



JOHN RICHARDSON IN THE MIDEAST

*Mr. Richardson, ANERA's Executive Vice President, was in the Middle East from April 24th to May 15th.
The following is a report on this trip.*

My recent visit to the Middle East on ANERA business unfortunately coincided with the violent clashes between Palestinian commandos in Lebanon and the Lebanese army. The raid by Israeli terrorist teams into Beirut and Sidon on April 10 had raised the political "temperature" in Lebanon, but few people had felt that it would have triggered the bloody clashes which took place in early May.

The purpose of my Beirut trip was an important one for ANERA: fund-raising. In an effort to broaden ANERA's base of corporate contributors, I had planned to spend about three weeks talking with individual representatives of American business concerns about ANERA, urging them to support ANERA's case with their home offices. Upon return to the States I had planned to follow up with personal calls to the home offices. While the blow-up on May 2 dashed the larger hopes, at least ANERA's message reached a large number of American business representatives when I addressed the Propeller Club (to which most of them belong) on April 27 (see insert in this Newsletter).

The violence that erupted between the Palestinian commandos and the Lebanese army while I was in Beirut reflected the frustration mutually shared by the two groups: the commandos, seriously hampered in their efforts to strike at Israel, blamed the army for not having responded militarily to the Israeli attack on April 10; the army, on the other hand, had become quite restless with a domestic situation in which refugee areas were "out of bounds" to them and from which frequent challenges issued. What shocked the city and the world this time was the level of conflict, which left over 200 dead and many more injured. The city bore the marks of violence: numerous shell holes in the sides of fancy apartment buildings, whole floors burned out, a race horse dead by the side of the road — caught in a crossfire when twelve maddened horses escaped from the Turf Club at the height of the shooting. Even the Beirut airport, symbol and substance of Beirut's vital relationship with the outside world, was the target of commando shells and was closed for days at a time. It is possible that there will be additional fighting in the future between the commandos and the army in Lebanon, since the extent of sovereignty which the army demands is a contradiction in terms with the "autonomy" which the commandos insist on maintaining.

The time I spent in the Occupied Territories (West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza) was much more fruitful and interesting from ANERA's point of view. While there, I had personal visits with

representatives of some twelve institutions in the West Bank/East Jerusalem area that ANERA is involved with, and three in Gaza.

As a general rule I found that morale was higher than when I was there some eighteen months ago, but finances lower. All of the institutions assisted by ANERA are still functioning, and several are involved in expansion programs. This courageous moving-ahead is more significant in the face of grave uncertainty about the future under Israeli occupation and in the face of inflation, which has raised costs two and three times since before 1967, while at the same time Arab ability to pay fees at those schools which require them has remained frozen or has actually declined. It may be of interest to mention several representative institutions I visited that ANERA assists. Their leaders are determined and energetic individuals who realize that the greatest single contribution they can make to the welfare of the people of Palestine is to give them the opportunity to remain on the land, particularly in the face of an eighty-year-old Zionist objective of obtaining the land of Palestine without its indigenous people.

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During a visit to the UNRWA Headquarters in Beirut, ANERA Executive Vice-President John P. Richardson (right) presented C. William Kontos, Acting Commissioner-General of UNRWA with a check for \$6,050.00 to establish 55 elementary school and six one-year vocational training scholarships. The scholarships were given by individual ANERA contributors. This most recent grant brings ANERA's assistance to UNRWA since July 1, 1972 to over \$25,000.00 exclusive of shipments of pharmaceuticals.

NOTES

● Ribhi M. Kalla, President of Pal-Aid International in Chicago, recently presented ANERA with a donation of \$1,000 for the education of Palestinian refugees. ANERA will supplement this generous gift with \$100 in order to establish two one-year vocational training scholarships in Pal-Aid's name for Palestinian refugee trainees in UNRWA centers.

Pal-Aid, founded in 1967 by concerned volunteers in the Chicago area, has been active in sending medical supplies — including an ambulance — to organizations providing medical assistance to Palestine refugees. Since 1968 Pal-Aid has made contributions to ANERA of more than \$76,000 in pharmaceuticals and \$2,000 in grants for education. Mr. Kalla, an engineer, is a native of Safad, Palestine. □ □

● Dr. Hadi Salem, a member of ANERA's Board of Directors and Chairman of the West Coast Sub-Committee of the AMER Medical Committee, has been awarded the CARE/MEDICO Certificate of Appreciation for his recent volunteer services for CARE/MEDICO in Kabul, Afghanistan. Dr. Salem, a thoracic surgeon in private practice in Los Angeles since 1961, volunteered his time and services in the Avicenna Hospital in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, last December.

During his stay, Dr. Salem donated more than 500 pounds of medical supplies and textbooks and toys for patients of the hospital. Through a gift from the Southern California Chapter of the International College of Surgeons, Dr. Salem also provided each resident at Avicenna with a booklet of postgraduate education courses in all surgical specialties.

Dr. Salem is currently the Chairman of CARE/MEDICO for southern California and is a founder of the United States Organization for Medical and Educational Needs (U.S.O.M.E.N.). □ □

● Miss Phyllis Kotite of Washington, D.C. has been awarded a UNESCO grant for the purpose of going to the Middle East and studying the UNESCO/UNRWA school system in operation. The grant, which began in May, will last for three months, during which time Miss Kotite will be visiting UNRWA schools and vocational-training centers in the Occupied Territories, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Miss Kotite is a free-lance consultant, writer and lecturer on the United Nations and Middle East affairs, who was formerly with the Department of State, the United States Mission to the United Nations, and the United States Committee for UNICEF. Miss Kotite has provided invaluable help to ANERA in its programs of assistance to Palestine refugees. □ □

● As our readers know, the AMER Division of ANERA assists UNRWA by providing a portion of the Agency's annual requirement of pharmaceuticals. However, aside from this aid, AMER offers additional help in times of emergencies and special instances. Recently, UNRWA informed AMER that a refugee patient on the West Bank required a two-year treatment with a certain medication, but that purchase of this medicine was impossible because of UNRWA's budgetary difficulties. AMER obtained a donation of the needed tablets from an American manufacturer and they were rushed to UNRWA for immediate utilization. □ □



(left to right) Frances Stickles, John Davis, and John Sutton inspect one of the wells damaged during Israeli occupation after the June 1967 war. ○

(from left) Lord Oxford, Musa Alami and John Davis observe athletic fields from a balcony of one of the academic buildings. ○



• ANERA was saddened to learn of the death of Mrs. Kate Chambers Seelye, member of ANERA's Advisory Council and AMER's Board of Directors, on May 31. Mrs. Seelye was a former teacher at the American Junior College for Girls in Istanbul. She was also the widow of Dr. Lawrence H. Seelye, a former president of St. Lawrence University. Surviving are a son, Talcott Seelye, United States Ambassador to Tunisia, three daughters and eight grandchildren. □□

Book Review

Dear Israelis, Dear Arabs.

By Roger Fisher with a forward by Philip C. Jessup.
Harper and Row, New York, 1972. \$6.95

• Reviewed by Harry Howard

Books and peace proposals concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict are now as common as olives at an Arab—or Greek—table. As Judge Jessup suggests, however, this is an unusual, if not unique book, in that it consists of letters written during the summer of 1971 to individual officials in Jerusalem, Cairo and Amman with whom Professor Fisher had spoken on the problems of peace. The letters were prepared originally by the working party of the International Quaker Middle East Peace Research Project and were privately discussed with individuals in the Middle East and elsewhere as a means of promoting the examination of a variety of peacemaking concepts. The letters contain both substantive and procedural elements, along with draft statements, declarations and resolutions. They are preceded by a general memorandum of advice, a copy of which was sent with each of the letters, and each of the recipients was told that the author was writing comparable letters to others involved in the conflict and that he would receive copies of the letters. In writing the letters, Professor Fisher sought to convey his own ideas to the recipients, to develop a research project on peaceful solutions of the conflict, to try out his ideas on his students, and finally to have the letters published in book form. Written to Arab and Israeli officials, to the UN and Americans, the letters are all within the framework of Security Council Resolution 242, of November 22, 1967, and are suffused with Mathew Arnold's "sweet reason and the will of God". Especially valuable are the various procedural suggestions, whether toward a possible interim or an ultimate settlement. There have been no published replies.

Professor of Law at Harvard, Dr. Fisher appears to have become interested in the Middle East as a result of the June 1967 *blitzkrieg*. Whatever the merits of this well-written essay, it is impossible to accept the author's inference (p. 9), taken from his general memorandum, that "a shortage of historical facts is not a major contributing factor to the difficulties of the Middle East. We have too many facts, not too few. . . . If we know the current question, and who is faced with a choice, then we can gather data relevant to that person and that choice." Why study any problem? Granted that those who deal with problems need not know all the background, one of the difficulties in the Middle East surely lies in the fact that many people have all too little idea about the area, its people and problems.

Professor Fisher's essay makes interesting reading, although it might have commanded a wider readership in a somewhat different format. □□□

• Dr. Harry N. Howard, member of ANERA's Board of Directors, is a former history professor and special assistant to UNRWA.

MUSA ALAMI FOUNDATION

As the last issue of the ANERA Newsletter was going to press, Dr. John H. Davis, in his capacity as President of the Musa Alami Foundation of Jericho (U.S.A.), travelled to Jericho for a joint meeting with the Friends of the Arab Development Society (London), and the Arab Development Society, of which Musa Alami is president. Others in the U.S. delegation were Frances Stickles, Secretary of the Musa Alami Foundation; John Sutton of Americans for Middle East Understanding; and Kennett Love, journalist and professor at the American University in Cairo.

Dr. Davis reported that the meeting's primary value was in bringing together a strong international delegation whose presence in Israel was highly visible to the press and the government. The international team pressed on senior Israeli officials Israel's responsibility for restoring wells damaged by the Israeli army during and following the June war of 1967. Discussions were also held with Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem and with the Chief of Highway Engineers for Israel to receive assurance that a highway now being planned would not bisect Musa's property in Sharafat (near Jerusalem) on which Musa had already been given permission to build a supplementary poultry farm in a better climate for the hens and nearer to the markets than Jericho. Visits were also made to American and British diplomats in Israel, and following the conference in Jericho, several delegates called on King Hussein and other high Jordanian officials in Amman.

Musa Alami now has 92 boys in residence in facilities that would accommodate 200 boys if adequate funds were available. Half are in the academic and half in are in the vocational curriculum. There is still great need for rebuilding of physical plant, aside from the damaged wells. Dr. Davis reported that the participants at the Conference also decided that similar conferences should be held in the future. Finally, Dr. Davis commented that the ADS project critically needs additional financial support — both to utilize the educational facilities to capacity and to restore damage. □

RICHARDSON IN MIDEAST



(above) Dr. Nasir talks with Bir Zeit College Students.

There is no more reassuring example of this spirit than Bir Zeit College (just north of Ramallah, on the West Bank). It is the only institution of higher learning in the Occupied Territories, hence the only opportunity for West Bankers to be educated close to home, without the risk of finding their return blocked once they have completed studies elsewhere. Dr. Hanna Nasir, its new President and son of the founder of the college, typifies the resiliency of Bir Zeit under current stress. Rather than attempting merely to "hold the line" until the political situation improves, Dr. Nasir and the school's supporters have elected to build a new campus in nearby Ramallah and to add the third and fourth undergraduate years to the current, two-year program in academic years 1974 and 1975. They hope to break ground for the first new building sometime this fall. Bir Zeit has also contributed to reversing the "brain drain" by encouraging talented Palestinians abroad to return and teach at the college.

In East Jerusalem Labib Nasir's YMCA is the vital hub of much of the Arab city's social and sports life. The YMCA possesses the only swimming pool in East Jerusalem, and every hour of operation is considered "prime time" to the many groups wishing to take advantage of it.

The Industrial Islamic Orphanage (Dar el-Eytam) is a bustling enterprise deep in the old city, in a collection of buildings built more than 150 years ago to house the Turkish administration of Jerusalem. The 250 boarders and 750 day students, all orphans or poor boys, are under the benevolent charge of Sheikh Ibrahim Jadallah, the director. Following the 1967 war the orphanage, along with many of East



Mr. Jadallah, and John Richardson pose with some of the boys at the Industrial Islamic Orphanage.

Jerusalem's private schools, opened its doors to additional children orphaned by the war as well as to many children whose parents or guardians did not want them to have to attend schools using the Israeli curriculum. This commitment was made from faith rather than from financial ability to do so. The classrooms and vocational workshops hum, and Sheikh Ibrahim is exploring the possibility of purchasing an offset printing machine for the printing section.

I should include a reference to the situation facing UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency). This unsung hero of the Palestinian refugee tragedy has been waging a losing battle against declining income and rising costs. It had achieved a temporary balance recently when it was hit with two major blows at once: devaluation of the dollar and the skyrocketing cost of flour on world market. Both of these phenomena directly affect the American government's contribution to UNRWA, and as a result, UNRWA again finds itself faced with a deficit for 1973 of some \$4-5 million — which can only be translated into cutbacks in vital services to refugees unless more funds are raised.

Even though the status of Palestinians under Israeli occupation appears quite bearable to the casual observer, it must be viewed against the backdrop of a long (and largely successful) Zionist/Israeli program of obtaining the land of Palestine without its inhabitants. The steady encroachment of the Israelis into Arab properties in the Occupied Territories does nothing to reduce the very real fear of long-term Israeli intentions. The Palestinians are determined to stay on the land, but they need the help of friends outside to be able to do so. □ □



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ANERA NEWSLETTER SUPPLEMENT

○ I am honored to be addressing the Propeller Club today. As a former resident of Beirut, I am always happy to return, particularly to discuss a subject of significance for all of us in the future. Recent events provide a somber and disturbing backdrop to my remarks.

The theme which I will explore is "Invisible Bridges: the Importance of Educational, Cultural, and Philanthropic Activities to U.S.-Arab Commerce." I will review the ways in which American philanthropy and commerce in the Middle East have been linked historically. It is possible that their future inter-relationship may be even more significant.

housing, medical care, and education, the wealthiest Arab nations will be customers for the widest available range of commodities from America, Europe, and Japan.

The combination of challenge, potential profits, and national necessity facing American business firms will necessi-



INVISIBLE BRIDGES: THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL, & PHILANTHROPIC ACTIVITIES TO U.S.-ARAB COMMERCE

by JOHN P. RICHARDSON

Executive Vice-President
American Near East Refugee Aid

The ending of winter in the United States has not slowed the growing debate on what is known as the "energy crisis". In contrast to the 1920's, when the United States produced more than 80% of the world's oil, our country now finds itself in a period of spiralling energy needs coupled with rapid depletion of the most readily accessible Western sources. The figures are, no doubt, familiar to you: by 1985 it is estimated that the United States will have to rely on imported, primarily Middle Eastern and Arab, oil for fully 50% of its daily requirements. Europe and Japan are already dependent on imported oil for a much higher percentage of their needs. This new phenomenon of American reliance on a small number of distant foreign countries for a vital portion of its energy supplies will require major adjustments by the United States, not least among them a searching look at the foreign and economic policies which bear heavily on continued access to Middle Eastern oil.

While on the one hand American policy-makers (and consumers) will have to come to terms with the matter of supply of oil and gas to our country, the other side of the coin is the estimated \$20-30 billion per year which will flow from the United States to the Middle East in the 1980's to pay for imported fuels. By way of comparison of magnitude, America's *total* exports of goods and services today come to \$66 billion annually, and the recent campaign by the Nixon Administration to increase Japanese purchases of American exports was waged in order to raise the total by \$1-2 billion! Serious consideration is being given to the possibility of permitting direct Arab investment in the U.S. economy in order to absorb a portion of these monies.

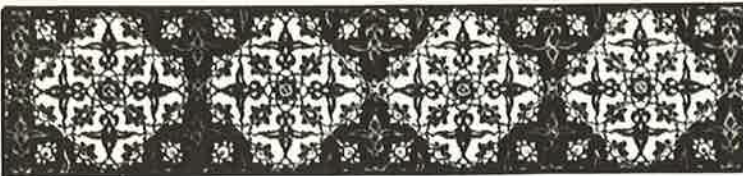
From the perspective of American business and industry, these alarming balance of payments problems will present opportunities for sales of American goods and services in the Middle East at a level previously unheard of in our history. Once having met the basic needs of their peoples for food,

tate a new perspective for viewing America's commercial role in the Middle East.

If the competitors in the marketplace — America, Europe, and Japan — were all on an equal footing, the challenge would be great enough. But the historical era of greatest potential for American business in the Arab World ironically coincides with an era of strong and growing discontent among Arabs with American political attitudes toward the Arab-Israeli conflict. At the same time as governments in Europe and Japan are developing policies which reflect the importance of the Arab World to their national interests, many Arabs feel that the United States, by continuing military and political support to Israel while it occupies Arab lands, flaunts issues of the greatest importance to them. To the credit of the Arabs, they have traditionally been careful to distinguish between actions of the American government and individual Americans. But there is no question that the damaging legacy of domestic American pressures on Middle East policy puts a question mark over America's future economic role in the Middle East, both as buyer of irreplaceable gas and oil and as a seller of the goods and services that can absorb some of the resultant outflow of dollars.

On the other hand, contemplation of the future must not take place in an historical vacuum. America has a long and proud legacy of service in the Middle East which has not only established a climate of receptivity to current American commercial initiatives; it may also have to help sustain them until Washington's policy more accurately reflects America's national interests.

The longest and historically most significant American interest in the Middle East has been the missionary, educational, and philanthropic involvement of generations of Americans who have served the region and its people since the early 19th century. The generally positive attitude of Middle



Eastern peoples toward Americans and toward the political ideals of our country provides the foundations and main spans of the "invisible bridges" of good-will and acceptance that still link the Middle East and the United States. Not only did the American missionaries (and I include in this term doctors, teachers, and philanthropists) carry out dedicated service in the Middle East; they have also served over the years as the best-informed and most vocal spokesmen for a constructive American political role in the Middle East. This latter aspect of their work cannot be over-emphasized in the contemporary context.

While the original goal of American missionaries in the Middle East was to convert Muslims (a reflection of the evangelizing zeal of the era), it soon became apparent that Turkish Muslims were unenthusiastic about being "saved" by Christianity. In the face of this reality, the missionaries turned their efforts to developing institutions and working with minority groups in the Empire. By the end of the 19th century Americans had fashioned a far-flung system of schools, hospitals, churches, and printing-presses in Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine.

Foremost in impact among these efforts were the schools, and the most outstanding example of the American educational edifice is still the American University of Beirut. AUB, together with Robert College and Constantinople Women's College (both in Turkey), functioned independently from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Presbyterian overseeing body for activities in the Middle East. Initially the student bodies of these and other schools were almost entirely Christian, due in some part to Muslim hostility and suspicion about their motives, but as time wore on, more and more Muslim students attended. One of the most significant characteristics of these schools' educational philosophies was their emphasis on independent thinking and research, in contrast to the conservative patterns of Muslim Koranic education. Well before 1914, graduates of AUB and other schools were playing a key role in Ottoman commerce, establishing stores, import agencies, banks, and other enterprises throughout the Middle East. Historian John DeNovo records that the American schools "stimulated an elite native leadership which (assisted) in shaping political, economic, social, and cultural attitudes in the Middle East". It is well worth remembering that at the United Nations Charter Conference in San Francisco in 1945, there were more graduates among the delegates from AUB than from any other university in the world.

By their physical presence, life-styles, and pivotal positions as teachers, preachers, and doctors, the early Americans in the Middle East played an important role in making Middle Easterners aware of the United States. The familiarity with America which grew out of these associations helped pave the way for the fledgling American commercial interest in the Ottoman Empire. By the end of the 19th century Standard Oil Co. of New York (SOCONY) was busy selling kerosene; the Singer Sewing Machine Co. was widely represented; and the

Western Electrical Telephone Co. had already installed Constantinople's telephone system. Yet as late as 1911 State Department reports from the area were still critical of the lack of initiative and haphazard methods of American firms.

The focus of American Middle East activities shifted significantly around the turn of the 20th century. The Armenian massacres which began in 1896 and escalated sharply in 1914-15 brought a dual role for the missionaries: not only to stretch their resources to the limit helping the Armenians, but also to alert America and the West to the tragedy in hopes of bringing political and diplomatic pressures on the Turkish government.

Respect for America in the Middle East was bolstered by the dedication and disinterestedness shown by American missionaries in responding to these and other civilian disasters of World War I. The desperate situation facing civilian populations in the Middle East — 600,000 Syrians also died, many of starvation — gave rise to the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (to become Near East Relief and later Near East Foundation). Near East Relief became a national crusade in America, collecting more than \$100 million for direct assistance in the period 1915-1930. In the United States, publicity and involvement of schools, churches, and individuals across the nation added significantly to awareness by Americans of the Middle East. In the later years Near East Foundation pioneered the concepts which President Truman elaborated in his "Point Four" technical assistance program. Truman paid special tribute to the work of NEF and acknowledged Point Four's debt to NEF activities.

The convening of the Peace Conference in Paris (1919) and the announced intention of the major powers to dismember the Ottoman Empire led to further expansion of the role of American missionaries and educators in the Middle East. They were deeply concerned about the future of the area and their role in it. In February 1919 AUB President Howard Bliss spoke before the major powers in Paris and urged that an investigating mission be sent to Palestine and Syria to determine the wishes of the people before decisions were taken regarding the future of the area. Although the idea of an international investigating mission was vetoed by the French and British, an American team finally did go out, headed by Henry Churchill King and Charles R. Crane. Seven of the nine commission staff members had personal ties to missionary activity in the Middle East, and five were ordained ministers. After travelling throughout Palestine and parts of Syria receiving delegations and hearing the views of the people, the commission reported back to President Wilson that if the Arabs of that area had to accept a Mandatory Power for a time, they clearly preferred America. The reasons are worth repeating:

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 spirit revealed in American educational institutions in Syria, especially the College in Beirut, 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.

In addition to President Bliss of AUB, Presidents Caleb Gates of Robert College and Mary Mills Patrick of Constantinople Women's College traveled to Paris to lobby for the future of Turkey. Gates in particular emphasized that if America were to play a constructive role in the Middle East in the post-war era, it should show more interest in the Turkish majority. Gates also carried his views to the United States where he lectured frequently. Talcott Williams, born of Missionary parents in Turkey and head of the Columbia School of Journalism, observed *a propos* of American post-war involvement in the Middle East, "It is not charity — it is insurance". Yet another writer has noted that America's failure to assume political burdens in the Middle East complicated the U.S. government's task of protecting American interests there; Washington was "reluctant to face the question of whether commercial objectives could be achieved — without stronger political policies".

American activities in the Middle East grew between the wars; despite the Depression at home, AUB and other American schools in the area expanded their student bodies and activities. By 1933 in Egypt alone, Americans were running twelve schools with 19,000 students. In the inter-war period the rise of Middle East nationalism forced American activities to be more responsive to these ferments in order to survive. The missionaries, in turn, reflected these sentiments in contacts with America.

The inter-war period also saw the first major flowering of the American commercial interest in the Middle East. Following participation in the formation of the Iraq Petroleum Co. in the 1920's, American oil companies became deeply involved in the Middle East in the 1930's after major oil strikes by American drillers in the Gulf area. Even this seemingly unrelated activity may have benefited from American missionaries who preceded the drillers. The Reformed Church of America, which had been active in Iraq, Kuwait, Muscat, and Bahrein since before 1900, had built a solid reputation in the Gulf region through its medical missionary work, and one historian has observed that "it is perhaps not excessive to say that (these missionaries) helped to prepare a better climate for the American oil men who followed later".

After World War II and the rise of political Zionism, American missionaries and educators spoke out about the dangers for the Middle East and American inherent in the Zionist goal of a Jewish state in Arab Palestine. AUB Presidents Bayard Dodge and Stephen Penrose wrote and lectured extensively on the subject. Educators and churchmen elsewhere in the Middle East did their best to warn the American people of the chaos that would follow, as well as of the potential danger to American institutions that would become hostages overnight to Arab animosity. While the seeds for future conflict were indeed sown by the partition of Palestine and American political support for Israel, the churches and voluntary organizations responded strongly when the dimensions of the Palestine refugee tragedy became known, and their collective efforts tided the refugees over until the creation of UNRWA in 1949. The Quakers, the Pontifical Mission for Palestine, and other church groups all took part in meeting the awesome tasks generated by the refugee situation.



In the twenty-five years since 1948, American schools and organizations in the Middle East have continued their primary role of assisting the needy and of training independent-thinking and resourceful leaders for Middle East commerce and politics. In times of particular stress some of these institutions have helped bridge the gap between the Arab World and America, such as in 1967-68 when the American University in Cairo played an important though unofficial role in Egyptian-American relations at a time of broken diplomatic ties. President Nasser's daughter not only remained a student at AUC but graduated in this period! The work of many of the institutions founded and operated by American missionaries in the Middle East continues, although political shifts in several countries have forced curtailment of activities.

While you are no doubt familiar with institutions long-established in the Middle East, I would like to mention four organizations launched in the United States since 1945 that reflect the spirit and tradition of earlier missionary/educational/philanthropic efforts in the Middle East. These four organizations differ from earlier efforts in that they are secular, although clergymen appear on their boards and occasionally as staff members. Descendants of American Middle East missionaries serve on their boards and play an active role. The four organizations are Middle East Institute, American Friends of the Middle East, American Near East Refugee Aid, and Americans for Middle East Understanding. American Near East Refugee Aid and American Friends of the Middle East maintain direct program ties to the Middle East while Middle East Institute and Americans for Middle East Understanding emphasize publications and information.

Middle East Institute (MEI) is the oldest of the four, having started in 1947. Its major activities consist of a quarterly magazine, *Middle East Journal*, sponsorship of an annual conference on the Middle East, and lectures and symposia dealing with the Middle East. While the Institute includes all countries of the area in its program activity, it has worked to increase understanding of the Arab World, with recent emphasis on the energy picture and the Palestine problem.

American Friends of the Middle East (AFME) was begun in 1953 by the journalist Dorothy Thompson and a group of friends concerned with the lack of information reaching the American people about the Arab world in general and the Palestine problem in particular. In its early years AFME sponsored lecturers and brought visitors from the Middle East to address American audiences. By the late 1950's AFME had branched out into assisting Middle Eastern students who wished to pursue studies in the United States. Currently AFME focuses almost exclusively in this latter area and has become the foremost professional organization interpreting the Middle Eastern educational scene to American colleges and universities with foreign student programs.

American Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA) began in 1968, an outgrowth of volunteer efforts on behalf of Palestinian refugees following the 1967 war. ANERA was created to serve as a continuing national coordinating agency for refugee relief efforts, and its formation was assisted by a grant from NEED, the businessmen's group headed by James Linen and David Rockefeller which made a one-time appeal to American industry for assistance to Palestine refugees. ANERA does not administer programs in the Middle East but provides assistance in cash and kind to a number of schools, vocational-training centers, and medical programs, most of them in the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza. American Middle East Rehabilitation, a division of ANERA, solicits pharmaceuticals from American manufacturers in response to the needs of UNRWA and other medical programs.

Americans for Middle East Understanding (AMEU), also an outgrowth of the 1967 war and of concern for the imbalance of information reaching the American people, maintains a book distribution program and a widely-circulated newsletter designed to broaden perspectives on the Middle East. AMEU also sponsors tours to the area which give participants a chance to meet and talk with people in the Arab World.

How can we best summarize the key ingredients in the long legacy of American educational, cultural, and philanthropic activities in the Middle East? Certainly the following considerations should be included:

- 1) Graduates of American schools play important roles in politics and commerce throughout the Middle East.
- 2) American institutions have been headed by individuals with a clear love for the area and its peoples.
- 3) A tradition has been built and sustained by representatives of these institutions in speaking out in the United States for a more just and enlightened American foreign policy toward the Middle East.
- 4) Generations of Americans with ties to the Middle East have provided American business, government, and universities with highly-qualified and concerned personnel.
- 5) Private organizations, religious and secular, constitute informal channels for communication between the Middle East and the United States.

American educational and philanthropic activities in the Middle East have been primarily responsible for the "invisible bridges" of good-will, understanding, and confidence between the Middle East and America upon which depend other and more dominant American Middle East interests today. While each American understandably views the Middle East from his personal perspective, he should remember that to the people of the area, the American presence is a continuous phenomenon, and Americans are seen as individuals yet at the same time as links in a *continuum* that began in the early 19th century.

There are long and growing shadows over America's role in the Middle East today. Recent events only serve to underscore the volatility of feelings on matters that deeply touch Arab

sensibilities. At the same time, however, both Arabs and Americans should keep in mind that it is possible that a relationship of mutual trust and benefit will re-emerge. The qualities which brought the United States such respect in earlier years are still evidenced by many individuals and institutions.

But in order for a process of re-building of confidence to commence, the United States will have to confront serious and complex issues. Perhaps the most visible and poignant such issue is the Palestine refugee problem, with which ANERA and other organizations are directly concerned. Most involved individuals believe that the continuing absence of a political solution to the larger Palestine problem makes it incumbent upon all parties to provide the refugees with expanded opportunities for education and training opportunities so that they can become employed and break the deadening cycle of inaction and poverty.

America desperately needs the positive interest of the Middle East today. We need the fuel supplies which power our industrial base; we need to be able to compete equally in the rapidly expanding markets in the area; we need the communication channels which the Middle East provides. We still need the "invisible bridges" that were slowly and surely built through generations of service by Americans in response to the needs and aspirations of the Middle East.

Arab governments perhaps do not expect American firms doing business in the Arab world to be able to alter American policies on the Arab-Israeli question. These governments, however, will be in a strong position vis-a-vis the West on commercial matters, and at the very least they expect to have their views given weight. Europe and Japan, already respectively 60% and 90% dependent on Middle Eastern oil, have a substantial lead over the United States in developing political perspectives which take into account their relationship to the Arab World. The future which is viewed with so much alarm in the United States is already a fact of life for Europe and Japan. Reflecting economic strength, Arab purchasers of goods and services may increasingly insist on demonstrable evidence by American firms that their interest in the Middle East goes beyond profits alone.

American schools, voluntary organizations, and religious bodies in the Middle East are a fitting complement to American commercial interests in the area. The work of the latter is of a different character from the former, yet there is a mutuality of interest which should be examined in greater detail. It is true that educational and philanthropic activities are reliant on financial assistance from the commercial sector, but at the same time they can help to provide the one ingredient without which no commercial or other activity goes forward: acceptability of Americans to the people of the Middle East. Despite problems, most American institutions in the Middle East are still functioning because of the basically positive and sympathetic character of the work. It is in the interest of American businesses active in the Middle East to assist American educational and philanthropic efforts in the area, particularly in an era when people of the Middle East are becoming more cynical about American political motives and policies toward them. American commercial and humanitarian activities in the Middle East have different perspectives, yet are linked by strong reciprocal interests. As Talcott Williams said back in 1921: "It is not charity — it is insurance." ○ ○