

T A R G E T U S A :

T H E A R A B P R O P A G A N D A O F F E N S I V E

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

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November, 1975

Target USA:

The Arab Propaganda Offensive

Overview

The Arab propaganda offensive in the United States has begun. The first results of the campaign have become visible. Its impact on American minds so far cannot easily be discerned.

The Arabs are moving slowly and deliberately. But they are moving. Their basic levers are oil and money. Their massive game plan includes saturating the American scene with words, pictures, political action, economic pressures and other opinion-molding persuaders. Arab success remains to be seen.

Israel retains substantial reserves of good will, even admiration. The American people, polls say, are still generally sympathetic to Israel. When poll-takers ask how far Americans are ready to go in aiding Israel with dollars and weapons, the percentages go down. And when poll-takers ask what Americans would do if Israel faced destruction, the numbers drop even farther. The question arises: how deep does American sympathy go?

The Arab offensive to win the hearts and minds of Americans away from Israel is, in a sense, like a giant locomotive straining to gain momentum. It is now gaining that momentum.

With oil, with money to buy the best for opinion-molding, the Arabs have great potential for success. The apparatus at their disposal is, by any yardstick, massive. This is clear from the scope of the game plan they and their friends have been carrying out since the price of crude oil quintupled.

-- It is clear from the vast sums now being spent -- \$30 million a year by Arab governments.

-- It is clear from nationwide newspaper advertising campaigns in the last two years.

-- It is clear from the growing receptivity the Arab viewpoint is receiving in business, political, academic and church communities.

-- It is clear particularly from support being given to Arab positions by major oil companies, construction firms, shipping lines and banks.

-- It is clear from plans of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) for a special \$15 million propaganda campaign that would bring the overall annual Arab outlays to \$45 million.

-- It is clear from other plans by the OPEC nations for their own campaign.

The Arab world has a new relationship with the United States -- with both its government and its people. The new economic, political and military ties that have been forged between leading Arab countries and the American government are a matter of public knowledge. Since the Yom Kippur War, the activities of government leaders on all sides have been the subject of intensive daily worldwide coverage.

What is not public is the work of the Arab propaganda apparatus in the United States that was created to change American public opinion and foreign policy against Israel. This apparatus has been building rationale for the changed relationships, creating "facts" to validate the new ties, and molding opinion to insure their permanence.

Even less known are the Arab gains and accomplishments:

-- The Arabs have scored breakthroughs in extending their influence into the American banking, industrial and commercial communities where they had established beachheads in earlier years.

-- The Palestine Liberation Organization has succeeded in getting its message accepted in wider areas of the American community which now perceive the Palestinian questions as the crucial issue in the Middle East conflict.

-- There is an Arab presence and a pro-PLO movement on college campuses.

-- The Arabs are getting hearings with increasing frequency in forums sponsored by groups concerned with foreign policy and world affairs, by fraternal organizations, and by business-oriented local organizations around the country.

-- Since the Yom Kippur War, the oil embargo and the energy problems flowing from higher crude oil prices, the Arab anti-Israel, anti-Jewish viewpoint is receiving increasing -- even prominent -- attention through the press, radio and television.

Nevertheless, the press still describes the so-called "Israel lobby" as formidable and, with some exceptions, has not yet perceived the strength of the Arab lobby already in being or covered in any great detail its tremendous potentials on the U.S. scene.

The Offensive

The Arab political and propaganda offensive, aimed at swinging American public opinion against Israel and at forcing a more drastic change in U.S. Middle Eastern policy, has shifted into high gear since the Yom Kippur War. It is still gathering momentum.

The most visible evidence of the campaign by the Arabs and their allies in the U. S. is a series of advertising campaigns in top newspapers and an array of new publications, films, and other propaganda materials and activities that have appeared on the scene in the last two years. They supplement ongoing Arab and pro-Arab propaganda operations launched in earlier periods -- after the Six Day War in 1967 and after the War of Attrition and "Black September" that rocked

the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1970. They are bolstered by Arab and pro-Arab propaganda in English reaching American readers from Europe and the Middle East.

The propaganda offensive in the U.S. is part of a worldwide Arab campaign of economic and political warfare that is aimed at isolating Israel diplomatically and at strangling her economically so that, if successful, her destruction would become inevitable and merely a matter of time.

In its present stage, the Arab thrust is not only a dagger pointed at the heart of Israel; it likewise poses a threat to the security of the American Jewish community and to Jewish communities elsewhere. These Jewish communities of the Diaspora are virtually unanimous in their commitment to the survival of Israel and in their resolve that her continued existence as an independent, sovereign Jewish State is absolutely non-negotiable.

In the absence of concrete Arab deeds -- peaceful or clearly pointing toward peace -- and in the absence of Arab readiness to make peace with Israel, once and for all after almost three decades, American Jews and Jews elsewhere do not take at face value recent protestations by the Arabs and some of their friends of a newly found "acceptance" of the "reality" of Israel. Nor are American Jews and their brethren of the Diaspora beguiled by glib characterizations of the terrorist Arafat as "moderate" or even "relatively moderate." Finally, having had a profound experience with the reality of mass death for millions of their co-religionists through the centuries, and in Europe not so very long ago, they are conscious of the fact that Anwar Sadat will not live forever.

The expanded Arab political and propaganda offensive -- in the U.S. and in other countries -- was made possible by the campaign of economic warfare

that began with the Arab oil embargo at the time of the Yom Kippur War and that was followed by the series of drastic increases in the price of crude oil that has since quintupled the per-barrel cost. These massive price increases have poured billions of petrodollars into Arab treasuries. The Arab oil weapon, in short, has given the kings, sheikhs and dictators of the Arab League and the Palestinian terrorists they finance a weapon more potent than liquid gold itself -- hard cash.

Arab cash -- the money weapon -- is now being utilized and deployed on both the economic and political fronts in the U.S. and around the world. Viewed in this light, the Arab propaganda offensive, the Arab Boycott now given new clout by the multi-billion dollar market in the Arab world, and Arab economic penetration of the U.S. and other countries emerge as merely different aspects of the Arab money weapon in action. The Arab campaign of political propaganda goes hand in hand with the Boycott and with the deployment of Arab petrodollar billions via investments in the U.S. economy and economies around the world, and via massive business deals with companies and countries of the industrialized world, including the U.S.

The 'Game Plans'

Economic Warfare

The two-pronged Arab campaign -- economic warfare and the global propaganda offensive -- follows carefully detailed master plans. On the economic front, the major moves have been made in line with a "game plan" blueprinted by top Arab economists, strategic planners and intellectual "brain-trusters" operating from "think tanks" in Beirut and closely aligned with the PLO. These Arab strategists, some of them part of or close to the top PLO leadership, drew up the economic master plan during 1973. They did so at the request of the Arab League which sought their advice on how to mobilize the economic resources of

the Arab world in the service of Arab political goals in the war against Israel. The document they produced was approved and adopted by the Arab League shortly before the Yom Kippur War. Its title, reported in the January 10, 1974

Christian Science Monitor: Economic Interests in the Service of Arab Causes.

Its implementation, using the so-called oil weapon, in turn generated the money weapon that has transformed the Arab League bloc into a major world political power in the space of two short years in the most massive transfer of the world's wealth that has ever taken place in so short a time.

The political and propaganda offensive made possible by the economic warfare of the Arab League is likewise being carried out in line with detailed game plans prepared by American public relations and advertising consultants and opinion-molding experts retained by the Arabs.

The global Arab thrust on the economic and political fronts has already scored noticeable gains in Europe, Latin America and in Third World countries of Asia and Africa. These gains have been visible in the halls of the United Nations and in some of its specialized agencies. The Arab offensive is now zeroing in on the crucial battleground in the Arab effort to isolate Israel and to strangle her. That crucial battleground is the United States.

If the Arabs succeed here, if they can change American public opinion and U.S. Middle Eastern policy through what is basically a war of words, their new and potentially massive propaganda campaign could bring about a nightmare for world Jewry -- a nightmare unmatched in the three decades that have passed since the Nazi Holocaust.

A New Sophistication

In its current phase, Arab propaganda is not only being financed by the new petrodollars on a scale unequalled in the 27 years since the establishment

of Israel; it is also marked by a new sophistication that contrasts sharply with the crudeness that marked Arab efforts between 1948 and the Yom Kippur War -- a crudeness that rendered these efforts in the U.S. and elsewhere largely ineffective.

In addition, on the U.S. battlefield, as elsewhere, the Arabs now have more allies and sympathizers, actual and potential, than at any time since their effort to destroy Israel began in 1948. These include banks and corporations eager to tap the massive new markets in the Arab world and therefore more than ready to listen sympathetically to Arab political arguments. And these Arab sympathizers likewise include groups and movements in Europe, Latin America and the U.S. whose pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian attitudes are rooted in the ideology of the Far Left, Old and New, and in the "anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist" mystique of the Third World -- movements that have had a noticeable impact on the world political scene since the 1960's and that support the PLO or even more extreme Palestinian terrorist groups.

The current Arab propaganda offensive, so heavily financed and marked by the new sophistication, is in fact the latest in a three-stage escalation of the battle for public opinion about the Middle East around the world generally and in the U.S. in particular. In the first stage following the Six Day War, and in the second between 1970 and the Yom Kippur War, the propaganda battle was mostly spearheaded by pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian groups in Western Europe and the U.S.

These pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian organizations have continued their activities, and have stepped them up, since the Yom Kippur War. The new ingredient of the last two years, however, has been the commitment of the Arab League

and its vast new financial resources both to the support of the PLO, headed by Arafat, and to a planned and far-reaching propaganda offensive in which the U.S. is Target Number One.

The Propaganda 'Master Plan'

The propaganda blueprint drafted for the Arabs by the American opinion-molding experts they retained -- Time mentioned Martin Ryan Haley & Associates, Inc. of New York as one such firm -- was recently reviewed by the Arab League's committee on information during a five-day meeting held in Tunis during July, 1975. The New York Times of July 13 quoted an Arab League official as stating that the global propaganda offensive involves the use of "all mass media available" -- in the United States, in Canada, in Europe, in Asia and elsewhere.

Other reports indicated that in the effort to change world public opinion, and especially American public opinion, the activities of the Arab Information Centers in five key U.S. cities are being stepped up, that funds have been set aside to beef up subventions for Arab publications -- to increase their number and improve their quality. The Arab League is, likewise, assigning a key role in the campaign to Arab and Moslem students on American campuses and to Islamic societies here and in Canada.

One central goal is a global campaign to win official recognition from governments around the world, especially the U.S., of the PLO, and to maintain anti-Israel pressure in the UN and its various agencies.

In the U.S., the ultimate goal is the separation of Israel from its one ~~remaining reliable and powerful source of support.~~ The campaign, according to ADL's sources, is operating on a budget of approximately \$30 million a year. That sum can obviously be increased by the oil-rich Arabs if necessary.

The Arab master plan now being implemented here is aimed at every key group on the U.S. scene viewed as necessary to bring about a change in American policy favorable to the Arabs. Among these key target groups are:

- The churches
- Organized labor
- Black Americans
- Civic and fraternal organizations
- Business and farm organizations
- Colleges and universities
- Elementary and secondary schools
- The mass communications media

The methods and techniques set forth in the blueprint range from standard "image-building" devices to active intervention in American political campaigns, especially campaigns for the U.S. Senate. The goal is to defeat Senators who have in the past supported Israel and to bring about victories for candidates who would be more sympathetic to the Arabs.

A key ingredient in the Arab propaganda game plan is an effort to mobilize the approximately one million Americans of Arab extraction, many residing in key political states and cities, into a unified, activist and ethnically oriented force that would work in political campaigns and serve as an effective lobbying instrument to influence Congressional votes on Middle Eastern issues.

Because American law forbids interference by foreign governments in U.S. election campaigns, Arab-American organizations can emerge as key conduits for channeling the influence of the Arab regimes into the U.S. political process to affect the outcome of elections for the House and the Senate.

The Arab master plan also calls for heavy injections of Arab money into the American educational establishment, especially the colleges and universities and their departments of Near East and Middle Eastern Studies, some of which are already centers of pro-Arab sympathy and pro-Arab activism. One tactic on this front calls for the endowment of chairs of learning for professors and scholars. Another provides for expanded exchange and visitor programs that would send more American students and scholars to the Arab world and bring more Arab scholars to U.S. campuses.

The rationale is that American college and university professors, especially those in the fields of international relations and area studies (such as Near East Studies), command the respect of U.S. policy makers and have an impact in Washington. At the same time, these faculty members are seen as important influences on American public opinion at the grassroots level. They are therefore viewed as pivotal in the creation of a pro-Arab lobbying mechanism and in pro-Arab lobbying activity to change Congressional voting patterns on Mideast issues in an anti-Israel and pro-Arab direction.

Another crucial and obvious target of the Arab master plan is the mass communications media. One tactic in the Arab blueprint involves substantial expansion of visits by American editors and journalists to Arab countries. Another is heavy advertising and letter-writing campaigns in more than two dozen top daily newspapers in key American cities and in hundreds of church and religious publications around the country. A third tactic is the distribution of professionally prepared pro-Arab articles, films, and other opinion-molding materials to newspapers, magazines and radio and television stations from coast to coast -- with special emphasis on the smaller towns and cities of the U.S. heartland called "Middle America."

Finally, the Arab game plan provides for an effort to influence the content of curricula and textbooks in American schools, colleges and universities. The goal is the presentation of a favorable Arab image to American students through the educational materials and course content used in U.S. classrooms.

These key elements aside, any scenario of the dangers to the U.S. flowing from the twin Arab master plans for economic warfare and political opinion-molding in the U.S. would have to contemplate yet another possibility: the danger of a more far-reaching and deeper Arab penetration, open or covert, of the U.S. mass communications media.

With the billions of petrodollars at their disposal, the Arabs can -- on their own or through fronts -- buy into, buy up, or even launch newspapers or newspaper chains, magazines and book publishing houses, not to mention suburban weeklies or even "shopping news" throwaways.

In the absence of U.S. laws requiring full and detailed disclosure of the true -- the "beneficial" -- ownership of such enterprises, such ownership can easily be camouflaged behind American-sounding corporate names and hired American managers, editors and staff.

A number of Arab overtures to buy individual newspapers or chains have already been reported or rumored.

The Apparatus

An Arab and pro-Arab propaganda apparatus is already operating on the crucial American battleground. This apparatus, now focusing on American opinion and American Mideast policy, has three basic arms. Each is separately identifiable but each arm interacts with the others.

One arm comprises the Arab League and the individual Arab member governments functioning through the five Arab League Information Centers in key cities and through the embassies and delegations of the various Arab states. Aligned with the Arab League, especially since the Rabat conference of the League in October, 1974, is the PLO which was dubbed the "sole" representative of the Palestinians and given an Arab League subsidy of \$50 million a year for four years. Backing up the efforts of the League and the PLO is the able and sophisticated output of two pro-PLO research and propaganda think tanks based near the PLO headquarters in Beirut; the output of these sophisticated centers -- the Institute for Palestine Studies and the Lebanese Association for Information on Palestine (LAIP) -- is reaching the U.S. in mounting volume.

A second arm is the Arab-American community and Arab-American organizations, some active on the U.S. scene for years, others recently launched. The most important of these are the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc. (AAUG), formed after the Six Day War in 1967 with headquarters now in Detroit, which maintains close ties with the pro-PLO think tanks in Beirut, and the newer National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA), launched late in 1972 and headquartered in Washington, D.C.

The third arm of the apparatus is a complex array of American pro-Arab organizations, publications, individual propagandists and pro-Arab apologists

found all across the broad spectrum of American organizational and institutional life. This arm includes major oil companies long active on behalf of the Arab cause and a coterie of ex-State Department ambassadors and retired foreign service veterans -- often called "Arabists" -- who have served in Arab capitals. It also includes some church people, clergy and lay, a number of university-based intellectuals and scholars, plus elements in the liberal community. It comprises, further, some groups formerly active in the anti-war movement during the U.S. involvement in Vietnam, plus the extreme Left, Old and New, segments of the political Far Right, and the traditional anti-Jewish hate fringe. Included among the Arab sympathizers in the U.S., finally, are a small number of anti-Israel, anti-Zionist Jews, some of whom have long been active as pro-Arab apologists or propagandists.

The Arab League and Its Members

The official arm of the apparatus includes the Arab governments themselves -- their ministries of information and propaganda that publish leaflets, booklets and newsletters that reach U.S. shores, their embassies and consulates here, and the five Arab League Information offices in New York, Washington, Chicago, Dallas and San Francisco.

In the wake of the 1973-1974 oil embargo and the exorbitant price increases for crude petroleum that have altered the balance of forces on the world scene, the Arab League and some of its members launched a massive newspaper advertising campaign that reached millions of Americans from coast to coast. It was the biggest Arab opinion-molding effort on the U.S. scene in 25 years.

Essentially defensive in tone but aggressive in content, the campaign of full-page ads in top U.S. newspapers across the country sought to explain the "reasons" for the embargo against the U.S., to blunt American resentment against

the supply cutoff and the drastic price boosts, and to convince Americans that if only the U.S. would alter its Mideast policy, stop supporting Israel, and be "fair" to the Arabs, oil would begin flowing again in plenteous quantities -- if not at reasonable prices.

The ads bore the imprimaturs of the League of Arab States, of the Kuwaiti Ministry of Finance and Petroleum, of the Saudi Foreign Affairs Minister and of the "Faculty and Staff of the University of Kuwait." The Saudi ad appeared at the end of December, 1973, in 16 major newspapers and was placed by a Madison Avenue ad agency.

Also spread across the country was the Arab League message headlined "A Message to the American People -- More in Sorrow Than in Anger -- The Arab Case for Oil and Justice." Its basic thrust was that the Arabs would be glad to resume oil shipments to the U.S. when Washington changed its Middle East policy of "unquestioning support for Israel." There were some sophisticated touches -- bold-face sub-headings that stressed "Mutual Interests" and the need to "Give Peace a Chance" -- the latter a clever attempt to borrow a slogan that gained some currency among opponents of American involvement in the unpopular Vietnam War.

The Arab League message, of course, stressed the importance of Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied since 1967 and the restoration of the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."

There were other signs of increased Arab propaganda sophistication. Reflecting the long-standing Arab effort to reach and to influence black Americans, the Kuwaiti Ministry of Oil and Finance later published its ad in a number of black publications, including a two-page spread in Jet, a popular, pocket-sized

weekly with a circulation of 565,000. The version in Jet included some added material specifically aimed at the black audience -- a boxed declaration that the most recent Arab summit meeting at Algiers had decided to set up a bank to finance development projects in Africa, and another box pointing out that "29 African nations have severed relations with Israel." In the spring of 1974, a tour of several Arab countries was arranged for a group of leading editors and officials of the black press in America -- another indication of growing Arab propaganda sophistication.

Clovis Maksoud

Early in 1974, with the embargo at its height and lengthening lines at American gasoline stations, the Arab League sent one of its top propagandists, Clovis Maksoud, a veteran newspaper man, to the U.S. for a lecture tour to win friends and influence people. His trip to the U.S. eventually lasted about six months and turned into a "fact-finding" mission that took him to 55 cities in 32 states and that culminated in recommendations to the Arab League headquarters for later stages of the propaganda campaign in the U.S.

In the Spring of 1975, following suspension of Secretary Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy and the negotiations between Egypt and Israel for a second interim agreement, Maksoud was again dispatched as a Special Envoy by the Arab League in an apparent effort to generate U.S. public resentment against what he termed Israel's "diversionary and delaying tactics." While some of his time was spent in Washington to build contacts on Capitol Hill and promote the Arab and PLO viewpoints, Maksoud again travelled to key cities around the country addressing prestigious audiences. These included the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, the Detroit Press Club, Rotary Clubs in

Chicago and San Antonio, the Mid-America Arab Chamber of Commerce in Chicago, and Chambers of Commerce in Dallas and Houston.

Hammering at the "inherent intransigence" of Israeli policies, Maksoud plugged the PLO line of a "democratic, secular state" for Moslems, Christians and Jews in what is now Israel, stressed the "centrality" of the Palestinian issue in the Middle East conflict, attacked "Zionism" and compared Israel with South Africa. He also warned that "open-ended" U.S. support for Israel could result in another oil embargo, softening the threat by noting that such a move by noting that such a move was not high on the Arab priority list.

Massive Advertising Campaign

The emphasis given by Maksoud to the demands of the PLO was in line with the broad thrust of Arab League propaganda since the Rabat conference a year ago. The commitment of the League to the PLO at that meeting quickly became evident in the U.S. With the Palestinian issue on the UN agenda, and having recognized Arafat and the PLO terrorists as "sole" representatives of the Palestinians, the Arab League put its money where its mouth was, via a second massive advertising campaign in top American newspapers from coast to coast. (And, as will be seen, the Arab League campaign was matched by a highly effective advertising effort carried out by the pro-PLO think tank complex in Beirut.)

On November 13, 1974 -- the day Arafat appeared before the UN General Assembly -- nine of America's leading newspapers* with a combined circulation

*The New York Times, 823,935; The Washington Post, 516,875; The Christian Science Monitor, 187,897; The Atlanta Constitution, 214,591; The Dallas Morning News, 260,580; The Detroit Free Press, 599,186; The Denver Post, 257,679; The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, 609,955; and The Los Angeles Times, 1,004,908.

of nearly 4.5 million, carried half-page Arab League ads headlined "Palestine and the U.N."

In the days after Arafat spoke, the Arab League used The New York Times, the Washington Post, the Christian Science Monitor, and the San Francisco Chronicle -- combined circulation, 1,986,870 -- for follow-up half-page ads headlined "What is the PLO?" A few days later there followed a quarter-pager in the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Los Angeles Times -- combined circulation, 2.3 million. The headline: "Palestine Lives."

Two of the three ads were published in New York City's major black newspaper, The Amsterdam News, with more than 75,000 circulation.

New Arab Publications

The growing volume and sophistication of official Arab propaganda in the U.S. also is apparent in other output and activity. Early in 1975, for example, the Arab League Information Center in Washington launched a well-produced and well-edited bi-weekly publication called Arab Report and a few months later, the West Coast Arab Information Center in San Francisco began publication of a similar four-pager -- this one a monthly -- called The Arabs-West Coast Report.

The two new publications supplemented the older Palestine Digest, a monthly booklet adorned with a glossy four-color cover, that consists entirely of reprints of news articles, columns, editorials and cartoons culled from English-language magazines and newspapers in the U.S., Britain, and the Middle East. Originally "soft sell" in its approach -- and stressing material from respected newspapers like the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Christian Science Monitor -- the five-year old Digest conveyed the aura of "objectivity" because of the respectable sources from which its material was drawn, while at the same time heavily weighting the content in a pro-Arab direction by careful selection.

In recent months, perhaps because a readership has already been established, the sources used by Palestine Digest for its reprints have become increasingly propagandistic, including pro-PLO magazines such as Middle East International, published in London, and a heavier portion of items from the English-language Beirut Daily Star.

Pamphlets distributed by the Arab Information Centers have always tended to be more obviously propagandistic. In 1975, however, the output indicated two significant changes: a heavier selection of new materials dealing with the Palestinian problem and originating from PLO and pro-PLO sources and slicker, more attractive covers. It also appeared that more of the printing was being done on presses in the U.S. and that the typography was more tuned to American eyes and reading habits.

One booklet distributed by the Arab League -- during 1974 -- was unusual. Entitled Jewish Critics of Zionism, it was written by a long-time Jewish anti-Zionist -- Moshe Menuhin -- and was mailed in mid-1974 by the Arab Information Centers to Jewish-Americans in various parts of the country. The mailing to Jews appeared to reflect two viewpoints held by some Arab propaganda strategists: first, that many Jews are lukewarm about Israel and can be weaned away, or neutralized, by the Arabs, and second, that certain anti-Zionist, anti-Israel Jews are useful in the battle for American public opinion.

In addition to Moshe Menuhin, well-known and long-time Jewish anti-Zionists include Rabbi Elmer Berger, Norton Mezvinsky, and Alfred Lilienthal. Rabbi Berger, long a leader of the American Council for Judaism, now operates American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism (AJAZ); he was recently invited to present a paper on the 1973 Middle East War at Cairo University, to take part in a TV film on Jews in Syria being produced in London, and to write a long autobiographical article for the Journal of Palestine Studies, a leading pro-PLO quarterly published in Beirut.

Mezvinsky is co-editor of SWASIA, a publication of the National Council of Churches. Lilienthal, who travels frequently to the Arab world, publishes Middle East Perspective and appears on lecture platforms and talk shows.

Other Jews who are vocal on the Middle East and whose emphasis on the recognition of Palestinian claims flows from their anti-war, "pro-peace," "anti-establishment" or New Left viewpoints, include MIT Professor Noam Chomsky, writer-activist Paul Jacobs, Alan Solomonow of the Committee for New Alternatives in the Middle East (CONAME), and Edmund (Ned) Hanauer who leads a small-Massachusetts-based group called SEARCH for Justice and Equality in the Middle East.

Arab League Member States

In the stepped-up propaganda activity of the Arab League member states, a major thrust took place in the Spring of 1975 when a team of seven top Saudi

Arabian officials criss-crossed the United States in what was variously described as a trade and investment mission, a good will tour to rebuild the Arab "image" in the U.S. that had been hurt by the oil embargo and the oil price increases, or both.

Five of the seven held graduate degrees from American universities and all were highly qualified to talk with U.S. businessmen and to handle relations with the media. They were led by Dr. Abdelrahman al-Zamel, the mission coordinator, who serves as a professor and as chairman of the General Studies Department at Saudi Arabia's University of Petroleum and Minerals. Dr. al-Zamel received a law degree from the University of Cairo and his Ph.D. in International Relations from the University of Southern California. At USC, his doctoral dissertation was entitled: The Effectiveness and Credibility of Arab Propaganda in the United States.

In a six-week period, during which the Saudi mission broke up into two and three-man teams to cover more ground, they reportedly visited 90 cities and met with approximately 20,000 American businessmen, encouraging them to look into business and investment opportunities in Saudi Arabia and joint ventures with the Saudis. In some cities, Dr. al-Zamel said, they spoke to "standing room only" crowds and were besieged by phone calls from American firms interested in doing business with Saudi Arabia.

The Saudi Arabian "pitch" was, however, highly political and in fact a major thrust of their message was that they, and the Arabs in general, do not and will not separate economics and politics. Their oil moves in 1973 and 1974, they said, were politically motivated. And, they added, if American businessmen are interested in profitable business relations with the Saudis and other Arab states, they had best be aware that such relations depend upon a proper "political climate" and a resolution of the Arab-Israeli dispute satisfactory to the Arabs and Palestinians.

The basic approach was characterized by the Arab Press Service as a "new 'polite' ultimatum" by the Saudis, comparable to mid-1973 warnings to Washington by the late King Faisal. APS termed the Saudi message a new signal to the U.S. that if American Mideast policy continued to acquiesce in "Israel's intransigence" and a new war broke out in the area, the Arabs would not only apply the oil weapon, as they had in 1973-4, but their "money weapon" as well, since in the Saudi view, the existing "'no war, no peace' situation in the Middle East is unacceptable and will no longer be tolerated." APS, reporting on the Saudi tour, said the delegation was "serving Washington with a firm notice, subtly worded but nevertheless strong enough to alert American officials and public opinion..."

Arab Press Service

APS, a Beirut-based service describes itself as "an independent centre for information and research" which "provides a weekly perspective of major developments in the Middle East with emphasis on the role played by Arab oil in finance and politics." Its International Edition was made available for the first time to U.S. subscribers in the business and financial communities early in 1975. APS, in fact, sponsored a series of seminars for these audiences in four U.S. cities during May -- Houston, New York, Los Angeles and Chicago. Included among the panelists were several members of the top-level Saudi delegation, including Dr. Farouk M. Akhdar, a top official in the Saudi Arabian Central Planning Organization and an expert in "oil economics."

Despite the fact that this close relationship had presumably given APS an authoritative insight into the basic purpose of the Saudi mission to the U.S., Akhdar -- according to the Washington Post of June 8, 1975 -- "rejected as inaccurate published reports that his mission in the United States is to use 'the money weapon' to induce U.S. pressure on Israel to compromise on outstanding issues in the Middle East."

Reports from around the country, however, indicated clearly that the APS analysis of the Saudi message was accurate and that trade opportunities with the Arabs in general and the Saudi Arabians in particular were dangled before thousands of American business leaders -- provided that the political posture of the U.S. in the Middle East was satisfactory to the Arabs and that a proper political climate was brought about.

Polite Threats and 'Anti-Zionism'

Boiled down to essentials, the Saudis said that in their view, a satisfactory political climate for trade with the U.S. involved Israeli withdrawal to pre-1967 boundaries and recognition of the "rights of the Palestinians." If the U.S. did not pressure Israel to accept these conditions, the Saudis would use their money weapon to place their trade with other countries and deposit their petrodollar reserves elsewhere.

This new attempt at Arab "blackmail" -- of the kind employed via the oil weapon in 1973 and 1974 -- was a dramatic example of linked Arab economic and political propaganda warfare in action and of the current Arab use of their money weapon for political and propaganda purposes. It indicates clearly how the Arab economic and propaganda master plans are being implemented and how the Arabs are exploiting their new clout to influence U.S. Middle Eastern policy.

The anti-Jewish thrust of the Arab offensive was likewise underscored by the actions of the top-level Saudi delegation. A major theme they emphasized was that the "Zionist movement" (or the "Zionist camp" and "Zionist groups"), by campaigning against the Arab Boycott and against dangers involved in heavy Arab investments on the U.S. economic scene, was acting against the best interests of the United States and was giving "stress to the purposes of Israel" -- a clear suggestion that American Jews have "dual loyalty." This is a charge long promoted by gutter-level Jew-baiters in the U.S. and in countries throughout the world.

Thus, for example, the San Francisco Chronicle of April 22, 1975 quoted Akhdar as blaming "the Zionist movement" for "engineering this campaign against the Arabs." The San Jose Mercury, also in northern California, reported on April 25, 1975 that Akhdar had asserted the "Zionist camp" in the U.S. served Israel's purposes and that he had added that "we feel a great many Americans feel that this is not in the interest of the U.S." A month later, the New Orleans Times-Picayune of May 20, 1975 reported that Akhdar "blamed Zionist groups within the U.S. for exerting pressure on the Congress and the Administration to prevent investment by the Arabs in this country." And on May 27, The Journal of Commerce, an interview with Akhdar datelined from Biloxi, Miss., reported that he had attributed anti-Arab resentment in the U.S. to "special interest groups, one of which he identified as Zionist..." Akhdar was quoted as stating that he had found most anti-Arab sentiment on the East and West coasts but that attitudes towards the Arabs in the South and Midwest were friendlier.

As for Dr. al-Zamel, he also underscored the harmful effects on U.S.-Saudi trade relations of the activities of "particular groups" within the United States which he charged, were manipulating American public opinion with respect to Arab investments in the U.S. and the Arab Boycott of Israel and U.S. firms doing business with Israel. He soothingly and repeatedly emphasized that the Arabs have no desire or intention of buying up American "factories, or land, or banks, or IBM," while at the same time detailing the profitable business opportunities for American firms being offered by Saudi Arabia and the "incentives" being held out by his government via joint ventures with U.S. companies: 50% interest-free loans on any joint venture; free land; an income-tax "holiday" for five years after the first day of production; and import tax protection that would tax competing imports more heavily than those coming in under joint ventures.

Emphasizing that the Arab Boycott was a legitimate weapon of foreign policy and would continue, and that the number of blacklisted firms would probably grow, Dr. al-Zamel stated over and over again that in the area of U.S.-Saudi trade opportunities, American businessmen should remember that everything depended on a favorable political "climate."

His message was: You help us and we'll help you, but bear in mind that we don't separate business and politics, that we are using oil, money and business opportunities as an instrument of our foreign policy, and if you want to take advantage of the profitable opportunities we offer, take steps to bring about the right climate and curb those who are harming it. If you don't, his message was, we will take our business elsewhere.

The attempt by the Saudis to sow resentment in the American business community against American Jews by referring to them as "Zionists" -- or by speaking of "certain groups" when their identity is obvious -- was an old technique long used by anti-Jewish propagandists who do not wish to be branded as such. It ignores the fact that overwhelmingly, Jews in the U.S. and the world over, whether they consider themselves Zionists or not, have made the survival of Israel as a Jewish State a profound commitment. Attacks against "Zionists" are therefore attacks on Jews -- in the U.S. and in the rest of the world.

The "anti-Zionist" aspect of the Saudi mission's propaganda effort found echoes in the Arab-led resolution at the United Nations later in 1975, seeking to equate Zionism with "racism," and in remarks made by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat during his visit to the United States. Sadat said that Egypt would continue to support the UN resolution which aroused considerable criticism in the U.S. and was denounced by the U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Daniel Moynihan, as "obscene." In his remarks on the subject at the National Press Club in Washington, Sadat also seized the occasion to regurgitate one of the oldest themes in anti-Jewish

propaganda -- that Jews wield undue economic influence in countries where they reside. He did so by claiming that in the early 1950's he could not buy a radio because a Jewish shopkeeper in Cairo, under orders from Zionism, refused to sell him one. Sadat added that "all our economy was in the hands of the Jews at that time."

The Saudi declarations against Zionism, the UN resolution branding Zionism as racism, and the Sadat statement were examples of what the Wall Street Journal, in an earlier editorial on April 21, 1975, said was "an organized policy" on the part of the "Arab nations" that tended "to export anti-Semitism into nations such as our own." The Journal referred to the Arab boycott of "certain banks and business concerns, professedly for 'Zionist' leanings but inevitably lapping over into anti-Semitism."

Saudi Arabian Press Service

The Saudi propaganda thrust represented by the coast-to-coast tour of the seven-man delegation was supplemented by the launching of a Saudi Arabian Press Service in the U.S. Like APS a Beirut-based propaganda and feature service, the Saudi Arabian Press Service made its appearance on the American scene early in 1975 and listed 2233 Wisconsin Ave. N.W., Washington D.C. as its address. (APS had listed 890 National Press Building in Washington as its U.S. address and James J. Marshall, President of Public Affairs Consultants of America (PACA) and a subsidiary, Government Information Services (GIS), as its Washington representative).

The Saudi Arabian Press Service identified Moss International, 1650 Foxhall Road, N.W. as its registered foreign agent. The firm is operated by Edward K. Moss, a veteran public relations executive, who resides at the Foxhall Road address.

A little earlier, toward the end of 1974, the Embassy of the United Arab Emirates in Washington had begun publication of a monthly UAE News -- an attractively printed newsletter whose cover was embellished with four colors.

Among the other Arab League members, Kuwait has been a leader in calling for stepped-up propaganda and informational activities on the U.S. scene. The Wall Street Journal of April 7, 1975, reported that at a meeting of the Arab oil states in Bahrain during December, 1974, Kuwait had pushed plans to spend \$15 million on public relations in the U.S. to polish the image of the Arab members of OPEC -- the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC). Many Arabs, the report said, felt that the Arab image in the U.S. had been damaged because of the oil embargo. The report indicated that the Kuwaiti proposal -- presumably a supplement to the Arab League game plan for propaganda -- was receiving "serious" attention from the ministers of the OAPEC countries. The dispatch added that no similar plan was under consideration for Europe because countries there were "so dependent on imported oil that the Arabs can afford to ignore their European image." So far as can be determined the plan promoted by Kuwait has not yet been approved.

The OAPEC public relations campaign pushed by Kuwait was matched by similar plans under consideration by the larger OPEC group, of which the Arab countries are leading members. In March, 1975, Business Week (March 24) disclosed that it had obtained a copy of an OPEC report dealing with proposals that the oil cartel spend several million dollars for advertising and public relations campaigns to counteract charges that its five-fold oil price increases were responsible for world-wide inflation and economic recession.

The OPEC report, Business Week said, showed that a delegation of editorial and advertising representatives from Reader's Digest (circulation, 18,817,328) had met with OPEC officials at the cartel's Vienna headquarters during January, 1975. They presented a proposal for an image-building campaign that would cost anywhere from \$1.97 million to \$4.53 million, "depending on

the length of the articles and the number of insertions." Business Week quoted the OPEC report as stating:

"The gentlemen made an impressive presentation regarding the nature of the problem to be tackled, the type of campaign to be mounted, and the target to which the effort should be directed. They suggested that the aim must be to correct the wrong, one-sided and bad image which has been given to OPEC, which has led in many quarters to suspicion, fear and even dislike."

According to Business Week, officials of the Reader's Digest said, in response to inquiries, that the "articles" mentioned in the OPEC report were strictly paid advertising, not editorial matter, and that the Digest representatives had gone to great lengths to explain to OPEC officials the difference between advertising and editorial content.

"If the oil group is confused about what is or is not paid advertising," the Business Week article drily noted, "it is not apparent from the rest of the report." The article went on to summarize the report's discussion of a proposal from PKL Advertising Inc., a New York advertising agency, for a multi-media OPEC campaign -- using TV, news weeklies, newspapers and radio -- by which the agency guaranteed that OPEC would reach "95% of adult Americans over and over again" -- and for "less than \$10 million."

The OPEC report called the cost of both the Digest and PKL proposals "excessive" but sought authorization to employ PKL or a similar agency for six months at a price to be negotiated. It also proposed "a limited contract with Reader's Digest for publication of a series of not more than four articles, specially commissioned if necessary."

The implications of both projects suggest the massive potentials of Arab opinion-molding in the U.S. and the vast audiences the Arabs can reach on the battlefield for American opinion with respect to the Middle East.

Kuwait, which pushed the OAPEC public relations project, has for many years issued a monthly bulletin called Kuwait through its permanent mission at the UN. The editor is Dr. Fayez Sayegh, a top Arab propagandist and former head of the Arab League's information operations in the U.S.

Meanwhile, perhaps the most bizarre manifestation of the Arab League propaganda presence on the U.S. scene took place late in September, 1975, when Dr. Khalid I. Babaa, director of the West Coast Arab Information Center in San Francisco, was invited by DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, to serve as convention speaker at "Old Gold Day" during the institution's annual "homecoming" weekend for alumni and their families.

The Palestine Liberation Organization

The most visible results of the Rabat conference commitment of the Arab League to the PLO -- political support and financial subventions of \$50 million a year for four years -- were the appearance on the U.S. scene of two new PLO monthly magazines. One, called Palestine, made its first appearance dated January/February 1975, described itself as a "PLO information bulletin" and indicated that it was being published in both English and French by "The Palestine Liberation Organization Unified Information," P.O. Box 8984, Beirut. The other, titled Palestine Lives! carried the imprimatur of the PLO Department of Information and National Guidance, P.O. Box 5383-11, Beirut.

The first issue of Palestine was geared to the 10th anniversary of the PLO and to the theme, "What do the Palestinians want?" The main articles featured a "Salute" by Arafat to his "comrades in arms" that was headlined "The Year of Revolutionary Escalation and Unity"; an article on the "Kfar-Chouba Battle" as "A New Karamah; one on the "November Mass Uprising" in 1974 on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip; and an article on the "hunger strike" by Archbishop Capucci, a clergyman convicted by the Israelis of arms smuggling.

The biggest play, however, was reserved for the full text of Arafat's UN speech, with a two-page center spread full color photograph of the scene in the UN General Assembly chamber as he spoke.

Other features:

-- UN resolutions on the Palestinian question.

-- Alleged atrocity photos said to have been taken in the wake of Israeli raids against "refugee camps" in Lebanon, including one headline, "Schools and Clinics Favourite Targets of Israeli warplanes."

-- "Palestine Notes" including captions such as "Zionist Defense Budget for 1975-1976 Indicative of Israel's Aggressive Intentions" and "Jewish Immigration to Israel Drops 46%"

-- An article entitled "UNESCO Penalizes Israel"

-- A back cover, like the front cover in full color, showing a Palestinian carrying a baby in his arms amidst rubble and the headlined slogan, "HALT ISRAELI AIR RAIDS AGAINST PALESTINE CAMPS."

As for Palestine Lives! the third issue -- dated April, 1975 -- carried an editorial ("Towards A New Confrontation") gloating over the then-recent suspension of Secretary Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy efforts between Egypt and Israel as "a new defeat for the American imperialist policy!" There was also an article extolling the March 5-6, 1975 raid at the Savoy Hotel "in the heart of Tel Aviv." It noted that the raid came at "a crucial time in the history of our struggle" because "Henry the magician was in the middle of his latest round of tricks here: and the Tel Aviv operation defiantly told the world that any peace which neglects the Palestinians' rights has no chance of success."

A PLO "Communique to the Arab Nation -- Let us fight against the American solutions!" was another featured item that talked of the "US-Zionist conspiracy against the Arab cause" and warned against "the great dangers of American activity to realize joint U.S.-Zionist aims in the region...."

Other articles in the issue bore such headlines as "The Palestinian Woman - At the Heart of the Struggle," "The Lebanese Troubles," Solidarity Between French and Palestinian Workers," "Systematic Terror Inside Israeli Jails..." "Who Are the Terrorists?" and "Hunger Strikes in Israeli Jails."

With respect to Israel, also, there were three briefer items telling of a "Strike Wave in Israel," of "Growing Crime Since the October War," and a report on the World Jewish Congress General Assembly in Jerusalem - "the first to be held in occupied Palestine" -- which told as well of a demonstration by Soviet Jews outside the meeting hall "protesting against their conditions during their integration into Israeli society." The item concluded: "And so, having learnt nothing from all its past mistakes, Zionism continues its forced march...towards the precipice."

Perhaps the most interesting item, however, was a lengthy report on the launching of a new publishing house -- "Dar el-Fata el Arabi (House of Arab Youth)" which had just published its first collection of books -- 67 volumes in seven different "series, for various age groups from 4 to 15. The article noted that "the whole idea grew originally from discussions some years ago at the PLO Planning Centre" that had resulted in the 1972 publication of a booklet outlining "The Philosophy of Education for Palestinian Arabs." The books, published by House of Arab Youth as a "pan-Arab publishing house" were printed in various languages including English. The Chief Editor was quoted as stating that "we try to make the books so the children learn the facts about our Arab problems." Quotations from the 1972 PLO booklet indicated that the basic purpose was "developing a militant spirit in the Palestinian Arabs" (now broadened to include all Arabs), "strengthening the tie with the Palestinian land and country among the new generation which did not inhabit Palestine nor see it" and "spurring the imagination of this generation to imagine Palestine, to love it, and to long for it."

The article concluded that "the whole production, all 67 titles, is certainly faithful to the high aim set out in the PLO Planning Centre's program."

Propaganda for the Faithful

It is clear that so far, at least, the tone and content of the new PLO publications is not aimed at the general American audience or at uncommitted readers in the U.S. and in other countries. The PLO monthlies, it seems clear, are aimed at the faithful and at the convinced true believers already on the PLO side or sympathetic to it. They are inspirational and aimed at exhorting the faithful to continued commitment and effort. Heavy with sloganeering, they are designed to supply the PLO following around the world with information, official texts and communiques, and with items useful in scoring debating points and at casting the main enemies of the PLO -- the U.S., Israel and "Zionists" -- in the role of imperialism's villains.

Pamphlets originating with the PLO, which now reach a larger audience in the U.S. because they are being distributed in greater quantity by the Arab League's five information centers here, tend to sound more "objective." The quality of the printing and the graphics appears to be better than earlier PLO efforts.

The basic themes, perhaps a reaction to widespread condemnation of PLO terrorism over the years, recently have tended to stress what the PLO brands as "Israeli Terrorism" as well as legal arguments of the Palestinians in the conflict with the Jewish State.

While some of the PLO pamphlets -- for example Crime and No Punishment -- Brief Record of Israeli Terrorism -- bear the imprimatur of the PLO's Depart-

ment of Information and National Guidance in Beirut and incorporate material prepared by the PLO Research Center there, several now current are imprinted "Free Palestine, P.O. Box 21096, Kalorama Station, Washington, D.C. 20009." This is the name and address of a now-defunct pro-Fatah tabloid that appeared on the U.S. scene in the late 1960s. (a tabloid, carrying the same name, logotype and format is still published regularly in London.)

The PLO office in the U.S., located in New York, opened in the mid-1960s. A recent New York Times report noted that "the position of the Palestinian representatives in the diplomatic community here was enhanced last year when after the visit by Mr. Arafat, the General Assembly voted to give the PLO privileges to participate as an observer in its sessions and all meetings under United Nations auspices." The Times report added that 15 to 20 PLO representatives were expected by Zehdi Labib Terzi, acting head of the PLO office, to join him and his deputy during UN debate on the Palestine question.

Greater Acceptance

It remains to be seen, however, whether the PLO headquarters in Beirut will enlarge its structure and activities on the U.S. scene as the result of the substantial subventions now available to it because of the Arab League's Rabat commitments.

Despite its widely-denounced terrorist activities and the size of its U.S. operation in New York, the PLO has scored some gains on the American front in the last few years. In the American press there has appeared to be a somewhat greater degree of acceptance of the idea, promoted by the PLO and its supporters, that the Palestinian question is an important ingredient in any hope for overall settlement of the Middle East conflict. This greater

acceptance, however, does not necessarily extend to the claims of the PLO itself to be the legitimate voice of the Palestinians.

Despite its terrorism, moreover, the PLO itself has gained a certain degree of acceptance and respectability as the result of the support given it in the last year by the Arab League and the United Nations.

Such acceptance, in the U.S. and elsewhere, comes from elements of the Left that support the PLO as a so-called "national liberation movement" that is "anti-imperialist" (although such elements have long rejected Zionism as a Jewish "national liberation movement" and Israel as its product).

There likewise appears to be a greater degree of acceptance than existed, for example, after the Six Day War, from some segments of the American liberal community. These segments include some influential church organizations with overseas stakes in the Middle East and some groups that were active against U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. The church people's acceptance stems in part from their sympathy for the problems, needs and aspirations of the Third World; they appear to perceive the claim of the Palestinians as one such aspiration and they tend to accept the PLO as the voice of the Palestinians.

The anti-war groups tend to perceive the Middle East as another potential Vietnam and tend to oppose U.S. support for Israel; at the same time, they place on Israel the onus for concessions to the Arabs and the PLO which, they feel, will facilitate a Middle East "peace." They tend to ignore Israel's concern for its future security and to gloss over the lack of convincing evidence that the Arabs and the PLO have abandoned their long-stated goal of destroying Israel as an independent Jewish State. They tend, instead, to take at face value Arab and PLO claims, not supported by actions, of a

readiness to "accept" Israel as a fait accompli, Arab and PLO calls for a "democratic, secular state" or Arab statements urging a Palestinian State on the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip. Finally, they tend to ignore the fact that with the possible exception of Lebanon, there is not a single democratic, secular state in the entire Arab world, that such a state in the Holy Land would mean the destruction of Israel as a Jewish State, and that a West Bank-Gaza Strip Palestinian state could be a launching pad for an assault on Israel. They also ignore evidence that to the PLO such a State would merely be a "first step" toward more far-reaching Palestinian actions aimed at Israel.

In short, the gains scored by the PLO stem less from its own actions and activities on the U.S. scene than from the existence of elements in American life whose own ideologies and concerns have given them a certain built-in pro-Palestinian bias.

At the same time, moreover, the PLO message is reaching the American propaganda battleground through the activities of pro-PLO organizations both in the Arab world and on the American homefront. The activities of these organizations - Arab, Arab-American and pro-Arab American - have had a greater outreach in the U.S. than the activities and propaganda of the PLO itself.

The Beirut Propaganda "Think Tanks"

Paralleling official Arab League and PLO propaganda activities are those of the "unofficial" pro-Palestinian and pro-PLO "think tanks" based in Beirut and operated by a highly-placed, "elite" array of intellectuals. These "brain-trusters" have close ties with the PLO, the PLO Research Center in Beirut, pro-PLO activists in America, and pro-"Third World" members of the "intelligentsia" around the world. Several of these brain-trusters were tapped to draw up the Arab economic warfare master plan. Others reportedly helped prepare Arafat's speech to the UN Assembly.

One of these Beirut-based PLO fronts, highly visible on the U.S. landscape in the last year, is the Lebanese Association for Information on Palestine (LAIP). LAIP was formed late in 1973 as an amalgamation of three closely interlocked pro-PLO groups that had been active since the end of the Six-Day War: The Fifth of June Society, the Friends of Jerusalem and the Arab Women's Information Committee.

Late in September and early in October of 1974, LAIP published a series of four half-page ads, each headlined "Who Are the Palestinians?" that appeared in The New York Times and the Washington Post; they followed a full-page curtain-raiser in each paper headlined "A Just Peace for the Palestinians" and billed as "An Open Letter to the American People" (a favorite Arab advertising format since their massive advertising campaigns got under way late in 1973). The "Who Are the Palestinians?" half-pagers featured case history profiles of individual Palestinians depicted as victimized because of Israel.

The New Sophistication in Action

The day Arafat spoke, the full-page "Open Letter" appeared again in the Times and in the two days that followed, six other top American papers with

combined circulations of more than 3.25 million* carried half-page LAIP insertions headlined "Is There a Solution for the Palestine Question?" (Answer: there is, if PLO demands are met.)

The tone and content of these LAIP advertisements on the Palestinian issue revealed the new sophistication of Arab propaganda in the United States and the high caliber of those in charge of the LAIP organization. Clearly evident was an understanding of American psychology and of American historical and political traditions -- not only references to Tom Paine, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, but to traditional American hatred for oppression and sympathy for the underdog. Woven into the copy was language playing on fears in the U.S. of a confrontation with the Soviet Union and of a military involvement in the Middle East only a short time after the unpopular war in Vietnam.

Few Americans, for example, would readily spot the "destroy Israel" message wrapped up in a paragraph like this one:

"Their (the Palestinians') aim is that Palestine should become a state which is neither exclusively Arab nor exclusively Jewish, in which there is no discrimination on grounds of race or religion, and which will exemplify the ideals of secular democracy for both Palestinian Arab and Israeli Jew."

Likewise disarming for American readers was another passage in one of the LAIP ads:

"As Palestinians, we realize that the Jewish people have been cruelly oppressed in many parts of the world and that their problem too demands a solution. But this cannot be a Zionist solution or any other

*The Washington Post, 516,875; Wall Street Journal, all editions, 1,251,544; St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 320,646; Detroit Free Press, 599,186; Christian Science Monitor, 187,897; Miami Herald, 381,927

sort of exclusivist solution. It must be a humane one which will enable Israelis and Palestinians to live together in peace. This can only come about in the context of a non-sectarian and democratic state which will enable all of its inhabitants to develop intellectually, culturally and spiritually. We want our rights, we want to go home, and we want a chance to live a decent life, but we certainly don't wish to do to the Israelis what they did to us."

This was the most effective Arab propaganda to reach American audiences since the establishment of Israel. The PLO "message" was expertly merchandised and packaged. The PLO's record of terrorism was avoided and its negative image was camouflaged behind a "front group" not readily recognizable by the average American reader. It was "soft sell" at its best.

The Institute for Palestine Studies

The same sophistication -- overlaid with the "tone" and format of scholarship -- is evident in the output of the other main pro-PLO "think tank" based in Beirut and operated by pro-PLO intellectuals. Cooperating closely with IAIP is the Institute for Palestine Studies which, jointly with the University of Kuwait, publishes the well-edited and scholarly looking English language quarterly called The Journal of Palestine Studies. The Journal resembles in appearance and format the array of scholarly quarterlies published on, or close to, university campuses in the U.S. and elsewhere in the world. Like them, it is aimed at, and circulates among, scholars, faculty members and students at colleges and universities in the U.S., and is distributed in Europe -- Great Britain, France and Denmark, for example -- and in Australia.

Closely linked to the PLO, the Institute for Palestine Studies was formally launched in mid-1965, shortly after Al Fatah got started. Institute operations were originally oiled by "substantial contributions from the Ruler of Kuwait" and by several wealthy Lebanese; that Kuwaiti oil money may still fuel the operations

of the Institute and the Journal of Palestine Studies is suggested by the fact that the Journal is published by the Institute itself jointly with the University of Kuwait.

Brain Trusters

One of those present at the news conference in 1965 that formally announced formation of the Institute was Burhan Dajani, a founder and a director of the Institute and a member of the Journal's editorial board. According to the Beirut Daily Star of October 20, 1965, Dajani pointed out that the presence in Beirut of the PLO Research Center did not imply that there would be any overlapping of tasks between the Center and the new Institute of Palestine Studies.

He explained, the Beirut Daily Star reported, "that the work has been coordinated between them and it has been agreed that the two would combine their efforts toward the common goal."

Dajani has been a lecturer in Business Administration at the American University in Beirut, has served as director of the Union of Arab Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture and visits the U.S. frequently for speaking tours. He is a key figure in the LAIP-Institute-PLO "complex" in Beirut and was identified as one of the authors of the 1973 Arab master plan for economic warfare.

Another of the authors -- also a key figure among the Palestinian think-tank elite -- was Dr. Youssef Sayegh, Chairman of the Department of Economics at the American University in Beirut and head of the Planning Board of the PLO.

Youssef Sayegh's brother, Anis, in recent years was active in the work of the three Beirut pro-PLO organizations that merged in 1973 to form LAIP. Well-known in the Arab world as a writer on Palestine and Arab affairs, Anis Sayegh has served as a publications expert for the Arab League and as Director-General of the PLO Research Center. (Another Sayegh brother, Fayez, as noted, was the

former head of the Arab League information operations here, and is now an advisor to the Kuwaiti Delegation at the United Nations.)

Still another key personality in the Beirut think-tank complex is Professor Walid Khalidi, like Dajani one of the founders of the Institute for Palestine Studies. A professor of political science at the American University in Beirut, Khalidi has been a member of the editorial board of the Journal of Palestine Studies, is a well-known scholar and author on Palestinian issues, and visits the United States from time to time for speaking appearances.

Other members of the Khalidi family are also active in top PLO and pro-PLO think-tank activities. Among them are Rasha Khalidi, identified as co-chairman of LAIP, and Mrs. Randa Khalidi el-Fattal, an Oxford Graduate who was formerly with the Arab Information Center in New York and who served with the PLO delegation that accompanied Arafat to the UN in 1974.

A Veneer of Objectivity

These pro-PLO brain trusters -- and others -- have managed to give the Journal of Palestine Studies a veneer of scholarly-looking "objectivity" that masks its heavily-slanted pro-PLO content. Billed as "A Quarterly on Palestinian Affairs and the Arab-Israeli Conflict," each issue carries some half-dozen major articles, several of them usually produced by various of the think-tank experts in Beirut or by other leading Arab and Palestinian writers in the Middle East, the U.S. and elsewhere. Other by-lines are often those of non-Arabs sympathetic to the cause -- newspapermen, scholars and activists from the U.S., Great Britain and other countries. (Two newsmen whose by-lines have appeared in the Journal are John Cooley, Middle East correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, who is based in Beirut, and Lawrence Mosher of The National Observer in Washington who frequently writes on subjects related to the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict.)

Mohammed Hassanein Heikal, a confidant of the late Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser and former editor of Egypt's authoritative newspaper, Al-Ahram.

Sayegh, with Heikal, was scheduled as the main AAUG banquet speaker and was identified as a member of the Palestine National Council. His subject: "The New Realities and the Palestine Question." An economist by profession, Sayegh's role in helping to draft the Arab master plan for economic warfare was recalled by the subject of a panel assignment for which he was also listed -- "Arab Oil Politics: Self-Interest Versus International Responsibility."

Dajani, as it turned out, was unable to attend the AAUG gathering where he had been scheduled as a speaker at one of the several forums on the program-- that dealing with "Palestine and Israel: Realities and Visions."

The 1975 AAUG convention adopted a number of resolutions, one of which saluted the UN "for correctly identifying Zionism as a form of racism" and called on the American people "to condemn Zionism in the Middle East and apartheid in South Africa ...". Another called on the U. S. Congress to deny aid to Israel, while a third called for Arab unity and the mobilization of Arab "national interests, human resources and capital ... to face Zionism and imperialism."

The convention condemned the Sinai agreements, declaring that the Association "opposes all agreements between any of the Arab States and the Zionist entity (Israel) which entail Arab acceptance of continued Zionist (Israeli) occupation of any part of the Arab national homeland ...". At the same time, the AAUG called for "total support of the just struggle of the Palestinian people to restore their unconditional national sovereignty over Palestine" and supported the PLO in its "mobilization of all resources to achieve the

unconditional liberation of Palestine, to bring to an end imperialist and Zionist presence therein and to establish a non-sectarian democratic state for all Palestinians irrespective of faith, language or national origin."

An unscheduled speaker at the convention was Stokeley Carmichael, the former black nationalist activist in the U. S. and now resident in Africa. He was applauded when he called for the destruction of Israel and charged that "Zionism" controls not only the mass media but the entire world's educational outlook and that it must therefore be hit everywhere and without letup.

Carmichael also voiced support for Ugandan dictator Idi Amin who had appeared at the UN to call for the destruction of Israel; he conceded that Amin had killed many Ugandans but asserted that a revolutionary must expect blood and that the issue was not whether Idi Amin kills, but how and why. Carmichael added that a lot of intellectuals of the West need to be killed.

AAUG's activity for the Palestinian cause dates from its inception in the fall of 1967, shortly after the Six Day War. Abdeen Jabara, a leftist Detroit lawyer, was its main moving spirit in the early years, serving as editor in the late 1960s and early 1970s of Free Palestine, now defunct, but at the time the main pro-Fatah organ in the U.S. Jabara remains an AAUG leader.

AAUG was accorded tax-exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service in 1970, but in mid-1973, the IRS moved to revoke that status because of certain AAUG advertisements that had appeared in The New York Times and the Washington Post during 1971 which the IRS charged were political rather than educational. The AAUG successfully contested the IRS action and retains its tax-exemption.

The activism of the AAUG and its highly-motivated professors, professionals, and intellectuals, all of them familiar with the U.S. scene, has made the

organization the most effective of the Arab-American organizations -- at least so far. The thrust of the AAUG belies its relatively small membership which, including associate members who are not necessarily Arab-American university graduates, totals 1,000 at best. Like its think-tank counterparts in Beirut, operated by small but elite cadres, AAUG illustrates the concept of quality -- not quantity. Its impact is aided by the broad geographical distribution of its leadership and membership throughout the U.S. and Canada -- and by its links to the pro-PLO propagandists and strategists in Beirut.

The AAUG has perhaps a dozen chapters scattered around the U.S., publishes a well-edited, professional looking newsletter for its members, and has carried out sustained activity for the Palestinian cause on college campuses and in other forums from coast to coast.

AAUG leaders and members are prolific writers, frequent speakers, produce scholarly "Information Papers" which AAUG publishes, and write books, some of which are issued in paperback by Medina University Press International, Wilmette, Illinois. AAUG professors and legal scholars have served as witnesses before Congressional committees studying aspects of the Middle East problem, have organized pro-Palestinian marches and rallies, have been resource persons at Middle East "teach-ins", have arranged for TV shows to present the pro-PLO viewpoint, and have organized symposiums for school teachers on such subjects as "The Arab World: Its People and Culture."

AAUG's Expanding Thrust

In the last year, AAUG has begun to expand the scope and range of its activities and is rapidly extending its thrust and its outreach deeper into the grass roots of America. At the same time, it is forging closer links to several of the oil-rich Arab states by functioning as a resource and consulting service

on such problems as "the brain drain" from the Arab world, the problems of education in Arab countries, and the development of human resources in the Arab world.

Two AAUG delegations, for example, visited Iraq and Libya during March, 1975, to work out details for such services by their organization to those countries. Already scheduled was a full-dress AAUG conference in Kuwait at the end of 1975 on "Issues in Human Resources Development in the Arab World" which followed an invitation to the AAUG by the University of Kuwait. A maximum of 150 AAUG participants was established, with Kuwait providing what the AAUG Newsletter of July, 1975, described as a "limited travel subsidy."

With respect to Libya, the May, 1975 Newsletter reported that "a tentative agreement has been reached between the AAUG and the Libyan Institute for Arab Development calling for their financial support of a projected manpower survey in the U.S. and the joint publication of a journal on Arab studies." The report added that "a joint committee has been formed to finalize the agreement."

The arrangement with Iraq was being handled by Professor Ibrahim Abu Lughod of Northwestern, a top AAUG heavyweight, whose delegation visited three Iraqi universities and the Center of Palestine Study at Baghdad University.

The manpower survey, described as a survey of Arab-American talent in the U.S. and Canada and which formed part of the agreement with Libya, was launched during the summer of 1975, according to an item in the July, 1975, AAUG Newsletter.

The extent, if any, of financial support from the three Arab oil states for the services provided by AAUG was not disclosed.

The Education Front

These activities, carried out by members of AAUG's "Link (with the Arab

world) Committee" were paralleled by the activities of other key committees in the AAUG structure.

-- An AAUG unit undertook the creation of a Speakers Bureau.

-- The Education Committee, set up to review instructional materials in U. S. elementary and secondary schools to identify bias against the Arab people or their culture and history, recommended that this work be concentrated, in its initial stages, in California, Massachusetts and Michigan -- presumably states where AAUG manpower for the work was most readily available. The AAUG Board of Directors approved the recommendation at a March meeting in Detroit.

The chairman of the Education Committee, Ayad al-Qazzaz, an Associate Professor of Sociology at California State University, Sacramento, gave several lectures on the image of Arabs in school textbooks and the mass media. In May, at Berkeley, he discussed "Stereotypes of the Arab in the American Mass Media". Earlier, in March, he presented a paper on the treatment of the Arab-Israeli conflict in junior and senior high school texts before the Pacific Chapter of the American Association for Public Opinion Research in Los Angeles, and another on the image of the Arab in elementary and junior high school textbooks at the 14th annual meeting of the California Social Studies Teachers' Council.

-- Professor al-Qazzaz was one of three AAUG members, who with four other scholars, collaborated with William J. Griswold of Colorado State University in writing a booklet entitled The Image of the Middle East in Secondary School Textbooks. It was published in 1975 by the Middle East Studies Association of North America, Inc., located at the Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near East Studies at New York University. The authors were part of a "Committee on the Image of the Middle East in Secondary Education" formed by the Association in 1971 to carry out the study.

--Also on the education front, AAUG members in the San Francisco and Sacramento areas held the Second Annual Symposium on "The Arab World: Its People and Culture" in two sessions, one in each city, attended by 140 elementary and high school teachers in the area. Professor al-Qazzaz was one of the coordinators; the other was Jean Kalil, president of the AAUG Northern California Chapter.

In another facet of the AAUG effort to penetrate the classroom, AAUG member Jerrold Fix, a social studies teacher at Arrowhead High School in Hartland, Wisconsin, near Milwaukee, founded the Committee for the Promotion of Middle East Studies in American Secondary and Primary Schools, took his class to Libya as guests of the Libyan regime of Col. Khadaffi, and achieved a writeup on the project in The New York Times during June, 1975. The Times reported that his students "returned with many stereotypes erased and with appreciation of the way the Arab country is expanding." Earlier in 1975, moreover, Fix wrote a form letter to members of his committee indicating that he had "been invited to visit the Arabian Gulf nation of Qatar, in early April." He said he would "seek to gather information for use by teachers seeking to establish sound Middle East curricula" and, he concluded: "The willingness of the State of Qatar to underwrite this trip is, I believe, indicative of their interest in the goals of the 'Committee'."

'Palestine is the Issue'

One of the most heralded achievements of the AAUG during 1975, as its activities expanded, was the completion and issuance of a 43-minute sound-film-strip in color called Palestine is the Issue. The AAUG Newsletter of May, 1975, described it as "a comprehensive introduction to the Palestine question from the rise of political Zionism in the 19th Century to the bombing of Lebanese refugee

camps in 1974." The producers of the filmstrip, Allen Carr -- a member -- and his wife, Jeanne, the AAUG said, "traveled to Israel, the West Bank, Jordan and Lebanon, interviewed Palestinians in all walks of life, and photographed such significant illustrations of Israel occupation as destroyed villages and olive groves, ruined mosques, churches, and cemeteries, and shops which had been closed and branded by military police for passive resistance to the occupation."

AAUG said the filmstrip is "suitable for discussion at clubs, churches, service organizations and political groups" and that it was available in a two-part format where schedules did not permit showing of the entire 43 minutes and that sophisticated synchronization of multiple photographs "to a special score of Arab and Western music makes it well adapted for showing on television stations."

The AAUG writeup of its own filmstrip continued: "Through extensive news documentation and historical photographs, the filmstrip recounts the demographic transformation of Palestine from a settled and productive Arab country to the settler-state of modern Israel in one generation. United States policy is sharply criticized with some surprising statistical documentation of the effects and extent of United States aid, such as our \$5.3 billion military assistance to Israel in 1974. It calls for a clear revision of U.S. policy in the Middle East, and for the establishment of a democratic, non-sectarian state in Palestine with equal rights and responsibilities for Arab and Jew, Christian and Muslim alike."

The AAUG filmstrip is being sold -- not rented or loaned -- at \$100 a print to non-AAUG members, \$75 to AAUG chapters and \$50 to individual AAUG members. Members were urged to see that their "local non-Arab organizations

order a copy" and were reminded that they "may also wish to donate a copy to their local school or library."

NAAA -- The 'Arab Lobby'

Like the AAUG, the National Association of Arab Americans -- the other major Arab-American organization active in the U.S. -- is growing and is rapidly expanding its activities.

Incorporated in Virginia on April 24, 1972, the NAAA is a political action organization whose goal is to influence American Middle Eastern policy through political activity aimed at the election to Congress of Arab-Americans and others sympathetic to the Arab viewpoint.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the stated goals of the NAAA are not only the election of Congressmen and Senators who are pro-Arab, but the mobilization of Arab-Americans in political activity for that purpose, and for lobbying in the Arab cause. Although leaders of the NAAA have repeatedly denied that it is a lobby, the NAAA Constitution declared that the Association "will conduct regular meetings and maintain official communications with appropriate officials in Washington, D.C. or elsewhere within the continental limits of the U.S.A., in order to exchange opinions and formulate plans for the avowed purpose of encouraging better relations and policies between the United States of America and the countries of the Arab world."

NAAA is not registered as a lobby. NAAA dues are not tax deductible and the organization is not tax exempt.

In terms of membership, NAAA, like AAUG, can hardly be called a mass organization -- at least not yet. Its actual membership probably numbers no more than a few thousand, but its goal is to serve as a nationwide Arab "umbrella" organization that would speak for scores of local and regional Arab-American organizations throughout the United States.

NAAA's basic constituency differs somewhat from that of the AAUG. AAUG represents, in a sense, the Arab-American "left" -- mainly scholars, academicians, a certain number of professionals and the activist "intelligentsia." Religiously it is more Moslem than the NAAA which is predominantly Christian and which reflects the political "center" and the more "conservative" segments of the Arab-American community -- businessmen, merchants, business-oriented professionals, and doctors.

After apparent initial friction, NAAA and AAUG appear to have worked out a cooperative modus vivendi -- a kind of de facto division of labor that appears to conform to the Arab "master plan" for changing U.S. opinion and policy with respect to the Middle East.

NAAA is concentrating on mobilizing the Arab-American community for political action and will "lobby" for pro-Arab policies in Washington. AAUG is continuing its outreach on college and university campuses, in the academic community, and in the intellectual world where its long-time pro-PLO line, its left-oriented ideology and its "Third World" aura enjoy more receptivity.

The two drew closer together ideologically when the NAAA, at its Third Annual Convention in Washington during May, 1975, adopted a resolution calling for the U.S. Government "to recognize officially the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

A White House Meeting

The high point in the NAAA's brief history came some weeks later -- on June 26, 1975 -- when top leaders of the NAAA met for 40 minutes at the White House with President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger in what The Voice, NAAA's monthly newsletter, called "a historic meeting."

The NAAA leaders expressed approval of the U.S. Middle Eastern policy

"reassessment" then current, but told the President of their concern that other "basic fundamental problems" not be overlooked. They identified these as implementation of UN Resolution 242; the rights of the Palestinian people; recognition of the PLO; a special status for Jerusalem; "the continuous incursions by the state of Israel into Lebanon"; the state of the U.S. economy, "and the attitudes that prevail in Congress that are keeping more petrodollars from being invested in the U.S."

If it was a high point in the history of the burgeoning Arab-American lobby on the U.S. scene, the White House meeting was not, by any means, the first time the NAAA had made its views known to top officials of the Administration, or to the U.S. Congress.

On earlier occasions, Association leaders had met with Under-secretary of State for Political Affairs Joseph J. Sisco, with assistants to Dr. Kissinger when he was serving as National Security Advisor to former President Nixon, and with former Secretary of State William Rogers.

NAAA spokesmen, likewise, have on several occasions testified before Congressional committees and sub-committees concerned with Middle Eastern matters. In November, 1973, for example, Dr. Peter Tanous, first president of the NAAA, a West Point graduate, a Ph.D. and a former White House aide in the Eisenhower administration, testified twice in opposition to the \$2.2 billion aid program for Israel then under consideration. Tanous, now a Washington, D.C. businessman engaged in international trade and marketing, appeared once before the Foreign Operations Sub-Committee of the Senate Appropriations Committee and once before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee then headed by Sen. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas.

Tanous was succeeded by Richard Shadyac, a Washington attorney who has

been a moving spirit in the Association since it was founded, and by Edmond Howar, an investment builder in Washington and an NAAA vice-president, who was elected president at the third NAAA convention in May, 1975.

The 1975 convention was, in fact, a measure of the growing presence and influence of the NAAA on the Washington scene. The convention received a message of greeting from President Ford and was addressed by Under-secretary of State Sisco, by Presidential Assistant William J. Baroody, Jr. and by his father, William J. Baroody, Sr., president of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, a leading Washington think tank. (Another Baroody son, Joseph Baroody, a Washington public relations man, was elected an NAAA vice-president at the convention.)

Among the other featured speakers were Sen. James Abourezk (D., S.D.) who has been a mentor of the Association since it was founded and a speaker at most of its major gatherings. Along with Abourezk, the first Arab-American elected to the Senate, were the other Arab-American members of Congress, Rep. James Abdnor (R., S.C.), Rep. Abraham Kazen (D., Texas) and the newest Arab-American member, Rep. Toby Moffett (D., Conn.), all of whom addressed remarks to the NAAA convention.

An array of Arab diplomats and propagandists also appeared on the platform at the convention, including Clovis Maksoud, Farouk Akhdar of the Saudi Arabian delegation then in the country, plus Tahsin Bashir, Egypt's top press spokesman, and Said Ghabash, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates.

The impetus for NAAA support for recognition of the PLO came from outgoing President Shadyac who urged the convention members to dedicate themselves to the cause of the PLO. He said:

"...I am absolutely convinced that if we do our job, if we let our Congressmen and Senators know the true facts, I am sure that the Palestine Liberation Organization, the duly elected representatives of the Palestinian people, will receive recognition from the United States government. It is YOU, that can do the job. That is the message I want to bring to you. Don't let anyone sway you away from your path. Leave here committed to speak about recognition of the PLO."

NAAA Becomes Visible

The NAAA's first visible thrust into the battle arena for American public opinion came on October 14, 1973, while the Yom Kippur War was raging. On that date, the Association published a full-page advertisement in The Washington Post that was headlined "Everything you always wanted to know about the Middle East Conflict . . . but were afraid to ask."

The text -- a series of answers to the question, "Did you know..." ran the full gamut of standard Arab propaganda themes -- some of them with anti-Jewish overtones -- on Middle Eastern "history," the plight of the Palestinians, Jewish "terrorism," the "Law of Return," Jewish "Double Loyalty," "Zionism" (as a breeder of anti-Semitism), U.S. aid to Israel, U.J.A. tax-exemption, UN Resolution 242, and UN "condemnations" of Israel.

In its concluding paragraphs, the NAAA ad charged that "we Americans are having our foreign policy whipsawed by a minority pressure group and that nearly every presidential and congressional candidate is heavily financed by American Zionists in exchange for support for Israel..." The NAAA declared that "there will be no peace between Israel and her neighbors until the occupied lands are

returned in accord with UN resolutions, and until Israel recognizes the rights of the Palestinians to live in their own homeland in a progressive democratic state where everyone can live and enjoy equal rights and privileges, regardless of race or religious belief..."

The NAAA ad, later reprinted as a leaflet and given wide distribution, urged readers to "Ask your President, Senator and Congressman for an explanation!" and solicited donations to help defray the cost of purchasing the space in the Washington Post.

Following the imposition of the Arab oil embargo against the U.S., NAAA undertook a larger effort, in cooperation with a number of locally-based Arab-American groups and pro-Arab organizations who, with NAAA, co-signed an advertisement headlined "Let's End the Arab Oil Embargo NOW!" The ad which said the embargo could end if U.S. Mideast policy changed, appeared in a number of leading newspapers, among them the Philadelphia Bulletin, the Boston Globe, and the Miami Herald.

The first visible NAAA effort to mobilize the hundreds of locally-based Arab-American organizations into a political force took place in February, 1974, at a symposium in Washington. It was attended by more than 400 delegates, guests and observers who were said to represent more than 150 Arab-American groups with claimed constituencies of 105,000 in 43 states. Abourezk, billed as the main speaker, was unable to attend and his place was taken by Rep. Abdnor. Another speaker was David Nes, an ex-State Department foreign service official who is outspokenly pro-Arab and is one of the coterie of ex-ambassadors, diplomats and "Arabists" who form a noticeable element in the overall pro-Arab apparatus in the U.S.

1975 Efforts

Throughout 1975, NAAA has been increasingly visible and active on a variety of Middle Eastern issues:

-- In January, when syndicated Washington columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak were widely criticized for what they termed "anti-Israel bias" in a column responding to the criticism, the NAAA issued an "urgent" appeal to "all members and friends" to write the Washington Post and other papers carrying the syndicated column to voice support for the two columnists. With the appeal, NAAA enclosed the Evans and Novak column charging that a letter-writing campaign was underway "accusing us of distorted reporting on the Arab-Israeli struggle." The NAAA letter, urging supporters to "sit down, immediately, and write a letter ... in support of Evans and Novak." It added: "Will we come to the defense of men of character, or will we let them be destroyed by the Zionist lobby?"

-- On March 8, 1975, the NAAA published a quarter-page ad in the Washington Post headlined "An Open Letter to the United States Congress" urging an end to "unbalanced support of Israel, to the detriment of American interests and moral standing." Citing some recent balanced and mature statements made by prominent members of Congress regarding U.S. policy on the Middle East which NAAA said "encourage hope that finally an even handed approach will be reflected in Congress' view of the question," the Association declared:

"Our country's policy on the Middle East can no longer be improvised, one-sided or decisively influenced by the distorted angle of the supporters of Israel. The U.S. cannot continue to maintain an open-ended commitment to Israel's policy in the Middle East, particularly as Israel maintains

an intransigent and negative policy, refusing to move towards peace and accommodation in the area.

"The Arabs are asking for the evacuation by Israel of their own land which has been under Israeli occupation since 1967. They express the legitimate claim for a homeland for the Palestinian Arabs expelled forcibly by Israel. In return, they offered peace in the Middle East, as well as a relationship of friendship and mutual benefit with the United States."

Declaring that there are no bilateral problems between the U.S. and the Arab countries, that the Arab countries had never shown hostility to the U.S., and that the problem between the U.S. and the Arab peoples "derives from a one-sided support of Israel," the NAAA concluded:

"Our Senators and Congressmen must be firm towards the excesses and fanaticism of some supporters of Israeli policy.

There must be restraint in the flow of financial and military support to Israel. We ask our Congress to assume its rightful role, and be positive and responsible in dealing with the Middle East."

-- Under date of May 22, shortly after 76 Senators had sent a letter to President Ford urging full support for Israel's economic and military needs, NAAA President Edmond Howar addressed a letter to every member of the Senate, protesting the action. He claimed the Association "represents over a Million Americans of Arab heritage," and felt "disappointment and grave concern over the insensitivity" of the Senators in sending their message "on the eve" of President Ford's departure for meetings with President Sadat and Prime Minister

Rabin" -- an action whereby, the NAAA charged, the senators had "acceded to Zionist pressure" and had expressed "their concern for ONLY, Israel."

The Association argued that under the circumstances, "United States Senators should be showing their own independent strength and the strength and integrity of the United States Senate by being above such tactics" and it added:

"At a time when the U.S. is going through an economic crisis, to see 75 U.S. Senators, most of whom have voted for cuts in the Domestic Budget, exhibiting more concern over the economic well-being and supply of unnecessary military equipment to Israel, is most frightening."

Calling for an "unbiased and neutral" posture by the U.S. if it "is to play an effective role in the peace negotiations of the Middle East," the NAAA asserted that "the excessive demands placed upon the U.S. by Israel, must not be met, in view of Israel's continuing policy of acquisition of territory through military force, with a determination to annex these illegally acquired territories."

Howar wrote that although President Ford had said the U.S. would "accept no stalemate or stagnation" in the Middle East negotiations, the signature of the Senators "on a pressure letter" was "tantamount to 'stalemate and stagnation' and he concluded: "Every U.S. Senator has a duty and moral obligation to the citizens of this country, the U.S.A., to work for peace in the World, and to defend liberty; not intransigencies and expansionism."

-- On August 11, Helen M. Haje, NAAA director of public relations, wrote members, calling for an "immediate response" to her plea that they send letters and telegrams to Senators, Congressmen, the President and the Secretary of State,

opposing the reported Israeli request for "between \$2.5 and \$2.8 Billion" in Military and Economic Aid from the United States...." Pointing out that "you, the American taxpayers, are going to be asked to pay," the NAAA call for an outpouring of messages to Congress and the White House asserted:

"Israel is now totally dependent on U.S. assistance. A vulnerable Israel can no longer claim to be protecting U.S. interests in the Middle East, on the contrary, Israel has become an American dependent...

"...you are the only ones who can put a stop to U.S. compliance with Israel's demands. The U.S. is in no position to comply with demands which put an even greater strain on our economy. You must sit down immediately and write a letter or send a telegram ... voicing your opposition to this outrageous request for aid, from Israel....IF SOMETHING IS TO BE DONE IT MUST BE DONE AT ONCE....DON'T DELAY - WRITE TODAY!!!"

-- When the Sinai accords had been completed and were made public, the Congressional Quarterly, during October, 1975, quoted Thomas Ruffin, the newly-appointed executive director of the NAAA, as stating that the United States would pay a "tremendous" and "awful price" for Israeli withdrawal from what Ruffin called "a small piece of land." Ruffin added that "Uncle Sam is a sucker" and that he feared "that the Israelis will move back a few miles in the Sinai Desert and that will win them \$2.5 billion in new arms in Congress," and that this sum would be only a starter. "You know very well," he said, "that we are going to pay similar sums over the next three or four years."

Congressional Quarterly said NAAA would ask to present its views as soon as House and Senate committees scheduled hearings on arms legislation. It noted the Association's emphasis on economic considerations in contending that "massive aid" to Israel hurts the United States economically. It quoted Ruffin as stating that Arab-Americans always consider themselves Americans first, are interested in forging a partnership of the Arab nations with the U.S. because they view such a partnership as "a great economic and social benefit to our country." Ruffin added:

"As Arab Americans, we know the mentality of Arabs of the Middle East, who would like nothing better than to form such a relationship. Communism is abhorrent to those countries. The Arabs are sitting there with all those petrodollars, wanting them to invest them in this country, and what happens? Congress places all kinds of roadblocks in their way. So they put them in France, West Germany, other countries."

The inaccuracies in Ruffin's propaganda statement to the contrary notwithstanding, his selection as executive director of the NAAA, starting July 1, 1975, marked another step forward in the steady growth of the Association as an Arab-American political action and lobbying organization on the U.S. scene. The NAAA, it appears, is beginning to function as the coordinating body and "umbrella" organization it was conceived to be when it was launched.

Outreach

Whatever the precise strength and number of the Arab-American constituency for which the NAAA speaks, there seems little doubt that in its short three-year life, the Association has made its presence felt on the Washington scene,

that it appears to be growing and expanding its activities, and that more and more the press appears to be accepting it as a representative Arab-American organization -- and, in fact, as the "Arab lobby" itself.

The Association, moreover, is receiving increasing attention in various Arab-American newspapers and magazines, some published in English, some in Arabic, and some in both languages. These papers, moreover, reflect growing politicization of the Arab-American community, plus growing commitment to the Arab cause in general, and to the PLO in particular. Their pages are now packed with political and diplomatic items, and with statements of Arab League, PLO, and Arab-American spokesmen where once their coverage was mainly social.

There are also signs that some of the organs of the Arab-American press in the U.S. may be expanding. For example, The Cedar Press, published monthly in Long Beach, Calif., recently announced plans to publish a national edition in Washington, D.C., to serve East Coast Arab-Americans as well as those in the Los Angeles area.

Perhaps the greatest measure of the growing influence of the National Association of Arab-Americans, however, is to be found in the Program Journal of the 1975 NAAA Convention which was twice as thick as the 1974 Journal and crammed with advertisements from top American banks, oil companies and business firms. These included:

Boeing; the American Security Bank, Washington, D.C.; Allis-Chalmers; Goldman, Sachs & Co.; Litton Resources Group; Ingram Corp. of New Orleans; Phillips Corp.; Hanna International; Gulf Oil; Aetna Life and Casualty; Reynolds Securities, Inc., Avco Corp.; Middle East Airlines; E.C. Ernst International Corp.; Middle West Service Co.; Continental Airlines; Petty-Ray Geophysical, Inc.; Dynalectron Corp.; Ashland Oil; Goodyear Tire and

Rubber; Dresser Industries; Continental Oil Co.; American Export Lines; Morrison-Knudsen Co., Inc.; Kidder, Peabody; American Independent Oil Co.; The Riggs National Bank of Washington; Allied General; Low Associates International; and others.

The Economic Thrust

The market in the Arab world and the resulting growth of business relationships between American commerce and industry and the Arab world is, in fact, producing a propaganda fallout on the American business scene favorable to the Arabs. Top-ranking Arab officials are increasingly frequent speakers at American business forums, and new publications targetted to the American business community are appearing in the U.S., some of them -- like the previously mentioned Arab Press Service -- based in the Arab world, but with newly-opened offices in the U.S., others originating in the U.S. but targetted to American firms eager to do business with the Arabs. Chase-Manhattan Bank's Mideast Markets is one such example. Other publications, some new, are reaching American corporate offices from European countries -- an example being The Middle East, a new monthly magazine on international business, economic and political affairs published in London, which features a multi-color cover similar to TIME, Newsweek or Business Week.

Chase-Manhattan's Mideast Markets maintains a fairly objective content, but APS and The Middle East carry articles dealing with political and diplomatic developments in the area, or affecting it, that reflect an Arab viewpoint. They therefore have an inevitable propaganda impact in the battle for American public opinion on the Middle East generally and within the U.S. business community in particular.

The U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce, Inc.

A business-oriented organization that promotes trade between the U.S. and the Arab world and that serves as a forum for the expression of Arab and pro-Arab viewpoints is the U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce, Inc., formed in 1967 and located in New York's World Trade Center. Four similar organizations operate in other cities -- the U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce (Pacific) in San Francisco, the American-Arab Chamber of Commerce in Houston's World Trade Building, the Mid-America Chamber of Commerce in Chicago, and the Los Angeles Arab American Chamber of Commerce which opened its doors in October, 1975. On hand for the opening ceremonies was Ambassador Amin Hilmy, permanent observer at the UN for the League of Arab States who noted that with improving political relations between the United States and the Arab nations, the business climate for the future appeared to be better than ever.

Each of the five chambers was formed to promote trade between the U.S. business community and the Arab states. The first four approve certificates of origin, commercial invoices and other export documents covering shipments from the U.S. to the Arab world and each is, therefore, inevitably an adjunct of the Arab Boycott operation of economic warfare against Israel. It was not immediately clear whether the new unit in Los Angeles would perform similar functions, although that seemed likely.

The seventh paragraph of the 1967 Certificate of Incorporation of the U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce in New York states that "no part of the activities of this corporation shall consist of carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation."

The U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce, Inc., in New York nevertheless serves as a platform for speeches by its own officials and by Arab economic and

diplomatic representatives that often deal directly with the political situation in the Middle East. They are reported at length in the organization's bi-monthly publication, Arab Economic Review, and circulated to the more than 150 companies that are members.

In his annual report, summarized briefly in the March-April, 1975, issue of the Review, Chamber president Ansbert G. Skina noted that 45 new members joined the organization during 1974, reported an increased number of "educational programs sponsored by the Chamber, including 'U.S. speaking tours by prominent spokesmen of the Arab business community,' and called attention to a series of seminars conducted jointly with the U.S. Department of Commerce in nine U.S. cities." Skina said the Chamber "is looking forward to even greater expansion of its activities during 1975."

One of the seminars, held December 4, 1974 at the Plaza Hotel in New York attracted more than 300 American businessmen. Lucius Battle, former U.S. Ambassador to Egypt and President of the Middle East Institute, a prestigious organization that is part of the American pro-Arab "establishment" was the keynote speaker and the Egyptian Ambassador to the U.S. spoke at the luncheon session. The Review, which reported on the seminar in its January-February, 1975 issue, commented that "their presence on the same program symbolizes the true interdependence of U.S. and Arab interests."

Battle stressed "the climate and atmosphere that will make possible a long-term, viable, meaningful relationship" between the U.S. and the Arab world because, he said, "we need it badly." He rejected criticism that had been directed at the Arabs at the time of the oil embargo for using oil "for political purposes," and termed "disastrous" and "appalling" suggestions that the U.S.

move in to take over Arab oil fields and the "notion that we do not want those Arab dollars coming back to this country."

A Political Speech

In April, 1975, at a New York luncheon sponsored by the Chamber, Egyptian UN Ambassador Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid delivered an address on prospects for Egyptian-U.S. partnership in trade that was heavily political, if not propagandistic. He noted that "vast military supplies and economic aid from the United States, in addition to American tax deductible donations, made it possible for Israel to strengthen its hold over the territories seized by force against the United Nations Charter and all its pertinent resolutions," contended that through U.S. support, Israel "continued to occupy Arab territories," and added that "all of us must be determined to remove the obstacles that bar the road to peace."

The Egyptian diplomat bluntly told his audience of 300 businessmen, journalists and other diplomats that "there is a limit to our patience" and that "additional aid and military supplies to Israel" by the U.S. could be a roadblock, that Egypt was "awaiting the results of the reassessment of United States policy in the Middle East" and that movement already made by the United States "towards more evenhanded policies and attitudes . . . since October, 1973" had been helpful.

The same issue of Arab Economic Review carried a lengthy report by Ruddick C. Lawrence, Executive Vice-President of the Chamber and Vice President-Corporate Affairs of the Continental Oil Co., concerning a trip he and two other top Chamber officials had made during February and March to ten Arab countries. Headlined "Arabs Invite Stronger U.S. Participation," the report

dealt almost entirely with trade matters and commercial opportunities for U.S. business in the Arab world. At the end of his report, however, Lawrence had this to say:

"In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that wherever we went on our trip, two points were raised again and again. These points, which must be understood and remembered by any American wishing to business with the Arabs are:

- "Arab officials and businessmen everywhere are deeply concerned about the Palestinian issue and until that question is solved, there will be no lasting peace in the Middle East.
- Politics cannot be divorced from business in the Middle East and the Arabs continue to be bitter about U.S. government policy in regard to Israel; even so they retain a deep attachment to the American people and would like to do business with us."

Just before departing for his Middle Eastern trip, Lawrence was honored by the Government of Lebanon at a banquet in New York. He was designated a Knight in the Order of the Cedars of Lebanon in recognition of his efforts to build "bridges of understanding between the people of Lebanon in particular and between the people of the United States and the entire Arab World in general." The decoration was presented by Lebanese UN Ambassador Edouard Ghorra. In addition to an annual good will mission to the Arab world conducted by Lawrence and other Chamber officials, the Arab Economic Review noted in reporting the ceremony, Lawrence "also has hosted trips enabling Arab Ambassadors and other officials to visit such states as California, Colorado, Florida, Oklahoma and Texas in order to meet with the American people and develop a more balanced view of the nation."

The ties of the U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce, Inc. to the Arab world include membership in the General Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture for the Arab Countries, headquartered in Beirut. The Secretary General of the General Union is Dr. Burhan Dajani -- one of the top Arab think tank strategists mentioned previously, who is a leader of the Institute of Palestine Studies and close to the top leadership of the PLO. Dajani is an Honorary Director of the U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce, Inc.

The U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce also maintains ties with Arab governments, and is plugged in both to the Arab-American arm of the apparatus through the National Association of Arab-Americans, which it supports, and to the American pro-Arab "establishment" of which its top officials and directors in the oil, shipping, banking and other industries are themselves a part.

During 1974, for example, the Chamber contributed \$1,000 to the NAAA and became the Association's first "Annual Patron" -- one of the membership categories in the dues structure of the NAAA. The Chamber also purchased a full-page ad in the NAAA's 1975 Convention Program and had a "Gold Page" in the 1974 convention journal.

Robert Thabit, a New York attorney, who serves as Legal Counsel for the Chamber, is a member of the Board of Directors of the NAAA.

As for Arab government ties and links to the American pro-Arab "establishment", the officers and Board of Directors of the Chamber include, besides Lawrence of CONOCO, officials of the Arabian-American Oil Co. (ARAMCO), Amoco International Oil Co., Gulf Oil Co., and American Independent Oil Co. Also represented are Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith, the Bank of America, Irving Trust Co., and the Chemical Bank, Trans World Airlines, the Avco Corp., Mac Trucks, Inc., and a number of shipping lines.

Arab government officials on the Chamber's Board include the Ambassador of the Arab League and members of various Arab consulates.

The Labor Front and MERIP

In the Arab master plan for swinging U.S. public opinion and U.S. Mideast policy against Israel and in a pro-Arab direction, organized labor is one of the major target groups in American life.

There is little evidence, at least so far, that they have made any substantial headway in efforts to influence organized labor in general or the AFL-CIO in particular.

The Arabs have a tiny beachhead in the U.S. labor movement, however, in the form of a small Arab Workers Caucus within the United Automobile Workers. The Caucus is based in the Detroit area. It has been estimated that Arab auto workers may number as high as 15,000 of approximately 85,000 Arabs who live in Michigan.

The Caucus has agitated for sale by the UAW of its investments in Israeli Bonds and for an end of relationships between the UAW and Israel's Histadrut; its leaflets have called for UAW support of the establishment of a secular, "non-theocratic" democratic state "in Palestine" for all people, "Jews and Arabs" alike.

The Caucus came into existence after the Yom Kippur War, participated in one demonstration, managed to send three delegates and one observer to the 1974 UAW international convention, and its leaflets appeared late in 1974 at a UAW meeting at the Long Beach, California plant of the McDonnell Douglas aircraft company. They denounced UAW President Leonard Woodcock and the national leadership of the UAW on the Israel Bonds and Histadrut issues and contended that UAW support for Israel may be "drawing us into another Vietnam-type war in the Middle East."

The tone and content of the UAW leaflets indicate a Far Left slant and the Arab Workers Caucus of the UAW, despite its small size, has received attention from the New Left, pro-PLO Middle East Research and Information Project, Inc. (MERIP), based in Cambridge, Mass., and Washington, D.C. which publishes MERIP Reports. MERIP Reports is a heavily-researched leftist periodical that probes in great depth a variety of subjects related to "the political economy of the Middle East, the role of the United States in the area, and with the class and national struggles of the people."

The January, 1975 issue was devoted entirely to the subject of "Arab Workers" and carried articles about the Arab Workers Caucus in the UAW and the several thousand Yemeni farm workers in California.

MERIP appears to have close ties with the AAUG and one of its members, Samih Farsoun, is a member of AAUG's board of directors and is in charge of organizing the proposed AAUG Speakers Bureau. Joe Stork, a MERIP member, was listed as a panelist at the 1975 AAUG Convention. His subject: "Oil Revenues and Development in the Arab World."

Members of the MERIP "collective" are offering a course on "Current Realities of the Middle East" at Goddard College - Cambridge, self-described as an "innovative, experimental" educational institution that is now six years old, and whose "students and faculty share a commitment to challenging and changing those power relations in our society which are unjust or oppressive, whether based on sex, race, class or other distinctions." The Middle East course being given by the MERIP members is listed under a category called "imperialism" and deals with "national and class struggles" in the area and "the biases and distortions prevalent in most of the standard works on the

Middle East." It notes that MERIP "concentrates on anti-imperialist critiques of the U.S. role in the Middle East." Suggested areas of research for students include "the left in the Arab world; imperialism and economic development in the Middle East; class formation in the region; national liberation struggles and socialist revolution; the role of multinational corporations; oil and U.S. economic strategy; Zionism in the 1970's; the economy of Israel; and the pro-Israeli lobby in the U.S."

The catalogue description of the course adds that "research will be oriented towards eventual publication in MERIP Reports. Participants are expected to become involved in political activity with various groups in the Boston area by writing, speaking, or leading discussions as forms of anti-imperialist political education." Members of the Washington unit of the MERIP collective manned a table with heavy supplies of MERIP literature at the 1975 Convention of the NAAA. Although the table was close to the convention's registration desk and the literature was available free of charge, those manning the MERIP table said they were not connected with the convention itself.

Aside from the small UAW Arab Workers Caucus, the Yemeni farm workers in California, and the attention given to Arab workers by MERIP Reports, the only other visible sign of an Arab presence on the labor front in the U.S. so far is the membership, on the board of directors of the NAAA, of Edmund Ayoub of Pittsburgh, Pa., identified as an economist for the United Steelworkers of America. Ayoub served as chairman of the Resolutions Committee at the 1975 NAAA convention.

The American Pro-Arab Apparatus

In the battle now shaping up for American public opinion with respect to the Middle East, the voices most frequently and most effectively heard so far on behalf of the Arab and PLO viewpoints are those of non-Arab American organizations, publications and individual spokesmen. The activities of many of these pro-Arab sympathizers draw strength from elements in some of the most influential and respectable institutions of the American "power structure" -- for example, the oil industry, the churches, the academic community and certain pro-Arab State Department "alumni".

The main pro-Arab voices in this country are fairly well-known to those who follow the propaganda wars.

The pro-Arab "establishment" groups, generously nourished by funds from the oil industry, include the prestigious Middle East Institute (MEI) and American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc., both headquartered in Washington, D.C., and Americans for Middle East Understanding (AMEU), based in New York, which publishes The Link and is aimed mainly at an audience of church people, clergy and laity alike. Also active on the pro-Arab scene in recent years has been the Middle East Affairs Council in Washington which was described as a small ad hoc group, apparently set up to carry out special projects. Likewise part of the pro-Arab "establishment" in the U.S., as noted, are the U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce in New York and its counterparts in Chicago, Houston, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

The Oil Industry

The major oil companies have long maintained a pro-Arab stance and their executives for many years have been busy Washington lobbyists for Arab viewpoints and for changes in the policy of support for Israel pursued by American

presidents for more than a quarter-of-a-century after the Jewish State was established. Most of the oil industry's activities, however, have been carried out quietly and discreetly -- behind the scenes and far from the spotlight of publicity, in the offices and corridors of Washington where policy is made. The companies have also quietly supported "educational" activities carried out by pro-Arab organizations to influence American public opinion.

The role of the oil industry in support of the Arab cause, however, has recently become more visible. In September, 1973, Frank Jungers, former president and later board chairman of the Arabian-American Oil Co., told a Los Angeles Times reporter, in a remarkably candid interview, that at the late King Faisal's behest, he had earlier that year acted as the "middleman" in a "calculated" attempt to prod the ARAMCO partners -- Exxon, Texaco, Standard Oil of California and Mobil -- into stepped-up propaganda and lobbying efforts aimed at creating a more sympathetic U.S. attitude toward the Arab cause and at diluting U.S. support for Israel. The partners responded with advertisements, and with speeches, statements and other communications by their top executives.

More recently, Congressional investigators uncovered other information about the oil industry's role during the oil embargo. More important, however, the investigators found that officials of the top companies -- in May, 1973, and again in October, 1973 -- contacted the highest levels in official Washington, including the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon, to urge changes in U.S. Mideast policy. The climax of these efforts took place on October 12, 1973, via a hand-delivered memorandum to then-President Nixon, signed by the board chairmen of Exxon, SoCal, Texaco and Mobil warning, among other things,

against increased U.S. military aid to Israel. A copy was provided for the Secretary of State and the memorandum was covered by a letter from John J. McCloy, counsel for the companies, to Gen. Alexander Haig, then Mr. Nixon's top aide. Mr. McCloy had, of course, served earlier as Assistant Secretary of War, U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, president of the World Bank, and chairman of the Chase Bank.

The memorandum was delivered to the White House less than six days after the Yom Kippur attack on Israel and before the launching of the U.S. re-supply airlift to Israel.

The Middle East Institute

There is clear evidence that leading groups in the pro-Arab "establishment" are, and have been, heavy beneficiaries of oil industry financial support. A spokesman for the Middle East Institute, founded in 1946, conceded some months ago that in its formative years, 1950-1960, the MEI received 28.4% of its total income from the oil and related industries. For the year 1974, he said, oil company contributions amounted to 42% of the Institute's budget. The MEI spokesman also said that many other corporations had indicated interest in contributing because of the growing attractiveness of the Middle East market.

MEI is a focal point and serves as a gathering place for government officials, industry representatives and scholars interested in the Middle East, and as a resource and forum that is weighted in favor of the Arab viewpoint. Its Board of Governors and its officers include a heavy admixture of ex-State Department diplomats, retired ambassadors and "Arabists." Among them are Institute President L. Dean Brown, a former Deputy Under Secretary of State who also served as ambassador to Jordan; ex-MEI President Lucius Battle, a former Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East and South Asia and a

former envoy to Egypt; MEI National Chairman Raymond Hare and John S. Badeau, also former ambassadors to Egypt; and Parker T. Hart, formerly ambassador to Saudi Arabia and now an official of the Bechtel Corp. The MEI Board also includes Dr. John H. Davis, former commissioner-general of the United Nations Relief and Works Administration (UNRWA) and now chairman of ANERA, and Edwin M. Wright, an emeritus member, who is a former State Department official and has for years been an outspoken anti-Zionist, anti-Israel pamphleteer and lecturer. There are others.

Also active and prominent in the activities of the MEI, which publishes the Middle East Journal, a scholarly quarterly, are a large number of professors, academicians and "intellectuals" on various university faculties who write learned articles for the Journal and take part in the forums and symposiums on Mideast topics that the MEI sponsors regularly. The list of pro-Arab professors and Middle East scholars who populate the Near East studies departments and related disciplines on faculties around the country is long indeed. Many, if not most, are oriented toward the MEI. As noted, a number of them are clustered in the Washington, D.C. area at Georgetown, George Washington, and American Universities, and at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of The Johns Hopkins University. SAIS has close ties with the MEI and includes a Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

The annual conferences of the MEI, held in conjunction with SAIS, are gatherings of some of the most influential and prestigious individuals in the U.S. who are concerned with Middle Eastern affairs.

The 29th conference, held in Washington early in October, 1975, was no exception. The keynote speaker was former Sen. Fulbright whose subject was "Beyond the Interim Agreement," and the banquet speaker was Dr. Farouk Akhdar, the top

Saudi economic official who earlier in the year was part of his country's seven-man delegation that criss-crossed the country addressing business leaders and top foreign affairs groups. An overflow gathering of 450 attended the conference although, it was reported, it had planned to accommodate 200.

Panels at the three-day conference, whose subject was "The United States and the Middle East: Changing Relationships," covered topics such as "Petrodollars and Technology: The Changing Terms of Trade;" "Traditional Relationships: Will They Endure?" and "New Relationships: What Promise Do They Hold?" There were, likewise, panels on educational and cultural relations, "images and perceptions" about the Middle East involving panelists drawn from the media of information, and "goals of interdependence."

The prevailing consensus at the conference was that despite the newly-found "moderate" tone adopted by some of the Arab states, the Arab message had not yet made any substantial dent in the prevailing American sympathy for Israel and that a concentrated effort, aimed at U.S. public opinion, must be mounted to convey "the new realities" of the Middle Eastern situation.

The frustrated mood that appeared to pervade the MEI conference was conveyed in a Summation at its close by Joseph J. Malone, Professor of Foreign Affairs and Director of Middle East, South Asia and Africa Studies at the National War College. Malone said that Sen. Fulbright was in effect "reading a sermon to the converted" and that in the country at large, the message still "fell on deaf ears." Malone added: "We are trying to get the message not just across the country but across the street -- to Congress and the White House."

In the general concern about the climate of U.S. public opinion and the need to change it in a less pro-Israel direction, one interesting comment at

the panel on "Images and Perceptions" came from Professor Don Peretz, a Middle East scholar who is chairman of the Southeast Asia and North Africa program at the State University of New York, Binghamton.

Peretz said that while public opinion remains "massively behind Israel," he detected a change in the quality of the sympathy. He said the change stemmed from what he perceived as anxieties over the dispatch of U.S. technicians to the Sinai and felt this trend would grow as the cost of continuing support for Israel became apparent to American taxpayers.

Peretz added, moreover, that new legal limitations on political contributions in the U.S. might diminish the strength of the "Israeli lobby." Further he observed, while he was not suggesting that the American academic and intellectual community could be "bought," he felt the receipt of multi-million dollar contracts from the Arabs and large Arab donations to the colleges and universities could not help but lead to a more favorable image of the Arabs.

American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc.

American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc. (ANERA), with headquarters in Washington, was launched in 1968 "in response to the refugee crisis brought on by the June 1967 war." It describes itself as "a non-profit corporation created exclusively for charitable and educational purposes." It says that its "primary goal is to provide subsistence aid, medical aid, and increased educational opportunities for Palestine refugees and other needy persons in the Middle East" and that it is "supported entirely by voluntary contributions."

Despite its declared role as a charitable and educational organization, ANERA has a propaganda impact on the U.S. scene with respect to the Middle East because, in its ongoing efforts to raise funds for the Palestinians, "it carries out another of its own stated purposes: "...to increase American understanding of the Palestinian refugee problem."

In furtherance of that purpose, among other activities, ANERA officials offer testimony before Congressional committees that deal with Middle East, Arab and Palestinian matters. Dr. John H. Davis, ANERA Chairman, who was described in 1970 as "probably the best-known American who is an outspoken supporter of the Arab cause," testified late in 1973 against the proposed \$2.2 billion dollar aid bill for Israel. He served in the Middle East as Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) from 1959 to 1964.

In April, 1974, ANERA arranged a hearing by a House sub-committee on the status of Arab civilians under international law in the Middle Eastern conflict; ANERA President John Richardson, a 10-year activist in pro-Arab work, and the witnesses assembled by ANERA charged that Israel was violating international law and the human rights of Arab civilians.

In addition to Richardson, the witnesses who testified included Dr. Israel Shahak, a professor of organic chemistry at Hebrew University in Jerusalem and a

leader of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, who is an outspoken critic of the Israeli government; M. Cherif Bassiouni, professor of law at DePaul University, Chicago, who is a top leader of the AAUG; and Dr. W.T. Mallison, Jr., professor of international law at George Washington University Law School, who is a leading pro-Arab scholar.

Also during 1974, ANERA expanded its "educational" activities, seeking to reach a broader audience via radio. Kits of ANERA materials, including recordings for broadcast by ANERA Chairman Davis, Sen. Abourezk, and Sen. Mark Hatfield (R., Ore.), were distributed to radio stations around the country.

ANERA was named in a study of the "Arab lobby" in the U.S. published March 16, 1974, by the respected Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report in Washington. The report noted that in addition to fund-raising, ANERA "actively works to inform Americans of the refugee problem" and that "officers and directors of ANERA take part in seminars, give public lectures and publish articles on the Palestinian refugee situation."

Examples of ANERA activity since the Yom Kippur War include the following:

-- In November, 1973, ANERA issued a folder on The Plight of the Palestinian Refugees and a flyer describing the situation of the victims of the latest Middle East war.

-- ANERA published an ad in The New York Times and The Washington Post of December 10, 1973. The headline: "Nobody's sure who won the Middle East war, but it's already clear who lost."

-- Richardson delivered a speech on "The Human Side of Middle East Peace" at the Cosmos Club in Washington on January 22, 1974, in which he stated that there were more than 100,000 Arab civilian casualties as a result of the October War. He decried the use by the Israelis of American-supplied anti-personnel

weapons which, he claimed, were responsible for many of the casualties. Emphasizing ANERA's concerns with the problems of the Palestinian refugees, he declared that "the Western world, and the U.S. in particular, have a special obligation to help the rebuilding process of the Palestinian Arabs" and urged that Americans be sure "that our perceptions of Arab society are free of bias."

Over the years ANERA has received substantial contributions from the Gulf Oil Co., from the Arabian-American Oil Co. (ARAMCO), from Standard Oil of New Jersey (now Exxon), and from Esso Standard of Libya, Esso Middle East, Standard Oil of California and Texaco.

A study of ANERA's finances in its first years of operation -- 1968, 1969 and 1970 -- indicated that of \$474,130 in donations it received in those years, \$248,000, or 52% came from oil companies.

A number of oil company executives are members of ANERA's board of directors, named in ANERA Newsletter, the organization's periodical.

The Middle East Affairs Council

The Middle East Affairs Council, formed in 1970, has been described as an ad hoc group of about 10 persons.

Professor Alan Taylor of the American University in Washington has been listed as its President. He is one of the leading personalities in the array of pro-Arab academicians in the nation's capital. ANERA President John Richardson has been listed as Secretary-Treasurer.

Among other activities, the Council has:

-- Held a news conference in April, 1972, to support widely-criticized pro-Arab and anti-Israel Palm Sunday sermons that had been delivered by Dean Francis Sayre, Jr., of the National Cathedral and the Rev. Edward Elson of the National Presbyterian Church, at the time Chaplain of the U.S. Senate, and a declaration

on Jerusalem by the Armenian Orthodox legate in Washington. (Dean Sayre and Rev. Elson were both members of ANERA's board of directors.) To support them, the Middle East Affairs Council presented a battery of pro-Arab activists that included Rev. A.C. Forrest of the United Church of Canada, perhaps the leading pro-Arab, anti-Zionist and anti-Israel voice in Canada; Rev. Joseph L. Ryan, S.J., who has spent most of the last two decades in the Middle East, who is part of the coterie of pro-PLO Americans in Beirut, and who visits the U.S. annually for pro-Palestinian lecture tours; and Prof. Mezvinsky, the well-known Jewish anti-Zionist. Also on hand: Dr. Davis and Richardson of ANERA.

(The Sayre Palm Sunday sermon, endorsed by spokesmen at the new conference, had been denounced not only by Jewish organizations, but by other Christian clergymen and by leading newspapers in their editorial columns.)

-- Published a pamphlet on the subject of Jerusalem entitled The Jerusalem Debate. It was edited by Professor Taylor and Richardson and reproduced the Sayre Palm Sunday sermon, a statement by Israel Shahak, and various news reports and criticisms triggered by the Sayre and Elson sermons, as well as defenses of both. The pamphlet was dated October, 1972.

-- Presented testimony by Professor Taylor opposing the \$2.2 billion emergency aid bill for Israel proposed late in 1973, after the Yom Kippur War.

-- Distributed a recent anti-Israel propaganda film -- Jerusalem: Prophets or Paratroopers.

-- Published an advertisement in the June 4, 1974 Washington Post headlined "Israeli and Palestinian Children -- They Have A Lot in Common" which criticized Israeli preventive attacks against staging areas used by the Palestinian terrorists in Lebanon. The ad asserted that "government terror is even worse than individual terror because governments have destructive capacity far exceeding that of individuals" and likewise have "responsibilities as members of the world community to spare civilian populations during conflict."

Americans for Middle East Understanding

The role of the oil industry in supporting pro-Arab activity on the American scene is nowhere more dramatically revealed than in its support of Americans for Middle East Understanding (AMEU), a busy, New York-based organization which, like ANERA, was launched shortly after the Six Day War in 1967. AMEU's chief executive is Rev. John Sutton.

AMEU is largely a creature of ARAMCO which, in 1968 -- AMEU's first full year of operation -- provided \$86,300 of the \$89,757 the organization received. ARAMCO has been a major and steady contributor ever since. Other oil companies have also contributed.

Over the years through 1974, 66% of the contributions received by AMEU have come from oil companies or oil-related sources.

Total contributions, year by year, show the following:

| | |
|-------|----------------|
| 1968 | \$89,757 |
| 1969 | 97,078 |
| 1970 | 83,204 |
| 1971 | 94,755 |
| 1972 | 95,644 |
| 1973 | 132,571 |
| 1974 | <u>149,176</u> |
| Total | \$742,185 |

Oil industry and oil-related contributions for 1968 through 1974
show the following picture:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| ARAMCO | \$400,800 |
| ARAMCO Overseas | 12,263 |
| ARAMCO Foundation | 4,000 |
| Ashland Oil Co. | 20,000 |
| Standard Oil, New Jersey (Exxon) | 18,000 |
| Standard Oil, New York (Mobil) | 15,000 |
| Esso Middle East | 6,000 |
| American Independent Oil Co. | 5,500 |
| Standard Oil of Indiana Foundation | 4,000 |
| Continental Oil Co. | 3,000 |
| Marathon Oil Co. | 2,000 |
| | ----- |
| Total | \$490,563 |

Other contributors to AMEU have included Mrs. DeWitt Wallace of the Reader's Digest, who gave \$50,000 in 1968, and the Fluor Corporation which gave \$5,000 in 1973. (Through the Wallace "High Winds Foundation," a contribution of \$385,000 not long ago went to the American University of Beirut.)

There were two other interesting contributions received by AMEU. One of them was \$10,681 sent in by Middle East International, the pro-Arab magazine published in England, which is closely aligned with the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (CAABU), a leading pro-Arab group in the British Isles.

The other was \$30,000 AMEU received from something called the "Popular Committee for the Collection of Contributions" in Kuwait.

In view of ARAMCO's major role in funding AMEU, it is probably not surprising that AMEU has offered free subscriptions to the elaborately-produced ARAMCO Magazine, which is one of the most impressive of all corporate publications with superb color photography, original art work and articles focused on the culture and economy of the Arab world. The magazine is sent in AMEU envelopes to those accepting the offer. (Early in 1975, ARAMCO Magazine departed from its usual content and devoted an entire issue to the subject of "Arabs in America.")

AMEU's own publication, The Link, has a circulation of more than 40,000, carries headlines such as "Christians in the Middle East" and "Arab Oil and the 'Zionist Connection'" -- the latter over a heavily propagandistic article that stressed Israeli "expansionism", alleged Israeli manipulation of the American Jewish community, the U.S. Congress and even the White House, and the "emotionalism" of American Jewish support for Israel. Published at the height of the Arab oil embargo early in 1974, The Link article seemed to be aimed at blunting possible American resentment over Arab economic warfare against the U.S. and at shifting blame in the direction of Israel and the American Jewish community.

"Call it Arab 'blackmail' if you will", the concluding paragraphs said, "but the oil shortage ...is forcing Americans to examine the equities of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Until now, few Americans have had a reason to care about the Middle East, but the energy crisis now gives everyone a reason.

"A new national mood is forming that may be less tolerant of this country's traditional 'connection' to Israel, and the emotional excesses it sometimes produces. The more this connection is seen to move the country in a direction that turns out to be detrimental to the national interest, the more it will be resented. Such resentments could engender perceived -- if not actual -- anti-Semitism, a development that would be tragic for all America."

If there was any justice on the Israeli side of the Middle East conflict, any threats to her existence from the Arab League and the Palestinian terrorists, or any historical reasons of self-interest for American support of Israel, The Link did not seem able to perceive them, let alone mention such "equities." Nor were the leaders of AMEU able to perceive, let alone mention, any evidence of Arab or Palestinian intransigence.

A Major AMEU Campaign

The Link articles, however, were only a small part of a major and highly sophisticated "public information" campaign launched by AMEU during the Yom Kippur War, and steadily pushed during the ensuing months, to justify the Arab oil embargo before selected key segments of the American public.

The opening shot, at the time of the Mideast war crisis, was an October 24, 1973 "Mailgram" sent to college and university presidents "respectfully" suggesting that they "weigh very carefully all actions and words in support of Israel..." Each college president was urged to ask himself whether any statement he might issue was "wholly true and in America's interest" and was advised that AMEU was ready to respond to all requests for pertinent and reliable information through its educational

and informational services which were offered "free to you and your constituents."

As reasons for "respectfully" suggesting that college presidents "weigh" their words in support of Israel, the AMEU "Mailgram" asserted:

"RELIABLE MIDDLE EAST INFORMANTS REPORT VITAL AMERICAN INTERESTS ARE IN GREAT JEOPARDY. VAST TRADITIONAL SOURCES OF GOOD WILL DEVELOPED OVER DECADES AND RUNNING DANGEROUSLY LOW IN ESTABLISHMENT CIRCLES AND AMONG THE MASSES. AMERICA'S PARTISAN NEWSMEDIA AND THE HUGE SUMS SPENT ON VARIOUS FORMS OF ADVERTISING BY ISRAELI SYMPATHIZERS CONTRIBUTE TO THIS ALIENATION AMONG ARABS. UNGUARDED REMARKS BY SOME SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES AND THEIR CONSISTENT RECORD OF ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT FOR ALL THINGS ISRAEL CONVINCE MANY ARABS THAT CONGRESS IS UNDER ZIONIST CONTROL AND IS MOTIVATED BY PATRONAGE NOT PRINCIPLE..."

AMEU's campaign also took the form of letters to "select" and selected recipients that included university professors and -- to justify the oil embargo -- to the interstate trucking industry and gasoline service station owners who were obviously and directly affected by it.

The latter to college professors, signed by Rev. Sutton, AMEU's executive director, quoted some of the language of the "Mailgram" about "vital American interests in the Middle East" being "in great jeopardy" and declared that "much that is being printed in the newspapers is not helpful." It cited an advertisement in The New York Times by the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East and another "In support of Israel's Right to Security and Peace" which AMEU said, were signed by "numerous academicians" and which AMEU felt "seem to reflect an inadequate knowledge of what we believe to be the true situation."

Attachments to the AMEU letter included 1) A "Style Sheet" of definitions about Middle East subjects prepared by Rabbi Elmer Berger of American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, Inc. (AJAZ) to clarify misleading "semantics" allegedly being employed by Israeli sympathizers; 2) A "RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE MIDDLE EAST" passed by the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches at an October 15, 1973 meeting; 3) An October 16, 1973 Christian Science Monitor editorial captioned "SOME MIDDLE EAST FACTS."

AMEU also recommended the articles of Lawrence Mosher, a reporter for The National Observer and the coverage of the Monitor on Middle East issues which, AMEU said, reflected "careful scholarship," "keen insight," and that "often present information not readily available elsewhere."

Apparently encouraged by the response from professors "who wrote expressing appreciation for our mailing of November 1st," Sutton issued another letter to professors two weeks later, saying that "Other material has come to our attention which we would like to share."

Enclosed with the second letter were: 1) A statement by the National Association of Arab-Americans presented before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee opposing the 2.2 billion dollar aid bill for Israel. Sutton said it "merits your careful study," although he said that AMEU "cannot identify" with all that it said. But, he added, the "paper has stimulated our thought" and AMEU hoped it would do the same for the recipients. 2) A document entitled "Economic Effects of Arab Oil Embargo to the United States" prepared by Dr. Ibrahim Oweiss of Georgetown University, a leading AAUG professor. 3) An editorial from the

October 29, 1973 Oil & Gas Journal, (which Sutton said "has an excellent reputation among oilmen" but was not well-known outside oil circles); Sutton said the editorial "surely deserves your attention." 4) "Towards A Lasting Mideast Solution" which Sutton described as "an incisive article by Edwin A. Roberts, Jr., that appeared on November 3, 1973, in The National Observer."

Sutton concluded by stating that "Sometimes we feel that the news media could do much more to build understanding and further the cause of peace," but that AMEU was "heartened when we find trenchant reporting and editorials such as we have shared with you." He added that AMEU was likewise "encouraged to know that careful scholars are making their opinions known in the circles of power in Washington" --a broad hint that professors receiving the AMEU letter do likewise. AMEU, of course, offered to provide recipients with "free, pertinent reliable information about the Middle East..."

'The Arab Point of View'

The AMEU letters about the oil embargo to the members of the Interstate Trucking Industry were dated January 9, 1974. The major attachment was a pamphlet published by the Arab Information Center -- "More in Sorrow than anger...the Arab case for OIL and JUSTICE -- A message to the American People," the same message the Arab League had published in its massive campaign, using full-page ads in top U.S. newspapers from coast to coast. Sutton's covering letter called the Arab League pamphlet "an important document because it contains a clear, concise statement of the Arab point of view" and he declared that since AMEU believed it was "vital for Americans to know what it is the Arabs are saying" AMEU had reprinted the pamphlet "as a public service."

Sutton noted that "this pamphlet points out that America's difficulties in the Middle East arises in part because the United States has compromised its own stated foreign policy by continuing to support Israel's military expansion..." He said that "this departure from even-handedness in the Middle East has alienated our traditional allies among the Arabs" and that "as something of a last resort these Arabs have adopted the oil embargo" although they had "repeatedly stated that as soon as Israel announces a time-table for the return of territory seized in 1967, the embargo will be lifted."

The key sentences in Sutton's letter were two questions: "Isn't it in the interest of all Americans to take all steps possible to lessen the energy shortage?" and "If indeed it is the Arab position that this embargo will not be lifted until Israel starts to withdraw from the territories she seized in the 1967 War, is this not something Americans need to understand and discuss?"

The letter sent by AMEU to the "select list of service station owners" was similar to the one sent to the interstate trucking industry. The station owners also received the Arab League pamphlet.

In the Spring of 1974, AMEU sponsored a seminar at the American University in Washington, D.C. for editors and journalists of U.S. religious publications, most of them Protestant. Father Daniel Lyons, S.J., a Catholic columnist and a conservative, whose hostility has been a matter of concern to Jewish organizations, also was present. Lyons wrote a column about the seminar that appeared in the June 23, 1974 issue of The National Catholic Register. He noted that those who addressed the religious journalists included a "battery of distinguished speakers, among them Lucius Battle

of the Middle East Institute and two Protestant theologians, Dr. William Brownlee of Claremont and Professor Barton Payne of St. Louis."

Lyons indicated the conclusion reached had been that "Israel will have to defuse those Zionists who preach a superior race philosophy, while the Arabs will have to subdue the Palestinian terrorists..."

At the end of his column, citing theologians Brownlee and Payne, Lyons wrote that "Catholics should not think of Israelis as the chosen people spoken of in the Old Testament." He wrote that, as the two Protestant theologians had pointed out at the AMEU seminar, "for Christians the idea of Jewish prophecy, for example, that the Jews will return to Israel, is past" because since "the Messiah has come", such prophecies have "no validity." Lyons commented:

"To Christians, a Jewish state has no more meaning than a Moslem state. For Christians, it is incorrect to speak of the Jews of today as the chosen people spoken of in the Old Testament." And, Lyons concluded, as Professor Payne had pointed out, "The Christian is the true Israelite."

As listed in The Link, the AMEU Board of Directors which, with Rev. Sutton, runs the affairs of the organization, includes several pro-Arab clergymen who reflect AMEU's basic orientation to the churches and church people. One is Rev. Ryan, the pro-PLO Jesuit from Beirut who appeared at the 1972 news conference held by the Middle East Affairs Council and who lectures in the U.S. each year. Another is Monsignor John G. Nolan of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine and the Catholic Near East Welfare Association who has expressed agreement with Arafat's UN speech. Yet another is Rev. Humphrey Walz, a long-time pro-Arab Presbyterian clergyman who was

Sutton's predecessor as a top AMEU executive. Other board members include Jack Sunderland of the American Independent Oil Co. and Henry Fischer, Wallace curator of Egyptology of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art.

AMEU is incorporated in the State of New York and is tax-exempt.

AMEU, NCC and 'SWASTIA'

Recent issues of The Link give evidence of increasing cooperation between the church-oriented AMEU organization and the Middle East and Europe Working Group (MEEWG) of the Overseas Missions Division of the National Council of Churches.

AMEU's office is located in the Interchurch Center at 475 Riverside Drive in New York City -- the same building that houses the National Council itself, its MEEWG, and a number of other church and church-oriented groups that have global concerns and area interests in the Third World and the Middle East. Director of the MEEWG of the National Council of Churches is J. Richard Butler, whose predecessor, Harry G. Dorman, Jr., is now a member of AMEU's board.

The Link, which has given emphasis in recent issues to the Palestinian problem (and to Saudi Arabia), published a special issue in the Spring of 1975 on "The West Bank and Gaza". It included, as a supplement, a reprint from SWASTIA, published by MEEWG and self-described as "a weekly digest of Southwest Asia and North Africa news focusing on the Israel-Palestine conflict, the Persian Gulf, and great power policies" using translations from the Hebrew and Arabic press.

SWASTIA is co-edited by Norton Mezvinsky and by Allan Kellum who has taught in the Middle East and in the U.S. and has been a member of MEEWG for four years.

SWASTIA's main emphases and its thrust are conveyed by a promotional blurb it published in its August 8, 1975 edition, seeking the help of its readers in enlarging its circulation. "Make sure," the blurb said, "your friends and colleagues know what's happening in the Middle East, and what the area's peoples are thinking on topics such as these...." It then listed, item-style, "the Palestine Liberation Organization's policy toward Israel, political changes

inside Israel, American policy and Congressional feelings toward the Arab-Israeli conflict, inter-Arab politics" and "oil, arms and U.S. involvement throughout the Middle East."

SWASIA's pro-Palestinian and pro-PLO tilt is achieved through the careful selection of items. The items from the Arabic press tend to reflect the Palestinian and PLO viewpoint. Items from Israeli papers and publications tend to reflect "dovish" views, anti-government and anti-establishment dissent, and criticisms of Israeli policy. SWASIA's selections tend to downplay or ignore the Israeli "mainstream" except to convey an impression of rigidity and intransigence.

Thus, those who publish it can contend that the items reflect various opinions of the people in the region, ignoring the fact that bias can result from the selection of items used or discarded; they can at the same time claim that the content of SWASIA does not represent the opinion of the National Council of Churches which publishes it.

AMEU also offered, through The Link, copies of Middle East Briefing, a 16-page tabloid published in the Spring of 1975 as "a project of the National Council of Churches."

The bias of Middle East Briefing was evident in a listing of suggested books, films and periodicals that was weighted in favor of pro-Palestinian materials. Especially one-sided was the list of recommended periodicals that included Israel and Palestine, the independent, left-oriented newspaper published monthly in Paris; ISRALEFT, a bi-weekly published in Jerusalem by a member of SIAH, the Israeli New Left organization; the pro-PLO Journal of Palestine Studies, published in Beirut; NCC's own SWASIA, and Viewpoints, described as a monthly published in Jerusalem and carrying "translation and analysis of selected articles from the Israeli press and other significant political statements critical of Establishment policies."

Meeting with Arafat

The drift of the NCC in a PLO direction was also indicated by a report carried in the Ecumenical Press Service under date of May 1, 1975. It told of a visit to the Middle East by a delegation from the World Council of Churches "to discuss with its member churches there the contribution they can make to promoting peace with justice." The delegation included a representative of the NCC; it was accompanied for part of its trip by Gabriel Habib of the Middle East Council of Churches which had invited the WCC to send the delegation.

In Lebanon, the church representatives met with Yasser Arafat of the PLO and, the Ecumenical Press Service reported, the WCC's delegation expressed "support for the national rights of the Palestinians" and "concern" for "peace with justice." The delegation also met with such top PLO leaders as Dr. Youssef Sayegh, the head of the PLO Planning Council, and Nabil Sha'ath who headed the PLO delegation to the UN General Assembly in November, 1974.

"A hearing was arranged with a number of Palestinians deported from the occupied territories," Ecumenical Press Service's report continued. "Cases of Israeli violations of human rights through detention and torture were studied."

Earlier in its trip, the delegation visited Egypt where they were received by the new Prime Minister, Mamdouh Salem, and other top officials, including the chief press spokesman for President Sadat. They also visited the headquarters of the Arab League in Cairo. In Syria, they visited Kuneitra, were received by government officials and discussed "the theological issues involved in the Middle East question with Metropolitan George Khodr of Mt. Lebanon.

Catholic Editors

A similar tour by a delegation of 16 editors of Catholic publications was led by Monsignor Nolan at about the same time. It included 15 Americans

and one Canadian and was composed of 15 Catholics and one Protestant. In Beirut they were briefed by the Arab League Special Envoy, Clovis Maksoud, who, among other topics, discussed what Heritage, the Arab-American newspaper published in New York, referred to as the "pattern of Zionism."

The group also met in Beirut with Americans for Justice in the Middle East (AJME), whose president is Rev. Ryan, the pro-PLO Jesuit. Ryan is a staff member of the Center for the Study of the Modern Arab World, located in the Lebanese capital, and AJME is a coterie of pro-Arab Americans there with a constituency in the U.S. itself.

Americans for Justice in the Middle East recently began publishing A.J.M.E. News, a quarterly whose first issue appeared in the Winter of 1974-1975. During 1974, the organization had decided to discontinue its Middle East Newsletter which began publication shortly after the Six Day War in 1967 and, instead, to send its members and subscribers the quarterly Journal of Palestine Studies, the pro-PLO think tank periodical published in Beirut.

In addition to the Journal, AJME now provides its own pro-PLO publication via the new A.J.M.E. News. The first issue also recommended to readers the Facts newsletter issued by LAIP, the other pro-PLO think tank.

In an article summarizing a report to the AJME membership by Father Ryan on his trip to the U.S. in the Fall of 1974, A.J.M.E. News commented that informing the American public about the Palestinian problem "cannot be shirked even though it is an uphill fight and our resources, by comparison to those available to the Zionists, are slight. It is also an Arab problem," the article added, "which some Arab countries are now in a position to confront by mounting a comprehensive program of information."

A.J.M.E. News also carried, in its first issue, an interview with Nabil Sha'ath, the high-ranking PLO leader, the text of the Arafat UN speech, a

report on Sen. Percy's press conference at the U.S. Embassy in Beirut last winter, and an article on Israeli attacks in South Lebanon.

On November 22, 1974, AJME published a large advertisement in The New York Times. It was headlined "Peace Is Possible" and called for U.S. recognition of the PLO. Identifying itself to readers, AJME said:

"Americans for Justice in the Middle East is a volunteer group established seven years ago in Beirut. Concerned with lack of balance in the U.S. coverage of the 1967 War, the founders felt that a fair presentation of both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict was necessary for the intelligent formation of opinion in a democracy such as America. AJME functions as an information service with the bulk of its membership in the U.S....."

The AJME ad coincided with the massive coast to coast advertising campaign focusing on the UN invitation to Arafat and the Arafat speech that was carried out by the Arab League and LAIP during the Fall of 1974.

The 'Auxiliaries': Lilienthal and Dacey

An array of other organizations, publications and individuals throughout the U.S. constitute a corps of pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian "auxiliaries" whose activities back up those of the American pro-Arab establishment that is represented by the Middle East Institute, ANERA, the Middle East Affairs Council, and AMEU.

A list of these auxiliaries would be a lengthy one and would have to include many locally-based activities and operations that do not have nationwide impact and that do not necessarily seek it. Some of these local American pro-Arab operations cooperate in their areas with Arab-American groups that are similarly based.

Two activists in the Arab and PLO cause in America who operate outside the pro-Arab establishment have a broader outreach and some national impact. One of them is Alfred Lilienthal, for 25 years a pro-Arab propagandist, who now publishes Middle East Perspective. Its circulation is probably less than 10,000, but from time to time Lilienthal publishes full-page ads in nationally-circulated newspapers; he also makes frequent speaking appearances around the country that give him a certain visibility. The other activist is Norman Dacey of the American Palestine Committee, Southbury, Conn., whose large, shrill advertisements and letters to the editors of top newspapers, most of them carrying an ill-concealed hostility to Jews, as well as to Zionists and pro-Israel sympathizers, have gained him continuing exposure.

Lilienthal operates what is essentially a one-man activity. The sources of funding that have kept him going for a quarter-of-a-century are well-hidden, but on a recent TV program, a top official of the Continental Oil Co. conceded that the company purchases quantities of literature from him. Lilienthal

travels frequently, almost annually, to the Middle East where he has entre to top officials of various Arab countries and where he appears to be welcome, although he says he is a practicing Jew -- no doubt a recognition by the Arabs of his long activity for their cause in the U.S.

Early in 1974, Lillienthal made a major "splash" via a full-page ad in the Wall Street Journal while the Arab oil embargo was at its peak, and later that year praised the UN invitation to Arafat, stating that by inviting the PLO to participate in the General Assembly debate, the world organization had "at last begun to redress a grievous wrong." Lillienthal presented Arafat with a copy of one of his four pro-Arab books.

During 1975, he purchased a full-page ad in the Christian Science Monitor to warn that the Middle Eastern situation could drag the U.S. into another "Vietnam" and to urge a change in U.S. policy.

Now nearing 60, Lillienthal is an attorney by profession who received a bachelor's degree from Cornell in 1934 and his law degree from Columbia. He served in the U.S. State Department from 1941 to 1943, in the U.S. Army in the Middle East from 1943 to 1945 and then returned to the State Department for two more years, until 1947. He was a consultant to the U.S. delegation at the UN conference at San Francisco in 1945 and later practiced law in Washington.

Dacey, 67, has been active as a pro-PLO and anti-Israel propagandist for half-a-dozen years after spending his early years as a reporter and later achieving success in the field of estate planning, financial counselling and the sale of mutual funds over a period of 20 years. During World War II, he was a major in the psychological warfare section of Gen. Eisenhower's London staff.

Dacey first surfaced as an anti-Israel activist in 1969 when his name was linked with a plan to set up a Palestinian state on the West Bank in the Holy Land, with Israel's boundaries to be reduced to those in the 1947 UN Partition Plan.

In 1971, Dacey was an invited guest at a conference in Kuwait on the Palestine issue that was sponsored by the General Union of Palestine Students and the Kuwait Graduate Society. There is, moreover, evidence, in print, that he has had direct connection with the Palestinian think tanks in Beirut and some of the top pro-PLO strategists and thinkers who operate them, and with the PLO itself.

One piece of evidence appeared in the August 20, 1974 issue of Israel and Palestine, the left-oriented pro-Palestinian periodical published in Paris. In a brief letter, Dacey commented on the death of a Palestinian friend in Ramallah about which he had just learned from reading an earlier issue. Dacey expressed concern over his late friend's "priceless collection of historical data" and added that "the last time I saw him, he entrusted two substantial bundles of documents to me which I carried out of Israel and delivered to Walid Khalidi and Anis Sayegh in Beirut." (As noted earlier, Khalidi and Sayegh are two of the top personalities who are part of or close to the top PLO planners and strategists in the Lebanese capital.)

The other piece of evidence was contained in an American Palestine Committee "Dear Member" letter of March 31, 1975 in which Dacey reported to his adherents on his recent activities, stating that he had been in the Middle East for three months talking with "officials and with people in all walks of life on both sides." He said the last stop of his journey was in Beirut where he met with the Executive Committee of the PLO. He said that he

"...urged the P.L.O. leaders to proclaim the establishment of an independent Republic of Palestine and to invite King Hussein of Jordan to become its first president, thus uniting the West Bank with the territory which the British had arbitrarily separated from Mandate Palestine in 1921. The joining of the people of Jordan (60% of them refugees from Israel and the occupied territories) with the people of the West Bank and Gaza would create a far more formidable entity to bargain with the Israelis at Geneva. The Executive Committee displayed no enthusiasm for the plan at first but finally agreed to give it thoughtful consideration."

Dacey also mentioned meetings with Arab League Secretary General Mahmoud Riad in Cairo, and with key government officials in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and with King Hussein. In Israel he met with Shahak, the long-time critic of the government, and in London with leaders of the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding which, he said, had distributed his materials in England.

Since 1973, Dacey has kept up a steady barrage of letters, press releases, flyers, speeches and newspaper advertisements denouncing Israel, Zionism, and Jewish supporters of Israel and plugging various pro-Palestinian propaganda themes, claims and demands in a free-wheeling, abrasive style that is often careless with facts.

Over the years, moreover, he has larded his output with some of the standard propaganda themes of anti-Jewish propaganda.

Thus, in a highly controversial June 6, 1972 ad that appeared in The New York Times, Dacey labeled American Jews as "a potent Fifth Column" in a

denunciation so extreme that the Anti-Defamation League felt obliged to respond in an ad of its own 10 days later. The ADL stated that the Dacey insertion was "defamatory" and that it "libels American Jewish citizens" and "goes beyond the bounds of good taste..." The League said Dacey's "libel of American Jews as 'a potent Fifth Column' is the kind of anti-Semitism not heard in many years."

In an unusual editorial, published the same day as ADL's ad, the Times said that "our screening process does fail us on occasion" and that "just such a regrettable lapse occurred in connection with the Dacey advertisement..."

Dacey has also charged that American Jews have a "dual loyalty" through their support of Israel and that modern Jews have no relationship to the Holy Land and no claim to it because they are descended from the ancient "Khazar tribe" -- a staple theme used by anti-Semites in the U.S. for more than a quarter-of-a-century. And he has charged undue Jewish influence in the mass media which is also a standard theme of anti-Semitic propagandists, although Dacey claims he is only opposed to Israel, contending that "Zionists refuse to distinguish between anti-Jewishness and anti-Zionism."

Dacey's main thrust in 1975 was a stream of ads, letters and other materials charging that many U.S. Senators and Congressmen are, in effect, accepting "bribes" to support Israel via speaking honorariums they receive from Jewish, pro-Zionist and pro-Israel organizations.

Thus, in an April 2, 1975 APC press release, he charged that "venal men in Washington" were "acting in callous disregard of our nation's best interests" and were "selling America's foreign policy for cash."

These charges were embodied in an APC pamphlet called "The Pay-Off" which named 32 Senators and Congressmen" as having accepted the speaking fees, and later in a controversial ad that Dacey and the APC published in the Washington

Post of June 13, 1975, the National Observer for the week of June 15, and the Christian Science Monitor of June 19. The headline: "Is America's Foreign Policy for Sale?" The ad spoke of banishing "meddlesome aliens from our shores" and of "elected representatives in Washington who have bartered America's best interests for thirty pieces of silver," material deleted by the Christian Science Monitor.

One of Dacey's other responses to the events of 1975 was an ad in The National Observer for the week ending September 13, 1975 -- headlined "WHY 'SECRET?' -- that was critical of a then-secret agreement between the U.S. and Israel which was part of the Sinai accords. (The content was subsequently published in the New York Times.) Referring to Vietnam, Dacey urged readers to write or wire Washington to say "No!" to what he charged was "this new Vietnam...."

'The Hatfield Affair'

Dacey's "The Pay-Off" flyer was on hand the evening of May 1, 1975 at Washington's Army-Navy Club. So were Dacey and Lilienthal, the latter a featured speaker at one of the most bizarre gatherings held in the U.S. in recent years. The other featured speaker was a retired Army colonel, Edward J. Hatfield, a Far Right extremist, who used the occasion to declaim about the existence of a sinister conspiracy in the U.S. to charge President Ford with treason, and to propose that the President -- along with Vice-President Rockefeller, Secretary Kissinger and others - be "hung from the nearest tree."

The sponsoring groups for the Lilienthal address were Citizens for American Survival, founded in 1969 by Hatfield to combat "the international money power Zionist-Communist-'Liberal' - left combine," and The Holy Land State Committee, another extremist group conducted by Haviv Schieber, a controversial alien from Israel who was then the subject, as he had been for many years, of deportation proceedings.

Dacey and Lilienthal were seated at the head table. Also seated there were Dr. Austin J. App, a long-time pro-German apologist for events of the Holocaust period; Retired Marine Corps Lt. Gen. Pedro A. DelValle, an anti-Semite and president of the Far Right extremist Defenders of the American Constitution; Dr. John H. Davis, ANERA board chairman; Muhammed A. Rauf, director of the Islamic Center in Washington; Ayham Omary, public relations director of the Arab League Information Office; and Richard Shadyac, then still president of the National Association of Arab-Americans.

Other guests included the Ambassador to the United States from Lebanon, and staff members from the embassies of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq and Spain.

M.T. Mehdi

The bizarre Washington dinner that brought together in one room an assemblage of pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian propagandists, Far right Jew-baiters, Arab diplomats -- and so respected a member of the pro-Arab establishment as Dr. Davis -- was not the first occasion on which the names of Dr. Davis, Dacey and Lillienthal had been linked for a bread-breaking affair.

A year earlier, in the spring of 1974, their names had been joined together on an Honorary Committee of Sponsors for a banquet at New York's Hilton Hotel to mark the 10th anniversary of M.T. Mehdi's Action Committee on American-Arab Relations. Others on the Committee of Sponsors were Dr. Frank Sakran, a leading Arab-American voice in Washington, D.C., and Dr. Frank Maria, a long-time pro-Arab activist in New England.

Both Dacey and Lillienthal had cooperated with Mehdi for a number of years and his now-defunct paper, Action, had given both considerable exposure.

Mehdi today is far less active and far less visible than he was in the decade past. In those 10 years, he played an important role, from an Arab viewpoint, in keeping the Arab and Palestinian causes alive and visible through some rather difficult times and dark hours via his complex of organizations and letterheads based in New York.

Mehdi's greatest asset, over the years, was his presence on the New York scene, capital of the electronic newsmedia, and he showed a flair for attracting media attention to himself and to his cause. He managed to get

"exposure" by noisy, unconventional and activist tactics that often seemed tailor-made for the electronic media.

A by-product of his efforts dating back to 1964, when he launched his Action Committee, flowed from Mehdi's ability to attract this kind of media attention: whenever a breaking story on the Middle East required an Arab "voice" or an Arab "reaction" to "balance" media coverage, Mehdi was among the first sought out by New York-based reporters and camera crews assigned to get "the Arab viewpoint."

Mehdi was nevertheless essentially a "loner" -- in part by choice and in part by necessity. He enjoyed the limelight and no doubt dreamed of emerging as the unofficial "Mr. Arab" voice on the American scene, if only the oil companies would donate the two, five, or ten million dollars he said were required for a large-scale pro-Arab public relations and propaganda campaign in America -- to be led by Mehdi.

But the very tactics that made Mehdi such a visible and vocal Arab spokesman also tended, it would appear, to discourage the very type and size of financial support he sought. He remained essentially a noise-maker and an agitator whose image was not dignified or prestigious enough to warrant large-scale financial backing from image-conscious sources.

Mehdi's activities, in fact, added up to a series of "attention-getting devices" and "confrontation tactics." He still pops up in newspaper items and interviews around the country, but the propaganda war for American public opinion on the Middle East has become big league and Mehdi appears to have been somewhat lost in the shuffle.

The Campus and the Colleges

There are other dimensions to the Arab and pro-Arab propaganda offensive now gathering momentum in the United States. While the Arab thrust into the business and financial community is relatively new -- at least in terms of its present dimensions -- the Arab presence in the U.S. college and university community, for example, has been a reality for many years. It dates back to the 1950s and 1960s when Arab students were already on American campuses in substantial numbers. In 1955, for example, there were some 10,000 Moslem students in the U.S., most of them from the Arab world, some from Iran which is not an Arab country.

Many of these Arab "alumni" are now leaders in the top circles of government throughout the Arab world and some are in the leadership of the PLO, their names too numerous to mention. Thousands of others have attended the 108-year-old American University of Beirut (AUB) whose faculty today includes some of the pro-PLO brain trusters active in the work of the Beirut-based think tanks -- LAIP and the Institute for Palestine Studies. Others are graduates of the American University in Cairo, founded in 1920.

Other Arab and Arab-American graduates of U.S. colleges and universities help form the reservoir of brains and intellect that makes the AAUG such a valuable asset to the Arab-PLO propaganda offensive in this country today. As noted, they form a resource now being tapped for expertise by the oil-rich Arab regimes and they are an ongoing presence for the cause on campus and in the academic and intellectual communities of the U.S. and Canada.

Arab students are still a noticeable presence at American institutions of higher learning. Their number has risen sharply since the Yom Kippur War and

is expected to continue increasing in the years ahead, according to the American Friends of the Middle East (AFME) in Washington which helps recruit, screen and prepare Arab and Iranian students for education in the U.S.

The Arab Campus Presence

AFME recently indicated that during the 1974-1975 academic year there were more than 25,000 Moslem students studying in the U.S. -- and estimated the number at nearly 35,000 in the 1975-1976 academic year. Of the more than 25,000 on U.S. campuses in the last academic year, according to AFME figures, 11,835 came from 18 of the Arab states:

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------|---|-----|
| Syria | 3,000 | Algeria | 150 |
| Lebanon | 1,900 | Qatar | 140 |
| Jordan | 1,450 | Morocco | 90 |
| Saudi Arabia | 1,365 | Tunisia | 70 |
| Egypt | 1,200 | United Arab Emirates .. | 30 |
| Kuwait | 900 | Oman | 24 |
| Libya | 833 | Bahrain | 14 |
| Iraq | 425 | Yemen | 10 |
| Sudan | 224 | Yemen Peoples Democratic Republic .. | 10 |

Some reports have said that in the not-too-distant future almost all the intellectual leaders of the Middle East and the Arabic speaking nations of North Africa will be American-educated. While that may be an exaggeration, it is obvious that the Arab countries are using American colleges and universities as brain factories that will eventually enable them to staff their own schools and colleges and at the same time increase the cadres of American-trained experts with technological and other know-how for their development programs.

The Organization of Arab Students, active on American campuses during the 1950s and 1960s, has been less visible in recent years although activities by OAS units have been noted at certain colleges scattered around the country. The OAS still holds conventions but cannot be described as a major force in the Arab propaganda offensive in the last two or three years.

It may be speculated that the division within the Arab world that existed until the Rabat conference between the more "conservative" Arab countries, such as Saudi Arabia, and the more radical countries -- not to mention the PLO itself -- hampered operations of the OAS. The same may be said about the split between the PLO and other terrorist groups.

Whether the Arab League commitment to the PLO made at Rabat will bring about more activity by the OAS in the United States remains to be seen. But the Arab students on American campuses, as noted, figure prominently in the Arab League's propaganda game plan for the U.S.

'Head-Hunting' and Expertise

Like the American banking, industrial and commercial communities, the American college and university community has shown increasing interest in tapping the vast reservoir of Arab petrodollars. In the last year, a number of American institutions of higher learning, including some of the most prestigious, have offered to sell expertise and other services to Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich Arab regimes now embarking on domestic development programs and have sought to expand exchange programs of students and faculty with institutions in the Arab world.

Other colleges and universities, financially strapped by inflation and reduced portfolio values and income, and smaller schools with empty classroom chairs, are eagerly seeking Arab students to fill classrooms and dormitories

as a way of balancing their budgets.

This practice, especially by smaller under-attended institutions, has been labeled "head-hunting" and is viewed with concern by many educators and by the State Department. They are aware that many such schools have no proper programs for the foreign students and that this can lead to serious problems, not only through acceptance of students not qualified or prepared for study in the U.S., but through inadequate education that can damage foreign students' perceptions of the U.S.

There is no substantial evidence so far that the efforts of American universities to arrange for the sale of expertise to the Arabs have resulted in the consummation of widespread contracts that could bring an undue Arab influence into American university life. Nor is there any substantial evidence so far that the oil-rich Arab states have been rushing forward with generous grants for American colleges or that they are endowing chairs of learning on any major scale. Early in 1975, it was reported that during a visit to the U.S., the Sultan of Oman had donated \$100,000 each to Georgetown University, The Johns Hopkins University and the University of Pennsylvania to promote Arab and Islamic studies.

A Potential Danger

Arab economic and ideological penetration of American higher learning, nevertheless, remains a potential future danger that cannot be ignored. This is all the more true because the Arab master plan for political and propaganda activity, as noted, places special emphasis on influencing the American higher education establishment, calls for the endowment of chairs of learning for professors and scholars, and for expanded exchange programs of students and faculty

to bring more American students and scholars to the Arab world and more Arabs to U.S. campuses.

Arab propaganda activity on U.S. college campuses is already a reality, not only through the AAUG professors, but through the scattered organizations of Arab students who receive assistance from non-Arab radical leftist groups and have a ready-made and sympathetic audience among non-Arab radical students

Alliances of Arab and radical left American students on a number of campuses carry out frequent leafletting operations, hold pro-PLO rallies, symposiums and teach-ins where Israel, Zionism and "imperialism" are denounced, stage "Days of Solidarity" with the Palestinians, and put on screenings of pro-Palestinian and pro-PLO films.

Films: Pro-Arab and Pro-PLO

The new AAUG filmstrip, Palestine is the Issue, and the film entitled Jerusalem: Prophets or Paratroopers which, as noted, ANERA is distributing, are not the only pro-Arab and pro-PLO propaganda "visuals" now circulating on the American scene generally and on campuses in particular.

Still screened frequently is one of the older titles -- Revolution Until Victory, now re-titled We Are The Palestinian People -- which is a distorted and blatantly propagandistic version of Israel, Zionism and the Palestinian "revolution." It is, nevertheless, potentially effective when presented to audiences, especially young people, who are not necessarily knowledgeable or informed about the Arab-Israeli conflict and the history of Europe in the Nazi era or about the Middle East itself.

Another title now circulating is Kuneitra - Death of a City, a propaganda film which, like Jerusalem: Prophets or Paratroopers, was produced by Tito Howard, a pro-Arab activist from Birmingham, Ala., now reportedly working in Beirut.

Another effective pro-Palestinian film is To Live in Freedom-Israelis and Palestinians in Israel-Palestine, produced in England which was called to the attention of certain church groups by member churches represented on the Middle East and Europe Working Group of the National Council of Churches.

In descriptive promotional material for the film, the distributors made it clear that the film does not attempt to be objective, and does not attempt to present all sides of the Palestinian issue, and that it is "subjective" in its approach. It not only promotes the Palestinian viewpoint, but emphasizes those points that bolster a negative view of Israeli society and bases itself on an anti-imperialist ideological philosophy that sees Israel and Israelis as European exploiters of the Arabs and of oriental Jews.

Still other titles of pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian films now in circulation include Arab-Israeli Dialogue, And None Shall Make Them Afraid, Our Little Homes, Palestine on the Cross, The May of the Palestinians, The Guns United, and Palestine in Turmoil -- the latter an interview with Dr. Fayez Sayegh, the well-known Arab diplomat and propagandist who now advises the Kuwaiti delegation at the UN.

An item in the June 12, 1974 issue of Variety, datelined from Tashkent, told of the appearance at a "festival" there of three filmmakers representing the Palestinian Cinema Institution in Beirut. They said the Institution was established "to produce films to help people gather around the Palestinian revolution and to inform them about the Palestinian struggle and its just cause." The three Arabs were quoted as declaring that "the imperialist Zionist forces are becoming stronger and that much work is needed in all media to educate and persuade."

The films screened by the Palestinian Cinema Institution representatives at Tashkent were A Zionist Aggression -- about Israeli bombings of "refugee camps;" With Blood and Soul, about the attack on the Fatah by the Jordanian army in 1970; Number One, about the assassination of PLO leaders in Beirut which included an interview with Arafat; and Scenes from Occupied Gaza concerning the Israeli occupation there.

Variety did not make it clear whether these Beirut-produced films were suitable for English-speaking audiences and in any case there have been no reports that any of them have been shown to American audiences.

In general, the available films, when screened, are shown on college campuses by Arab student groups or by radical leftists on campus, and one or two of the titles have been screened by church groups. In one case, Jerusalem: Prophets or Paratroopers was carried on educational television and in another was given a showing at the public library in Worcester, Mass.

In all likelihood, other titles will be added to the list of Arab and pro-PLO films. With the growing interest in the Middle East being shown by church and other groups, they could become a major factor in the expanding Arab and pro-Arab propaganda offensive in the U.S.

Audiotapes

As for audiotapes, one of the largest reservoirs of taped pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian propaganda is offered under the guise of "education" by the Extension Media Center (EMC) at the University of California, Berkeley and was described in the June 17, 1974 issue of the Center's weekly bulletin, Lifelong Learning. It catalogued 99 audiotapes available as "Perspectives on the Middle East" -- most of them the work of Colin D. Edwards, described as a British radio correspondent and lecturer knowledgeable on the Middle East.

The overwhelming majority of the tapes described revealed a heavy preponderance in the direction of viewpoints from Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Arab, pro-Palestinian sources, ostensibly "balanced" by a limited selection of ADL tapes of the Arnold Forster Dateline Israel programs. The inclusion of the small number of ADL materials did not overcome the obvious fact that the 99 tapes offered were preponderantly on the Arab side.

The naivete -- or deceptiveness -- of those in charge of the EMC was disclosed in their reference to the availability of a large number of tapes from the Association of Arab-American University Graduates. These AAUG-produced tapes were referred to by Lifelong Learning as "a selection of panel discussions and lectures from the scholarly meetings of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates."

The description of speeches at AAUG conventions as "lectures" and of the conventions themselves as "scholarly meetings" -- rather than political meetings of a pro-PLO propaganda group -- was revealing. It was, however, preceded by a demurrer of sorts in which Lifelong Learning told its subscribers:

"In one of the lectures described in this brochure it is stated that a scholarly stance is not necessarily at some point midway between

two extremes, but may rather be a commitment to what one perceives to be the truth after a study of the facts."

Aside from the AAUG tapes and the ADL materials, it seemed clear that the items produced by Edwards were heavily pro-Arab. Two examples captioned "Palestine" are suggestive of the bias: Deir Yassin, a tape described as "a documentary on the massacre of over 250 Arab men, women and children at the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin by Zionist armed forces...." and Israeli Occupation, described as "a documentary on the conditions imposed by Israeli occupation forces on the inhabitants of Arab territories following the June 1967 war..."

The Black Community

In the black community, the most visible and sustained support the Arabs have achieved is in the Black Muslim movement founded by the late Elijah Muhammad. The movement newspaper, Muhammad Speaks (recently renamed Bilalian News), publishes ongoing barrage of pro-Arab items and a regular column by Ali Baghdadi, a long-time advocate of the Arab cause.

The Black Muslim movement itself was the recipient in recent years of what was described as a \$2,000,000 "loan" from the Libyan regime headed by Col. Khadaffi, and has been pro-Arab for many years -- dating back to the early days of the Nasser regime in Egypt during the 1950's.

Similar pro-Arab sentiment pervades the various black nationalist groups and the Congress of African People in which Imamu Abu Baraka, the black poet and playwright formerly known as Leroy Jones, has been a major influence. The Congress has taken an anti-Israel, anti-Zionist and pro-Arab position.

The pro-Third World posture of many leading black intellectuals is yet another factor in the current of pro-Arab sentiment within the black community.

Yet surveys have indicated that for most black people, the Middle Eastern situation and the conflict between Israel and the Arabs is a subject of basic

indifference and not a high priority on the list of concerns felt by ordinary black people.

Respected leaders of the black community, such as Roy Wilkins and Bayard Rustin, have been outspoken in their support for Israel, as have other black leaders.

Yet the fact remains that the 30,000,000 black Americans are essentially on the sidelines with respect to the Middle East and constitute an uncommitted audience.

The long-time Arab goal of making inroads in the black community has not, per se, scored any significant gains except for the Black Muslim, black nationalist and intellectual circles mentioned.

Since the Yom Kippur War, there have been signs of renewed efforts by the Arab propaganda strategists to zero in on black America. Blacks were included as one of the key target groups to be reached through implementation of the master plan for political and propaganda activity in the U.S. and, as noted, Kuwait made a special effort to bring its message on the oil situation to the more than 500,000 readers of Jet magazine, with the addition, moreover, of special material tailored for black readers.

Yet another thrust by the Arabs in the direction of the black community -- and likewise a move that showed the increasing sophistication of Arab propaganda -- was a 1974 invitation to four leading black journalists to visit the Arab world as representatives of the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), the association representing black newspapers around the country.

The invitation was extended by Farouk A. Mawlawi, Acting Permanent Observer to the UN for the Arab League, who later served for a time as head of the Arab League Information Offices in the United States.

The four black journalists visited the Arab world from May 25 to June 11, 1974.

The group included Mrs. Marjorie Parham, publisher of the Cincinnati Herald; Howard B. Woods, publisher of the St. Louis Sentinel; Charles Belle, business administrator for the San Francisco Sun-Reporter; and Robert Sengstacke, vice-president and son of the publisher of the Sengstacke Newspapers, publisher of the Chicago Defender and other black publications in the U.S.

From the Arab viewpoint, the visit of the four black journalists was a smart move that turned into a fiasco, but that nevertheless paid one tremendous dividend. As reported in the black press, the visit was marred by several episodes that proved a disaster for the Arabs: The Air Egypt pilot on their flight walked through the cabin greeting each passenger but pointedly ignored the four black Americans; the reception in Cairo was described as "cool"; moreover, the group was ignored by officials and was given poor hotel accommodations that made them feel like "third class citizens." The reception in Jordan, however, was good, the visitors were impressed by the good treatment Arab refugees were receiving in Jordan, but were turned off by the expressions on the faces of Palestinians who had just returned from visiting relatives in camps in the "occupied territories." Conditions in refugee camps in Lebanon were described as "deplorable."

It was in Kuwait that the trip turned sour for the Arabs. The chairman of the group, Mr. Woods of the St. Louis Sentinel, was refused admission by Kuwaiti officials because his passport showed he had visited Israel previously. The three other members of the group refused to leave him although they were invited to stay, and despite the blandishments of Kuwaiti officials attempting to recoup, spent the night at the airport and returned at once to the U.S.

That setback for the Arabs was mitigated, if not wiped out, by the appearance of an eight-page supplement in the July 30, 1974 Chicago Defender. It was produced by Robert Sengstacke and was headlined, "A Young Man's View of the Middle East" with "photographs and text" by young Sengstacke, although three of the photos

were credited to the Palestine Liberation Organization. The photo captions, not to mention the narrative, were highly propagandistic and appeared to have borrowed heavily from handouts supplied by Sengstacke's Arab and Palestinian hosts. The now-familiar parallel maps of Israeli territorial "expansion" since 1948 that have become standard in Arab League propaganda, were reprinted -- and were, in fact, credited to the "League of Arab States."

Headlines on the various pages of the Sengstacke supplement included "History of Arab-Israeli Conflict," summarizing a January, 1974, newsletter sent by Sen. Abourezk to his constituents in South Dakota and described by young Sengstacke as one that "best describes the Arab point of view."

A sample paragraph concluding the section of "history" presented by Sengstacke up to 1948 read as follows: "A Jewish state of Israel had been established in Arab lands. A combination of events and well-organized efforts of the Zionist movement had tragically made the Palestinian Arabs pay for the sins of Hitler and others who had and are now mistreating the world's Jews."

Another sample: "In all of the refugee camps we visited the Palestinians we met felt a strong bond of unity with U.S. blacks, as one refugee put it, 'We have a unity of destination with your people, and oppressed people all over the world.'"

The back cover of the eight-page supplement featured a full-page photo of a "Fedayeen commando" side-by-side with Sengstacke, each holding an automatic rifle and each giving a clenched fist salute.

Shortly thereafter, the Defender published a letter of thanks signed by the President of the Organization of Arab Students at the University of Illinois' Chicago Circle Campus.

Conclusion

In a very real sense the question posed to the American people who are the target of the Arab propaganda offensive now gathering steam and momentum in the

United States is this:

Can money overcome morality? Can the Arab money weapon buy out America's moral commitment to the survival of tiny Israel as the only Jewish State in the world? Can petrodollars persuade Americans, their elected representatives and their President, whoever he may be, to reverse twenty-seven years of established American policy, based on a consensus of self-interest as well as morality, and consent to the isolation, strangulation, emasculation or destruction of democratic Israel?

In the history of the last 40 years, the fate of small nations standing alone against stronger opponents has been crucial for the United States and for the world -- Ethiopia in 1935, Spain in 1936, Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938, Finland in 1939, and Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia in 1941.

The events that resulted from the world's refusal to face up to the implications of the fate that confronted and befell those countries is still sufficiently clear to warrant the concern of all Americans -- not just the American Jewish community -- as Israel remains surrounded and beleaguered by its Arab and Palestinian opponents.

There is scant evidence, if any, that the Arabs stand ready to make a final peace with the Jewish State. The Arab propaganda offensive in the United States and the Arab master plan of political warfare are not aimed at mere image polishing and equal treatment in the media. They reflect, rather, the Arab goal -- the "dream" -- of destroying the Jewish State and replacing it with another political structure on the same Holy Land territory.