were still in jail. Under the old order,
they should have received, at the least, public beatings
for such open defiance of the king. As it was they were
"exiled" to their native villages for ten years. . . . Two
years later, several were back in Aramco's bosom with royal
orders that they were to be reinstated in suitable jobs.
A year after that, Ras Tanura' was still juggling one who
didn't feel that he had yet been offered a position commen-
surate with his talents.77

The new laboring class had met salutary success in its first
bout with the hierarchy of government; a feudalistic authority
made adjustments to the industrial age.

76Ras Tanura is the marine terminal on the Persian Gulf
for oil from the Damman Dome.
77Cheney, op. cit., p. 232.
The Saudi oilman, earning over 6000 Saudi Riyals annually, is in a class by himself among the workers of the Middle East. He gets free lodging, recreation halls, swimming pools, sports grounds, and libraries. He receives four weeks' vacation a year with full pay and free medical attention for himself and his family. Company hospitals at Ras Tanura and Dhahran employ over 35 doctors, 120 nurses, and 360 technicians and attendants; 14,033 patients received hospital care during 1957 and 1958, 77 per cent of them being company employees and their dependents.

The Aramco worker may attend reading classes given free by the company, and he may eventually qualify for further technical training or for one of the company's scholarships at a foreign university. Job-skills training, industrial and supervisory training cost Aramco $4,375,000 annually. Altogether, the fringe benefits enjoyed by Aramco employees in 1958 amounted to a sum almost equal to their wages.

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78 ROSAG, 1958, p. 22. "The annual average wage of Saudi Arab employees rose to SR 6,303 in 1958, almost double what it was in 1953, and during this five-year period the work week was reduced from 48 to 42 hours."

79 Kheirallah, pp. cit., p. 205.

80 ROSAG, 1958, pp. 34-5.

81 Ibid., p. 23.
Despite these advantages there are unreconciled grievances between Saudis and Aramco. Segregation of workers in Aramco housing projects has occasioned some measure of complaint. In the words of one Arab,

It is difficult for me to understand how it is that my child is permitted to play with the children of our king and I am permitted to enter the tent of Saud and yet I am not permitted to live in the houses of the American community. The Saudis do not understand this form of segregation.\(^{82}\)

Saudi Arabian newspapers record other points of contention. The Jidda daily, El Belad, for example, deplores Aramco concession practices. It alleges that the American oil company has undeveloped concessions in the Rub el Khali, The Empty Quarter, which have stood for twenty-seven years without exploration or testing. The article points out that 25 per cent of Aramco's profits go for overhead, research, and publicity. Most of the publicity fund, 99 per cent, is spent for advertising in the United States and Europe; only 1 per cent is used to advertise in local newspapers and periodicals. This inequity causes the Saudi to view with a critical eye the 50-50 split on profits which is the agreement now in force between Aramco and the Saudi Arabian Government.\(^{83}\)

\(^{82}\)Hussein el Kadi, formerly employed in the office of King Saud, and presently enrolled as a graduate student at College of the Pacific.

\(^{83}\)El Belad, (18th of Rabea el Awali, 1379), September 21, 1959.
Saudi Arabia is an example of a nation in which a giant industry was established in the midst of a patriarchal society capable of filling only a small percentage of the required clerical and technical positions. Consequently, there was an interim period during which these positions were filled by other than native people while, at the same time, considerable effort was expended by the industry itself to train as many natives as possible in various skills. By this process a new class of middle-grade technicians and white-collar workers developed.

This class, having tasted the fruits of a higher standard of living, tends to express ideas which threaten the existing patriarchal society. The longer these workers are employed, the greater the distance that separates them from their original communities; and the more they observe the status enjoyed by non-native employees, the less they tend to compare their present station with their previous, less fortunate, stage in life and the more they tend to contrast their present position with what they believe is due them. Thus, the patriarchal state faces a dilemma; it seeks to increase its wealth and encourages a program to develop its natural resources and then finds that this process

84 Saudi employees of Aramco now number 12,062 which is 70.2 per cent of the total work force. ROSAG. 1958, p. 23.
results in the emergence of a steady threat to its fundamental institutions in the form of a newly educated people. Lenczowski suggests two ways of dealing with the problem:

...either to persevere in the old forms of society and government and enforce rigid conformity of the new classes with these forms, or to adopt a policy of gradual concessions and changes.85

There are indications that Saudi Arabia may follow the latter alternative.

While paternalism continues in Saudi Arabia, a closer acquaintance with the one vital thread running through all Middle Eastern affairs today, nationalism, suggests that further social-economic progress awaits a change in the political structure of the state. All Arab nationalists are convinced that paternalistic government has reached the limit of its capacity for advancement, that beyond this point there can be no social or economic progress until political freedom has been achieved.86 Some measure of political freedom was evidenced in the labor agitation of Aramco's Saudi employees. The leisure time provided Arab workers by the oil industry's pay scale for a 42 hour week--leisure time which may be used for education and

85 Lenczowski, op. cit., p. 46.

political discussions--87 and the rise of towns with their middle class merchants and small businessmen who are traditionally independent may presage a change in the structure of government.

Only Saudi Arabia and Yemen still preserve the old legal system but there are indications that even these two countries will adopt before long some aspects of western legislation. In Saudi Arabia, for example, a modern labor code was devised to cope with the expanding labor force in the oil industry.88

In fact, there has been a noticeable shift towards the West in the Saudi government pattern during the last decade.89 The first Saudi Council of Ministers was established in 1953 with duties that involved the approval of the budget, the ratification of treaties, the granting of concessions, the approval of civil service policies, and discussions of domestic and foreign policies in general. Decisions of the Council were subject to the King's approval. On May 18, 1958, the Council

87 Walter Z. Laqueur, The Middle East in Transition, p. 39. "It is hardly necessary to repeat what has so often been said, namely, that it is only when their basic needs have been satisfied that citizens can find the leisure and energy for active and intelligent participation in politics."

88 Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh, The Ideas of Arab Nationalism, p. 150.

of Ministers assumed certain executive and legislative functions. No taxes or duties may be imposed without its consent. The sale or rental of state property or any of the country's resources may not be granted without the Council's approval. Regulations, treaties, international agreements and concessions cannot be decreed by the King unless they have been prepared and approved by the Council of Ministers.

Council power, however, remains in the primary stages of representative development, for the King appoints Council members and Council decrees require issuance by him. Nevertheless, an attempt to modernize the government in Saudi Arabia is taking place, and, at least, a portion of this modernization may be attributed to the economic program of Ibn Saud and its acceleration by Aramco.

Every class in Saudi society has been affected, in some degree, by the emerging economic pattern. Harry B. Ellis, in describing a meal with former Crown Prince Saud, notes the various American influences, and concludes that no people exposed to Western industrial techniques can escape the impact of

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90 Walter Z. Laqueur, *Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East*, p. 20. "What should be remembered is that parliamentary rule (or what went under that name) in England in the eighteenth century... was not so very different. Present-day Western democracy is, after all, a fairly recent achievement."

91 Khatib, op. cit., p. 11.
western political concepts.

This was no Bedouin meal, for the Crown Prince seldom dines in desert fashion from a common platter placed on a rug upon the floor. Indeed, the Prince's chief chef is an American, formerly with Aramco, and now, at this luncheon, course after course of Western food followed in profusion—soup, fowl, meats, rice, vegetables, salads.

From the ceiling hung crystal chandeliers interspersed with the ubiquitous fluorescent fixtures. and next to such a vase, perhaps, an electric water cooler with a foot pedal, such as might be found in a theater in the States. And on the wall behind me was placed a Wurlitzer juke box selector, with its red plastic buttons to be pushed, and its coin slots for nickels, dimes, and quarters. Behind the Crown Prince, . . ., was a vast air conditioner, . . .

No attempt by Aramco's education program endorsed by the King is made to influence the Saudi away from Islam, or from the form of government under which he lives. But to isolate him completely from Western political and social concepts—at the same time he is learning Western industrial techniques—is impossible.92

The change has brought a broader outlook to wealthy merchants whose trade is shifting overnight from frankincense and harem silks to bulldozers and radios. It has revised the labor and irrigation policies of the great landowners, whose palm groves stretch as far as a camel can walk in a day, and of the powerful sheikhs, whose flocks of black sheep and herds of tawny camels cover the wadis in spring. The change has helped the struggling bedouins, who now have sufficient water to meet their needs. It has given employment and a new sense of pride to former beggars in the towns, who now find work as unskilled laborers

in the budding industries at twenty times their previous income. It has benefited the small merchants, sitting cross-legged in their stalls, whose trade is spiralling upward as the earning of the people rise. So far, Americans have played a major role in these changes, largely through the initiative and farsightedness of private industry. 93

It would be a mistake, however, to overemphasize the matter of change. The greater part of Saudi Arabia is only beginning to feel the impact of a new way of life.

Thirty to forty per cent of the Arab people (this is only a rough estimate) still live as Bedouins, wandering across the vast emptiness of a barren land as their forefathers had done from time immemorial. Everywhere throughout Saudi Arabia the Arab women still go veiled from head to toe, and punishment for wrongdoing remains, according to the standards of the western world, cruel in the extreme—amputation of a hand for theft and beheading for murder. 94

There are, in addition, serious shortcomings evident in changing Saudi Arabia. Artisans and handicraft workers now can make more money in one week driving a truck than they could earn in a month ornamenting sandals. Consequently, some of the finest Arab craftsmen have migrated to industry and left an irreplaceable void in the artistic contributions of the nation. The


craftsmen of the Region of al-Hasa, for example, have been famous over the centuries for their metalwork. They devised elaborate and intricate designs to decorate their distinctive brass and copper coffeepots. Today the art of coffeepot making is virtually extinct in al-Hasa; the people prefer a large enamel teapot generally of Yugoslavian manufacture.

As money became available through the growing oil industry, imports of consumer goods increased. "During our stay in the oasis we did not see a single metal worker exclusively engaged in the production of local coffeepots." Recently, miniature replicas of the old-type coffeepots have been on sale in Hofuf, mainly for the tourist trade.

The combination of woodwork and silversmithing found in the manufacture of such items as camel milk bowls and incense burners has now practically disappeared. Metal bowls and a new type of polychrome-painted brass and mirror-studded incense burner have been substituted.

Even the diet of the people in al-Hasa has been changed by the American oil industry at al-Khobar and Damman. Only in the poorest homes today does one get dates when being entertained at tea and coffee. The usual fare consists of a plateful of canned peaches and a few English biscuits.

95 F. S. Vidal, The Oasis of Al-Hasa, p. 178.
96 Ibid., p. 192.
While the decline in metal work may be deplorable from the aesthetic point of view, a more serious, and perhaps dangerous, shortcoming from a political point of view would be an increase in the number of educated citizens without an accompanying rise in the number of outlets for intellectual pursuits. Somehow, the new economy must allow intellectuals room for expansion; it must replace days of talk over black coffee recounting the past with hours of education for the future that will make of them the doctors, teachers, engineers, and builders of a new Arabia. 

* * *

In the years to come, the Aramco-Saudi partnership may well stand as one of the great achievements of free enterprise and the democratic way of life. It is one thing to extract oil from the ground and use it to alleviate the toil of mankind. It is something else for peoples of two different ways of life to live side by side in full respect and understanding one of the other. 

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97 Sanger, loc. cit.

CHAPTER VI

AMERICA'S CULTURAL IMPACT

God hath treasures beneath the Throne, the keys whereof are the tongues of poets.¹

Sir Abdullah Suhawardy,
The Sayings of Muhammad, p. 103.

* * *

American missionaries helped provide the literary tools for a revived Arab culture. American-trained Arab intellectuals, encouraged by their American teachers to seek the glories of Arab history, stimulated an Arab renaissance which has not yet run its course. This rebirth of Arab literary achievement had a distinct effect upon the Arab political scene, for it was an American-educated Arab poet, Ibrahim Yazeji, who wrote the first "song of freedom," calling to his countrymen to rebel against Ottoman tyranny.

American books, magazines, and newspapers provide some democratic influence in the Arab Middle East. The "give and take" in American periodicals and the published criticisms of certain United States government policies may tend to impress

¹As in all religions, there are apparent contradictions in Islam: "As for poets, the erring follow them." Koran, Sura XXVI; 224.
upon readers that freedom of speech and absence of governmental control still exist in America. While the readers of American literature are relatively few in Middle Eastern countries, it is the educated class that does the reading, a circumstance which suggests that numbers in this case are not significant.

Arabs appear to be avid movie-goers. American movies are shown regularly in practically every Arab country. Their influence in building favorable attitudes toward the American way of life, in general, and for American democracy, in particular, is debatable. It seems that there is little question that American movies have taught the Arabs something of American life, but there are those who aver that it is often the wholesome and unrealistic aspects of American life that the films teach.

American radio, American art, American sports, and the American theater have made little impression upon the Arab masses. The Voice of America, however, with its broadcasts in classical Arabic, has served in some small way to unify its listeners. There is an opinion current among many Arabs that the fulfillment of Arab hopes for liberty through nationalism rests with Arab unity.

* * *
I. MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTIONS

Although the United States engaged in relatively little diplomatic activity in the Middle East until World War II, the same generalization does not apply to the cultural field.\(^2\) The American cultural impact first funneled into Arab lands through the numerous activities of American missionaries in the 19th century. Right from the beginning the missionaries were committed to the use of the "word" where the sword had failed. To this end they founded the American Press, first in Malta and then in Beirut; embarked upon the systematic establishment of schools; engaged in the gigantic task of translating the Bible into Arabic; and became the champions of religious freedom in particular and freedom in general, nourishing its growth with their life blood.\(^3\)

The American contributions\(^4\) to the Arab intellectual revival fell on rocky soil in the 19th century Arab world. Books

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\(^2\)Harvey P. Hall and Carl Hermann Voss, *American Interests in the Middle East*, p. 8. Hall and Voss suggest that Americans have equalled, if not surpassed, Great Britain, Russia, Germany, and Italy in this regard. They make France a "possible exception" to the statement. "Culture" in this chapter will be used in its broadest sense to include science, literature, the arts, education, and entertainment.

\(^3\)Nabih Faris, *America and the Modern Arab Awakening* (In Arabic), p. 35. English translation by Professor Nabih Faris, American University of Beirut. Cf., also, ante, Chap. II.

\(^4\)George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, pp. 39-45. Antonius credits the educational reforms of Ibrahim Pasha during the
were scarce and demands for them practically non-existent.\(^5\) Two native printing presses, one in Cairo and the other in Constantinople, provided a limited supply of literary material; Arabic newspapers and periodicals were totally unknown.

The Arabic language itself had degenerated. In the absence of an active literary profession, spoken idioms threatened "to swamp the standard language and taint it with their own debasement."\(^6\) An intellectual seed sown in such poor soil required immediate attention, and a few Arab scholars, some of them American trained, rose to the task.

Not the least of these was Ahmad Faris es Shidiah. The eldest brother of Faris, Assad es Shidiah, had been martyred by the Maronite Patriarch at Kannobin,\(^7\) and Faris sought revenge. He attached himself to the American missionaries in the hope of receiving aid for his plan of retaliation against the Maronites, but, instead, met reproach for his unchristian attitude. Filled with dismay at this reception and in fear of Maronite vengeance, Faris fled Lebanon. After a brief stay in Egypt, he went to

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Egyptian conquest, the activities of Catholic missionary societies, notably those of the Jesuits, and the activities of local ecclesiastics as other contributing factors in the Arab Renaissance.


\(^7\) Supra, Chap. II, pp. 36-37.
Malta, where he helped the American missionaries with their Arabic translations and thence to London, where he helped make a translation of the Bible into Arabic. During the next thirty years, Faris engaged in an amazing literary career at Tunis and Constantinople. In his works Arabic once again became a pliable tool of thought and learning.

Were it not for the American Protestants, Asaad would never have been martyred, Faris would have never fled the Lebanon, but would have in all likelihood remained a copyist of religious tracts and prayer books written in Karshuni (Arabic in Syriac script) and embodying what might be rightly inscribed as the "pidgin Arabic" of the day.  

Without Faris, Arabic thought and Arabic literary forms would have been the poorer.

Two other Arab intellectuals deserve special attention for their influence upon the Arab cultural rebirth, Nasif Yazeji and Butrus Bustani. Yazeji, a boy prodigy, accepted the post of secretary to a high ecclesiastic at the tender age of 16 years. He loved the Arabic language and devoted his life to unearthing its many buried literary treasures. His association with the American missionaries came with a missionary request that he assist them in the production of books dealing with the science of the Arabic language, and, for the American Mission, Yazeji wrote books on grammar, logic, rhetoric and prosody,

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8Paris, op. cit., p. 32.
9Supra, Chap. III, p. 90.
More compelling, perhaps, than the literary achievements of Nasif Yazeji, in themselves, is their impact upon those to whom they were addressed. Yazeji wrote for all Arabs, regardless of religious affiliations and, thereby, trumpeted a clarion call to all of the diversified creeds in Arab lands for an Arab unity based on a common language and a common cultural legacy. He so inspired the members of his own family that one of his sons, Ibrahim, composed a poem which called upon all Syrians to rise and throw off the Turkish yoke.

This patriotic ode was recited first to the members of the Syrian Scientific Society. It recalled past Arab glories and encouraged revolt. So treasonable was its language that the poem could not be transmitted to paper but traveled by word of mouth throughout the length and breadth of Syria. Antonius describes it as the first song of Arab political emancipation.10

Butrus Bustani, though less spectacular than either Shidiah or Yazeji, wrote prodigiously. His mind was a garden of productivity. Besides his work in the translation of the Bible with his compatriot, Yazeji, and his two American colleagues, Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck, Bustani gave the Arab Renaissance, almost single handed, the first modern dictionary, the first Arabic encyclopedia, the first political journal ever

10 Antonius, op. cit., p. 56.
published in Lebanon, and the first modern magazine.\textsuperscript{11}

Bustani became closely associated with American mission work in Beirut shortly after his arrival in 1840. He adopted the Presbyterian faith and accepted employment as a teacher of Arabic in the mission training-college at Abay, writing numerous books for use in the American schools; among them the first book of modern commercial arithmetic.\textsuperscript{12} His intimate contact with nationalistic Americans helped Bustani appreciate the potential of a non-sectarian civilization based on patriotic ideals.\textsuperscript{13} The motto, "Patriotism is an article of faith," a sentiment hitherto unknown in the Arab world,\textsuperscript{14} reflected his deep-rooted love of country.

Whereas Shidiah and Yazeji encouraged Arabs to look inward and backward for cultural and political salvation, Bustani directed the Arab gaze into another channel. Ten years after his meeting with the American missionaries he wrote:

And thus we see that European sciences and arts, founded on true principles, have come to us from every side... just as the Europeans, in their days of ignorance, did not despise Arabic literature merely because they were of Arabic

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 49 and Faris, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{12}H. I. Katibah, The New Spirit in Arab Lands, p. 144.

\textsuperscript{13}Antonius, op. cit., p. 50. In pursuance of this doctrine, Bustani founded a National School to provide boys of all creeds with an education "based on religious tolerance and patriotic ideals."

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid.
origin, so also it is not for us to belittle the sciences of the Europeans merely because they are of European. Rather, it behooves us to welcome these sciences without consideration of their source, or who it is that gives them to us, be they from China, India, Persia, or Europe. It is not surprising that Bustani's list does not include the United States when one considers the comparatively low status of American arts and sciences at the beginning of the Republic. While one author describes the years between 1830 and 1860 as the "golden age of American literature," the works of Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Herman Melville, Walt Whitman, Edgar Allen Poe and those of Emerson, Thoreau, and Hawthorne received scant attention in the outside world. American

15Cited by Katibah, op. cit., p. 141.

16Max Lerner, America as a Civilization, p. 209. "American invention was sparse and imitative, and American science lagged behind that of Europe. . . by 1854 there were only a little more than 1200 patents on file in the United States Patent Office."

Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant, pp. 340, 349. "The early American, confronted with pioneering problems, was more interested in practical gadgets than in pure science. . . . The nation was still too busy felling trees to write symphonies about their crashing. . . . Much of our reading matter was imported or plagiarized from England."

"Lack of Poetry in America," Harper's Magazine, I, (August, 1850), p. 403. "After the Americans had established their political nationality. . . . and taken a positive rank among the powers of the civilized world, they still remained subject to reproach that in the worlds of Art, Science, and Literature, they had no national existence."


18"American Literature," Harper's Magazine, I, (June, 1850), p. 37. "America needs to exist longer, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, and then her authors will be inscribed on the roll of fame of literature."
missionaries transmitted the tools for research and the ideals of democracy rather than the substance of a literary culture into the Middle East. For this the Arabs first turned to their past and then to Europe.

* * *

II. THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE ARABS

The past offered many opportunities for research to the inquisitive Arab scholar. Philosophy, science, art, and literature lay waiting in the al-Azhar of Cairo, the mosques of Istanbul, Baghdad, Damascus, Mosul, and in numerous other repositories throughout the Arab world. Arab civilization left "an astonishing amount of manuscript materials for studying various phases of its development since the sixth century." The whole panorama covers a wide range in every field of human endeavor; too wide, in fact, for more than a cursory glance in this paper. It must suffice here to include but a few achievements to indicate the cultural treasures re-discovered by the awakened Arab intellectual.

* * *

19Henry Steele Commager, Living Ideas in America, p. 229. "Every American is an apostle of the democratic creed."

The pre-Muslim Arab was usually illiterate, but he loved poetry.

When there appeared a poet in a family of the Arabs, the other tribes round about would gather together to that family and wish them joy of their good luck. Feasts would be got ready, the women of the tribe would join together in bands, playing upon lutes, as they were wont to do at bridals, and the men and boys would congratulate one another; for a poet was a defence to the honour of them all, a weapon to ward off insult to their good name, and a means of perpetuating their glorious deeds and of establishing their fame forever.21

Arab poetry dates from pagan times. In the Jahiliyya (Age of Barbarism or Ignorance),22 the tribal poet was historian, genealogist, satirist, moralist, newspaper, oracle, and call to battle. When a poet won a prize at one of the many literary contests held throughout Arabia, his whole tribe felt honored and rejoiced.

Pagan poetry remained the fashion down through the Umayyad Age (661-750 A.D.). Indeed, pre-Islamic Bedouin and Umayyad poetry were so similar that it has been suggested that possibly the two were contemporary—"Some of the former perhaps being a pious fraud forged by the Umayyads."23


22 Literally "the Pre-Islamic state, or periods of paganism," Jochanan Kapliwatzky, Arabic, Language and Grammar, III, p. 162. Jahiliyya illustrates the conciseness of Arabic as a vehicle of thought.

Arab poetic expression took on a new luster after the downfall of the Umayyad Dynasty. Muti Ibn Iyas, Abu Nuwas, Abu l-Atahiya, al-Mutanabbi and al-Ma'arri, among others, freed the poet from the pagan subjects of love and war in the desert. Al-Mutanabbi, for example, used far-fetched metaphors, obscure language, extravagant affectation, and absurd exaggeration to lend sparkle to his poetry.

She shone forth like a moon, and swayed like a moringabough.

And shed fragrance like ambergris, and gazed like a gazelle. Al-Ma'arri anticipates the deists of a later age.

Take Reason for thy guide and do what she Approves, the best of counsellors in sooth, Accept no law the Pentateuch lays down; Not there is what thou seesthe plain truth.

* * *

The Koran, by general consent, was the first work of prose literature in Arabia. Before Muhammad, Arab prose had

26 Frank E. Manuel, *The Age of Reason*, p. 1. The "Age of Reason" in the West has been described as the years between the Peace of Utrecht (1713) and the French Revolution (1789).
hardly ever been used except for the preservation of tribal memories of warlike or otherwise curious incidents and the formulation of concise proverbs and rulings of law. There was no accepted style in which to present theological or legal deliberations. Muhammad, then, presented a suitable vehicle—a rhymed prose which never employed any of the traditional poetic meters—for the transmission of Islamic canons.

Each of Koran's 114 suras (chapters) is a lesson by itself, and there is no evidence that Muhammad ever intended that these fragments be compiled into a book.29 Their compilation came under the second Caliph, Uthman, as the best method for preserving the sacred words.

Biography, as exemplified by Ibn Khallikan's The Obituaries of Eminent Men, and history, as exemplified by Tabari's Annals of the Apostles and the Kings, by Masudi's Meadows of Gold and Mines of Men, and by Ibn Khaldun's Book of Examples, were direct outgrowths of Koranic study.30

In music the Arabs were no less prolific nor did they exercise less influence upon western culture than in other

29Durant, op. cit., p. 175; Gustave E. Von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam, pp. 80-1.
fields. The first Arabian influence in popular music was spread abroad by wandering minstrels as early as the 8th century.\textsuperscript{31} From the Arabs, Europe took the lute, guitar, symbols, tambourine, drum, trumpet, and other musical instruments.\textsuperscript{32} Roger Bacon quotes Ibn Sina on the question of the effect of music in disease,\textsuperscript{33} while al Farabi often is considered the greatest writer on the theory of music in the Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{34}

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\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., p. 63. Mr. Farmer hastens to point out that Arabs lay no claim to inventing these instruments. The famous Sasanian bas-reliefs at Taq-i Bustan (A.D. 590-628) depict harps, oboes, tambourines, mouth organs, drums, lutes and trumpets among other musical instruments. Henry George Farmer, "The Instruments on the Taq-i Bustan Bas-Reliefs," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Third Quarter (July, 1938), pp. 403-5.


\textsuperscript{34} Henry George Farmer, "The Influence of Al-Farabi's 'Insa al-ulum' (De Scientiis) on the Writers of Western Europe," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Third Quarter (July, 1932), p. 562.
Representational art was proscribed in Islam. Consequently, Muslim artists produced an art form, the Arabesque, which is based on geometrical designs. For twelve centuries, Muslim artists shared the Muslim scientists' desire to know the order of God's universe, and through the Arabesque they sought to show the symmetry of creation by arrangement of lines in symmetrical patterns.

The most durable specimens of Arab architectural art are the mosques. Whereas early government buildings and private homes in the Arab World have vanished through neglect, through the ravages of time, through military razing, or through a combination of these causes, the Dome of the Rock and numerous other mosques in Egypt, Persia, and Turkey stand as significant examples of the Muslim contribution to the field of architecture.

35 Landau, op. cit., p. 212; Durant, op. cit., p. 276; Edward Atiyah, The Arabs, p. 65; and Philip K. Hitti, History of Syria, p. 505. Professor Hitti contends that Muslim hostility to representational art did not manifest itself until early Abbasid times (ca. 750 A.D.). Hitti characterizes al-Bukhari in al-Jami al Sahih, VII, p. 61, as putting words into the mouth of the Prophet and suggests that the Muslim proscription against representational art "reflects views of converted Jews and a residue of the primitive notion that he who holds the likeness of another is in a position to exercise magical influence on that person."


37 Alfred Bel, "Une Histoire De L'Art Musulman," Revue Africaine, LXIX, (2 et 3 Trimestres 1928), p. 235; Rom Landau, Islam and the Arabs, pp. 218-9, mentions the successive use of
In philosophy the Arab civilization produced al Kindi, al Farabi, Ibn Sina, al Ghazali, ibn Rushd and others. Muslim philosophy drew upon Greek sources primarily, with Persian, Jewish, and Christian sources making minor contributions. Michael Scott, Albertus Magnus, and Gerard of Cremona studied Greek philosophy as interpreted by the Arabs and, indeed, St. Thomas Aquinas learned Aristotle from the works of Ibn Rushd. Roger Bacon called Ibn Sina "the chief authority in philosophy after Aristotle" and St. Thomas ranked him with Plato.

The Arabs developed algebra, studied astronomy—their measurement of the terrestrial degree of 56 2/3 miles is only one-half mile over our present calculation, wrote monumental works in geography, and almost created chemistry. Most records

bands of black or red and white stones in architectural decor, the cusped arch, the traceried towers in which bricks are used to form relief-patterns, and the employment of lettering for the decoration of buildings, as among the Arab contributions to European architecture.


39Du:rant, op. cit., p. 257. Ibn Sina entered Europe as Avicenna with translations of Fi'il nafs (De Anima in Latin), and Fi taqasim al-hikma (De divisione scientiarum in Latin). Farmer, loc. cit.
of Muslim biology have been lost, but in botany, Muslim scientists knew the art of grafting and by its use produced new fruits and rare flowers. There is hardly an area of human experience where Islam has not enriched the western tradition. Foods and drinks, drugs and medicaments, history, poetry, and literature, science and mathematics—a full list requires volumes. Indeed, the Arab scholar of the nineteenth century could view with pride the past achievements of Arab civilization. He could trace the role his ancestors had played in the rise of European science, and letters; consequently, he could look towards Europe and the West with some feeling of affinity. "Western ideas" became more palatable when the Arab discovered his part in their formulation.

40 Von Grunebaum, op. cit., p. 342.

41 Henry George Farmer, "Clues for the Arabian Influence on European Musical Theory," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, First Quarter, (January, 1925), p. 81. Science with the Arabs included all that was embraced by medieval scholars in the term quadrivium, i.e., arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy.

42 Walter Z. Laqueur, The Middle East in Transition, pp. 466-7. Some European writers have rejected the idea of the unity of culture. Oswald Spencer, for example, includes "Arab civilization" as a culture radically different from that of the West today. Occasionally, we find Orientalists at work in the Foreign Ministries of Western governments, assiduously editing and publishing the works of Muslim mystics; and fostering the opinion that there is no hope of saving world civilization from decline and disaster except to return to the "spirituality" of the East. This type of thinking sometimes produces a West anxious to help recultivate and spread "Eastern spiritual values" but reluctant to consider material values as well. A representative of the Rockefeller Institute visited Syrian University in
III. THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN COMMUNICATION

MEDIA, ENTERTAINMENT, AND SPORTS

The American school was one window through which Arab youth could view western civilization and progress. Sometimes the Arab student felt a close identification with the land of his teachers.

A young Muslim girl studying at AUB revealed a striking ability to identify herself with the American situation. The amount of money asked for in the President's budget shocked her and led her to exclaim, "I believe America is driving head-first into a crazy scheme of things which is going to destroy it."... This student, it turns out, is a great fan of American popular music. Her reading fare is almost entirely American—Time, Life, Ladies Home Journal, fashion and screen magazines—because "they are much more entertaining." This student's continuous exposure to American life brings Washington's concerns closer to her than those of Beirut.

This reaction, of course, represents a distinctly minor portion of total Arab thought, but it may be indicative of the cultural patterns encouraged by attendance at an American school in the Middle East.

Many Arabs prominent in the modern world have received some portion of their education in American schools. How compelling this influence has been seems to vary with the individual

1956 and pledged support for any institution set up for studies of Islamic mysticism; an Arab request for laboratories and technical equipment was rejected.

43 Faris, op. cit., p. 33.

and often escapes any attempt at generalization. Dr. Matta Akrawi, for example, who took his AB at the American University of Beirut and did graduate work at Columbia University, appears to have assimilated much American educational theory in the process. Altogether he has written eight books on education and educational philosophy.

Emile Bustani, Lebanese businessman-politician and author of *Doubts and Dynamite*, matriculated at AUB and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Of Mr. Bustani, Woodrow Wyatt has written:

Every time I have been in the Arab world I have come across his activities. When I went to Cairo to make a television programme... almost the first person I met was Mr. Bustani. He was having lunch with half the Egyptian government in the hotel where I was staying.

Mr. Bustani has held many important positions in government and business in the Arab world. He is a member of the Lebanese Parliament and the former Minister of Public Works, Chairman of the Contracting and Trading Company which operates in every Arab country, Vice-Chairman of the Motherwell Bridge Contracting and Trading Company, Ltd., in Amman, Jordan, Director of the Arab Bank, and formerly City Engineer for Acre and Nazareth.

In 1945, he served as Head of the Arab Chamber of Commerce delegation to Great Britain. Bustani's contacts with the West have sometimes caused him to be branded as pro-British and pro-

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45Emile Bustani, *Doubts and Dynamite*, p. 7.
American by ardent nationalists, but he is as critical of some Western policies as is the Arab "man-in-the-street". He is inclined, however, to state the case for Arab nationalism calmly and reasonably and in a spirit of compromise that may harken back to his student days in American schools and to his tenure as President of the Alumni Association of AUB.

Adil Ousseiran, member of the Lebanese Parliament and former Speaker, took both his AB and MA in History and Political Science at the American University of Beirut. Apart from the technical training AUB provided, Mr. Ousseiran asserts that this American school gave him a belief in liberalism and an attitude of cooperation for social progress.\(^46\)

The dean of American Arabists is Dr. Philip K. Hitti, professor emeritus of Princeton University. Now seventy-three years old, Professor Hitti looks back through a life devoted to scholarship. He has written over twenty-four books and monographs and innumerable articles for magazines and encyclopedias;\(^47\) his *History of the Arabs* is recognized as the standard work in the field.

Dr. Hitti attended the American High School at Suq al-Ghārbd, Lebanon, received his AB from the American University of

\(^{46}\) Adil Ousseiran, letter dated November 27, 1959.

Beirut, and took his doctorate at Columbia University. Honors have been given him by the Lebanese and Syrian Governments, and his name has been inscribed in the University of Pittsburgh Hall of Learning. Hailed at the New York World's Fair in 1940 as one of those American citizens of foreign birth "who have made notable contributions to the living, evergrowing democracy," Professor Hitti is the foremost interpreter of the East in the West.

Moustafa Amin, the publisher of Akhbar El-Yom, Cairo, Egypt, took an AB at the American University at Cairo and an MS at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. According to Mr. Amin, American education gave him a concept of freedom and the idea that it is necessary to fight for freedom. "I studied, in the American University, freedom and the fight for freedom; I benefited from this education a great deal in my journalistic life." In commenting upon the contributions made by American education to Middle Eastern culture, Mr. Amin says:

I believe that American education has made great introductions [sic] in the Culture of the Middle East. The American University at Cairo and the American University of Beirut played a big part in introducing American thoughts and American principles to the area. The American policy in the area [1948-1958] made from blunders in the Middle East because it was against the principles that the American people stood for.

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48 Moustafa Amin, Publisher Akhbar El-Yom, in a letter dated December 4, 1959.
49 Ibid.
American "blunders" of the last decade have colored Arab views of American contributions, and Mr. Amin emphasizes this point in his concluding sentence.

Charles Habib Malik is recognized by westerners as the foremost statesman of the Arab World. Dr. Malik attended the American School for Boys in Tripoli, Lebanon, the American University of Beirut, and Harvard University. He is on leave as a Professor at AUB, has been Ambassador of Lebanon in Washington, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon, Representative of Lebanon on the United Nations, President of the 13th General Assembly of the United Nations, and is now a member of the Lebanese Parliament.

American education has had a profound effect upon the life of Dr. Malik. "It has had an enormous effect as can be easily seen from everything I have done, said and published since," he asserts. Further, Dr. Malik comments:

American education is mostly felt in the national awakening of the Arab world; therefore in matters appertaining to political consciousness; in economic and social matters; and in providing teachers for the area.

A casual perusal of "Who's Who in the Middle East," The Middle East, 1958, reveals an impressive list of Arabs who have received some part of their education in American schools. Ahmad Shukairy, head of the Saudi Arabian delegation to the

51 Ibid.
United Nations, Fayezy A. Sayagh, Acting Director of the Arab Information Center, and Abdul Rahman al-Habeeb, Assistant Dean at the College of Arts and Sciences, Baghdad, Iraq, may be numbered among them.

This list is deceiving in some particulars, however. George F. Hourani, Associate Professor of Arabic Studies at the University of Michigan, for example, took his Ph.D. at Princeton but he was "born and educated in Britain."52 Thus, Professor Hourani's introduction to western democracy came through British sources and would not be pertinent to this discussion.

Also, not all Arab graduates of American schools received an American political impact through their school life. Omar A. Farrukh, A.B. American University of Beirut, 1928, acknowledges receipt of his "scientific spirit" at AUB but says that the "American way of thinking has had practically no touch on me."53 Dr. Farrukh always had a definite purpose in pursuing western education; to take the scientific advances it promised but avoid religious and political indoctrination. "I was satisfied with a mind formed scientifically in an American institution, while I remained true to my Arab ideals, in faith, politics, ethics and social life."54 It is probably true to some extent

54 Ibid.
of all Arabs educated in American institutions that the
culture of the West is tempered by the culture of the East or,
perhaps, the reverse is a better statement of fact.

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American books, magazines, and newspapers provide other
windows for an Arab view of the western scene. Here again,
their influence is limited to those few Arabs who read and
understand the English language; but it may be suggested that
the influence of this minority is often out of all proportion
to their numbers. 55

The list of American magazines on the bookshelves of the
modern Arab world is impressive. A sampling of eighty-six
Arab students now in attendance at American universities revealed
that these future leaders in Arab society had been exposed to a
variety of American periodicals before coming to the United
States. The New York Times, the Herald Tribune, and the
Christian Science Monitor were the American newspapers mentioned

55 Laqueur, op. cit., p. 473. Dr. Muhammad Kamal Ayyad
suggests "that the flowering or the decline of a culture depends
upon the presence or absence of a group within the society who
can devote themselves to study, meditation, and contemplation—
a group usually called the elite, or the select few." Sydney
Netleton Fisher, Social Forces in the Middle East, p. 196.
"There is today, throughout the Islamic world, a very considerable
body of persons . . . who look to them [intellectuals] for leader-
ship." Cf., also, Lerner, op. cit., p. 171.
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<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA, YEMEN AND KUWAIT</td>
<td>Life, Time, True, Newsweek</td>
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<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>Life, Look, Saturday Evening Post, Newsweek</td>
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<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>Life, Time, Saturday Evening Post, Newsweek, Atlantic Monthly, Christian Century, Reporter</td>
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most often in the survey. Among American authors and playwrights, Tennessee Williams, Arthur Miller, Robert Penn, William Inge, Theodore Dreiser, Robert Anderson, Stephen Crane, Ernest Hemingway, Sinclair Lewis, Mark Twain, and Howard Fast received a share of attention.

An assessment of the democratic impact of this literature upon the Arab world is extremely difficult. Its advent upon the Middle Eastern scene is so recent - most of it coming during and after World War II, its influence is so intermingled with the influence of the French and British, and its message is so immersed in the bitterness of post-Israel Arab-West relations that time and the emotions of the moment tend to color an evaluation. Perhaps the American impact through literature was best expressed by Professor George Haddad:

As for American influence through culture they have been more important [than business] But here also let us remember that French cultural influences have been older, and a far greater number of students used to study - and in many countries still study - in European universities, particularly in France and England.

American books and newspapers are read on a small scale by a chosen few. . . . American books in Arabic translation are very few compared to translations of French and other European books. . . .

The chosen few who are familiar with the American press . . . are undoubtedly aware of the freedom of expression in the United States as illustrated by the comments and cartoons they see in them. They admire the democratic spirit in which the problems - domestic and foreign - are discussed. But you can be certain they have been affected also by the same
An Arab theater is a new experience for the Middle East. Until the nineteenth century, mimicry, passion plays, and shadow plays constituted almost the entire Arab repertoire. When a western dramatic impact was felt in the Arab World it arrived from Europe, notably from France and Italy; the United States played a distinctly minor role in the project.

The French exercised only a slight influence upon the Arab theater in Egypt. Napoleon's Egyptian venture in 1798 brought some European impact, but this barely survived the reconquest of Egypt by Muhammad Ali. For the most part, the Egyptian masses remained illiterate while the elite of Muhammad Ali's court used Turkish rather than Arabic as a means of communication.

Touring Italian troupes and the Italian theater, in general, made a deeper impression upon the Egyptians than did the French. Numerous Italian thespians performed for the Italian population of Cairo and Alexandria during the first half of the

56George Haddad, Professor at the Syrian University, Damascus, in a letter dated May 30, 1959.

57Jacob Landau, Studies in the Arab Theater and Cinema, p. 52.
nineteenth century so many, in fact, that the Egyptian government felt compelled to circularize regulations concerning the conduct of audiences and employees in the Italian theater. This widespread activity by the Italians probably helps explain the later success of the French theater in Egypt; Egyptian audiences were somewhat conditioned to accept its infiltration from Syria.

The French theater in Syria met a recently awakened and generally literate population in the nineteenth century. American and French missionary competition and the educational reforms of Ibrahim Pasha after 1833 provided the stimulus for an intellectual activity which included the beginnings of a modern Arab theater.

The first modern play in Arabic was performed in Beirut in 1848. Marun al-Naqqash adapted Molière's L'Avaré into Arabic verse and presented it to a select group of foreign consuls and local dignitaries. Maronite, Jesuit, Muslim and Jewish schools performed plays translated usually from the French or written by native playwrights. American activity was practically non-existent then and remains limited today. Jacob Landau lists 211

58Ibid., pp. 259-73.
60Rom Landau, op. cit., p. 60.
plays that have been translated into Arabic and only three American plays may be found among them; You Can't Take It with You by George Kaufman and Moss Hart, Beyond the Horizon by Eugene O'Neill, and Our Town by Thornton Wilder. 61

* * *

American movies are shown in most Arab countries. 62 The question of their influence upon the Arab world evokes mixed reactions among observers of Middle East culture. On the one hand, the American film may be cited as a purveyor of loose morals—"When they [Arab youth] see a love story full of kissing, the young men or women get so excited as to go directly from the movie and to practice what they have seen." 63 On the other, it may be extolled as a harbinger of democracy—"The

61Ibid., pp. 259-73.

62Lerner, op. cit., pp. 180, 236; George L. Harris, Iraq, p. 142; George L. Harris, Jordan, p. 104.

63Lerner, op. cit., p. 193. Laqueur, op. cit., pp. 384-6. In June, 1956, the Soviet Publishing House for Foreign Literature brought out a collection of nineteen stories by Egyptian writers which, among other themes, emphasized the corrupting influence of American films on Egyptian youth. Parenthetically, the Russian film Mother was so revolutionary that Egyptian leaders refused to let it be shown in Egypt at the Soviet film festival. A Hollywood "western" was shown instead.

Bayard Dodge, "Western Education in the Middle East," Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, XXIV (1952), p. 495. Dodge warns that "American education must explain that Christian America is not exactly as it is painted in the movies,"
American film carried to the Iraqi mind the life and culture, the sentiments and ideas of American democracy. . . .”

Both observers would agree upon the popularity of American films; neither would deny their great powers of persuasion.

Diverse opinions of American movies may indicate the varying attitudes within the Arab world concerning the acceptance of Western culture. At one end of the scale, there are those who advocate following Turkey’s example and breaking away completely from Arab traditions and beliefs. At the opposite end of the scale, there are those who have not reconciled themselves to the superiority of Western culture, who prefer a return to the golden age of Islam, religiously and socially. Somewhere in between stands the great mass of educated Arab youth who believe that the West offers possibilities of progress to the Arab, but who believe also that Islam offers elements of strength to be preserved. The unresolved problem for these “middle-of-the-roaders,” of course, rests with what is to be borrowed from the West and what is to be preserved of Islam.

* * *


American radio is heard in the Arab Middle East through the Voice of America. Its democratic impact among the Arabs is slight, if selected opinions may be credited. An Egyptian respondent makes this observation:

Once in awhile we get the Voice of America-relayed from Tangier. We never listen because the programs are pretty poor as compared to the BBC or our own station for European music and culture.

A Syrian respondent observes:

We can't hear them [VOA programs] well, and even when heard, they lack the subtlety needed to make a favorable impression on our people.

66Voice of America is one segment of the United States Information Agency whose mission is "to inform all peoples throughout the world of the policies and objectives of the United States Government and that it counter the distortions of hostile propaganda."

VOA broadcast first on February 24, 1942, to the German people from one shortwave transmitter located in the United States. Since 1942, eighty-four transmitters (29 in the United States and 55 overseas) have been added to VOA's network.

The total USIA appropriation from Congress amounted to $98.5 million in 1959, with an additional $10 million appropriated specifically for VOA activities. Most of these funds, however, are expended for work in communist dominated countries; over three-fourths of VOA's broadcasts are beamed to the U.S.S.R., eastern Europe, Communist China, North Korea, and North Vietnam.

At present, VOA broadcasts 9 hours per day in Arabic and has ten hours of music, which may be received in the Middle East. United States Information Agency (hereafter referred to as USIA), The Voice of America, (1959), p. 1, Errata sheet for inside back cover; The Americana Annual, 1957, p. 814; The Americana Annual, 1958, p. 805; The Americana Annual, 1959, p. 798.

A Jordanian writes:

I do not care for the Voice of America at all. We have the feeling that they [American broadcasters] do not care to say anything which means good to us, so we do not care to hear what they say at all.

Only three of eighty-six Arab responses recorded a favorable reaction to VOA programs. A typical comment within this limited group classified the American newscasts as excellent.

I listen to the Voice of America primarily. . . . There is no definite and precise effect on me since I listen to other stations as well--B.B.C., Moscow, New Delhi, and many others. To the majority of my countrymen [Jordanians] the American broadcasts have the effect of making them admire the Americans, and make them want to visit the United States.

VOA is viewed by many Arabs as mere propaganda and as having little relevance to Arab interests; the British Broadcasting Corporation enjoys a greater popularity. 68

American radio appears to have exercised some influence among Lebanese women.

The articles and broadcasts make us anxious to go and live there [USA]. Liberty for women. That is what we listen to in these programs. 69

Another Lebanese woman is sure she would "find freedom in America" and would prefer to live there, if she had to leave Lebanon. One young girl, in an obvious reaction to parental

68 Harris, Iraq, p. 143.

69 Lerner, op. cit., p. 200.
restraints, sees American youth as proud possessors of an independence denied to youth in the Middle East.

They are free to come and go, to choose the life they want to live. They are independent and responsible for themselves with no father or mother to count their steps and control their sentences and words.70

Voice of America by itself makes little impression upon the great masses of people, who turn to local stations and to Cairo Radio for their listening.71 VOA's audience is limited further by poor reception in comparison with that of other major foreign stations72 and the fact that many potential listeners are not familiar with the times or wave lengths of

70Ibid.; Dr. Bayard Dodge may have had the prototype of this young lady in mind when he said: "The most important thing that is happening in the Middle East is the emancipation of women. But unless we can train leaders to control this movement, in a way that is wholesome, it may produce great license." Bayard Dodge, loc. cit.

71The Stockton Record, August 15, 1959. UAR President Gamal Abdul Nasser recently announced a boost in power for Cairo Radio. Already the most powerful radio in Africa and Asia, President Nasser hopes to beam its message around the world. Cairo and Damascus Radios have been unified under one administration and new transmitters are being installed in both the Syrian and Egyptian regions of the United Arab Republic. "The Voice of the Arabs," Cairo's broadcast designed specifically for the Arab world, now broadcasts 19 hours daily. Until last month, its programs ran about 11 hours per day.

72An Egyptian respondent writes that "the only way you could tune in is by a short wave radio—a not too common commodity In Egypt." Cf., also, Nevill Barbour, "Broadcasting to the Arab World," The Middle East Journal, V, (Winter, 1951), p. 65. Somewhat better reception was achieved recently by stationing the U. S. Coast Guard Cutter, Courier, off the coast of the Island of Rhodes in the Mediterranean Sea to relay broadcasts to the Middle East. But, VOA's transmitters still are placed "to get maximum penetration into the Communist world." USIA, op. cit., p. 7.
the program.\textsuperscript{73}

In conjunction with other foreign programs and Radio Cairo, VOA does make some contributions to Arab unity. It is addressed to the Arab world as a whole and, of necessity, broadcasts in classical Arabic, thus strengthening the use of a common tongue in place of the many local dialects. VOA furthers Arab unity, also, by informing the various countries about one another, and by giving them a common stock of information and views on the events of the day.\textsuperscript{74}

Some Arabs believe that democracy in the Arab Middle East may be best achieved through Arab unity. In this regard, Fayez A. Sayegh, Acting Director of the Arab States, Delegations Office, discusses the differences evidenced through the formation of the United Arab Republic and the Arab Federation. He says, in part:

\begin{quote}
\ldots whereas the call for unification of Syria and Egypt had emanated from the parliaments of the two countries, and the action was promptly submitted to the populations concerned for approval or rejection. \ldots the decision to federate Iraq and Jordan was made by the kings and cabinets of these two countries, and was not taken to the people for
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{73}Harris, \textit{Iraq}, p. 143.

\textsuperscript{74}Barbour, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 65. Cf., also, Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh, \textit{The Ideas of Arab Nationalism}, pp. 74-77, for a discussion of classical vs. colloquial language. Theorists in Arab nationalism assign first place to language as a factor constituting the Arab nation and propose that modern movies, radio, and press, do the most effective job in making language a vehicle for widespread social communication.
approval... Not even a token gesture was made to en-\v
vance recognition of the paramount principle, on which the national movement was founded, that the people was the ultimate source of sovereignty.75

Dr. Sayegh sees in Arab unity the hopes of the Arab peoples for "liberty, solidarity, and a more abundant life."76

A Lebanese teacher, now studying in the United States, seconds Dr. Sayegh's point of view. She envisions democracy, particularly in the American pattern, for all Arabs as uniquely dependent upon Arab unity.

I think—and I am not alone in thinking it—that the American style of government can work well in a [Arab] federation and it would be lucky for us if that happens. I see more similarities between the Arab World as a whole and the United States than between us and any other country.77

* * *

Western art has arrived in the Arab world during the last decade. Muslim artists are now painting in "Western" style,78 but there is no evidence available to support a distinctly American impact for democracy in this field.

The same conclusion may be drawn from the impact of American sports. Basketball is played to some extent in Lebanon,

75Fayez A. Sayegh, Arab Unity, p. 208.
76Ibid., p. 212.
77Miss Ethel Afnan, in a letter dated November 7, 1958, opines further that American style democracy cannot work in any Arab country if taken as a single political unit.
78Landau, op. cit., p. 234.
Jordan, and Syria, but its influence for democracy is so limited that it is practically non-existent. Baseball has been introduced to Saudi Arabians through the children of Aramco workers. It has not spread quickly among Arab youth and is reserved exclusively to the areas around Aramco installations. Tennis has been carried into Saudi Arabia by the Americans, but, again, very few Arabs have taken up the game.

American music is another late arrival to the Arab Middle East. The United States Information Agency seeks to present a balanced view of America and includes art shows and music, particularly "Jazz" among its offerings. "Time for Jazz," Voice of America's effort in the music field, reaches a few Arab listeners, but its effect is probably no more compelling than that of the total VOA program. To those who listen,

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80 Aramco, Children in Arabia, (one page). According to Durant, "Tennis developed in France, probably from Muslim antecedents." Durant, op. cit., p. 841.

81 George W. Thompson, Assistant Information Officer, United States Information Service, Amman, Jordan in a letter dated April 28, 1959.

"Time for Jazz" serves to make "our evenings more pleasant" and "evokes in us an admiration for America."\(^{83}\)

American jazz may be heard, also, in the nightclubs of Beirut and Cairo. These entertainment media are so far removed from the life of the people of the area, however, that they may be considered tourist attractions rather than direct influences for democracy.

There is a growing tendency among urban Arabs to appreciate specific western music forms, but these forms, usually, are drawn from Europe.\(^{84}\) A few Arab students have travelled abroad for music study, and some performers have received training in western instruments. Their number is relatively insignificant, and their performances are staged in the concert halls of large cities, which are inaccessible to most Arabs. Devotees of western music are most numerous in Lebanon. Religion may have some bearing on this situation, for more Christian Lebanese prefer western music than do Muslim Lebanese. Syrians enjoy western music less than do Lebanese of comparable class, and Jordanians' appreciation is restricted almost "uniquely to


\(^{84}\)Harris, *Iraq*, p. 290.
Is it not surprising that western music, in general, and American music in particular, has not made a distinct contribution to Arab culture. The American visitor to the Middle East is puzzled, to say the least, by his first impression of Arab music, and it is not improbable that the Arab experiences the same feeling when first he hears a western tune. Arabic melodies are played in unison or in octaves with no harmonic accompaniment; Arabic singing employs nasal tones which often seem unmelodious to the uninitiated ear; Arabic music uses quarter tones, additional scales, and numerous and complicated rhythms. It is the poem that is considered the important feature of the song; the music is intended to enhance the beauty of the words. The Arab listener may therefore be excused for failing to find beauty in American jazz lyrics.

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85 Lerner, op. cit., pp. 184, 277, 317.


87 Lerner, op. cit., pp. 13, 181. The exceptions are the "Westernized" Arabs characterized by Dr. Lerner as "Moderns"--cosmopolitan, urban, literate, usually well-off, and seldom devout--and typified by the Lebanese student who finds Arabic music "horrid."
CHAPTER VII

ARAB MIGRATIONS TO THE UNITED STATES

Whoso migrateth for the cause of Allah will find much refuge and abundance in the earth... 

Koran, Sura IV; 100

#  #  #

Arab immigrants to the United States have transmitted American democratic ideals to their homelands. The impoverished Syrian of the 1890's expressed himself often and well on the joys of his new-found liberty. His countrymen in Syria read his letters with incredulity; they were amazed also when he returned to them with tales of a land in which a shoemaker could talk to bankers. These stories added to the high prestige already enjoyed by the United States among the Arabs.

Today a different set of standards may be applied to American prestige in the Middle East, and a different immigrant transmits his impressions to his homeland. The new immigrant comes not to seek his fortune in the literal sense of his nineteenth century forefather but rather to seek western education in order to improve himself and his native land. His impressions of America may well play a significant role in future Arab-American relations.

#  #  #
I. ARAB MIGRATIONS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Arabs have migrated to the United States for two important reasons in the last one hundred years: employment and education. The first mass migration came in the late 19th century as groups of impoverished Syrians, Lebanese, and Palestinians rode steerage to the new land to seek their fortune.¹

Accurate statistics for the late 19th and early 20th centuries on the number of Arabs in the United States are not available.² Census figures classified all Arabs as Turks until 1920. Even as late as 1940 there was considerable confusion attached to counting the Arabs in the United States. The census

¹Philip K. Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, p. 55. Dissatisfaction with Turkish rule and low steamship rates were among the other forces which encouraged mass emigration. American missionaries diverted a large portion of these dissatisfied Turkish subjects towards the United States. While the American missionary sought to discourage emigration as a part of his nationalization program, he actually encouraged it, unconsciously, by acquainting the people with the language, geography, history, and methods of life in the United States. Also, hundreds of American tourists to the Holy Land each year acted as an object lesson in demonstrating the riches of the United States.

²Immigration statistics are somewhat more definitive on origins than are those of the Census Bureau. From 1847 to 1860, for example, fifty-four Turks and eight "Arabs" landed at New York. All eight "Arabs" are listed in the 1849 figures which may be either mere coincidence or may indicate simply that the statistics gatherer for 1849 recognized the difference between Turk and Arab. Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, May 5, 1847, to December 31, 1860, Appendix, p. 288.
for 1940 reported 10,360 New Yorkers with Arabic as their mother tongue but noted in another breakdown that there were 17,558 immigrants and their American born children from Palestine and Syria. Local community leaders estimated the entire group in New York City, including all generations, at about 40,000. Many Arab families have "Americanized" their names, which makes a count even more complicated. For example, a name like Kalil has been changed to Kelley; Abyad into White; Miflihi into Murphy; Khouri into Gory; Awad into Howard; Butras into Peters; and so on.

# # #

The first Syrian to enter the United States was a Lebanese, Antonius al Bishalleny, who landed in Boston in 1854. The first Syrian family, that of Joseph Arbeely of Damascus, arrived in 1878. In the early eighties a considerable emigration occurred from Zahleh, but the movement did not assume large proportions until the early nineties when the Columbian Exposition

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of 1893 attracted hordes of traders from Jerusalem and Ramallah who brought with them olive wood articles and other curios. 6

The usual port of entry for immigrants was New York, where the Statue of Liberty promised freedom and hope for a better life. 7 New York, in 1890, already boasted a Syrian colony, 8 consisting of a few storekeepers and silk merchants. 9

It was in the Syrian colony of New York that the first Arabic newspaper in the United States, Kowkab America (The Star of America) was published. Although a short-lived publication because it lacked adequate financial support, Kowkab America served, for a time, to reflect the anti-Turkish attitude of these Arabs in the United States; 10 attitudes which led, in 1913,

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6 Hitti, op. cit., p. 48.

7 Lucius Hopkins Miller, A Study of the Syrian Population of New Greater York, p. 6. New York has always been the main center of Syrian life in this country, though there are fairly large colonies in Fall River, Worcester, Lawrence, Cleveland, and Chicago.

8 Hawie, op. cit., p. 6. Lebanese, Palestinians and, perhaps, other Arabs are included in the term "Syrian." Ashad G. Hawie says, "A Lebanese is a Syrian, like an Alabamian is an American."

9 Miller, op. cit., pp. 7-14. Actually New York's Syrian Colony was composed of three segments: Manhattan, South Ferry (Brooklyn), and South Brooklyn Communities. An estimated 1661 individuals lived in the Syrian Manhattan section at the turn of the century; 625 lived in South Ferry; and, 196 lived in South Brooklyn. Greek Catholics, Maronites, Greek Orthodox, and Protestants constituted the religious affiliations for an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of these communities; only two Muslims are included in the group.

10 Abraham Mitrie Rihbany, "In New York With Nine Cents,"
to sending three delegates to an Arab congress in Paris where a demand for full political rights for Arab states within the Ottoman Empire was formulated.11

Much could be written about the contributions made to the United States by her Arab immigrants. It is, however, more in keeping with the theme of this paper to turn instead to the contributions made by these Arabs to their homelands, contributions conditioned by their stay in the American democracy.

It should be mentioned first that there was a debit column in the ledger of American influence. Occasionally a returned emigrant used his recently acquired wealth to strangle the economic freedom of his neighbors. There was, for example, Abu Nimur, who used his American-made fortune to get half the population of Ain Arab, a small village off the highway between Damascus and Beirut, in his debt. Abu charged exorbitant interest on his loans and succeeded by foreclosures on fields and vineyards in becoming the wealthiest man in the village—and the most hated.12

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Atlantic Monthly, CXIII, (February, 1914), p. 245. By 1919, there were four Arabic daily newspapers in New York and in other cities two semi-weekly, eight weekly, and seven monthly publications. The majority of these, however, were more concerned with American-Syrian interests than with matters in the old country. "Syrians in the United States," Literary Digest, LXXI, (May 3, 1919), p. 43.

12 Salom Rizk, Syrian Yankee, pp. 266-7.
Most Syrian-Americans, unlike Abu Nimur, spread propaganda favorable to the United States when they returned to their homelands.13 The King-Crane report after World War I served to emphasize this conclusion, for it showed a widespread disposition among Arabs to accept an American mandate.14 Old Hanan, a townsman of Nimur, often cursed the day he left America. The villagers said that sometimes Hanan "beat his head with a hammer and cursed the devils that had tempted him back to Syria." In saner moments, he idealized the land across the sea where "everything is better" and "everything is right side up."15

One may imagine the impact upon his fellow villagers in Ain Arab of the following conversation reported by Salom Rizk:

"What do you do in America, Salom?" someone asked.
"I am a shoemaker."
"God forgive you!" they cried—for lying, they meant.
"Really, I am a shoemaker, believe it or not. I was once a dishwasher, too."
"A dishwasher! they cried in chorus. "How can you be anybody when you are a dishwasher?"
"I don't know, but in America it is no disgrace to do any kind of work if it is honest. In America you can wash dishes all day and talk to a bunch of bankers as if you were one of them."
"... America is kindness and helpfulness and friendship and tolerance,..."16

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13 Ritti, op. cit., p. 53.
14 Cf. ante, Chap. III, p. 98.
15 Rizk, op. cit., pp. 266, 271.
16 Ibid., pp. 271-2.
It is not improbable that personal contacts such as that which is described above were multiplied thousands of times by returning Arabs and that these personal contacts created a "halo" around the land across the sea where everyone was rich and everyone was free.\(^{17}\)

Even when the Arab emigrants did not return themselves, they sent back glowing letters on life in America to friends and relatives. Many of them sent part of their earnings back to the old country, where the money was often invested in large red-roofed houses which acted as conspicuous advertisements for the United States.

They \textit{(Syrian immigrants)} send more money per capita than the immigrants of any other nationality. Between Beirut and Damascus one sees more houses built with American money than one sees in a trip to South Italy, five times as long.\(^{18}\)

\# \# \#

Many an early Arab immigrant was able to quench his thirst for learning from the living waters of American education.

\(^{17}\text{Abraham M. Rihbany, \textit{A Far Journey}, pp. 143-144, cited by Hitti, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 53. }\) \textit{While I was at school," writes Mr. Rihbany, "I heard much about America. I studied its geography, heard of its liberator, Washington. . . . But more exciting tales about America came to me through returning emigrants. . . . They spoke of its wealth and how accessible it was, and told how they themselves secured more money in America in a few years that could be earned in Syria in two generations."

\(^{18}\text{Reports of the Immigration Commission, Senate Documents, v. XII, p. 59, cited by Hitti, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 54.} \)
Often the new arrival from the Middle East found support in an American college or university from a fellow countryman grown affluent among the business opportunities of the New World.

Arab immigrants, on occasion, drew inspiration not from the academic atmosphere of an American college but rather from the daily occurrences of American life. Their search for freedom found expression in the works of Jibran Khalil Jibrán, Ameen Rihani and others who forged an intellectual and cultural revival which pervaded the entire Arab world.

Jibrán and Rihani captured the spirit of America. Free of traditional forms, Jibrán wrote "in a new literary style, vibrant with the ecstasy of release."

Arab verse and prose has never been the same since. His school is at present represented in almost every Arab country, and his influence is discernible even among his literary adversaries.20

Rihání exercised a more versatile influence in the land of his birth. At the foot of the Statue of Liberty, under the graceful span of the Brooklyn Bridge, and amid the red-brick apartment houses of Clinton Street, he absorbed the American revolutionary tradition. His poems castigated religious leadership, political despots, and all forms of demogogy and reaction.

19Ibid., p. 51. "It is a significant fact the picture of the first Syrian family [in the United States] ... was taken with a placard on which this legend is inscribed, 'The children and I have happily found liberty.'"

20Nabíh Faris, America and the Modern Arab Awakening, (in Arabic), p. 35.
When will you turn your face towards the East, O, Liberty?  
Shall the future never see a statue of freedom near the Pyramids?  
Would it be possible for us to behold your sister over the Mediterranean Sea?  
When will you travel with the moon around the earth, O, Liberty, and dispel darkness from fettered people and enslaved nations?  

As he stood on the Brooklyn Bridge watching the steamers sail outward past the Statue of Liberty, Rihani reflected a depth of feeling for American democracy that often only the foreigner may experience.

Take with you a small bottle of this holy water and spray the shores of Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Anatolia.  
To every isle you pass, to every country you visit and to every people whose steeples and minarets greet your sails, pray carry the peace of this goddess who lights your outward journey from the New World.  

These words were repeated from one end of the Arab World to the other; their message inspired lovers of freedom "from Casablanca to Basrah."

II. ARAB STUDENTS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

The second Arab migration to the United States came in the late 20th century. After World War II, Arab students by the thousands flocked to American schools. An estimated 4,000 Arab students matriculated in American colleges and universities during

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21 Ibid., p. 36.  
22 Ibid.  
23 Ibid.
TABLE XI
ARAB STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN MAIN WESTERN COUNTRIES IN 1953-54*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Switzerland</th>
<th>U.K.</th>
<th>U.S.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.A.R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGYPT</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYRIA</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORDAN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>1398</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>2312</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Aslan Humbaraci, *Middle East Indictment*, p. 271.
the academic year 1958-59.²⁵

Students are a potent force in Middle Eastern politics. Back in the 1920's Saad Zaghlul, the founder and first leader of the Wafd,²⁶ had advised his aides to depend on the student: "He is a power not to be overlooked."²⁷ In the days of unrest following World War II, the students of the Middle East were often at the forefront of political agitation.

Political leaders sometimes tried to curb student activities during those turbulent times. One such attempt was made by the Egyptian Government. This, however, aroused the ire of the students and their backers:

The idea of a law to prevent students from occupying themselves with politics has caused concern among all free peoples... This law would allow strangling the public opinion of the elite. The army knows that the university has paved the way and created the atmosphere for the deposition of the king...²⁸

Student organizations in the Arab world baffle westerners. Clare Hollingworth, writing in 1951, charged that mobs in Cairo, Alexandria, Baghdad, and Damascus were led by students.²⁹ John Bagot Glubb opines that "all over the Arab countries, students were the tools of politicians."³⁰

²⁵Mr. Mohammed Mehdi, Director, Arab Information Center, San Francisco.


²⁷Walter Z. Laqueur, Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East, pp. 15-15.

²⁸Aṣ-Ṣaḥḥa, September, 1962, cited in Ibid., p. 311.

²⁹Clare Hollingworth, The Arabs and the West, p. 17.

³⁰John Bagot Glubb, A Soldier With the Arabs, p. 397.
Every riot in Jordan, and indeed in the whole Middle East, was initiated by school children. When the schoolmasters received the word from the extremist politicians, they turned all the children into the streets, boys and girls, primary and secondary, young and old alike.31

Tools or leaders, Arab students are a force to be reckoned with in the modern Middle East.

Arab nationalism is strongest among the Arab youth. This nationalism often is reinforced by education in foreign lands. American schools have inculcated their Arab students with the spirit of such figures as Washington, Lincoln and other "torchbearers of liberty."32

* * *

An interesting by-product of American education for the Arabs in the early days of World War II was the anti-British sentiment developed within many of them. Several hundred students who attended colleges in the United States returned to the Middle East convinced—and in most cases violently convinced—that their only hope for political freedom lay in England's defeat. Prince Ali Khalifa, a member of Bahrein's ruling family, asserted on many occasions following a year's stay in the United States that he believed the Germans would oust the British from the Middle East and grant the Arab countries their complete independence. He added, however, that

31Ibid., p. 398.

"if 'El Am Sam' (Arabic for Uncle Sam) were to enter the war, which then seemed only remotely possible, he was sure the Arabs would get a fair deal."^33

# # #

If it may be assumed that the Arab student is an important factor in Middle Eastern society, and if the Arab student in the United States may be considered an important segment of this student group, it seemed worthwhile to solicit their reactions to American democracy during a stay in the United States.

Four-hundred-and-sixty questionnaires,^34 therefore, were sent to Arab students in colleges and universities throughout the United States during the academic year, 1958-59.^35 Eighty-six questionnaires were returned completed. Two considerations ranked high in the makeup of the questionnaire: anonymity for the respondent, and simplicity of format.

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^34 Appendix E for a sample questionnaire.

^35 Questionnaires were sent to College of the Pacific, University of California, Stanford University, Columbia University, Princeton University, Wayne State University, University of Chicago, Johns Hopkins University, Yale University, Harvard University, and San Francisco State College.
The views of respondents to this survey, of course, represent the opinions of a select group. Whether conclusions may be drawn from them as to the general climate of thought among the total student group in the Arab world—to say nothing of the masses—is open to question.36 Perhaps, all that may be said for this survey is that the replies come from every geographic area of the United States and cover every major Arab country of the Middle East. If because of the inaccessibility of other segments of Middle East populations,37 these have been ignored, it may be argued that the elites as represented, in part, by students are the decisive factor in technically underdeveloped countries . . . . The masses have never counted for much in similar nationalist movements, even in Europe, and still less in the other countries of Asia.38

36 An attempt was made to solicit student opinion at the American University of Beirut, American University at Cairo, and Syrian University of Damascus but each institution refused to distribute the questionnaires to their students. For the reasons given for the refusals of AUB and the American University at Cairo, see Appendix D and E. Syrian University did not respond.

37 Sixty letters were addressed to editors of Middle Eastern newspapers in the United Arab Republic, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Lebanon, and Iraq. Mr. Fuad Nahas, a graduate student at the College of the Pacific enclosed a note in Arabic in the hope that this would bring results. Only two replies were received; one from a friend of a deceased editor in Saudi Arabia and the other from an Iraqi businessman who is no longer connected with newspaper work.

Questionnaire respondents listed their homelands as the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. Eight Jordanian respondents referred to their country as "Palestine," and one remarked cryptically that "any country is my country." See Table XII.

Most Arab students in American Universities during 1958-59 had been exposed to American books, magazines and newspapers before coming to the United States. See Table XIII. Among American magazines, the most popular were Life with 34 readers, Time with 31 readers, and Newsweek with 12 readers. Look was read by five respondents, Reader's Digest by five, and United States News and World Report by three. Student tastes in American magazines ran from Seventeen through Popular Mechanics.39

American newspapers and books were noted less frequently than American magazines by the respondents. Such diverse titles as Gone With the Wind and the American Journal of International Law received mention. One avid reader from Egypt listed Tennessee Williams, Arthur Miller, Theodore Dreiser, Robert Anderson, Stephen Crane, and Ernest Hemingway as his favorite

39For a complete list of magazines read by the Arab students in this survey, see Appendix G.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>JORDAN</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, YEMEN</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORDAN</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, YEMEN</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
authors; another showed an acquaintance with Sinclair Lewis.

The *New York Times*, *Herald Tribune*, and *Christian Science Monitor* were the newspapers read most often in the survey; six respondents mentioned the *New York Times* and two each mentioned the *Herald Tribune* and *Christian Science Monitor*.

American books, magazines and newspapers generally did not give a good impression of American life, according to the Arab students. See Table XIV. Selected negative responses ran from the usual simple "No" through the following:

The picture these books have given me is not too favourable. It is a picture of people who are anxious, worried, obsessed with the desires of sex, crushed by the materialism of the age, and suffering from a hundred "complexes."

The magazines did not help in giving a fair and true idea. I was disappointed when I came here.

I read a lot but, unfortunately, they give only one side, mostly the good side. They don't mention the Indian situation here.

Magazines give an ideal type of living which I did not find here all the time. They are full of ads of things which we don't need.

On the positive side may be recorded the following observations:

Reading the Post, Life, Look and formerly Colliers gave me an overall picture of American life so that when I first arrived in the U.S.A. two months ago, I was sort of expecting many of the things that I observed.

Some of them like the *New York Times* gave me a clear idea about the U.S.A.

* * *
### Table XIV

The Impact of American Books, Magazines, and Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>Undecided or No Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Republic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
American movies were viewed by 84 of the 86 Arab students; a majority of whom stated that American films portrayed a distorted picture of life in the United States. Respondents sometimes preferred American movies for their entertainment value and two mentioned their outstanding photography. But, as representative of American life, movies were generally deprecated by Arab students. See Table XXV.

I am sure many people in the world think that gangsters exist in every town and rob people on the "hiways" and that the American people are still fighting Indians.

I remember most of them showed cowboys and gangs, until I began to believe that, after I came here, I should protect myself from gangsters in Chicago, or I expected to see thousands of cowboys and horses.

American radio ranked little better in representing life in the United States than did American movies in the opinion of these Arab students. Fifty-three respondents indicated that they had listened to American radio at least once before coming to the United States. Of this group, only three expressed a favorable reaction to Voice of America broadcasts but fifty students either did not listen, made no comment, or were undecided on its impact. Student responses were generally vitriolic when commenting upon Voice of America programs. See Tables XXVI and XXVII.

Voice of America specializes in insulting the Middle East.

Voice of America has too much politics. . . . People feel that. . . . America is trying to Americanize them. . . .
### TABLE XV

THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN MOVIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>No Comment or Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORDAN</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, YEMEN</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Listeners</td>
<td>Non-Listeners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORDAN</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, YEMEN</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE XVII

**THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN RADIO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>Did Not Listen or Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORDAN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, YEMEN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Actually we did not care for the American radio programs because the United States has a bad reputation in the Middle East.

VOA is considered propaganda.

To me they are, or most of them, taking the Zionist side.

I listened to the Voice of America and I could say that it was one of the stations that changed every bit of news to suit their propaganda and government interest. The radio stations of other countries do the same but not to the extent that American radios and newspapers go to.

Many Iraqis listen to Voice of America radio program. Generally the program does not deserve listening—Sorry to say that.

From this mass of abuse could be extracted just a few positive comments.

I listened to the Voice of America. The people seemed interested to hear it and believe it.

It is a nice program.

They [VOA programs] make the propaganda of our radio even more obvious.

#  #  #

Sixty-six per cent of the Arab students polled believed their ideas about democracy had been changed by their stay in the United States. America appears to present a better picture of herself "in person" than she does through her representatives abroad. See Table XVIII.

The other face of the States, namely the people, their beliefs, simplicity, and sincerity, convinced me that there is a "true" democracy here. We do not see in the Middle East except the "government faces," and, I hope you won't be offended, this is ugly.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORDAN</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, YEMEN</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I never thought that individual freedom is so respected and guaranteed as I found here. I am very much impressed by this fact.

I got to appreciate the concept more as I see it in practice.

Yes, I think more highly of it [democracy].

Became more convinced that the system is working in America.

I can honestly say—and this is personal experience—that I first became conscious of democracy in the United States. I have been amazed at the equality among people as it is "felt" much more than as it is preached. It seemed to me, more and more, as I saw this country's 1936 elections, that democracy was something real and beautiful in the United States. Of course, being an Arab and very sensitive to the slanted press reviews and the quite powerful Zionist movement in this country, I wondered what democracy means. But I came to the conclusion that the system is good and that the field is open for anyone of good will to counterbalance as much as possible, the bias, and the pressure, and the lies. I can say that my political education has been made entirely in the United States and I have an absolute respect for its political system even if it carries with it unavoidable shortcomings.

# # #

Islam has been church and state in the Arab World since the seventh century. Even twentieth century law in most Arab states provides special consideration for Islam. Student answers varied greatly on question 6 of the questionnaire which asked for opinions on the disestablishment of Islam as a state religion. See Table XIX.

40 Cf. ante, Chap. IV, pp. 137-138.

41 Ibid., pp. 131-132.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORDAN</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, YEMEN</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While almost 54 per cent of the respondents favored the disestablishment of Islam as opposed to almost 34 per cent favoring its retention as a state religion, there is at least one obvious and major fault in this breakdown. No attempt was made to determine the religion of each respondent and it may be charged that Christian Arabs would be on one side of the controversy and Muslim Arabs would be on the other. Student comments from those who volunteered their religious affiliation, however, do not seem to support the conclusion that a respondent's religion had much bearing on his answer:

Yes, I should favor disestablishment even though I am a Moslem.

I don't think any religion should be a state religion—and though I'm a Moslem, I'm annoyed Islam has been made that of mine.

Islam is a way of life that we Moslems should be allowed to enjoy. Islam should not have anything to do with the government.

I look upon Islam as an international faith and it should not be established as a state religion anywhere.

In spite that I am not Moslem, I agree not to disestablish Islam because it is one factor of my Arab nationalism.

Islam is mainly a way of life and a separation from the State could be fatal to it. From a Lebanese Christian educated in French schools and a graduate of the Universite de Lyon, France.

Only two students indicated that religion per se played a compelling part in their answers. A Saudi-Arabian commented:

This is a very silly and foolish question. Islam came after Christianity and it cancels all previous religions.
And on the other side may be recorded the answer of a Lebanese:

Islam should never be a state religion. I believe that religion and politics should be separated from one another. If Lebanon should have a state religion, it certainly should be Christianity.

Four students expressed indifference, another five considered religion a personal matter not subject to political discussion, and one student remarked, perhaps facetiously, that he favored the disestablishment of Islam as a state religion "provided it could be replaced by communism."

* * *

Approximately 51 per cent of Arab students in American universities believe that American style democracy can work in the Middle East. Only 14 per cent, however, believe it can work under present conditions and of this group, three students from Lebanon insist that American democracy will work only in a United States of Arabia. The remaining 37 per cent cite better education, better economic conditions, and varying lengths of political tutelage by strong leaders as prerequisites for representative government on the American pattern.

Slightly more than 45 per cent of the replies indicate that American democracy can never work in the Middle East. A typical response suggests that Arab governments come from the

42 Three students (3.5 per cent) were undecided.
people themselves and no amount of copying will make these governments effective instruments in the social order unless the traditions of the people are respected. See Table XX.

* * *

Student respondents to the questionnaire lived in the United States for periods of time varying from a few days to eleven years. It may be of value, therefore, to discover if the length of time spent by the Arab students in an American environment conditioned their responses to the questions proposed.

For convenience, students are grouped into categories titled less than one year, one and two years, three and four years, and over five years. See Table XXI.

There is relatively little difference in the unfavorable impact made by American literature upon recent arrivals to the United States in contrast to those who came earlier. Forty-three per cent of those students in the United States for two years and less responded that American literature did not present a true picture of life in the United States while 40 per cent of those in the United States for three years or more held similar views. A somewhat greater percentage of those who viewed American literature favorably came from the late arrivals, 28 per cent, as against 17 per cent in the early group. See Table XXI.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Yes (Unqualified)</th>
<th>Yes (In the Future or Modified)</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORDAN</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, YEMEN</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE XXI

**THE NUMBER OF YEARS SPENT IN THE UNITED STATES BY ARAB STUDENT RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Less Than One Year</th>
<th>One and Two Years</th>
<th>Three and Four Years</th>
<th>Over Five Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JORDAN</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUWAIT, YEMEN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Spent in U.S.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Undecided or No Comment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 and 2 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 and 4 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Approximately 9 per cent of the late arrivals expressed a favorable reaction to the American movies that they had viewed in their homelands. Slightly more than 6 per cent of the early group opined that those American movies they remembered seeing gave a true picture of American life as they found it to be in the United States. Fifty-four per cent of the late arrivals and 57 per cent of those who arrived in America over three years ago expressed dissatisfaction with the American movies they had seen in the Middle East. See Table XXIII.

No Arab student in the survey who came to the United States within the past two years expressed a favorable opinion of American radio in the Middle East. Only 6 per cent of those in the United States for more than three years found something good to say about it. Over 58 per cent of the respondents either did not listen to the American broadcasts or made no comment upon the question; 38 per cent has experienced an unfavorable reaction; and, 4 per cent reacted favorably. See Table XXIV.

Sixty-six per cent of the Arab students polled had reassessed their thinking about democracy since coming to the United States. Approximately, one-half of these students, 35 per cent, believed their democratic ideas had been strengthened
TABLE XXIII

DID AMERICAN MOVIES PRESENT A TRUE PICTURE OF AMERICAN LIFE?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Spent in U.S.</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided or No Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 and 2 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 and 4 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XXIV
WHAT WAS THE EFFECT OF AMERICAN RADIO UPON YOU?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Spent in U.S.</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>Did Not Listen or Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 and 2 years</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 and 4 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
while the other half, 31 per cent, believed them to be weakened. Many students in the latter category mentioned pressure groups, segregation of non-whites, and an anti-Arab press, as contributing factors in their disillusionment with democracy in the United States. There seems to be little evidence to support the belief that a prolonged stay in America appreciably strengthens or weakens the democratic concept among Arab students in the United States. Forty per cent of those here for one or two years as opposed to 35 per cent for those here for more than five years experienced a strengthening of democratic ideas; 33 per cent of the first group and 45 per cent of the second group experienced a weakening in their democratic ideas. See Table XXV.

* * *

There may be some correlation between length of time spent in the United States and answers to the question of the disestablishment of Islam as a state religion. Students in the United States for five years or more favored disestablishment 65 per cent to 25 per cent, while new arrivals split equally, 42 per cent to 42 per cent. Here again, it should be asserted that the religion of a student was not solicited and it is possible, although not probable, that student opinion followed religious conviction.43 It may be inferred, on the other hand,

43 Cf. ante, pp. 281-282.
TABLE XXV

HAVE YOUR IDEAS ABOUT DEMOCRACY CHANGED SINCE YOUR STAY IN THE U.S.?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Spent in US</th>
<th>Yes Strengthened</th>
<th>Yes Weakened</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No Comment or Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2 years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 4 years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
that continued exposure to the American ideal of church-state separation served to influence a number of Arab students towards the belief that religion and politics are incompatible.

# # #

Length of time spent in the United States may bear directly on student opinion concerning the feasibility of American style democracy operating in the Middle East. While only 25 per cent of those Arab students in the United States for less than one year believe American democratic forms can be used in Arab countries either now or in the future, 65 per cent of those here for more than five years believe there is a chance for it.

# # #

In the opinion of many Arab students, the United States has contributed nothing to the inculcation of democratic ideals among the peoples of the Middle East. Over 41 per cent of those polled indicated that very little effort had been exerted by either the American people or the American government to understand the Arabs. American support of the deposed King Farouk, the war in Algeria, American opposition to President Nasser, and the part played by the United States in the establishment of Israel were mentioned frequently, which may suggest that American activities in the Middle East after World War II have overshadowed the good works performed by American missionaries and philanthropic
## TABLE XXVI

**DO YOU FAVOR THE DIESTABLISHMENT OF ISLAM?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Stay in U.S.</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2 years</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 4 years</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5 years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XXVII
DO YOU BELIEVE AMERICAN STYLE DEMOCRACY CAN WORK IN YOUR COUNTRY?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Stay in U.S.</th>
<th>Yes Now</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided or No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 4 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
societies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Education, especially that supplied by AUB and the American University at Cairo, came in for most of the praise from the 46 per cent of the students who recognized an American contribution to democracy in Arab lands.44 Eighteen students, 21 per cent, mentioned these schools in their answers. The remaining 25 per cent spread their opinions among Presidents Wilson, Jefferson, and Washington, foreign aid, the Revolutionary War, the United States Constitution, American visitors to the Middle East, and two students replied, "everything up to World War II."

* * *

Arab students favor increased American aid to education in the Middle East. An overwhelming majority, 88 per cent, welcome American aid in the form of scholarships for study in the United States; urge increased support for school facilities in Arab lands; suggest an acceleration of the exchange teacher program; and, trust that these may be accomplished "without political strings attached."

Seven Arab respondents replied, "leave us alone," and one Saudi Arabian stated flatly that all American schools in the Middle East should be closed.

4413 per cent did not answer question 9 of the questionnaire.
Approximately 20 per cent of Arab students in American colleges and universities feel that American business in the Middle East brings American political control. This minority indicates that the best possible help which could be afforded to Arab business would be the complete withdrawal of American finance. The remaining 80 per cent of those polled favor a number of different schemes by which Americans may help the Arab business community. High among these is the desire for more investment of American capital, an increase in trade, and the training of more Arabs in administration with an increased opportunity for them to hold supervisory positions.

Student opinion covered a wide range of suggestions for improvement of United States government policy in the Middle East. As might be expected Arab nationalism and American support for Israel drew most attention. The significance of Arab nationalism in the minds of students may be inferred not alone from the 26 per cent who mentioned the concept by name in their answers, but also from the fact that all other categories in the breakdown in Table XXVIII except "foreign aid" and possibly "education for American diplomats" bear directly upon Arab nationalistic aspirations. See Table XXVIII.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUGGESTIONS FOR AMERICAN GOVERNMENT POLICIES IN THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respect Arab Nationalism                                      28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop Support of Israel                                         23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understand Arabs                                              14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the Arabs Alone                                          12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop Support of Colonial Powers                                7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop Support of Feudal Governments in the Middle East          5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase Foreign Aid                                           5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give a Better Education to American Diplomats                  4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other                                                          2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Arab students appear more singularly interested in politics than do their American contemporaries. A survey of student literature published by the Organization of Arab students in the U.S.A. reveals a majority concern with political affairs. In the December issue of Newsletter, for example, three of the five questions directed to guest editor Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh by readers are concerned with politics. In the same issue the lead editorial is entitled "Democracy with a French Dressing" and is given a featured spot on the first page of the periodical. Altogether, only five pages of the fifteen in the magazine are devoted to other than political articles.

This preoccupation with politics may serve America well if her Arab visitors return to their homelands convinced that in this land may be found freedom and a better life. Despite the criticism expressed by some students of the democracy found in the United States, and perhaps, because of it, there may be

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45 Organization of Arab Students in the U.S.A., Newsletter, V. No. 3, (December, 1958), pp. 10-12. This is not an isolated instance of the Arab student's emphasis of political affairs. It may be observed, also, in Newsletter, IV, No. 3, (December, 1957); Newsletter, IV, No. 4, (January, 1958); Newsletter, IV, No. 5, (February, 1958); Newsletter, IV, No. 6, (March, 1958); Newsletter, IV, No. 7, (April, 1958); and Newsletter, V, No. 4, (January, 1959). The Sixth Annual Arab Students' Convention at Berkeley in 1957 devoted almost its entire agenda to political issues. Cf. Organization of Arab Students in the U.S.A., Convention Report, (October - November, 1958).
cause to reflect that here they have expressed themselves freely to a stranger without fear of retaliation. Many students signed their names to questionnaires denouncing American foreign policy and other aspects of American political life, obviously secure in the knowledge that their views would be respected and truthfully reported without risk of government reprisal. In the words of one student respondent:

Criticism and truth always fight their way to the surface by the natural play of the basic liberal laws of a democracy. . . with time things correct themselves.

* * *

* * *
CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

American influences for democracy in the Arab Middle East have come from many different sources. Missionary educators kindled a spark of democratic idealism among the Arabs in the early part of the nineteenth century. American business, the Government of the United States, American entertainment, and American communication media provided a broader base for democratic contributions in the twentieth, while Arab migrations to the United States in both centuries served to flavor the American democratic impact with the impress of native opinion.

I. THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

American missionaries and their successors, the American educators, enjoyed a longer period of contact with the Arab Middle East than any other group from the United States. These dedicated men and women carried with them a set of American democratic ideals. They taught the precepts of American democracy by example as much as by lecture.

At least eight specific democratic contributions made by American missionary-educators to the Arabs may be enumerated. First, the missionary-educator stressed literacy and welcomed competition in the establishment of schools in keeping with the
American tradition that an enlightened people is the best insurance against despotism. Second, he eliminated religious sectarianism in his schools, and this, in turn, paved the way for widespread Muslim attendance. The fundamental concept of American public life which separates church and state allowed the missionary to accept and promulgate the non-sectarian ideal in his educational institutions. Other religious groups, the French Jesuits and Syrian Maronites, for example, could not have been true to their ideals in making a similar transition.

Third, the American missionary-educator was, himself, proud of his American nationality and almost instinctively sought to make his Arab students proud of Arab civilization. As missionary writings indicate, it was not American patriotism that the missionary sought to teach but rather Arab patriotism.

Fourth, he helped undermine the whole structure of the Ottoman Empire. Since democracy and Turkish authoritarianism were incompatible, any force acting to subvert Turkish rule was ipso facto a step towards independence and the chance for democracy. As the missionary force worked through men raised in the American democratic tradition, the roots of democracy were there.

Fifth, the American missionary-educator taught the dignity of labor to a people whose orientation with the East had led them to believe that an educated man did no manual work. Breaking
this tradition has been a slow process in the Middle East and it is far from accomplished.

Sixth, the American missionary-educator provided an opportunity for Arabs from many parts of the Middle East to come together in an educational atmosphere filled with the egalitarian spirit of the American classroom. The Egyptian could meet the Syrian in a setting conducive to the free exchange of political ideas. Students were encouraged to resolve differences of opinion by discussion, and various student-body organizations gave them an opportunity to participate in the basic forms of western democratic government.

Seventh, the American missionary-educator encouraged an attitude of social responsibility in his charges. AUB originally stressed medical science as a community service because of the low health standards the school's founders observed in their areas of operation.

Eighth, the courses in history, civics, political science, economics, and sociology as taught in American schools reflect the philosophy upon which American democracy is based. Love of freedom and love of native land are the heritage of the teachers, and their teachings develop this spirit in the students of their classes.
II. THE IMPACT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The American Government in the nineteenth century exerted little direct influence towards the establishment of democracy in the Arab Middle East. Not until Woodrow Wilson preached the gospel of self-determination did American foreign policy towards the Arab states become crystallized.

Wilson's espousal of self-determination appears to be the single greatest contribution of the American Government towards democracy in Arab lands. After World War I the King-Crane Commission reported that if a mandate became necessary the Arabs preferred one under the United States as their best opportunity for achieving self-rule. The service given by individual Americans in the schools of the Middle East undoubtedly accounts for a major portion of this expression of goodwill, but President Wilson's message seemed to impress the ideal of self-determination with the full force of government approval.

Wilson could not, however, carry the American people along the same idealistic road he travelled. Post-war cynicism forced America into the isolation of the 1920's and the Arab Middle East was virtually forgotten.

The American impact towards democracy among the Arabs after World War II appears negligible, at least on the surface. The United States is engaged in a great ideological struggle
with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and, consequently, many of its actions in the Middle East are predicated upon their probable effect on this struggle. Economic aid programs, for example, tend to offer these economically under-developed nations the sinews of a military machine designed to fight communism. Arab spokesmen complain bitterly of the controls exerted by American agencies on defense loans to their countries and petition for aid with "no strings attached."

The United States enjoyed a tremendous prestige in the Arab Middle East until 1948. Since the creation of Israel very little has been done by the American Government that meets with Arab approval. Arabs complain about the inequities of the American foreign aid program which provides more funds for Israel, Iran, and Turkey than it does for Arab nations. The manner in which American aid for the High Dam at Assuan was withdrawn hurt Arab pride and convinced many Arabs that the United States could not be trusted to keep its word. In the opinion of the majority of Arabs, American economic and military assistance to France prolongs the Algerian struggle for freedom, and adds to the suspicion that the United States has forgotten its own revolutionary traditions. American support of King Farouk in Egypt and King Feisal in Iraq and the disposition to bolster the government of King Hussein in Jordan lead Arab nationalists to believe that the United States is more interested in maintaining the status-quo for business profit than it is in
encouraging individual freedom.

III. THE IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

All Arab constitutions are products of the twentieth century. These constitutions usually follow the European pattern rather than the American, but this is not surprising. Nationalistic feelings among the Arabs reached a crescendo after World War I when British and French authorities exercised control over Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. The French, particularly, have been adept in spreading their legal system into the Middle East; the Code Napoleon had influenced legal reform in Egypt as early as 1870.

The United Arab Republic, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq possess constitutions modeled after those in the West. Yemen has no constitution in the modern sense and Saudi Arabia operates under an anachronism, the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Hejaz, which is in the process of change.

Certain ideals of popular government as expressed in the American constitution may be found in Middle Eastern constitutions. The new Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic and the old constitutions of Egypt and Syria are the best examples of American influence in the constitutional area. They provide for an independent judiciary, although the absence of life tenure for judges make this provision open to question, and place limitations upon the three branches of government.
The guarantees to individual freedom found in the American Bill of Rights are expressed in great detail in many Arab constitutions. The old Egyptian Constitution, for example, devoted sixty-three articles to the exposition of these guarantees. Freedom of speech, press, religion and assembly are guaranteed by the constitutions of the UAR, Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon; no unreasonable searches are permitted and no person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law according to the constitutional provisions of these states.

Equality before the law is an ancient Arabic-Islamic tradition. During the Umayyad and Abbasid Empires, and more particularly under the Ottomans, however, equality applied to ruling classes and those chosen by them to share its benefits. As western ideas penetrated the Middle East in the nineteenth century, Arabs began to compare the meaning of the term as it was used in Western constitutions with what they were experiencing as subjects of the Turks. At the time when Arab nations had opportunity to adopt constitutions for themselves, equality before the law was specified by Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. In the words of the Egyptian document neither "race, origin, language, religion, or creed" may relegate any citizen of Egypt to "second-class" status.

The Middle East appears to have rejected the American concept of the constitution as the supreme law of the land.
Arab constitutions refer to other laws which are equal to them, and executive officers specifically swear to uphold the "Constitution and the laws" in the United Arab Republic and Lebanon. Parliament is supreme in Lebanon. Jordanian and Iraqi legislatures exercise a limited power over executive decrees while Saudi Arabia and Yemen give almost unlimited power to the executive, although the Saudis now have a form of ministerial government. The United Arab Republic exercises judicial review to control legislative acts but the personality of President Gamal Abdul Nasser and the Constitution of the UAR, which permits the president to pass on the qualifications of candidates for the legislature, suggests executive supremacy.

It is extremely difficult to separate European and American influences upon the constitutions of the Arab Middle East. That Arab nations have constitutions is due to an American influence although, for example, the Lebanese constitutional form was adopted from the French while the Jordanian document reflects a strong British impact. The Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic, in turn, shows both European and American influences. For example, while this Provisional Constitution makes the executive power a function of the Legislature in the European fashion, it fixes a specified term for the executive so that he may not be dismissed by legislative action. Thus he is as free as tenure in office and the exigencies of a given situation will permit to pursue an
independent course.

The degree of western influence upon Middle Eastern constitutions bears a direct relationship to the length of time Western nations have had contact in specific areas of the Middle East. Saudi Arabia and Yemen, more remote and less accessible to the western impact, are governed by Islamic law. The other Arab nations reserve Islamic law for personal affairs and incorporate western jurisprudence into their civil and criminal systems. The American influence upon Arab constitutions, while not as obvious as French and British influence, may be more enduring since it provides for a federation of sovereign states, an organization sought by many Arab nationalists.

IV. THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN BUSINESS

American business activity in the Arab Middle East tends to raise the socio-economic level of the people in its areas of operation. As economic deficiencies diminish, social attitudes become susceptible to change. Thus, in Egypt an American hotel, the Nile Hilton, is fostering a social revolution in the Arab world—the emergence of women into business and professional life.

American products find increasing use in the Middle East. American automobiles, household appliances, office machines, clothes, and foodstuffs are in evidence. The effect of this
display for democracy is questioned by many observers of the Arab scene although others concede it may have some impact upon the future direction of Arab politics. In the opinion of the latter group, the sight of these commodities from an obviously economically productive nation encourages native curiosity about that nation and a desire to emulate it. Even the drinking of Coca-Cola, in the opinion of one Middle Eastern traveller, seems to lend "a more egalitarian flavor to the atmosphere than does the ceremonial presentation of coffee" which still graces the Arab social pattern.

Philanthropic organizations achieve a measure of success in raising the economic level of Middle Easterners. The Rockefeller Foundation has established hospitals, supported schools, and granted educational fellowships. The Ford Foundation sponsors books, magazines, and doctoral dissertations on the Middle East, and the Near East Foundation cooperates with Arab Governments in various technical assistance programs.

The activities of the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) which operates in Saudi Arabia provide the best opportunity to study the American business influence towards democracy in the Arab Middle East. Saudi Arabia has been sufficiently isolated from Europe so that it is possible to assume that western democratic standards are, for the most part, free from European persuasions.
When the Americans entered Saudi Arabia in 1933 they found a feudal society in the provinces, roaming Bedouins on the desert, and a progressive ruler, Ibn Saud, who was anxious to bring the benefits of western civilization to his people. Consequently, Aramco found royal approval and often royal command for its plans to better the economic conditions of the country.

Aramco activity affects every stratum of Saudi society. The Bedu accept employment with the oil industry and join their city brethren in a new labor class that agitates for political reform. Merchants adopt a broader outlook towards trade to meet the demands of their more affluent customers. The great landowners revise their labor policies to meet the competition for workers which results from labor standards set by the oil industry. Desert nomads settle in the towns as employment opportunities increase and whole tribes establish communities around water wells dug by Aramco at the insistence of the Saudi Government. Altogether, Saudis are better educated, better fed, and receive better medical care than ever before because of the American oil industry and the willingness of the Saudi government to use its oil resources for these purposes.

Perhaps of more importance than these sociological and economic changes, in themselves, is their affect upon government structure. The Saudi Government is still feudal in nature but there have been some modifications in recent years which suggest
an indirect American influence towards limiting its power. A modern labor code has been promulgated and a Council of Ministers now assumes certain legislative and executive functions formerly performed by the king.

Since 1953, the Council of Ministers has approved the Saudi budget, ratified treaties, granted concessions, and approved civil service policies. In 1958 the Council was empowered to regulate taxes, to approve the sale or rental of state property, and to prepare treaties and international agreements. Although Council power is in the primary stages of representative development, it is a step towards broadening the base for decision making at the government level.

Democracy, as it is known in the United States, has a long way to go in Saudi Arabia. Many Saudis still face economic deprivation and have little time for the niceties of political refinements. Approximately 30 per cent of the people lead a nomadic life in a hand-to-mouth existence which leaves them impotent for political expression.

There are no accurate statistics on the degree of illiteracy in Saudi Arabia, but it is probably among the highest in the world. If a literate populace is a prerequisite for a functioning democracy, as Americans believe it is, then educational facilities need be increased. Saudi leaders recognize literacy as a necessary concomitant to modern society; over five hundred state supported schools now operate in the country.
The Saudi-Aramco partnership, while not perfect in many respects, has been effective in providing an economic base upon which political improvements may be constructed. By providing employment at relatively good wages to the Saudis, by building schools and hospitals, by designing in-service programs to equip its native workers to assume greater responsibility in company operations, and by displaying the accoutrements of a modern industrial society, Aramco has furnished an impetus to a social and political revolution that has not yet run its course.

V. THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN CULTURE

American missionaries furnished the first cultural contact between the United States and the Arab Middle East. Missionary dedication to literacy helped Arab students to reach new heights of achievement in the use of "the word." In the ferment of political unrest that characterized the Arab World of the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that many forms of literacy expression were tinged by political overtones.

Nasif Yazedi, one of the missionary students, wrote numerous books on grammar, logic, and rhetoric. He directed his works to all Arabs regardless of geographical allegiance or religious creed. Through his son, Ibrahim, the first poem of Arab political emancipation spread throughout Arab lands by word of mouth; this ode helped inspire Arab revolt against Ottoman tyranny.
Another missionary student, Butrus Bustani, encouraged his people to look to the West for science and art. After ten years acquaintance with American teachers, he was convinced that Arab cultural salvation lay in the direction of Europe. Bustani contended that Arabs should accept all culture which is based on "true principles" without concern for its point of origin.

American missionaries provided a reading tool to their Arab students which enabled them to uncover their native legacy of culture. In encouraging literacy, the missionary helped the Arab to appreciate the tremendous store of knowledge that lay waiting in numerous repositories throughout the Middle East. Once aware of the contributions made to civilization by their ancestors, Arab pride in race returned from the lethargic state to which it had fallen under successive waves of foreign domination. This pride became a vital force for freedom in the years following World Wars I and II.

Most of the major American magazines are found on the bookshelves of the Arab Middle East. Certain American authors, among them Ernest Hemingway, Theodore Dreiser, and Mark Twain, enjoy some measure of popularity. American books, magazines, and newspapers are reserved for those few Arabs who read English so that their impact is relatively limited.

However, educated Arabs exert an influence in Middle East affairs completely out of proportion to their numerical strength.
It is this influential minority who most often shape political practices in their native lands. For them the American political freedom which is reflected in American literary works—the comments and cartoons, the democratic spirit which pervades the discussion of political events—is something to be admired.

The American theater is virtually unknown in the Arab Middle East. But American and French missionary competition after 1833 provided the stimulus for an intellectual activity which included the beginnings of a modern Arab theater. Very few American plays have been translated into Arabic; You Can't Take It With You, Beyond the Horizon, and Our Town are the only American plays in a list of 211 compiled by Jacob Landau in his Studies In The Arab Theater and Cinema.

Unlike American plays, American movies enjoy a tremendous popularity in the Middle East. There is, however, a difference of opinion among Arabs as to their impact for democracy. On the one hand, American movies are extolled as harbingers of democratic ideas while, on the other, they are characterized as purveyors of loose morals and not at all representative of American life. It may not be amiss to suppose that some American films are carriers of democracy but that most are commercial vehicles motivated by profit, made to entertain, and devoid of any political message.
American radio exerts a slight impact upon the Arab Middle East. Its contributions may be noted in two categories: (1) the freedom given to American women comes across the airways, and (2) the Voice of America broadcasts in classical Arabic which is a contribution to Arab unity. To many Arabs, unity is the key to freedom and democracy.

There is no evidence available to support an American influence towards democracy in the field of sports. Arab youth have not taken to American games generally. Basketball is the most popular American sport; it is played in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan but ranks far below European soccer in spectator and participant interest.

Modern native art and music are in their infancies in the Arab Middle East. Most Arab musicians and artists, if they have studied abroad, matriculated at European schools. Consequently, American influence is slight.

According to one observer, American "rock 'n' roll" is a fashion among Syrian adolescents.\(^1\) American recordings of popular music may be purchased in the larger cities of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt. Jazz is usually confined to night clubs and other tourist attractions, although the Voice of America does broadcast jazz tunes. Most Middle Easterners, however, do not visit night clubs and very few listen to the Voice of America.

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\(^1\)Dr. Willis Potter, Dean of Graduate Studies, College of the Pacific, in a letter from Damascus, Syria, dated December 2, 1959.
VI. THE IMPACT OF ARAB MIGRATIONS TO
THE UNITED STATES

Arab immigrants to the United States in the nineteenth century drew inspiration from the streets of New York. They wrote to the Middle East in glowing terms of the opportunity for success which they found in America. The Statue of Liberty became a symbol of freedom to be transported to Syria and Lebanon on the waves of the Atlantic.

Many were the tales of equality the Syrian told upon his return to his homeland. Bankers and bootblacks were as one in this new world. Villagers could scarcely believe the stories of wealth he described; his obvious show of affluence compared to the meager surroundings of their village served to convince many Arabs that truly there existed in the land across the sea a haven for the underprivileged.

Arab immigrants extolled the virtues of America in Arabic, a language made for poetry. There can be little doubt that there was gross exaggeration in these exalted messages to the Middle East, but they were messages of hope and Arab readers seized upon them eagerly. From one end of the Arab World to the other, the poems of the Arab immigrants were quoted, and their words inspired lovers of freedom everywhere.

Many young Arabs have come to the United States since World War II in order to continue their education. Approximately
4000 students representing every Arab country in the Middle East enrolled in American schools during 1958-59. These students may become a powerful force in future Arab-American relations since the educated class is in the forefront of political activity in the Middle East.

American books, magazines, and newspapers which reach the Middle East do not give a clear impression of American life, according to a cross-section of Arab student opinion. American movies and American radio make the impression even more distorted. United States government officials appear to add little to clarify the view most Middle Easterners receive of life in the United States.

The best carrier of democracy seems to be the United States itself. America presents a better picture "in person" than it does through its representatives abroad. One conclusion which may be drawn from this is, perhaps, that the best hope for favorable relations with Arab countries is continued support of the student-aid program, for it provides an opportunity for the Arab to see, first-hand, American democracy in action.

Sixty-six per cent of the Arab students change their ideas about democracy during their stay in the United States. Slightly more than one-half of this group finds its democratic ideas strengthened. Those who experience a weakening of their democratic ideas cite segregation practices in the United States, the anti-Arab American press, and pro-imperialist and pro-Zionist
government policies as examples of democracy perverted to minority abuse. It may be of interest to note that there is no criticism of democracy in theory; only disappointment that it fell somewhat short of the ideal in practice. Over 50 per cent of the Arab students in the United States believe that American style democracy can work in the Middle East. Most of this group believe, however, that democracy as it is known in the United States must await better economic conditions, better education, and unity among the Arabs. Of those who feel that American democracy cannot work in Arab lands, the majority feel that successful government must spring from the people themselves and that its direction cannot be influenced from outside.

Arab students generally favor increased American aid to education. An overwhelming majority welcome more scholarships for study in the United States and urge increased support for school facilities in their native lands. American schools in the Middle East receive high praise as examples to be emulated by other foreign groups in the Arab world.

Only 20 per cent of Arab students think that American business in the Middle East brought political control. Most students favor an increase in American capital investments, an increase in trade, and the establishment of more training centers in order that more Arabs might have opportunity to assume a greater responsibility in the conduct of business affairs.
American Government policies of the last decade have drawn most student wrath. Continued American support for Israel and the alleged reluctance on the part of government officials to recognize the intensity of Arab nationalism have received unfavorable student reaction.

Here the reader may pause to consider the fact that these students have expressed themselves freely on vital political issues without fear of retaliation. This, in itself, may be the greatest single example of democracy that the United States can give to its Arab friends. Upon sober reflection, Arab students may remember that, while democratic practice sometimes lags behind democratic ideals, freedom of expression still exists in America and, as long as visitors and citizens alike are free to voice their dissatisfaction, there is hope for the future.
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Campbell, Kenneth H. Manager, Foreign Commerce Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, letter dated March 20, 1959.


Greighton, Philip M. Chief, Foreign Trade Division, United States Department of Commerce, letter dated April 7, 1959.
Dennison, Charles P. Assistant to the Dean, The Graduate School, Princeton University, letter dated December 1, 1958.


Edmunds, Henry E. Manager, Research and Information Department, Ford Motor Company, letter dated March 24, 1959.


Farrukh, Omar A. Member of Arab Academy, Damascus, letter dated October 24, 1958.

Fisher, Sidney M. Professor, Department of History, Ohio State University, letter dated September 10, 1959.

Gardner, George H. Department of Sociology, American University at Cairo, letter dated April 21, 1959.


Haddad, Amin F. Professor, School of Pharmacy, University of Wisconsin, letter dated December 7, 1958.


Hall, Harvey P. Editor, Middle East Institute, letter dated September 7, 1958.

Hart, Parker T. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Department of State, letter dated April 7, 1959.
Hartley, Robert W. Vice President and Director of International Studies, The Brookings Institute, letter dated August 5, 1958.


Henderson, Loy V. Deputy Under Secretary of State, letter dated September 12, 1959.

Herrick, Margaret. Executive Director, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, letter dated May 8, 1959.

Hill, Jane W. Librarian, Yale Memorabilia Collection, Yale University, letters dated June 23, 1958 and August 19, 1958.


Hodes, Evelyn. Press Section, Arab Information Center, letter dated July 7, 1958.

Hourani, George F. Associate Professor of Arabic Studies, University of Michigan, letter dated November 25, 1959.

Jerome, Ada. Secretary to Dr. Sayegh, Arab States Delegation Office, letter dated April 6, 1959.


Kennedy, Daniel M. Assistant Information Officer, United States Information Service, Beirut, Lebanon, letter dated April 9, 1959.

Kerr, Stanley E. Professor of Biochemistry, American University at Beirut, letter dated October 21, 1958.


Khoury, Angela Jurdak. Secretary of the Embassy of Lebanon, letter dated September 25, 1958.


King, William B. Secretary, United States Information Service in Iraq, letter dated April 14, 1959.

Lane, Herbert H. Alumni Secretary, Istanbul American College Alumni Association, letter dated January 9, 1959.

Lerner, Daniel. Professor of Sociology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, letter dated June 23, 1959.


McGhee, George C. Former Assistant Secretary of State, letter dated September 9, 1958.

McLain, Raymond F. President, American University at Cairo, letter dated July 29, 1958.

Mehdi, Mohammed T. Director, Arab Information Center—West Coast Branch, letters dated March 9, 1959 and June 5, 1959.


Potter, Dalton. Assistant to the President, American University at Cairo, letter dated July 24, 1958.

Potter, Willis N. Dean, Graduate Studies, College of the Pacific, letter dated December 2, 1959.

Prosser, Walter R. Secretary, Near East College Association, letter dated July 9, 1958.

Robinson, Patricia. Secretary, Bureau for Foreign Nationals, Yale University, letter dated February 17, 1959.

Rukavina, Helen F. Assistant Secretary, The Middle East Institute, letter dated July 23, 1958.

Sayigh, Yusif A. Director, Economic Research Institute, American University of Beirut, letter dated April 10, 1959.

Scott, William A. Assistant Manager, Public Relations Department, Arabian American Oil Company, letter dated April 29, 1959.


Sonney, Nijit. Director, Turkish Information Office, letter dated August 5, 1958.


Steiner, Robert L. Director, Department of Educational Services, American Friends of the Middle East, Inc., letter dated August 21, 1958.


Thompson, George R. Assistant Information Officer, United States Information Service, Amman, Jordan, letter dated April 28, 1959.

Turnure, Lisa. Librarian, American Friends of the Middle East, Inc., letter dated August 18, 1958.


Warmbrunn, Werner. Foreign Student Adviser, Stanford University, letter dated September 2, 1958.

2. Interviews


Daoud-Agha, Afnan. President, Arab Student Organization, University of California.

Fikry, Mona. Egyptian student, College of the Pacific.

Kadi, Hussein. Son of the Chief Judge of Medina, student at the College of the Pacific.

Khidir, Fahir. Iraqi student, Stockton College.

Khidir, Nemar. Iraqi student, College of the Pacific.

Mehdi, Mohammed T. Director, Arab Information Center.
Mussulman, Diane. Jordanian student, Stockton College.
Nahas, Fuad. Graduate student, College of the Pacific.
APPENDIX
APPENDIX A

AUB ENROLLMENT, BY YEAR, FROM 1866 TO 1957

| Year | 1866 | 1867 | 1868 | 1869 | 1870 | 1871 | 1872 | 1873 | 1874 | 1875 | 1876 | 1877 | 1878 | 1879 | 1880 | 1881 | 1882 | 1883 | 1884 | 1885 | 1886 | 1887 | 1888 | 1889 | 1890 | 1891 | 1892 | 1893 | 1894 | 1895 | 1896 | 1897 | 1898 | 1899 | 1900 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|      | 16   | 41   | 52   | 77   | 85   | 66   | 84   | 74   | 68   | 77   | 106  | 108  | 121  | 108  | 121  | 152  | 170  | 178  | 186  | 168  | 170  | 181  | 199  | 228  | 200  | 196  | 238  | 242  | 275  | 297  | 309  | 318  | 378  | 435  | 561  |
|      | 611  | 629  | 717  | 750  | 769  | 876  | 851  | 875  | 853  | 874  | 897  | 928  | 976  | 817  | 786  | 695  | 762  | 913  | 987  | 1001 | 966  | 905  | 915  | 1122 | 1193 | 1156 | 1117 | 1097 | 1279 | 1347 | 1281 | 1266 | 1243 | 1255 |

Compiled from catalogues of AUB, 1945-1959.
APPENDIX B

ISTANBUL AMERICAN COLLEGE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

Bebek P. K. S. Istanbul, Turkey

AMERICAN COLLEGE
FOR GIRLS

ROBERT COLLEGE

January 9, 1958

Mr. Edward A. Raleigh
2317 Telegraph
Stockton, California
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Raleigh:

Concerning your letter of January 1 I have found that none of the alumni of Robert College played any part in the revolution of 1908 in Turkey. There was a graduate of the American College For Girls, Bayan Halide Edip Adivar '01, the first Turkish graduate of American College For Girls, who was influential in the original Atatürk movement. She later broke off with him. I do not know to what extent she actually influenced his reforms. You have probably come across her name in any biography of Atatürk. Up until the middle 1930's we did not have too many Turkish students at either Robert College or the American College For Girls (These two colleges are under the Near East College Association). Since they were forbidden by Turkish law during the Ottoman Empire to attend foreign schools and were not encouraged to do so during the early days of Atatürk.

You might be interested to know, however, that one of our Turkish teachers in the early part of this century did play a part in the revolution of 1908. He was Tevfik Fıkrı who taught Turkish at Robert College from 1900 to 1915. He was one of the first members of the revolutionary committee in Istanbul at the time of Abdulhamit. I am afraid I am unable to give you any further details in this connection, but as you know, you can find them in a history of this revolution. Under separate cover I am sending you a Robert College Alumni Register which goes up to 1939 together with a list of Alumni prominent in Turkey today. I hope these will be some use to you.

Very truly yours,

Herbert H. Lane
Alumni Secretary

HHL:ts
APPENDIX C

February 14, 1957

Who's Who Among Robert College Turkish Alumni

Bankers

BOYLU, Ali Selahettin '29 - assistant manager of the Istanbul Branch of the Merkez Bank. He was formerly with the American Express Company.

GIRESUNLU, Davut, '36 - is director of the Isparta branch of the Ziraat Bank.

UNSal, Danis, '36 - is secretary general of the Industrial Development Bank (Turkiye Sinai Kalkimma Bankasi).

YAZICI, Bulent, '32 (Columbia Univ. School of Business Administration '33) - is assistant general manager of the Industrial Development Bank. He was financial attache in the Turkish Embassy in Washington 1945-49.

Education

EHMET, Turgut, '32 - is professor of translation, phonetics and introductory law at Robert College. He has a law degree from the Univ. of Istanbul, was one-time legal adviser to the Ministry of Public Instruction and cultural attache in London (1945-48).

KOYMen, Nusret, '26 (Univ. of Wisconsin '37) - is director general of adult education in the Ministry of Public Instruction. For many years he taught regional planning at Robert College.

MARDIN, Yusuf, '36 - is legal representative of the Turkish Educational Society and educational adviser of Ankara College. He was formerly legal adviser and general secretary of the Istanbul American College and a one-time member of Parliament from Mardin.

PEKTAS, Huseyin, '03 - the first Turkish graduate of Robert College. He served as interpreter and secretary to General Ismet Inonu at the Mudanya Armistice Conference and at the Lausanne Peace Conference in 1923. He has been on the faculty at Robert College since 1906, professor of Turkish literature, and Turkish Vice-President from 1935 to 1951.
SARG, Celal ex '18, occupies the chair of Professor of Statistics at the University of Istanbul, where he is head of the Statistics Institute. He represented the University of Istanbul at the 200th anniversary of Columbia University, served for a year as economic adviser to the United Nations on the Middle East. He has a PhD from the Univ. of Berlin.

NEZIH, Neyzi, '44 (Wharton School of Finance, Harvard) - is the Turkish director of the School of Business Administration of the Univ. of Istanbul (Ford grant).

KUYUCAK, Hazim Atif (Columbia Univ. MA '29) - professor of economics at the Univ. of Istanbul. One-time deputy in the Grand National Assembly and Turkish delegate to the United Nations Charter Conference at San Francisco in 1945. (See also Foreign Investments).

YESIM, Muzaffer Ahmet, ex '17 - (Columbia Univ. School of Business '22) - one-time Turkish Commercial attaché in New York (1925-29, 34-40), he teaches in the commercial department at Robert College (since 1940) and has been Turkish Vice-President since 1951.

Foreign Investments

ABUT, Sedat, '26 - is secretary-general of the E. R. Squibb & Sons Company, Istanbul. He was formerly with the Gerry Tobacco Company, for nearly 25 years.

AGIS, Emoet, '30 - legal adviser for Mobiloil.

ALPAR, Nahit, '31 - Turkish financial attaché in Washington, D. C., 1949-53, and later a member of the investigating committee of the Ministry of Finance, he is now treasurer of E. R. Squibb & Sons, Istanbul.

ARAL, Etem, '37 - is office manager of J. & P. Coates Co., which manufactures thread. This is a Glasgow Company.

AVUNDUK, Hakkı, '32 - is a director and partner in J. & P. Coates and E. R. Squibb & Sons; legal adviser to J. W. Wittall Company, Ltd., and a director and shareholder of Izmir Pamuk Mensucat Anonim Sirketi, and Izmir Basmi Fabrikası.
HISIM, Turhan, '30 - is sales manager of the E. R. Squibb & Sons Company, Istanbul. He was formerly Turkish commercial attaché in London.

KEY, Nejat, '38 - is assistant sales manager of Mobiloil Company, Istanbul.

KUYUCAK, Hazim Atif, '17 - (see above: Education) is legal adviser of Mobiloil Company and a member of the Board of Directors of E. R. Squibb & Sons.

INAL, Kenan, '21 - (Columbia Univ. School of Business Administration '29) is general manager of the Ford Division of Koc Ticaret.

YELKENCİ, Nadır Enver, '35 - is managing director for sales of the E. R. Squibb & Sons Company, Istanbul. He is also a partner in the importing firm of Sark Ticaret Kollektif, and is in the private shipping business.

KARDAM, Faruk, '32 - is now assistant manager of J. & P. Coates Company. He was formerly director of the Public Employment Agency in the Ministry of Labor and later Under-Secretary of Labor.

Government Service

Business:

PEKOZ, Sevket, '27 - One-time director of the Tobacco Section of the Turkish State Monopoly, he is now one of four on a board which approves all material for the Monopoly.

YALTKAYA, Omer Refik, '29 (Univ. of Cincinnati '32) - is Director General of the Turkish State Monopoly.

Diplomacy

ERALP, Orhan Fikri, '33 - Ambassador to Sweden.
SARPER, Selim, ex '17 - Ambassador to the United States.
OBNANI, Kemal, ex '25 - Consul, London.
DERINSU, Osman, '36 - first secretary, London.
EREN, Nuri, '34 - Head of Turkish Information Office, New York.
GERIS, Ekrem, '36 - commercial counselor, New York.
KUTLU, Orhan, '31 - consul general, Antwerp, Holland.
OZELSEL, Cevat Sami, '28 - commercial attache, Beirut.
SONMEZ, Nejat, '36 - head of Turkish Information Office, San Francisco, California.
FENMEN, Rasin, '35 - consul general, Liverpool.

Others who have occupied posts abroad as press attaches, commercial attaches, financial attaches, commercial counselors, first or second secretaries, consuls and vice consuls: (in 22 key cities)

ALPAR, Nahit '31
AYTAMAN, Nejat '30
BABA, Nüzhet '15
CONK, Cemil '30
EREM, Turgut '32
EROL, Orhan '11
HISIM, Turhan '30
KAYALIOGLU, Baha '36
POROY, Faiz '30
RIZIEN, Kadri '17

United Nations:
KORLE, Sinan '36 - head of Athens Bureau
MENEMENCIOGLU, Turgut '35 - Deputy head of permanent delegation
OZBUDUN, Haluk '44 - political affairs officer
SARPER, Selim ex '17 - (see above)

Ministries

CONK, Ahmet Cemil, RC '30 - one time commercial attache in New York, is in charge of the National Protection Law and General Manager of Home Industries in the Ministry of Commerce and Economy.

MERSINLI, Orhan, '35 - (Univ. of Illinois, '34) is director-general of the Turkish Highway Dept., in the Ministry of Public Works.

Private Business or Industry

ECZACIBASI, Nejat Ferit, '32 (Univ. of Chicago '35) - has a large pharmaceutical plant in Istanbul and also a ceramics factory.
BEGDES, Kutsi, '38 (Univ. of Chicago '44) head of Turk Express, travel agency in Istanbul, and also owner of Kutsi Begdes Company, in the importation of farm machinery.

KARDAM, Galip Rifat, '30 (Univ. of Illinois '31) - is head of the Ankara office of Tatco. For many years he was a private engineering contractor.

KOYUTURK, Tarik, '33 (Univ. of Illinois '34) - one of the founders of the Guarantee Bank. He is also a prominent engineering contractor.

YAZICI, Bedi, '37 (Columbia Univ. '39) - is president of Turkiye Genel Sigorta, one of the leading insurance companies in Turkey. He is also the author of several books on insurance.
February 18, 1957

Supplement to WHO'S WHO AMONG ROBERT COLLEGE ALUMNI IN TURKEY

Consulting Engineers

BILGEN, Nedim, ex '30 - is a consultant on oil exploration in Anatolia. He is on the staff of the electrical engineering at Robert College. After leaving Robert College, he got a degree in mining at the Univ. of Liege.

DIKER, Vecdi Rifat, ex '35 - (Univ. of Missouri '35) - is in business for himself in industrial planning and consulting engineering. One-time director of the Turkish Highway Dept. in the Ministry of Public Works, he was the first foreign graduate of the University of Missouri to receive its coveted Honor Award for Distinguished Service to Engineering (March 19, 1955). He is also a director of Minneapolis-Moline, in Ankara.

ISIKPINAR, Hasan Halet, RC '16 - first Turkish graduate of Robert College School of Engineering. One-time chief engineer of the Turkish government. Now does private consulting work. Recently asked by the Turkish Electrical Engineering Society to serve on four of its committees investigating the electrification possibilities in Turkey.

Government

Bureau of Standards: Dr. NECMI TANYOLAC (Purdue MS and PhD) '43 - director of the government research and survey organization, the first of its kind in Turkey to do technical research.

Customs: BASRI BORA, RC '30 - director-in-chief of the customs in Istanbul.

February 18, 1957

Tourism: FETHI PIRRINCCIIOGLU, '45 - is director of tourism in Istanbul. He also has a radio program, This Week, in Istanbul.

FERDI TUGMAN, '32 - is manager of the five or six government hotels in Yalova. Under his direction are the baths, the roads and the parks.

Private Business

SEVKET FILIBELI, '43 - is head of the chamber of commerce in Izmir. He is also in the tobacco, leather and flour business, with one of the biggest tanneries in Turkey.
APPENDIX D


A friend of mine has just returned from a visit to Palestine with a shining story of faith. A young Jewish girl, brought into Palestine from the horror and bestiality of Hitler's Europe to begin a new life, is found writing a poem. She is the last of her family. Her parents lie in some common grave in a Polish field. But now she is among friends and the subtle magic of Palestine has worked upon her. "What shall be our revenge?" she asks in her poem and her answer is, "We shall plant 10 trees on the land and the birds shall make nests in them and sing every evening; and through the songs we shall hear and the trees we shall plant, we shall bring happiness to all the inhabitants of the land. . . .

With all other minorities the Jews must fight side by side for full citizenship with all its rights and privileges everywhere in Europe. But at the same time large masses of them must be given an opportunity to make a fresh start. They are entitled to have their chance for a normal existence in a land where they are welcome and where they are needed. In this Palestine, uniquely prepared for precisely such physical and psychological rehabilitation, looms indeed as the promised land. It will welcome Jewish immigrants as no other place in the world.
APPENDIX E

September 12, 1958

Sir: I am writing a doctoral dissertation at the College of the Pacific under Professor Rom Landau. My topic is The American Influences on Democracy in the Middle East. As an Arab student in an American University, your answers to the following questions will be helpful to me. (Please use reverse side for answers if there is insufficient space below.)

1. What is your native country?

2. Did you read American books, magazines, and newspapers before coming to the United States? Which ones? Did they give you a good picture of American life?

3. Did you see American movies? Please comment.

4. Did you listen to American radio programs? What were their effect on you and your countrymen?

5. How many years have you been in the U. S. A.?

6. Have your ideas about democracy changed since your stay in the United States? In what ways?

7. Would you favor the disestablishment of Islam as a state religion in your country?

8. Do you believe than an American style government can work well in your country? Please comment.

9. What has been the greatest contribution to democratic idealism made by Americans in your country?

10. What should Americans do in the following fields to increase their influence for democracy in the Middle East?
   a. In education
   b. In business
   c. In United States governmental policies
APPENDIX F

The American University at Cairo
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
113 Sharia Kasr El Aini
Cairo, Egypt

April 21, 1959

Mr. Edward A. Raleigh
2317 Telegraph
Stockton, California

Dear Mr. Raleigh,

I am sorry to have delayed in answering your letter of March 7 concerning your dissertation material from Egypt. I was disturbed about it and have been trying to get some objective expert advice to supplement or correct my own thinking.

Our combined opinions here seem generally to agree with the position taken by the Director of our Social Research Center - an Egyptian anthropologist. Our Director says, "I believe it would be most unwise to pass out any such questionnaire. Apart from the fact that this questionnaire would hardly give any reliable answers to his questions, and the fact that the problem under investigation is too complicated for any such simple technique as a questionnaire given out haphazardly, the problem and the questionnaire are loaded with political implications."

These are hard words, I am afraid, but this is how we feel. The political question is crucial for us. Egyptians are at the moment extremely suspicious of even the most innocent of research projects in the social science area, whether done by Egyptians or foreigners - so suspicious, indeed, that all proposed research of this nature must be passed by a high government research Council. Your questions touch three of the most sensitive areas in present day Egypt - the influence of America on Egypt, the position of western type democracy, and the relation of Islam to the state. As our Director says, these are "loaded" questions which only an "agent of imperialism" or a "counter-revolutionary" would ask. I do ask such questions but only in the carefully controlled atmosphere of the classroom where we are pursuing the objective study of Middle East Culture. I am present with my interviewees and can quickly correct mistaken interpretations.
As to the research technique question raised by our Director, I suppose this is a matter of opinion, and you have your right to consider that what you would get from this type of approach would be valid scientifically. But all of us here are very doubtful. My own special comment would be that answers from just any twenty Egyptians that I could find and who would be willing to supply the several pages of commentary which your questions call for would be heavily biased sample. Furthermore I do not believe that you can engage in a highly complex task of cross-cultural research "in absentia." If you want to make such a study of the Arab world, for instance, you should arrange a fellowship or teaching post for at least a year in such an institution as ours or that of American University of Beirut.

The crucial point, however, is that we cannot undertake to distribute your questionnaires here because of possible political repercussions. I am therefore returning your U. N. postal coupons. I am sorry.

Please give my warmest greetings to Dr. Jacoby.

Cordially yours,

George H. Gardner
Department of Sociology
APPENDIX G

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

Beirut, Lebanon

Economics Department
Economic Research Institute

Cable Address: Amunob, Beirut

April 10th, 1959

Mr. Edward A. Raleigh
2317 Telegraph
Stockton, California
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Raleigh,

I have examined the material you sent on March 14th, 1959, for distribution to a number of our students at Beirut. On finding that your study falls more appropriately within the domain of political science, I passed the material on to the chairman of the Department of Political Science. He has declined to distribute the questionnaires; on discussing the matter we both felt that the design of the questionnaire, some of the questions, and the method of choice of respondents are such that they will most probably not lead to statistically acceptable results. As a result neither of us feels that we want to be responsible for the inquiry.

As a last attempt to help you, I sent the material to the Dean of Students for his views and recommendations and he has advised against the undertaking of the assignment. He suggests instead that you contact the Arab Students Organization at Berkeley. I am therefore returning all the material you sent us back to you and genuinely regret that we are unable to be of any help to you.

Yours sincerely,

Yusif A. Sayigh
Director

YAS/hk
### APPENDIX H

**American Magazines Read by 86 Arab Students in American Universities, 1958-59, Before Coming to the United States.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Magazine</th>
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<tr>
<td>Atlantic Monthly</td>
<td>New Yorker</td>
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<td>Business Week</td>
<td>Photoplay</td>
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<td>Christian Century</td>
<td>Popular Mechanics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colliers</td>
<td>Reader's Digest</td>
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<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fortune</td>
<td>Seventeen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Home and Garden</td>
<td>Saturday Evening Post</td>
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<td>Ladies Home Journal</td>
<td>Screen</td>
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<td>Life</td>
<td>Time</td>
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<td>Look</td>
<td>True Story</td>
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<tr>
<td>Modern Romances</td>
<td>U. S. News and World Report</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Geographic</td>
<td>Women</td>
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<td>Newsweek</td>
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