PALESTINE MONOGRAPHS

53

ESSAYS ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION & THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

PALESTINE RESEARCH CENTER

ESSAYS ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION & THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

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PREFACE

In publishing this book the Palestine Research Center attempts to study and analyze the presentation of the Palestine problem in the United States.

This book is composed of four separate papers dealing with different aspects of the issue:

The first paper, written by Dr. Michael W. Suleiman, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Kansas State University, discusses the communication gap that exists between the Arabs and the West with special emphasis on the United States of America. The paper attempts to analyze the causes behind this gap. According to Suleiman: "The most important element in the creation of a communication gap between the Arabs and the West has been Arab-Zionist rivalry and the creation of the state of Israel."

The second paper, written by H.H., discusses the development of events that led to the Arab-Israeli 1967 June War as were presented by the *New York Times*. The author shows that, by reporting the crisis out of the context of historical facts, the *New York Times* substantially contributed to the formulation of a pro-Israeli and anti-Arab public opinion. And with the intensification of the crisis the editors' position became more hostile to the Arabs. In his concluding remarks

the author says: "It is appalling and at the same time sad, that a newspaper, such as the *New York Times,* which considers itself one of the great newspapers of the world, is so biased and predisposed toward one particular viewpoint. Had the *New York Times* adopted a less biased position the outcome of the May and June crisis might have been different." The author believes that the editorial staff of the *New York Times,* "influential as it is, was giving subtle hints to Israel ta attack or at least giving its blessings for an Israeli aggressive act."

The third paper, written also by Dr. Michael W. Suleiman, analyzes the coverage of the June War as presented by the *New York Times, Life, U.S. News & World Report, Nation, New Republic, Newsweek and Time.* According to Karl Deutsch: "Control of the social institutions of mass communication, and generally of the storage and transmission of information, is an obvious major component of power." The author concludes that, in general, the American press presented the Israeli version of what was happening in the Middle East and by doing so it greatly enhanced Israel's power and bargaining position. "A more responsible press would perform its appointed role in a democracy and help better understanding between Arabs and Americans."

The fourth paper is of a different nature yet tackling an issue which is of relevance to the aforementioned. This paper is part of an M.A. thesis presented by Dr. Adawia Alami to Kent State University during the 1956-1957 academic year. In her study Dr. Alami attempts to cover and analyze many

stereotyped ideas and misconceptions among the American people about the Arab world as they appear in textbooks of children, since it is vital to provide the coming generation with a picture of other nations that is accurate, balanced, objective and fair. This study proves that the image which children have about the Arabs is a distorted one. Textbooks present Israel as a modern and a developed nation and the Arabs as backward and underdeveloped.

Leila S. Kadi

THE ARABS AND THE WEST: COMMUNICATION GAP

by Michael W. Suleiman (*)

Arabs—leaders and intellectuals as well as the general public—have since World War I complained of the difficulty encountered in their persistent but unsuccessful attempt to communicate with the West. Basically and simply their grievance pertains to the lack of understanding of, and sympathy for, the Arab point of view on international, regional and local issues. The object of this paper is to probe into the reasons and, in passing, to test the validity of the assertion.[1]

There are several factors which have contributed to the existence of this communication gap. These factors are certainly inter-related and will be isolated here for analytical purposes only.

Arabs as Part of the Colonial World.

The Arabs came into contact with the West when the European powers, France and Great Britain in particular,

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(1) The assertion is accepted as fairly valid. See MICHAEL W. SULEIMAN, "An Evaluation of Middle East News Coverage in Seven American Newsmagazines, July-December, 1956," *Middle East Forum,* Vol. XLI, No. 2 (Late Autumn, 1965), pp. 9-30.

established colonies and disguised colonies euphemistically called mandates or protectorates. As Erskine Childers forcefully expressed it: "In no other part of the Afro-Asian world were new frontiers drawn on maps as late in the epoch of imperialism as in the Middle East. In no other part of the world in 1917 was territory, already inhabited by a people, declared open for mass immigration by aliens known to be seeking a state of their own, while the original inhabitants were denied self-determination (Palestine). In no other part of Afro-Arab-Asia did post-1918 imperial policy require such brutal fully military imposition as was involved in Morocco, Libya, Iraq, and Syria between 1920 and 1930."[2]

From its very beginning, the Arab nationalist movement was severely shaken and frustrated by the very West it had taken to be a helpful ally. When Sherif Hussein of Mecca gathered his Arab followers and declared war on his co-religionists in Ottoman Turkey, the aim was that, with victory, the Asian Arabs would achieve their independence. Despite Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points and his championship of self-determination, and despite the findings of the King-Crane commission, however, the imperialistic interests and secret diplomacy of the United Kingdom and France were allowed to triumph.[3] The Arabs did not attain their independence, and suffered the more serious affliction of a divided homeland.

(2) ERSKINE B. CHILDERS, *The Road to Suez* (London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1962), p. 32.

(3) For a detailed study of the findings of the King-Crane commission, see HARRY N. HOWARD, *The King-Crane Commission* (Beirut: Khayyats, 1963); for Arab reaction to Wilson's famous statement, see GEORGE ANTONIUS, *The Arab Awakening* (Beirut: Khayyats, n.d.), and ALBERT H. HOURANI, *Syria and Lebanon* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946).

Not only was the Arab homeland dismembered into numerous kingdoms and republics under foreign domination, but the process of differentiation and disintegration was further enhanced by the subjection of the Arabs to two alien powers with distinctly different languages, cultures, governments and administrations. France went still further by establishing Greater Lebanon and dividing Syria into several "administrative" units. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Arab intelligentsia began to lose their faith in the West.

This loss of confidence gradually but surely extended to other aspects of Western civilization which had been admired and imitated by Arab intellectuals. Liberalism began to lose its luster when so-called liberals confined their liberal policies to England and France. If democracy was a form of government to be enjoyed by the British and the French, if it did not truly represent nor work for the interests of the public in the various Arab countries, then it was useless to adhere to empty formal procedures. And what of Western liberals? What of the Western socialists who spoke of freedom and the dignity of man? They, too, unfortunately, disappointed their Arab counterparts. British Laborites were, after all, not much different from the Conservatives in their dealings with the Arabs. What is perhaps most disappointing of all to the Arab liberals is the almost complete lack of sympathy or understanding on the part of Western liberals of the Arab side in the Palestine issue—a point to which we shall return later.

Arabs as Part of the "Backward" World.

There is little doubt that the Arab world is not as ad-

vanced economically as the West. Apart from Kuwait whose wealth was discovered only recently, only Lebanon has a per capita income in excess of $200.[4] While the Arab countries share this characteristic with the developing world generally, certain ramifications make the Arabs more sensitive on this issue. The Arabs' strong pride in their past glory and their shame in the present unfavorable conditions intensify their reactions to Western display of power. The frustrations engendered by the inability to hit back with any effectiveness inflame their passions and add to their fury. This explains to a great extent the almost hysterical exuberation among the Arabs over the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company and the concomitant defiance of the West. That single act more than any other perhaps represented the "ideal" Arab response to any Western provocation.

Once the Arabs began to consciously compare their present backwardness with Western superiority, there was no escaping the conclusion that Arab traditions, mores and culture were in part responsible for the present state of affairs. Even though the loudest and most frequent denunciations were aimed at the West and its imperialistic policy, self-criticism, albeit of the current "unnatural" conditions only, and the search for a new *Weltanschauung* more suitable for the twentieth century began. This process unavoidably cast serious doubts on the suitability of traditional Islam as an organizing force to restore the Arabs' former glory. Since this was viewed by most Moslem religious leaders and much of the public as a conscious

(4) BRUCE M. RUSSET, et al., *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964).

and premeditated attack by the Christian West and the misguided Westernized Arab elites on the Moslem community, hatred of the West was intensified and another avenue of communication was blocked.

The West on its part has enraged and continues to enrage the Arabs by its policy of "balance of power" between Israel with its two and one half million people and the Arab world comprising almost 100 million. Regardless of the arguments which the West may present to justify such a policy, to the Arabs, such a set-up is insidious and infuriating. A comparable reaction is generated by the use of such term as "power vacuum" to refer to the situation in the Midde East after the British-French withdrawal from Suez in 1956.

A sizable number of the new elites in the Arab countries have internalized Western values and now attempt to make their homeland a part of the modern world. This process entails building an industrial complex and, more importantly, changing the attitudes, mores and social norms of what they consider a decadent present. Most of all, they seek the approval of the "modern" West. That is why their feelings are hurt and their pride is deflated when the Westerners focus their attention, as they often do, upon the bedouins and desert-dwellers. Since WW I and the romanticization of desert life by T.E. Lawrence and the huge success encountered by Lowell Thomas (Sr.) in his film lectures and book on *Lawrence in Arabia,* the West has thought of the Arab as a glamorous sheikh or bedouin with flowing robes and embroidered kaf-

fiyek, roaming the peaceful desert.[5] But Westernized Arabs saw nothing romantic in this picture and had nothing but contempt for the desert-dwellers and their distinctive dress—the very sign of backwardness.[6] A new Western image of the Arab, no less unfavorable than the first, was to emerge and almost supersede it after the end of WW I and the intensification of the cold war in particular.

The Cold War and the Arabs.

When the West began to experience the ire and fury of the new nationalist and Westernized elites in the Arab world, the word "Arab" began to conjure up the image of a dishonest, dirty and inferior individual. First, Britain and France were met with hostility and violence as they attempted to continue or reestablish their hold over the region. Their frustrations and the indignation that an erstwhile colonial people should demand independence and equal status on the international scene were channelled into bitter hatred for the "ungrateful troublemakers," the educated urban Arabs.

Soon, the United States joined Britain and France in holding this view of the Arabs when its own interests in the

(5) CHILDERS, *op. cit.,* pp. 36-53; SULEIMAN, *op. cit.,* pp. 12-13. This romantic picture of the desert and its Arab residents elicits Western sympathy and a desire on the part of some observers to maintain the status quo, as if change is bound to be bad. See, for instance, CARLETON S. COON, "The Nomads," in SYDNEY N FISHER (ed.), *Social Forces in the Middle East* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1955), pp. 23-42. Daniel Lerner, however, complains against this "misplaced" sympathy. See *The Passing of Traditional Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 73-74.

(6) Needless to say, the educated Arabs vehemently resent the image which Western film companies portray of the Arab.

area were threatened by the Westernized elite.[7] As scheme after scheme for the "defense" of the Middle East had to be abandoned or shelved because of strong Arab opposition in the form of strikes, demonstrations and violence,[8] Americans began to share the sentiments of their European allies regarding Arab intelligentsia and the masses that accepted their leadership. Such a situation was hardly conducive to proper understanding or fruitful communication and interchange of ideas.

Culture and Language in Arab-Western Relations.

Psychologists, anthropologists, and social scientists generally have argued that "rearing in one community limits one's understanding of unfamiliar or contrasting behavior patterns."[9] It is important, therefore, to investigate how language and culture have played a part in limiting the understanding of the Arabs and the West of each other's behavior.

Any person familiar with Arabic culture is quick to recognize that "Arabs speak with assertiveness and exaggeration."[10] This linguistic pattern is so ingrained in the Arab people's thinking and behavior that an Arab speaker is constantly

(7) Here and elsewhere in the paper, reference to interests merely means the interests as viewed by the authorities in office, since a different group could view such interests differently.

(8) See JOHN C. CAMPBELL, *Defense of the Middle East* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960). The defense, of course, was against communist penetration of the area, not of Arab lands against their bitterest enemy, Israel.

(9) JOHN J. HONIGMAN, *Culture and Personality* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), p. 224.

(10) *Ibid.*

"afraid that the listener may think that he means the opposite' if he does *not* exaggerate and emphasize his point.[11] This is part of a cultural heritage with a long history behind it. Arab writers and poets recognized this exaggerative trait and made ample use of it. It was so evident that it used to be said that the best poetry is that with the greatest amount of "lying" in it. What was meant, of course, was that the more exaggerated the poetry was, the better it was. This exaggerative trait of the Arabs has been observed and commented upon. Dr. Sania Hamady, in her book on the character of the Arabs, gives several examples of the Arabs' love of exaggeration and over-assertion.[12] This exaggeration is not restricted to poetry and literary prose. Arabs exaggerate in all their language communication, poetry or prose, classical or colloquial, romantic or political.

The Arabic language is alleged to contribute to a "general vagueness of thought; overemphasis on the psychological significance of the linguistic symbols at the expense of their meanings; ... overassertion and exaggeration."[13] Thus, a writer or a speaker does not find it obligatory to be very specific, so long as the reader or listener can "guess" the meaning.

Perhaps it is safe to assume that all languages have ways and means of expressing assertion or exaggeration. The En-

(11) SANIA HAMADY, *Temperament and Character of the Arabs* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1960), p. 227.
(12) *Ibid.*, pp. 59-63.
(13) E. SHOUBY, "The Influence of the Arabic Language on the Psychology of the Arabs," *Middle East Journal,* Vol. 5 (1951), p. 291.

glish language certainly has some. Yet they hardly compare with those employed in Arabic. Dr. Shouby writes: "The Arabic language abounds with forms of assertion, *tawkid,* and of exaggeration, *mubalaghah.* There is the common ending words that are meant to be emphasized; there is also the doubling of the sounds of some consonants to create the desirable stronger effect; there are also the frequent words *inna* and *kad,* used to emphasize a larger number of sentences; and there are such forms of assertion as the repetition of pronouns and certain other words to get across their meanings or significance. Besides these grammatical types of over-assertion are the numerous stylistic and rhetorical devices to achieve even further exaggeration. Fantastic metaphors and similes are used in abundance, and long arrays of adjectives to modify the same word are quite frequent. Though gradually developing in the direction of brevity, the style of Arabic prose is still too florid (as judged by the standards applicable to English prose) to be considered factual and realistic."[14] (Emphasis supplied).

Most of the grammatical types of exaggeration do, of course, lose their effect or significance upon translation to a language having a completely different set of grammatical rules, e.g., English. Nevertheless, we do have the other types of exaggeration which are almost fully retained in an English translation.

If we now concede the exaggerative linguistic behavior of the Arabs, our next question should relate to the relevance

(14) SHOUBY, *op. cit.,* pp. 298-299.

or significance of this fact in international relations. Two implications are evident. When Arabs are communicating to each other, they are forced to exaggerate and over-assert in order not to be misunderstood. Yet non-Arabs, not realizing that "the speaker is merely following a linguistic tradition,"[15] are likely to misunderstand his intent and thus attribute a great deal of importance to the over-stressed argument.[16] Secondly, when non-Arabs speak simply and unelaborately, they are *not* believed by the Arabs.

Did such a misunderstanding take place during the Suez Crisis, for instance? The evidence seems to indicate that it did. Both Eden and Dulles revealed in public pronouncements their misunderstanding of Nasser's speech nationalizing the Suez Canal Company. Said Secretary of State Dulles: "No one reading the speech can doubt for a moment that the Suez Canal, under Egypt's operation, would be used, not to carry out the 1888 treaty, but to promote the political and economic ambitions of Egypt—what President Nasser calls the "grandeur"of Egypt.[17]

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(15)SHOUBY, *op. cit.,* p. 300.

(16) Elie Kedourie asserts the opposing point of view that, in the Middle East, "rhetoric is a part of reality and not a substitute for it, and that the Palestine war of 1948 was a product of rhetoric which —now as then—is the natural habitat of Arab politics." See PETER CALVOCORESSI, "Suez - Ten Years After," *The Listener,* Vol. 76, No. 1947, July 21, 1966, p. 79. See also Eliahu Sassoon's comments in the article entitled "How to Speak to the Arabs," *Middle East Journal,* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Spring, 1964), pp. 143-162. But even if it is conceded that rhetoric is a part of reality in Arab life, the main point is still valid, namely that such a situation creates a communication gap between the Arabs and the West.

(17) *U.S. News and World Report,* August 10, 1956, p. 59.

Mr. Dulles here misunderstood the germinal point of Nasser's whole speech justifying the act of nationalization. To the Arabs in general it was, I believe, obvious that Nasser was returning a slap in the face that the West had given him. The "grandeur" that Nasser was seeking for Egypt was not at this stage political or economic in nature—except as these may accrue from his main objective, namely to get rid of the "imperialists," "colonizers," and the last vestiges of Western or any foreign domination. This explanation is rendered more acceptable if we remember the tremendous popularity which President Nasser enjoyed at this time among the masses of all the Arab countries. These millions had little to gain economically or politically from Nasser's Suez action. In fact, they continued in their unflinching loyalty to the Egyptian President during and after the Suez war when they stood to suffer financially from the blocking of the Canal.

Furthermore, Nasser referred to the income from the Suez Canal operation as being 100 million dollars. This, of course, was the gross income. Yet he was talking of it as though it were the net income, to be taken over and used "for the benefit of Egypt." This could mean one of two things. It could mean that Nasser, the Egyptians and the Arabs in general found a special significance in taking over the foreign company, operating it themselves, and allocating the profits after the expenses are paid. This is the interpretation that I believe the Arabs held or accepted. The other interpretation of Nasser's statement would be to assume that the Egyptian President was planning to take over all the income from the Canal to spend it on the Aswan Dam project—leaving the Canal unrepaired, and unimproved. This would have meant

that Nasser was going to kill the hen that was laying the golden eggs for him. Though unrealistic, Sir Anthony Eden seems to have accepted the latter interpretation of Nasser's speech when he said: "If the [Suez] Canal is to do its job, its capacity to carry the traffic must be increased and much money spent upon it. The [Suez Canal] Company has been building up reserves for this purpose, and they'll all be needed. And what does Colonel Nasser say? Oh, he tells us he must take over the company because he wants to use its money to build the Aswan [High] Dam."[18]

Any non-Arab reading or listening to Nasser's speech would have logically come to the same conclusions as those expressed by Mr. Dulles and Sir Anthony Eden. It is possible, of course, that both Dulles and Eden were "fabricating" these excuses. Nevertheless, I believe it reasonable to assume that they were sincere in their concern over what they understood to be the case.

On the other hand, Nasser did not comprehend completely the Western utterances on the seriousness of the situation. He was quite surprised by the British attack on Egypt. His advisers had concluded that neither the economic nor the military situation of Britain would make possible an invasion before three or four months—during which Nasser "would stand back and wait for world opinion to save him."[19] This might have been a calculated risk worth taking, but it also showed that Nasser "didn't understand that the British mean what

(18) Enden's speech, *U.S. News and World Report,* August 17, 1956, p. 81.

(19) CALVOCORESSI, *op. cit.,* p. 78.

they say when they call the Suez Canal the lifeline of empire."[20] Nasser himself told us that he did not believe that the British would back up their ultimatum: "When their [the British Government's] ultimatum came on October 30, I had calculated there was no more than a 40 percent chance they would really take military action."[21] And again; "We were so deceived about British intentions . . . that one of the first things we did after the Israeli attack was to remove the brigade stationed at Port Said and send it to Sinai."[22]

Thus, there seems to be a "language barrier" between the Arabs and other nations—the Anglo-American nations, at any rate. But language is not the only factor. It would be stating the obvious to remind ourselves that the Arabs are quite different culturally from Westerners. In fact, an assertion can be made that most acts based upon accepted Arab mores or norms are judged bad, immoral, quaint, foolish, or stupid; whereas acts based upon accepted Israeli mores are judged good and/or moral by Westerners. Since Israel is the Arabs' most hated and feared enemy, unfavorable comparison with the Israelis hurts Arab pride and alienates the Arabs while at the same time bringing the Israelis and Westerners closer together. In the heat of the Suez crisis, an American wrote in a letter to *Time* magazine: "I would venture to say that we peace-loving Christians are secretly pleased that Sir Anthony [Eden] helped muzzle the mealy-mouthed Muslim [Nasser]."[23]

(20) *Time,* August 27, 1956, p. 26. The remark was attributed to a friend of Nasser's.
(21) *Ibid.,* December 10, 1956, p. 36.
(22) *Ibid.,* p. 41.
(23) *Ibid.,* December 31, 1956, p. 4.

The Palestine Problem and Arab-Western Alienation.

There is hardly any doubt that the most important element in the creation of a communication gap between the Arabs and the West has been Arab-Zionist rivalry and the creation of the state of Israel. It should be recalled that the driving force behind the establishment of a "Jewish" homeland came from Western, particularly European, Jewish nationalists. As a reaction to prolonged persecution, and in direct response to progroms in eastern Europe and the Dreyfus case in France in the latter part of the nineteenth century, a world Zionist organization was established with the explicit purpose of eliciting support for the acquisition of territory on which to set up a Jewish state. The basic premise of the Zionist movement has been that a Jew cannot live in dignity anywhere except in a Jewish state. This assumption was challenged by several prominent Jews and the Zionist idea had a slow start in the United States because of the more tolerant treatment and liberal atmosphere.[24]

In 1917, the Zionists succeeded in persuading the British Government to promise them help in the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This promise, known as the Balfour Declaration, was made two years after the British had concluded an agreement with the Arabs, their allies in the war against the Ottoman Empire, to the effect that the Arabs would be autonomous in their countries. There is continuing controversy as to whether or not the area of Palestine was

(24) ALFRED M. LILIENTHAL, *What Price Israel* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1953), pp. 15-23.

included in the Arab-British agreement.[25] What concerns us, however, is why the British issued the Balfour Declaration and the consequences of that action for the whole region. Though several reasons have been advanced to explain the British promise to the Zionist leaders, it is relevant for our purposes to emphasize two in particular. The first is the assumption that the West was beginning to feel a strong guilt for the inhuman treatment of the Jewish residents among them and was, therefore, ready to expiate its previous actions by lending a helping hand in the establishment of a Jewish state—especially since it was far away and did *not* belong to any Western power. Furthermore, it was convenient to assume that the land belonged to no one, since the Western image of the Arabs as wandering nomads came in handy to relieve any pangs to the conscience.

To the Arabs, the biggest blow was the implication on the part of the British that the Arabs were either expendable or unimportant. For how else could they interpret an official British document about Palestine, which was at the time 90 percent Arab, that refers to them only as "non-Jewish communities"? This, as. J. M. N. Jeffries put it, was tantamount to "calling the grass of the countryside the non-dandelion portion of the pastures."[26] From then on, Arab-Western relations were to be plagued by a crisis of confidence, for not only were the Arabs dealt a crippling blow to their self-esteem, but their faith in the Western world, as personified by Great Britain was shattered. To compound the difficulties still

(25) See ANTONIUS, *op. cit.*

(26) As quoted in EDWARD ATIYAH, *The Arabs* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1955), p. 103.

further, a joint Congressional resolution, also signed by President Harding in 1922, affirmed American support of the Balfour Declaration in almost the same language—with one significant exception, namely that Christians in Palestine were here mentioned by name whereas the preponderant majority of the population, the Moslem Arabs, were once more relegated to the category of "other non-Jewish communities."[27]

Perhaps the main factor that has helped Zionism in the West is the presence of a Jewish community in the various Western countries, and the corresponding absence of a significant element of Westerners of Arab origin. The United States and to a lesser extent Canada are the two Western countries with a detectable Arab population.

There are still some Arabs in the West who defend Arab causes but their influence is minimal. This is because they are few in number, hold few if any official positions and are composed primarily of diplomatic representatives, Arab Information Center personnel, students and teachers. They are in the main outside the body politic and can, therefore, exert no effective pressure to influence the decision-making processes. In the United States, the public is further made aware of Arab "propagandizing" since any material distributed by official agents of foreign governments has to be registered with the Department of Justice, and a statement to this effect has to appear on all such publications.

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(27) OSCAR I. JANOWSKY, *Foundations of Israel* (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1959), p. 138.

What aids the Zionist cause in the West still further is the inability of the public to distinguish among the three separate groups known as Jews, Zionists and Israelis. Not all Jews are Zionists, of course; the American Council for Judaism, for instance, is anti-Zionist. The Zionists, however, see a great advantage in confusing the three categories, referring to Israel as the "Jewish state," and often claiming to speak in the name of world Jewry.[28] But how does this affect Arab-Western relations? The answer is that it affects them very much—and most adversely. Thus, what should be kept in mind when discussing the numerous aspects of this issue is the sympathy and, in the words of Norman Thomas, the "guilt feeling that all Christians should share when we reflect on the treatment of Jews in ages and countries which we call Christian. Hence our reluctance to criticize *Jewish policy*.[29] Furthermore, the stigma of anti-Semitism is often attached to any possible critic of Judaism, Jews, Israel or any actions of Jews or Israel. As Alfred Lilienthal, an American Jew who is anti-Zionist, wrote of the situation in the United States: "Christian would-be critics [of Zionism, Israel or Jews] were speedily silenced with the smear-word 'Anti-Semitism', and any latent Jewish opposition to Zionist nationalism has been throttled by the fear of being labeled 'treason to Jewry' Crushed between the smear and the fear is American foreign

(28) Perhaps the most frequent complaint of the American Council for Judaism is that the Zionists and the state of Israel claim to speak for world Jewry and the "Jewish people." See their publications, especially the quarterly journal, *Issues*.

(29) As quoted in ALFRED LILIENTHAL, *There Goes the Middle East* (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1957), p. 211 (emphasis in original).

policy in the Middle East."[30]

Now we come to a discussion of the structures, channels and styles of interest articulation by or on behalf of Israel and the Zionists in the West, and the consequent debarment of the Arab point of view. In systems theory and the structural-functional approach to the study of politics, it is postulated[31] that interests may be articulated by four major pressure groups designated as anomic, non-associational, institutional and associational. In a "modern" political system, interest articulation should be handled primarily by associational groups, but since there is no "pure" system, modern or primitive, even in Western countries the four different groups can be, and often are, utilized to present a particular point of view.

The associational interest groups have the advantages of an organizational base and the general recognition of being

(30) LILIENTHAL, *What Price Israel,* p. 122. Among the well-known persons or institutions that, at one time or another, have been charged with "anti-Semitism" for their impartial, anti-Zionist or pro-Arab attitudes are the following: President F.D. Roosevelt who earned his anti-Semitic label postumously, Dorothy Thompson, Willie Snow (Mrs. Mark) Ethridge for her book *Going to Jerusalem,* Professor Millar Burrows of the Yale School of Divinity, Dr. Bayard Dodge, one-time president of the American University of Beirut, Harvard Professor and Philosopher William E. Hocking, Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, Kermit Roosevelt, Professor Arnold J. Toynbee, U.S. Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal, Adlai Stevenson, though to a much lesser extent, and the U.S. State Department. See LILIENTHAL, *What Price Israel* and *There Goes the Middle East;* and *Time,* September 24, 1956, p. 6.

(31) See GABRIEL A. ALMOND and JAMES S. COLEMAN (eds.), *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960); and GABRIEL A. ALMOND and G. BINGHAM POWELL, Jr., *Comparative Politics: A Development Approach* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966).

legitimate. Especially since no effective Arab associations are present, Zionist organizations of different kinds find that their task is relatively easy. It is made easier still by the important fact that the Arab-Israeli issue is of little or no concern to the average Westerner. When to this is added the popular association of Jew, Zionist and Israeli, the pro-Israel campaign is greatly aided.

Alfred Lilienthal, Freda Utley, Richard Stevens, Christopher Sykes, Harry N. Howard, Harry S. Truman, James Forrestal, Moshe Menuhin, Ben Hecht and the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee have all recounted in detail the persistent pressures applied by Zionist and pro-Zionist organizations on behalf of Israel.[32] In democratic societies, public officials need the support of a majority or plurality to be elected. The "Jewish vote," myth or reality, has been effectively employed to elicit pro-Israeli support from political

(32) In Addition to Lilienthal's two books already mentioned, see *The Other Side of the Coin* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1965); UTLEY'S *Will the Middle East Go West?* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1957); STEVENS' *American Zionism and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1942-1947* (New York: Peagent Press, 1962); SYKES' *Cross Roads to Israel* (London: Collins, 1965); HOWARD'S "The Senate Inquiry into Zionist Activities," *Arab Journal,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter, 1964), pp. 30-35, and "The State Department and the Charge of Anti-Semitism," *Issues,* Vol. 20, No. 3 (Autumn, 1966), pp. 1-8; TRUMAN'S *Years of Trial and Hope, 1946-1952* (New York: The New American Library, 1965), II, Ch. 12; *The Forrestal Diaries* (New York: Viking, 1951) edited by Walter Millis; MENUHIN'S *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* (New York: Exposition Press, 1965), and "The Stifling and Smearing of a Dissenter," *Issues,* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Summer, 1966), pp. 1-9; HECHT'S *Perfidy* (New York: Julian Messner, 1961); and *Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals in the United States,* Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-eighth Congress, First Session, Part 12, May-August, 1963.

parties and candidates as well as occupants of public office. Especially in the United States where the two major parties are not cohesive, local and regional contests are influenced to a great extent by the powerful, organized groups in the area. In the city of New York, a special case, it would be most difficult, if not impossible, for any anti-Israeli candidate to win an election. Even governatorial campaigns in New York state often develop into races as to which of the candidates would do more for Israel. Since New York is a populous state with a sizable number of electoral votes, presidential candidates avoid running the risk of losing the "Jewish vote" and, since there is no corresponding fear of losing the Arab vote, plunge into lavish promises of support for Israel. When Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal attempted to bring the two major parties to agree not to press the issue of support for Israel too much since it would be detrimental to U.S. interests in the Middle East, he was accused of being anti-Semitic and was subjected to "persistent and venomous attacks."[33]

Political parties, legislatures, bureaucracies and churches constitute institutional interest groups. Here again the Zionists have found relatively easy access to these bodies whereas the Arabs have not. Zionist and pro-Zionist individuals have been represented in all these various institutions. Since recent democratic theory conceives of the public interest as the end result of the interaction of the numerous interests in the state, the Arabs have suffered because their spokesmen have been few and often ineffective. These individuals have had to not only

(33) LILIENTHAL, *What Price Israel,* p. 99. See also JAMES G. McDONALD, *My Mission to Israel* (New York: Simon Schuster, 1951), p. 13.

risk losing electoral support at the next election but have found it extremely difficult to make much headway in an atmosphere where it is "proper" and "respectable" to be pro-Israel and anti-Arab.[34] It is not easy to be persuasive when the stand on Arab-Israeli issues is based not on U.S. interests in the region but on whether or not the speaker is a bigot—where bigotry is defined as having an impartial, anti-Israeli or pro-Arab attitude. Consequently, the Arabs' basic frustration at their inability to communicate with Westerners mounts.

Perhaps just as important, if not more so, has been the influence of non-associational interest groups acting on behalf of Zionism and the state of Israel. Personal connection and the "old school tie" are still very important even in the modern political systems of the West. The Arabs have not had the advantage of close contacts with high public officials comparable to the Rothschilds, Chaim Weizmann, Eddie Jacobson, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and many others. President H.S. Truman has given us a glimpse of the pressure exerted on him to act in favor of the Zionists: "I do not think I ever had as much pressure and propaganda aimed at the White House as I had in this instance. The persistence of a few of the extreme Zionist leaders—actuated by political motives and engaging in political threats—disturbed and annoyed me."[35] But at the critical moment, it was Truman's old friend and partner in the haberdashery store, Eddie Jacobson, who secured an interview for Chaim Weizmann with the President of the

(34) Among those who have spoken out against the Zionist pressure tactics have been Senators William J. Fulbright and Ralph E. Flanders, and the American Council for Judaism.

(35) TRUMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

United States, and persuaded Truman to give a *de facto* recognition of Israel immediately after it came into existence.[36]

The Arabs, denied most of the ordinary channels to communicate with the West, have consequently resorted to the articulation of their interest through anomic groups. Thus, frustrations are released and hostile reactions are communicated through demonstrations, riots and violent attacks against Western embassies, consulates, and information and cultural centers abroad. Needless to say, this is not a healthy situation and does not contribute to an atmosphere conducive to understanding or amity. Even in the Western countries, where freedom of speech is greatly valued, the Arab cause suffers from the stigma of anti-Semitism that is often applied to statements not favorable to the Israeli point of view. At international club exhibitions in England and the United States, there have been instances of unpleasant encounters between Arab and Zionist groups.

Conclusion.

This paper, beginning with the premise that a communication gap exists between the Arabs and the West, attempted to analyze the causes behind it. Several elements combined to bring about this serious situation. The Arabs' recent subjection to Western colonial rule; the fact that the Arabs belong to the backward regions of the world when their pride in the glorious past increases their awareness of the miserable present

(36) See the two-part story on Eddie Jacobson by SIDNEY L. WILLENS in *The Kansas City Times* and *The Kansas City Star*, May 13, 1965, pp. 16D, 18B.

and their hostility toward the West, the alleged perpetrator of this backwardness; the consequent reluctance to side with the West in its major battle against the Communist East; and finally, and most importantly, the Western support in the creation of the state of Israel in the midst of the Arab homeland—all these factors combined to limit Arab-Western understanding and communication. Especially since the Arabs' main antagonists in recent years, the Zionists and the state of Israel, have had active and most successful supporters in the West while the Arabs themselves have not, their frustration in not reaching a *modus vivendi* with the West has been exacerbated. Added to all this are the cultural differences and the difficulty encountered when the flamboyant and exaggerative statements by Arab politicians are translated into Western languages. Under such circumstances, the wonder is not that so many Arabs have turned to the Soviet and Chinese camps for solace, but rather that such a large number of Arabs continue the attempt to communicate with the West.

Michael W. Suleiman

THE MIDDLE EAST CRISES OF 1967 AND THE NEW YORK TIMES

by H. H

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this essay is to show how the *New York Times* reported the Middle East crisis of 1967. This essay does not purport to be a comprehensive analysis of the coverage, but rather is intended to show that the *Times,* by reporting the crisis out of the context of historical facts, substantially contributed to the formulation of a pro-Israeli and anti-Arab public opinion.

The chapters dealing with the coverage are preceded by a short survey of some of the problems that newspaper-correspondents face when reporting on a particular region. In order to place the *New York Times* into a proper perspective a brief survey of the importance and influence of this newspaper is included.

It is hoped that this essay will contribute to an understanding of American public opinion with regard to the Palestine problem. Only by informing the public in America of the real conditions in the Middle East will it be possible

to change American foreign policy. The *New York Times,* however, has neglected, and even refused, to contribute to a real understanding of the Middle East.[1]

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(1) A number of people contributed their valuable time to this project. One person in particular sacrificed many hours for this essay, and my deep gratitude cannot be expressed. To all people involved my great appreciation is extended. Only the writer, however, is responsible for any inaccuracies and opinions expressed in this essay.

I. *The Press and Reporters*

In the age of mass communications, newspapers still play a leading role in informing the public. This is true even in the United States where television and radio have become the main source of information.[1] Newspapers are in a position to provide more detailed information and to place the events, which they are reporting, into their proper context by providing the relevant background information.

But what is the function of a newspaper? The press*, particularly in an open and free society, has assumed certain functions and obligations. These may be enumerated as four:[2]

(1) supplying information about local, national and international events;

(2) commenting on and analyzing current issues and problems, usually in the form of editorials;

(3) presenting educational items, such as historical and social information;

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(1) See Bernard Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy* (Princeton: University Press, 1963), p. 134. In the early 1960's there were about "1721 daily and 546 Sunday newspapers in the United States." This number most likely has decreased in the last few years, but not drastically.

*In the present context this term is meant to connote any printed matter, i.e., newspapers, weekly news magazines, etc., that is intended to convey information, or 'news'.

(2) See J.A.C. Brown, *Techniques of Persuasion* (London Penguin Books, 1963), p. 140. Of course, as the author points out, the same functions are applicable to other forms of mass-communications. This writer, however, feels that newspapers are particularly suited for 'news-analyses' and comprehensive background information.

(4) providing entertainment.

Events and information are recorded for the newspapers by reporters, journalists, or correspondents. It is the task of these men to present events and information objectively and in such a manner that developments become meaningful and comprehensible. This involves providing necessary background information to the reader, who normally is less informed than journalists or other men writing the news.

These individuals usually encounter a number of problems. This is particularly true for journalists who have to report in foreign countries.[3] We may list these obstacles as (1) prejudice and personal disposition; (2) language barriers; (3) difficult access to information; and (4) inadequate educational backgrounds.

A reporter who has to convey news about a foreign country will naturally have certain prejudices acquired in his own social and political environment. He, therefore, will perceive events in a particular manner and also will interpret them differently than a non-foreigner would. Objectivity, then, is an ideal, and the perfect reporter remains to be born.

Frequently, the journalist will encounter language difficulties. And this point is of a crucial importance, especially in the Middle East. Anyone who has studied Arabic, or who speaks Arabic as a native tongue, will readily agree that this

(3) See The International Press Institute, *The News from the Middle East* (Zurich, 1954), pp. 78-88. Hereforth abbreviated as IPI.

language is an unusual medium of expression. It is probably no overstatement to say that Arabic differs substantially as a medium of expression in contrast to other European languages. Rhetoric, therefore, needs careful analysis, and interpretation, as well as translation "if undue importance is not to be given to inflammatory speeches and bellicose resolutions which in their original Arabic are, in fact, nothing but words, words, words."[4]

Many correspondents working in the Middle East complain about the inaccessibility of information. The Arab officials' suspicions of foreign newsmen and Israel's frequent withholding of information under the ambiguous term of "military security" may account for the lack of available material. Moreover, correspondents, at least from their viewpoint, frequently have to operate under very difficult conditions presented by prevalent political and social pressures.

Lastly, many reporters, if not most of those who transmit news from any given part of the world, are not educationally equipped to fully comprehend their environment. As the *International Press Institute* (IPI) reports: "The ideal reporter would have to be a first-class political analyst ... a good military strategist ... and a shrewd economist ... He must be deeply read in the history of the Middle East and have a grasp of its tribal organization and religion."[5] Obviously, a man of this ideal calibre would require at least three separate Ph.D.'s, an almost impossible accomplishment. This, how-

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 87.
(5) *Ibid.*, p. 79.

ever, is not to say that there are not any capable journalists because many reporters, indeed, are quite competent. Unfortunately, many American correspondents are not, especially those who do spot-coverage, i.e., those who come to the region for one particular assignment for a short duration of time.

II. *The American Press: Objectivity or Bias*

Besides the personal prejudices of a reporter, there exist a host of other factors that may cause a distorted or biased news report. In this section, therefore, we shall consider some of these and survey some of the distortion and bias evident in the American press.[1]

There are a number of tangible and intangible factors which influence the recording of news. The "newspaper" is a business operation and as such it is subject to economic pressures (sales, advertisement orders, etc.), and public pressure which indicate prevalent interests to the publisher. The ownership of the newspapers by entrepreneurs deprive the papers of their individuality and independence.[2] The size and influence of a newspaper may also dictate interpretation and extent of coverage of particular events, at least as far as editorial policy is concerned. Such is the case with the *New York*

(1) Much of this section is based on the IPI report which was cited earlier.

(2) See L.M. Lyons, "How We Get Our News," *The Press and the Public,* ed. by D.L.B. Hamlin (University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 8.

Times, which is in a powerful position and, at the same time, subject to diverse pressures emanating from economic interest groups as well as other sources. The location, or rather situation, of a newspaper may also have a considerable influence on the policies of a newspaper staff. Newspapers situated in the capitals of the world will obviously feel compelled to bring attention to certain national and international issues, simply because they (the newspapers) may feel that their prestige can enhance the importance of these items, which a newspaper in the *hinterland* may not be able to do. Therefore, newspapers in the large and cosmopolitan cities are much more concerned with important international issues than the papers of smaller cities.

Bernard C. Cohen, in his book, *The Press and Foreign Policy* (Princeton, 1963), cites a study which found that the *New York Times* devoted about ten percent of its total news space of "foreign news."[3]

Table 1

Newspaper	Total News Space (in col. inches)	Total For. News (in col. inches)	Total Foreign News (in cols.)	For. News in % of Total News Space
Capital Times	17,248	438	20	2.6
Wis. State Journal	21,472	744	34	3.5
Chicago Tribune	29,472	1,744	80	5.8
Milwaukee Journal	32,472	1,940	88	6.0
New York Times	40,476	4,081	185	10.0

(3) Bernard C. Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963). This table was quoted from James F. Scotton, "Foreign News Presented to Newspaper Readers in Madison, Wisconsin," unpublished MS, University of Wisconsin, 1960.

This table would tend to substantiate the abovementioned. It is noteworthy that the *Chicago Tribune* only devoted 5.8% to "foreign news." In addition to the personality and calibre of the reporter, Agency Reports and editors' opinions are other tangible factors that tend to influence the recording of events in newspapers. Agency Reports, such as *United Press International* and *Associated Press,* basically confront the same problems that a journalist must face. Their reporters may also lack the qualifications which make a "good reporter."

The policies of a publisher and an editor, of course, are among the most important factors in searching for bias or distortion in newspaper coverage. It is the publisher and/or the editor who determine what is to be printed, what editorial policy is to be pursued, and what is to be advocated or to be opposed. On the other hand, the editor, sifting through all the reports that have arrived, has to cope with the garbled and confused transmissions, messages, and the like. It is his decision, however, to dictate how the material is to be spaced and placed, and what is to be deleted from a lengthy report. He may even alter the messages which have arrived from the reporters, but this seems to be rare, at least in the Western countries.

The editor, then, seems to have a considerable amount of power at his discretion. And here we arrive at the salient point. It seems, and at least two studies have corroborated the point, that there is very little evidence to suggest that the American press consciously distorts facts. But, as we have seen, the editor is in a position to effectively influence the presentation of news, and thus affect public opinion.

The *IPI* report, in 1954, already showed that the picture of the Middle East somehow is distorted. An American correspondent, commenting on the coverage of Israel wrote:

> Here most correspondents are won over by the Israelis because of the little state's valiant struggle for existence and they give little emphasis to the bleaker side. For example, one seldom reads about sub-standard living conditions, exorbitant prices, black markets, inefficient and insulting municipal workers, discrimination against Israeli Arabs ... Instead we get a picture that is all milk and honey.[4]

If a reporter can be won over to the Israeli side, the editor, of course, can be as well. And the editor may simply omit any negative reports about Israel, or any other country, and omit positive reports as his fancy strikes him.

As we shall see later (with regard to the *New York Times),* American newspapers in general neglect to present the 'Arab Case' and the Arab position in the true context of history. The explanation is simple. The *IPI* report quotes one American correspondent who bluntly stated:

> The main 'restrictive practice' does not exist in the Middle East at all but in the United States itself. American editors are nearly all afraid to tell the truth about the Israeli-Arab controversy because of the Zionist lobby.[5]

But not only do American newspapers neglect to tell the whole story of the Arab-Israeli conflict, they seemingly refuse to tell about the strong Arab feelings with regard to the

(4) *IPI,* op. cit., p. 73.
(5) *Ibid.,* p. 74.

Israelis. If they do report it, these stories are mostly in the context of a crisis when tempers are at a boiling point and tensions are high. Then bellicose statements which intensify tension even more are reported.

The press, we can say, seems to distort the picture of the Middle East, insofar as it reports the events out of context. Background information is not provided. The *IPI* report, quoting an American specialist*, writes:

> American newspaper coverage of the Middle East lacks an adult, intelligent comprehension of the fundamental movements that are leading to an economic, social and political renaissance in the vital area of the world.[6]

We now have to ask the question: What kind of stories do the newspapers publish?[7]

These may be listed as the following: one, political events, particularly those regarding the Palestine problem and military coups; two, social stories, concentrating on developments in Israel; and, three, economic developments, especially those concerning oil concessions and disputes. These classifications of the *IPI* are substantiated by a look at the *New York Times* during the first half of 1967. As the *IPI* had previously found, there was very little coverage about the Arab refugees, who were mentioned several times in passing. A few stories dealt with the economic problems of Israel, but did not mention the emigration of Israelis.

*Presumably a specialist on Middle Eastern affairs.
(6) *Ibid.*, p. 64.
(7) *Ibid.*, pp. 68-71.

In contrast, there were several 'human interest' stories dealing with the Jews and their plight, especially in Germany under the Nazi-regime. Some of these articles even made the front page of the *New York Times.* For example, one story informed the reader with a two column headline:

EX-NAZI CONFIDES TO STRANGER THAT HE KILLED 'TWO DOZEN JEWS'.[8] This sentiment for Jewish suffering is not an isolated example. During the period under examination, there were a number of such stories ranging from "PASSOVER VIRGIL PROTESTS REPRESSION OF JEWS" (May 1, p. 3) to "JEWISH CHILDREN SHARE BERLIN LIFT" (May 24, p. 17), "VISITORS TO ISRAEL FACE HARD CHOICE" (May 7, p. 21), "ISRAELI CONSULATES GET MANY OFFERS TO FIGHT" (May 25, p. 16), and "ISRAELI SOLDIERS IN NEGEV CAMP SHOWER WHILE AWAITING ENEMY" (May 25, p. 17).

Bias in the American press is shown in another way. Headlines may be very misleading. The *IPI* report relates an example:

> ... if a story from Tel Aviv accuses the Arabs of a frontier violation, it will have a headline of from 16 to 48 point type, depending upon whether the headline is one or more columns wide. Just the opposite happens when a story, datelined Amman (Jordan) accuses the Israelis of a frontiers violation. The Jordan story will rarely carry a headline of more than one column width, and generally the heading is either an eight, ten, or twelve point boldface type.[9]

(8) *The New York Times,* May 13, 1967, p.l. This "ex-Nazi" confessed this while under the influence of alcohol to the reporter who happened to be in a train in Germany.

(9) *IPI, op. cit.,* p. 75.

There have been a few rare occasions, such as the Qibya incident, when the American press was forced to present the Arab views on a particular issue. Although the U.N. found Israel responsible for the death of fifty-three people and censored her for this attack, the American press, as Professor Ralph Crow found, nevertheless continued to support Israel.

> Because of the nature of the Qibya incident and Israel's responsibility for it, reported fact was overwhelmingly pro-Arab (eighty-five as against forty-two units in the news stories). However, in spite of this, expression of opinion was exactly in reverse proportion. Opinion in news stories and editorial was strongly pro-Israel, indicating a predisposition (as expressed in this sample) to favor the Israeli cause irrespective of the merits of the particular case in question. The one exception to this pattern was the *Chicago Tribune* which carried a slightly higher number of pro-Arab opinions.
>
> The presentation of arguments in news stories and editorials confirms the same trend, since twice as many pro-Israeli arguments appeared in the news stories and four times as many in the editorials.[10]

III. *The Influence of the New York Times*

For some time, the *New York Times* has exercised a considerable influence in the United States. In this section, therefore, we shall look briefly at the prestige, role and effect of the *New York Times* on American polity before examining its coverage of the Middle East crisis of 1967.

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(10) Ralph Crow, "Zionism and the American Press: Is There Bias?", *Middle East Forum,* XXXII (No. 3, 1957), pp. 78-82.

Many smaller newspapers in the United States rely on the *New York Times* for their information about foreign events, simply because the New York paper has its own correspondents in all major capitals and regions of the world. Smaller papers, of course, cannot afford such an extensive network of reporters, and, instead of relying completely on Agency Reports, they depend on the *Times,* the most prestigious paper, for their international news. For this reason the paper maintains its own syndicate through which it transmits selections of its own news stories as well as editorial opinion.[1] It is therefore only logical and natural that if a particular event or issue is granted prominence by the *Times,* other papers will follow suit.

What role does the *Times* play within the American polity? In answering this question we must confine ourselves to two aspects: one, the effect it has on the public; and, two, the effect it has on the government, in particular, the foreign policy makers.

The average reader and the policy making officials are confronted daily with a "grossly uneven, often misleading, picture of the world and its political relationship and problems."[2] This occurs because newspapers tend to report, as B.C. Cohen states, 'the controversial, the dramatic, and the contentious'. Correspondents, therefore, deal with 'political discontinuities' by hopping from event to event. This type of coverage, one would think, could only produce a negative

(1) B.C. Cohen, *op. cit.,* p. 129.
(2) *Ibid.,* p. 241.

reaction from the public, and the people must obviously receive a distorted viewpoint of the issues. In this the majority of newspapers are guilty. A paper like the *New York Times,* however, should strive for a more "continuous" coverage, which would lead to greater objectivity, such as that evident in the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Baltimore Sun.* For sheer volume and extent, however, the *Times* has a front position.

This last fact is probably one of the main reasons why the New York paper is so widely read within government circles. Government employees, as B.C. Cohen found, get most of their daily information from reading the *Times,* and, as one official confided: "The *New York Times* is the primary information source for most of our foreign policy people."[3] Even the highest echelons of policy makers rely on the *Times* for information.[4] Pressed for time, they cannot always read the specialized literature, and, therefore, in order to get a general idea of world affairs, they depend largely on the press, primarily the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post.* In fact, sometimes the New York-based paper may have received informations before it has had time to move through the diplomatic and other government channels. B.C. Cohen quotes one desk officer who stated: "There will be a story in the *New York Times* from time to time which is *news* to us and about which there is nothing in the cables..."[5]

(3) *Ibid.,* p. 210.

(4) *Ibid.,* p. 210. The author relates an anecdote to emphasize this point. "A *New York Times* reporter once asked Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles 'Do you know anything we don't know today?' To which Welles replied 'Of course not, where do you think we get our information'. "

(5) *Ibid.,* p. 213.

Congressmen also use the *New York Times* as a source of information. In the opinion of B.C. Cohen, they use the *Times* so extensively that it almost becomes their primary source of international news. He quotes one staff officer of the Congress who stated: "The newspaper is *the* source of foreign policy information—especially the *New York Times* which is better than the State Department."[6]

It should be obvious by now that no matter how one views the matter, the *New York Times* has considerable influence. It is equally obvious that if the public (including smaller newspapers) and government employees rely extensively on the *Times* for information, then they cannot avoid the viewpoint of that paper's editorial staff, and ultimately, the *Times* may, directly and indirectly, influence the shaping of public opinion and foreign policy. As we have pointed out earlier, this can be accomplished by haphazard presentations of the news of a particular region, placing the crisis into the limelight. Even more important is the fact that, through the prestigious position of the *New York Times,* certain events may be presented in such a manner that their importance is raised out of its original context, and a gravity (which originally it may not have had) is added. This we shall see numerous times in the *New York Times'* coverage of the Middle East crisis of 1967.

(6) *Ibid.,* p. 215.

IV. *The Coverage of the Middle East Crisis May 1 - June 5, 1967: General Coverage by American Newspapers*

In order to provide a general view of the coverage by American papers of the Middle East crisis that resulted in war, let us briefly look at a survey that was recently published in the United States.[1]

Table 2

Newspaper	Number of Days Given Front-Page Play	Total Stories	Most Freq. Source, Transmitter of Leads	Average Length of Lead Article Col. inches
Atlanta Const.	7	15	Nasser; UPI	42
Chicago Trib.	7	53	Nasser; Staff	64
Detroit F. Pr.	7	17	Nasser; AP; UPI	44
Houston Post	7	11	Nasser; AP; UPI	50
L.A. Times	7	76	Nasser; Staff	44
N.Y. Times	7	84	Nasser; Staff	54
Phil. Inquirer	7	52	Nasser; AP; UPI	39
Seattle Post-I	7	7	Nasser; AP; UPI	59
St. L. Globe-D	7	28	Nasser; AP	33
Wash. Post	7	66	President Johnson; Staff	67

This table shows that the *New York Times* had the greatest number of stories (84) within this seven day period, as compared to three other major newspapers, the *Chicago*

(1) This report was published by the American Institute for Political Communications entitled *Domestic Communications Aspect of the Middle East Crisis* (July, 1967). Hereforth abbreviated as AIPC.

Tribune (53), the *Los Angeles Times* (76) and the *Washington Post* (66). Three of these four newspapers referred most frequently to President Nasser's statements for news, and all four papers relied on their own staff for coverage. Although the *New York Times* only ranked fourth in the "average length of lead articles" (measured in column inches), this was offset by the number of articles which usually were on pages three and four, or pages fourteen through eighteen.

More than fifty percent of the articles featured President Nasser's remarks (usually transmitted through Radio Cairo or *Al-Ahram,* the Cairo based 'semi-official' news-organ). The American Institute for Political Communications (AIPC) further found that during the surveyed seven day period, the 'headline and/or lead paragraph' focused on a statement which portrayed President Nasser as: (a) belligerent, (b) threatening, and (c) "uncooperative in furthering peace efforts."[3] This same evaluation holds true for the period between May 15 and May 22 and May 30 and June 5, with regard to the *New York Times.*

The reports coming out of Israel, on the other hand, focused less on statements of Prime Minister Eshkol or Foreign Minister Abba Eban. Most stories, as the AIPC report states, were based on discussions with Israeli officials or with individuals not specifically identified.

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(2) *Ibid.,* This table is based on a survey between May 23 through May 29 of 1967, p. 8.

(3) AIPC, *op. cit.,* p. 8.

The editorials in almost all newspapers were openly pro-Israeli. There was not one instance, according to the AIPC report, where there was a pro-Arab editorial. The *New York Times,* from May 1 through June 5, was openly anti-Arab, and in one editorial was critical of both sides. In general, therefore, it can be stated that the American public press strongly supported Israel, criticizing and denouncing the Arabs (and even the United Nations). More specifically, as the AIPC report states: "East Coast papers were more aggressive in their support of the Israeli position than those elsewhere in the country."[4]

The *New York Times,* in its editorial policy, showed a rather aggressive support for the cause of Israel, not once considering the Arab position.

The New York Times' Coverage of the Middle East Crisis May 1 through June 5

Approach

A variety of approaches, such as content analysis, and the descriptive method may be employed to study newspaper coverage of events. For the purpose of this essay the latter method was preferred. It was decided to divide the period under survey into three sections: May 1 through 15, May 16 through 25, and May 26 through June 5. With each period the crisis intensified in magnitude and new factors appeared.

(4) *Ibid.,* p. 2.

In reading the *New York Times,* it becomes readily apparent that this newspaper focused on four major facets of the conflict; that is to say, these aspects received the greatest amount of coverage, both in terms of numbers of articles and in terms of editorial opinions. An investigation of the *Times* shows these topics to be:

(1) the Arab threat to Israel's existence;

(2) Israel, the victim of Arab aggression (including stories of the traditional Jewish suffering, the "Holy Land" theme, and Israel the outpost of democracy and sound economy);

(3) the Communist threat in the Middle East and Egypt's and Syria's link to the Soviet Union (also including Red China's support of the Arabs);

(4) anti-Americanism of the Arabs.

Using these four categories, we shall attempt to trace the reportage and editorials by the *New York Times* on the Middle East crisis of 1967.

May 1-15

Despite the military build-up in April, the first two weeks in May 1967 were relatively calm compared to the subsequent period. Throughout the spring of 1967, Israel had been complaining about the "terrorist" raids into "her territory," and, in early May, she continued to protest.

Israel's pondering whether she should retaliate to these "terrorist" incursions and, of course, the celebration of her nineteenth "birthday" were major items in the *Times*. The New York newspaper also continued to report the "sinister" threats voiced by the Arabs against the state of Israel. This threat grew stronger as the days passed, at least as far as the *Times* was concerned.

On May 2, 1967 (p. 14) the newspaper wrote:

> SYRIAN CHIEF SCORE THREE ARAB NATIONS.

The report, in essence, was about Syria's aims regarding Israel and the three "reactionary" regimes in the Middle East:

> Yusuf Zayen, Premier of Syria, declared today that though the prime objective of our popular war of liberation is Palestine-Israel, the war must pass Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia to destroy reactionary rulers . . .

Five days later, on May 7, a report from Jordan stated that Premier Saad Jumaah had advised the Parliament on how to unify the Arabs and "to check and encircle the Zionist threat and regain Arab rights in Palestine." (p. 14) On the same day, the *Times* reported, also on page 14:

> Terrorists, believed to be Syrians, shelled Israeli settlements last night from Lebanese territory in the Upper Galilee, Israeli officials reported.

Once again, the Arabs seem to be threatening Israel.

After enumerating a number of "other smaller incidents"

that had taken place, the reporter mentions an incident at Cafernaum, and then enlightens the reader by writing:

> Cafernaum, the scene of the latest incident, is cited in the Gospel of John as the spot where Jesus preached to the fishermen among whom he gathered his first followers.

On May 10, on page 6, the *Times* reports in bold headlines:

TERRORISTS STRIKE DEEP INTO ISRAEL.

One would expect that the report would deal with some daring attack. This, however, is not *quite* the case. Indeed the story noted that "border terrorists" had entered from Syria, and some fighting had taken place. The essence of the article came at the end of the story where the reporter cited Foreign Minister Abba Eban, who had stated in an interview: "That Syria was approaching the danger point that errupted last month into a full-day artillery and jet battle East of the Sea of Galilee. 'They are very close to the area of danger'." This, in fact, was a threat of retaliation, but the headline had revealed nothing of this. At the end of the article, the correspondent relates that Mr. Eshkol had noted "that there were rumors that Chinese Communist advisers were aiding the Syrians."

The next three days were also preoccupied with Israel. On page 36, May 12, the *Times* reported:

WARNING BY ISRAEL STRESSES AIR POWER.

This article dealt less with Israel's "air power" than with

Israel's threat of retaliation. Israel, the article states, would not "hesitate to use air power in response to continued border terrorism." The Prime Minister had, in fact, stated that an air-attack might be necessary and " 'not less drastic' than April 7."

Finally, On May 13, in a front page article, it is reported:

ISRAEL PONDERS BLOW AT SYRIANS.

In this article, it becomes apparent that Israel not only is "pondering" a blow at the Syrians, but in fact is threatening an attack. The article states:

> Some Israeli leaders have decided that the use of force against Syria may be the only way to cut increasing tensions ... They tend to believe that Syria cannot be dissuaded from her infiltration tactics except by direct action from Israel.

Action, the Israelis believe, is necessitated by the fact that the Soviet Union is unwilling to restrain the Arabs, who she is supplying with arms, and because the United Nations can do little.

On May 14, the *New York Times* (p. 18) reported:

ISRAEL TO MARK 19th BIRTHDAY IN A MOOD OF SOBER OPTIMISM.

Israel, the correspondent wrote, was much stronger than ever before, that it "can counter any aggression," and that Israel is so popular that "every month a national leader visits the country." On the same page an article cited Ambassador Rafael

at the United Nations as having stated: "Unless Syria changes her 'unrealistic and aggressive policy' Israel 'regards itself as fully entitled to act in self-defense'."

During the fifteen days under survey, two other themes received considerable attention. On May 6, some Lebanese demonstrated against the American Ambassador, but the *New York Times* reported (May 7, p. 7):

> LEFTIST ANTI-U.S. CAMPAIGN FOCUSING ON LUNCHEON.

The next day, the *Times* printed the following headline (May 8, p. 3):

> 200 LEBANESE HOLD AN ANTI-U.S. RALLY.

In the article, the reporter informed the reader that this rally was anti-U.S. and against the United States Ambassador.

Not only were anti-American demonstrations reported in considerable detail, but once again the public was informed how the Jews have had to suffer in Nazi Germany. Within eight days (May 1 through May 8) three extensive articles appeared about the Jewish plight. On May 8, almost all of page three was devoted to the "Jewish Victims in Germany" (accompanied by pictures). The suffering of the Jews is undeniable, but, if the Palestinian refugees, who have suffered as well, were to receive as much publicity as the Jews, world support for Israel undoubtedly would diminish by a considerable degree.

May 16-25

The ten days between May 16 and 25 were of a crucial nature. The conflict escalated and tensions rose. Reading the *New York Times* during these days leaves the reader with two distinct impressions. One, that the Arabs were mobilizing their armed forces and blockading the Straits of Tiran in order to destroy 'peaceful' Israel and to liquidate the problem; and, two, that the Arabs were backed by their 'Communist allies'. By linking the two latter parties in a sinister plot the American public could not help but be left with the impression that the Israelis are in grave danger in the face of such 'non-democratic' forces. The reader cannot appreciate this feeling of the 'Communist threat' unless he understands the almost paranoid American preoccupation with the 'Communist threat'.

Nazism, Fascism, Communism and terms such as "dictator," "autocrat," and names such as Kaiser Wilhelm II, Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin, and Mao Tse Tung evoke an extremely negative reaction from the majority of the American public. Although it would be difficult to substantiate, it is probably no overstatement to say that even Gamal Abdel Nasser elicits a negative reaction, primarily because he has been presented to the American public as a Fascist (in the early part of his reign) and more recently because of his association with the Soviet Union. It is, therefore, no surprise that the *New York Times,* between May 16 and June 5, consistently and persistently pointed to Russia's involvement in the crisis.

In contrast, Israel was depicted as the victim, and as a

country which has suffered from the Arab 'menace'. Several 'human interest' stories, particularly regarding Israel's economic position appeared; but it was never forgotten, at least by the correspondents reporting from Israel, that Jews had inhabited Palestine 2,000 years ago. Some statements, referring to the history of the Jews, appear totally out of line with the topic being discussed, and lead one to question whether this accidentally or purposefully evokes American sympathy.

On May 16, in front page article, the *Times* reported:

UAR SAID TO PUT FORCES ON ALERT.

The correspondent, quoting supposedly *Al-Ahram,* wrote: "The usually well informed *Al-Ahram* said today that the nation was placed on a 'war-footing' because of tension along the border between Israel and Syria." The writer then continues to tell about troops moving through the city. At the end of the article and totally unrelated to the substance of the story:

> Huang Hua, the Chinese Communist Ambassador to Cairo arrived in Gaza with Ahmad Shukairy, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is dedicated to the overthrow of Israel's government. (p. 16)

The next day the *Times'* editors thought it important to print the following headline: (p. 8)

ISRAELIS REPORT BORDER INCIDENT.

The subhead read:

> Explosions Rip Empty House and Fell Telegraph Pole.

Had there been a big attack by the Commandos the headline could have been justified, but there were no casualties, either killed or wounded, except an "empty house" and a "fallen telegraph pole." All the report states is that the Israelis view the tension and military build-up by the Arabs as political maneuvers, but that Israelis are calm.

In an article written by the United Nations reporter and appearing on the front-page of the May 18 edition, it is reported that:

U THANT SEES PERIL IN MIDEAST UNREST.

Giving 'background information' to the tension in the region, the reporter wrote (story continued from page 1, on page 28): "Since December there have been numerous fatal clashes along the Syrian border, with raiders from Syria planting land mines and demolition charges in Israeli territories." (p. 28)

On the opposite page, the reader was informed that:

SYRIA REINFORCES TROOPS NEAR ISRAEL.

The article stated that the armed forces had been "brought to 'maximum preparedness' in light of 'information about the Israeli build-up along the Syrian border and threatening statements made by Israeli officials'." (p. 29) (It is noteworthy that the *New York Times* did not find it important enough to report the Israeli build-up in a separate article. By stating it in the context of another story they thereby implied that it was only a propaganda charge on the part of Syria.) The same article points out that "more than 25,000 Syrian soldiers

are deployed near the border," but also does not neglect to state that reports "... of movements by Israel's 60,000 man army could not be confirmed here." To provide 'background information' for the reader, the reporter states at the end of the story:

> The United Arab Republic agreed in principle with Syria's insistence that Israel must be obliterated some day.
>
> Terrorist incidents and skirmishes along the Israeli-Syrian border have grown in intensity in recent months ...

On the same page, the *Times* reports:

> JORDAN'S FORCES ALERTED

and the

> CAIRO CABINET MEETS

But in the face of all these Arab armies, Israel, according to the *New York Times,* remains calm. A headline notes:

> ISRAEL WATCHING MOVES BY ARABS
>
> But She Gives No Evidence of Being Disturbed.

According to the article, the Israeli Government was calm, and "officials denied Arab reports of Israel troop concentrations along the border." The reporter also noted confidently that "Israel is not making any preparations for war." Underneath the headline were placed two photographs (four columns wide) depicting deployed Egyptian forces in the Sinai Desert.

The next day, on May 19, 1967, the *New York Times*

had three headlines relating to the Middle East on page one. One headline proclaimed.

> SYRIA, REITERATING HOSTILITY TO ISRAEL, READY TO 'STRUGGLE'.

This story, dealing with Syria s "implacable hostility" toward Israel, informs the reader:

> The radical young rulers of Syria pledged implacable hostility to Israel this week, as Israel entered her 20th year of nationhood.
>
> 'We are ready for anything: the people are willing to struggle' declared Iraq. General Mohammad Ribah Tawil, a member of the 16 men ruling group whose policies have in several ways increased the chances of an Arab-Israeli* conflict.

The 'background information' links Syria with communist radicals, and toward the end of the article the author states:

> The bravado with which Syria's leaders, discount Israeli air-superiority and, in private conversations, welcome the possibility of war. (p. 14)

The other two headlines on that day deal with U Thant's decision to withdraw the UNEF and with Israel's mobilization.

> ISRAELIS INDICATE PARTIAL CALL-UP.

The sub-headline read:

> Take 'Appropriate Measures' in Response to Build-Up by Cairo in Sinai Area.

The story stated that Israel had taken all measures "in the wake of the build-up of the United Arab Republic's forces

*Note the order of the words.

in the Sinai Peninsula." The reserves were called up, but as the reporter printed, this did not mean mobilization.

On page 14, where the three 'lead stories' were continued, was a picture of Egyptian troops and maps depicting Israel's position versus the Arabs. Moreover, there was an article topped by the following headline:

SYRIA ISSUES WARNING.

All this article dealt with was a speech made by a Syrian Government spokesman in which he warned that the "basis of imperialism" had to be removed. The bulk of the story dealt with the various armies in the Middle East.

> The major Arab force in the region are the Syrian Army of 700,000;* the Iraqi Army, about 100,000; and the Jordanian Army about 55,000.
>
> The Egyptian Army is reported to have 15 divisions with 250,000-300,000 men . . .
>
> Arab estimates of the Israeli Army, including reservists, put it at 300,000 men.

This type of comparison between Arab and Israeli strength (in terms of manpower) recurred a number of times.

When the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was ordered to withdraw, the *New York Times,* in an article on May 21, states: "Cairo gave no reason for asking the withdrawal of U.N. forces." (p. 3) It was reported, however, that some military commanders had explained the reason for the withdrawal as a protective measure for the U.N. troops.

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*Obviously this is a misprint, but it recurred two more times.

The article ends by citing the reasons for the current crisis, namely Arab "terrorist groups," particularly El-Fateh, which had crossed into Israeli territory.

On page one, on the same day, an article relates that the "Gaza Strip" was now under military rule, and that a "state of emergency" had been declared. The reporter then wrote: "The two actions, made in the light of an *alleged Israeli troop build-up along the Syrian frontier and Egyptian borders,** were accompanied by further Egyptian troop movements and increase in radio attacks on the United States." The article then continues with several quotations of "belligerent" statements made by Egyptian officials and President Nasser.

A third story on page one deals with the Israeli reaction to all of these aggressive Arab moves:

ISRAELIS WEIGH PORTENT.

In this story the Israelis, according to the correspondent, are not at all worried because they considered the military build-up as political moves rather than military strategies. At the end of the story, the reporter indicated that a partial mobilization was in process. In another article, also on page three, the correspondent quoted several "information sources" who had said that "Israel had sent tanks to its side of the Sinai frontier to face the Egyptian force." The story continued by informing the reader that the Egyptians "had moved an armored division with Soviet built tanks and four infantry

*Emphasis supplied by the writer.

divisions, totalling about 58,000 men to the Sinai area." Another story, also on page three, dealt exclusively with Egyptian troop movements.

The next day, on May 22, a front page headline stated:

> CAIRO CALLING UP 100,000 RESERVES: IRAQ TO SEND AID.

The sub-heading read:

> Palestine Terrorist Leader Vows to Step Up Raids into Israeli Territory.

Not only does this article tell of the growing Arab armies, but it also reported that the "chief of the Egyptian backed Palestine Liberation Organization" supposedly said:

> Arab *terrorists** would carry out a campaign of raids in Israel as planned. Last week, he announced that 'thousands' more terrorists would be recruited and trained. (p. 5)

In another story the American public is assured, by Prime Minister Eshkol, that "Israel will defend herself." (p. 5) On the next page (p. 6) a headline informs the reader that the

> US PLEDGE ON ISRAEL-ARAB BORDER DATES TO 1950.

With all these events progressing in rapid succession, it was only to be expected that the *Times* would try to explain the events in the Middle East; and the *New York Times* staff succeeded brilliantly. The news analysis was entitled:

> GAINS SEEN FOR NASSER.

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*Note that the "Chief" styles himself a "terrorist." Emphasis supplied by the writer.

> A week has passed since President Gamal Abdel Nasser sent troops, trucks, and tanks rumbling through Cairo toward the Israel border . . .
>
> If the present sound and fury does not lead to a full scale Mideast war, Mr. Nasser's exercise in bellicosity is expected to turn out—from the United Arab Republic's point of view—to have been eminently worthwhile.

Nasser's gains, in the view of the 'analyst', are the successful diversion of attention from his economic problems, and the end of his political isolation. The "analysis" ends brilliantly: "In short, by his belligerence, Mr. Nasser has created an atmosphere in which military dictatorship thrives best." (p. 4)

May 23 and 24 were of a crucial nature. The Gulf of Aqaba had been closed to Israeli shipping as well as those ships that carried "strategic cargoes" to Israel. All this, and Mr. Nasser's "bellicose" statements, of course, were reported in lead articles. It was also reported that Mr. Nasser had "asserted that Israel had intended to attack Syria on May 7." (It is only natural that such "assertions" were discounted.) Among the many other newsworthy items, which the *New York Times* reported, were the call for "all Moslems to 'strike hard at the aggressor' meaning Israel," and the statement by "informants, who declined to be identified" (p. 16) that "more than 60,000 Egyptian troops were now in position on the Sinai Peninsula." (p. 16) Other "military observers," however, had told the reporter that "Egyptian forces on the peninsula exceeded the number for necessary defense." (p. 16)

"Peaceful" Israel, however, called for peace:

ESHKOL URGES MUTUAL TROOP PULLBACK.

In a lengthy article, Israel's "peaceful" intentions are revealed. Mr. Eshkol, according to the correspondent, had said "that Israel had no interests in violating the security, territory or right of her Arab neighbors." (p. 16) He said, however, that "the United Arab Republic's forces in the Sinai numbered 80,000 men, compared with 35,000 a short time ago." But who is to blame for all this sword rattling. The correspondent quotes Mr. Eshkol, but then continues himself: "Particular responsibility rests with the Soviet Union ... because of its close relations with the United Arab Republic and with Syria which was characterized by Mr. Eshkol as the source of the tension." At the end of the story, the correspondent reiterates Mr. Eshkol's promise by quoting: "We do not intend launching an attack."

In another story, Mr. Rafael, Israel's representative at the United Nations, in an interview held after a conference with Secretary General U Thant, voiced his opinions on what was responsible for the crisis: "... terrorism, ... the expulsion of the United Nations Emergency Force and, ... the massing of forces on Israel's border."

The closing of the Gulf of Aqaba evoked in the *New York Times* sympathy, particularly for Elath. In an article on May 23, which was entitled:

FREE AQABA VITAL TO ISRAEL TRADE.

the correspondent, who remains anonymous, told the American reader that Israel had developed "on old wastelands ... a bustling modern port of Elath." The writer then educates the reader:

> The area's history dates back to Biblical times, when Moses is said to have rested the children of Israel near Aqaba on their way from bondage in Egypt.

On May 24, it was reported that Mr. U Thant had arrived in Cairo and that the Egyptians had planted mines in the Straits of Tiran in order to reinforce their blockade. Needless to say, this last act caused a storm of protest. It was reported that (p. 1)

> JOHNSON CALLS ON CAIRO TO ABANDON BLOCKADE.

and the *New York Times* continued this story from the above headline on page 16 by entitling it in a big headline:

> ANTI-ISRAEL STEP BRANDED ILLEGAL.

It was once again reiterated by President Johnson that the United States is " 'firmly committed' to the territorial integrity of all Middle Eastern nations."

Another story on page one related that "Eshkol Admonishes Nasser on Blockade." In this article, it was stated that "Premier Levi Eshkol said tonight, May 23, that President Gamal Abdel Nasser would be committing 'an act of aggression against Israel if he intervened with shipping through the Straits of Tiran'. " On page seventeen, the story was continued with the headline:

> ISRAEL PREMIER APPEALS TO THE WORLD.

The crisis, at least for Israel, had become an international issue. The Premier, the *New York Times* reported, "called upon the Great Powers to assure Israel's rights."

It was time for another 'news-analysis', which was entitled this time:

> "RUMBLING IN MIDEAST."
>
> Yemen, Aden, and oil—rather than war with Israel appear to be the objectives of Nasser ... Zionism and Israel are being used, as in the past, to forge a superficial appearance of Arab unity and to elevate Mr. Nasser's prestige at the expense of his conservative opponents in Jordan and Saudi Arabia ... Now, as then, the Arabs have not produced enough officers of valor, professional knowledge and dedication to make an army out of a *mob** particularly essential in underdeveloped Arab countries where the 'fellaheen' or peasants, have little education and few skills. (May 24, p. 14)

President Nasser's decision to blockade the Gulf was considered by the *New York Times*** as a "violation of normal international law and specific Security Council resolutions . . ." (p. 16)

In two stories, on May 24, Israel's position was made more tenuous by two 'human interest' stories. In one article, sympathy was undoubtedly evoked through the description of the many visitors to Israel who "faced a hard choice" deciding whether to leave or to remain. (p. 17) Another article, explaining Elath's vital role in Israel's economy was cluttered with impressive statistics. In between two paragraphs listing economic data (and in the middle of the page) was the fol-

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*Emphasis supplied by the writer.

**Quoted from an anonymous source at the United Nations, it was the same position which the *New York Times* maintained. It did not, however, define it or the source which considered to be "normal international law."

lowing sentence: "Elath is near the site of a Biblical part of Ezion-Geber which was founded by King Solomon."

On May 25, another story reported that:

> ISRAELI CONSULATES GET MANY OFFERS TO FIGHT.

On the next page, the *Times* reported that Mr. Eban was "critical" of the United Nations, and that, according to the Foreign Minister, "... the crisis had been brought about by the United Nations" because it had ordered the withdrawal of the U.N. Emergency Force.* The report continues in stating (as if to stress Mr. Eban's words):

> Earlier ... King Faisal of Saudi Arabia was asked what sequence of events he would like to see in the Middle East. He said that the first move should be the 'extermination of Israel'. (p. 17)

Israel, however, as the *New York Times* points out, was ready for everything. In a large headline it was reported (p. 17):

> WAR PRECAUTIONS PUSHED BY ISRAEL.

Most readers would expect to find an account of military measures, such as troop movements. In this article, "The Children of Israel," the reporter wrote, had "begun today to sandbag schools." Housewives were busy buying supplies, while the men disappeared from the streets, presumably to "defend" their country.

*It seems that Israel couldn't quite agree on whom they should place the blame for the crisis, for other government leaders had blamed the Arab states. Mr. Eban had made this statement in a television interview in London.

If war-precautions seemingly were "pushed," the soldiers, according to the *Times,* apparently were not much concerned, because they occupied their time playing backgammon. The headline, on page 17, read:

> ISRAELI SOLDIERS IN NEGEV CAMP SHOWER WHILE AWAITING ENEMY.
>
> Backgammon is Also Part in the Daily Routine of Young Reservists Called To Active Duty in Border Crisis.

The opening paragraph stated:

> The fine grey dust of the desert bakes on the faces of the young Israeli troops as they sit under camouflage netting and playing backgammon. Waiting for a war that may or may not come.

After depicting life in the camp, the article concluded:

> 'We can have a tank on the move in two minutes flat' the twenty year old tank-commander said confidently.
> He nodded toward his youthful reservists. They look as if they should be behind school desks instead of cleaning rifles in the desert. (p. 17)

What normal American could resist feelings of sympathy? On the same page, the *Times* reported that "20,000 troops have crossed into Jordan" from Saudi Arabia, and that Jordanian mobilization had been completed.

May 26 — June 5

During this last and most crucial phase, the *New York Times* principally considered the basic themes stated previously. The stress on anti-Americanism was intensified, and so

were the 'human interest' stories about Israel. The most important aspect, however, was the campaign of advertisements sponsored by various pro-Zionist and Zionist organizations. One startling and incredible advertisement demands mention.

The *New York Times* generally is regarded as one of the main liberal supporters of public issues. Even with regard to international affairs the *Times* usually has maintained a liberal stand. On May 26, on page 16, an advertisement appeared, which in itself was startling, but its importance was enhanced by a small notice at the bottom of the page which read:

> The above has been published as a public service.

This statement means that the advertisement was published at no cost to the author of the notice, and that the expenses were carried by the *Times*. The "public service" advertisement was entitled:

> CAIRO-MOSCOW AXIS MUST BE STOPPED.*

The basic argument posed was that any threat to Israel is a threat to the United States position and its interests in the Middle East. Warning that the Soviet Union-Cairo "axis" threatens a third World War, the author urges American involvement in the crisis, since Israel is the only country that prevents the Soviet Union from dominating the Eastern Mediterranean.

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*The notice was six columns wide and covered three-fifths of the page.

After President Nasser had ordered the blockade of the Straits of Tiran, Israel attempted to make an international legal case of the situation. The *Times,* it appears, was only too ready to facilitate this public campaign. On May 26, on page one, a headline proclaimed:

EBAN ON U.S. TRIP APPEALS FOR HELP.

The article then proceeds to relate the cause for Eban's visit and his emphasis of the "allies past stand on free shipping in the Gulf." He requested assurances that the world would keep the Gulf open for international shipping. The Foreign Minister, the report stated, found the State Department "intentionally vague" about the steps that the United States and her maritime partners intended to take concerning Egypt's blockade.

On the same day, however, President Johnson reiterated the American position. On page sixteen, Eban moreover, is quoted as having said that the blockade was in effect an

> . . . act of aggression against the law of nations, and the maritime nations, and the vital interest of Israel.*

Also on page sixteen was an article entitled:

GAZA STRIP CLASH REPORTED IN UAR.

Although mention was made of this "clash," a considerable portion of the article dealt with the United Arab Republic's 80,000 troops "massed on the Sinai Peninsula near Israel."

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*Note that the interest of Israel is of the least importance.

Israel, however, according to the reporter, had "mobilized" only 40 percent of her reserves.

In another article (on page 16) the *Times* accused the Soviet Union of not ceasing its propaganda against Israel.* The reporter offers the following observation: "But diplomats would not expect it to if the Russians anticipate using their political influence in Cairo and Damascus."

Page eight contained the following headline:

CHINESE BACK ARABS, SAY SOVIET AIDS U.S.

This Reuters report from Peking quoted the President of the Academy of Sciences as having stated that "China stood with the Arab countries . . ." The Soviet Union and China, the two greatest Communist nations hostile to the United States, thus were now squarely behind the Arabs. That the Arabs might have a just cause and that the Soviet Union might have more than political motives for supporting the Arab States, was never considered by the *New York Times.*

Pointing to the Communist threat in the Middle East was just as important, in the view of the editors of the *Times,* as pointing to the extensive support for the Israelis. It should be, therefore, no surprise that a headline on page ten, May 26, read:

TEN FROM U.S. TO DO JOBS OF MOBILIZED ISRAELIS.

*The Soviet Union had blamed Israel for stirring up tensions.

Israel, indeed, had mobilized in face of the "Arab Threat" against "peaceful" Israel. Page sixteen contains an article which reiterated Israel's non-aggressive intentions: President Shazar of Israel had told Canadians that the Arab threat against Israel was an

> ... act of unprovoked aggression against a people whose only desire is to be left in peace and quiet ... We have no demands of any of the Arab states except coexistence and neighborly relations.

These are amiable goals and the American public, with the exception of a few informed individuals, had no reason to discredit the President's statements.

Page seventeen contains two articles which depicted Israel's depressed mood.

ELATH LOOKS DESERTED.

One article stated: it is "like a ghost town." Another article proclaimed (same page):

2 PORTS ON GULF: 1 ACTIVE, 1 SILENT.

"Barbed wire and the presence of 100's of Jordanian troops produced a warlike atmosphere in this port on the Gulf."

While Israel began to look desolate,* (and the Arabs prepared for war) American Jewish leaders urged a "national day of prayer for the peace and safety of Israel." (p. 17) They, of course, also urged the United States to "reaffirm

*A phrase used often by the *New York Times* during this critical period.

unequivocally" commitments to "Israel's security and territorial integrity."

On May 27, page one was topped by the following headline:

> NASSER PLEDGES TO DESTROY ISRAEL IF THERE IS WAR.

Not only does such a statement have serious implications, but, at least for the American public, it has an outraging effect. The article in itself is very interesting insofar as it seemingly synthesizes all aspects of the Middle East crisis. In addition to the threat directed at Israel, the reporter clearly links the Soviet Union. He wrote that Mr. Nasser's position was "... fortified by pledges of Soviet support" and Russia's rejection of "... America's proposition for easing the threat of war in the Middle East." The reporter also points to Mr. Nasser's anti-American stand and the Arab forces "massing" on Israel's borders.

In another article on the front page, the headline announces:

> ISRAEL'S IMPATIENCE.

The correspondent then continues to enumerate Israel's conditions for a de-escalation of the crisis. The Soviet Union's stand, in a separate article, is once more ridiculed because it had denounced Israel for causing the tension in the Middle East. The reporter sardonically adds that the Russian position was "... what one might call the Nasserite line." (p. 8)

The adamant stand by the Arabs during these critical days was continuously and elaborately reported. One article, emanating from the United Nations, quoted a source, who reportedly had stated that U Thant had departed from Cairo "... because President Gamal Abdel Nasser had rebuffed his efforts" to settle the crisis. Quote after quote stating the Arab threats to Israel were reported, and numerous explanations, listing the reasons for President Nasser's and Syria's stand, were offered. The remarkable thing is that never once was there mention of the historical development since 1917. Occasionally it was mentioned that there had been a war in 1948-1949 and in 1956.

Human tragedies affecting Americans* and Israelis were continuously stressed while the arms build-up was persistently noted.** Stories about the tragedy of the Palestinian refugees were notably absent.

On May 28, the front page once more informed the reader about Egyptian intentions:

CAIRO PREPARES ECONOMY FOR WAR.

Not only the economy was put into high speed, according to this report, but Cairo shifted its forces from the Yemen to the Sinai Peninsula, which, so the reporter wrote, were "... apparently intended to gird the Egyptians for a protracted military confrontation with Israel." In Israel, mean-

*"U.S. Evacuating Americans in United Arab Republic." (p. 8) "The first contingent of evacuees were mothers with young children and the departure room at the Cairo airport was noisy with cries and whimpers . ."

**"Saudis Report A Build-Up." (p. 8)

while, and according to the *Times,* everything was calm. A headline on page three stated that the

CABINET HEARS EBAN TODAY.

but everything else in Israel was waiting. Some played football:

> In Jerusalem, youngsters played soccer in the Valley of the Cross where the wood for Jesus's cross is believed to come from, while trenches were dug nearby and ringed with barbed wire.

At the borders, soldiers were guarding Israel. Ron Ali, one story recalled, had been called at two o'clock in the morning to defend his country. "He left behind his wife and two-year old son, plus his job as an auditor . . . to face . . . hostile troops that their officers believe now total more than 80,000." (May 28, p. 3)

On the same page, next to the story about "Ron Ali," was an article whose headline proclaimed:

LIBERATION ARMY PREPARES.

The Arabs in the Gaza Strip ". . . believing they were on the brink of recovering the land they lost 19 years ago," were preparing for war. But, the article continues:

> A few 100 yards away across a field of barely, Israeli flags fluttered in the sunshine.
> The outskirts of the Gaza Strip resembled an armed camp . . . The city of Gaza is busy with martial activity.

Every man, the reporter related, between twenty and

forty, capable of bearing arms was issued arms weapons:

> Those being drilled, broke rank, waved and kissed their rifles shouting 'Palestine is ours' and 'we shall fight with our blood'.

Of course, President Johnson was also denounced and the reporter does not neglect to record it:

> Down, down, down with Johnson. (May 28, p. 3)

On the next page, another stated:

> U.S. DENOUNCED IN CAIRO.

For the next few days, "President Nasser's hostility" continued to be reported in big headlines. On May 23, a front page headline and sub-caption read:

> NASSER STRESSES PALESTINE RULE BAR NEGOTIATED PEACE TILL ARABS REGAIN 'RIGHTS' EMPHASIZES U.S. TIES.

President Nasser's belligerence was reported daily, while Israel's suffering became unbearable. Numerous times Jewish suffering was recalled, such as on May 29. On page two once more, a Rabbi was quoted who recalled how "100's and 1,000's of prisoners from Nazi death camps who found safety in Israel were now being threatened by a war!" On page three, an article, coming out of Israel reported that "Israel's self-defense forces" would cost a high sum of money if Israel would have to maintain them for a long period.

The next day, on May 30, a front page article proclaimed that Israel would defend herself "when and if necessary."

The following day, it was reported that "Nasser and Hussein Reach Surprise Defense Pact," and that the Soviets had sent *ten* more "warships to the Middle East."

Reports after June 1, became scanty. Military censors on both sides apparently became stricter, and one article in the *Times* even mentioned the fact that the article, coming out of Tel Aviv, was obviously censored. Nevertheless, the *Times* found enough material to give the public a negative impression of the Arabs. In one incredible article, the correspondent speculated on Egypt's financial position. The article, headlined (page one):

> CRISIS IN MIDEAST THREATENS LOAN NEEDED BY UAR.

According to the reporter, "the crisis in the Middle East has probably blocked an impending loan to the United Arab Republic by the International Monetary Fund." Then, the article continues by stating:

> The Monetary Fund would not deny a credit for political reasons. But two elements are likely to delay the loan, at least until the crisis is over.

The correspondent states that the UAR had failed to repay earlier loans, and that the sets of agreements between the UAR and IMF had

> ... involved certain understandings about Egyptian policy, including Government expenditures. The Managing Director of the situation could force expenditures sharply upward ...

and place Egypt in a position where it could not meet its financial position. One wonders, since the article received

front page "billing," if it was not intended to put pressure on the IMF.

The Russian threat in the Middle East also gained further prominence. One, June 1 (p. 18), showed a picture of an intimidating Russian "warship in the Dardanelles" while another article quoted an Admiral of the US Navy, who had said that the Soviet "shadowing often imperils ships in the Sixth Fleet." President Nasser, on page 19, was quoted as having said:

> Behind us there is the Iraqi Army and the armies of Algeria, Kuwait, Sudan, and the whole Arab nation. (p. 19)

The reporter also reported that the troops in the Sinai Peninsula ("... where Cairo has already massed more than 80,000 troops") were being re-inforced. (p. 19)

In another article "the confident air" that prevailed in Cairo was depicted, and it was also made clear that "bakeries, working on three shifts, are making bread from Soviet wheat," and that a host of new military fight songs were being sung everywhere. (p. 19)

When President Nasser and King Hussein formed the alliance, the *New York Times* stated that King Hussein was on "Nasser's Team Again" and he, the King, was now the "prisoner of President Nasser." (June 1, p. 20) The next day, on the front page, a picture was to be seen in which a group of Egyptians in a hospital near the Suez were "expressing contempt for the U.S. aircraft carrier 'Intrepid'. "

In the same issue, on page twelve, an advertisement, published by the Zionist Organization of America, appeared with the following headline:

> LETS NOT FALL FOR SOVIET-ARAB DOUBLE-THINK AND DOUBLE-TALK.

Five captions adorn this advertisement:

> (1) "Nasser Threatens American Security and Sacred Honor"
>
> (2) "United Nations Bungling Can Tie the Victims' Hand and Unleash the Aggressor"
>
> (3) "Israel's Self-Defense is an Elementary Right"
>
> (4) "Israel's Survival is an American Commitment"
>
> (5) "Inside the U.N., the U.S. Must Block the Kremlin-Cairo Plot to Change the Balance of Power in the Middle East."*

Sometimes, the *New York Times,* indeed, was ridiculous. An article, attempting to show Egypt's defiant attitude contained the following paragraph:

> In another defiant gesture *Al-Ahram* reported, Egyptian planes have been ordered to follow the British Carrier 'Hermes' which is now anchored off Aden.

Toward the end of the article the correspondent, describing the UAR's plans of a joint military command with Iraq and Jordan, evaluated it as "... the latest strand in the web of Arab alliances and military commitments that the UAR has been spinning around Israel." (p. 14)

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*Had the occasion of this advertisement been at any other time it could be believed that someone was perpetrating an incredible joke on the American public.

And so it went on. More Jewish appeals (in the United States and Germany) for help to Israel and more descriptions of Elath. "... the sweltering port where the Queen of Sheba once landed with gifts for King Solomon" (June 3, p. 9) The Arabs, so the *New York Times* reported, were becoming more belligerent, as "Egyptian laborers rioted and chanted obscenities directed at President Johnson ..." (June 4, p. 2) Even Libya participated in "defying" the United States. (June 4, p. 4)

When finally Israel attacked the Arab States on June 5, the *New York Times,* in an editorial on June 6, 1967, attributed the war and the attack to Egypt:

> The tension was intensified by the Egyptian calls for a holy war of extermination against Israel.

Conclusion: Editorials by the New York Times

So far we have dealt only with articles written by *New York Times* correspondents stationed in the Middle East and charged with the difficult responsibility of recording and transmitting the rapidly moving events in the Middle East. In a previous section we had observed that every journalist and reporter is faced with a number of obstacles which impede the execution of his tasks. Even if we account for these problems the coverage of events in this region during the 36 days prior to the war of 1967 left a lot to be desired. It would be no overstatement to say that the articles dealing with the situation in the Middle East were slanted in favor of Israel. There was, however, very little distortion, i.e. a conscious misrepresentation of facts; but the *New York Times* did

minimize and bate the significance of actions and decisions by the Israelis (such as Israel's military build-up in May along the Syrian frontier). This was done through the phrasing of the headlines, whereas the headlines relating to the decisions and actions by any of the Arab leaders were definitely of an agitational nature. In fact, there were several headlines which clearly misrepresented the text of the article.

The phrasing of headlines is usually done by the editorial staff of the newspaper. What, however, were the opinions of the editors during that time when the Middle East was in the midst of a crisis. It is obvious that the *New York Times* was anything but pro-Arab. It did, however, for a short time assume a cautious position, at least from the American viewpoint, by advocating the resolution of the conflict through the United Nations. This, however, still meant a settlement, whatever it would have been, in favor of the Israelis.

With the intensification of the crisis the position taken by the editors became more hostile toward the Arabs. Beginning May 19, 1967 a great number of editorials appeared, not counting the frequent news-analysis and the opinions expressed by the columnists, such as James Reston and C.L. Sulzberger. Interestingly enough, James Reston toward the end of May became more cautious toward the Israelis and a little less critical of the Arabs. For the purpose of this essay, however, we shall primarily consider those opinions expressed by the permanent staff of editors of the *New York Times.*

In an editorial entitled "Holding the Peace Line" (May 19) the writer argued that it is the responsibility of the United

Nations and the major powers "to urge restraint on all sides" which, it was argued, might be enough "to keep the powder from igniting." The editor, however, denounced:

> Cairo's call for the withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force from Egypt's Sinai frontier with Israel.

Three days later, although urging action through the United Nations, the editor also was remindful of American, British and French commitments "to maintain stability of all frontiers." the Soviet Union, however, was denounced for aiding the Arabs in their stand against Israel, which as the editors wrote, "... is suddenly and dangerously on the defensive with an aggressive enemy in Syria and a strong, militant one in Egypt."

On May 24, the 'anti-Nasser' campaign became full-fledged. In an editorial entitled: "Nasser Raises the Stakes" the editors not only denounce President Nasser's blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba, but also Secretary General U Thant for ordering the speedy removal of the United Nations Emergency Forces. The editors warn:

> President Nasser's seizure of Sharm el-Sheikh, elbowing the United Nations force aside, and his threat now to blockade the Gulf of Aqaba could precipitate an Israeli military response. Egypt's massing of 60,000 troops in Sinai serves as a blocking move against such a response ...

Moreover, it is warned that in the case of war the Arabs would be defeated. On the same page, in editorials by C.L. Sulzberger and James Reston, the attacks on President Nasser are

more intense. Not only does Reston state that President Nasser's "... personal emotionalism has reached the point of irrationality" and refers to him as a "strutting dictator," but C.L. Sulzberger suggests in his 'column' that the Egyptians possess nuclear arms, and that they carry

> an isotop warhead with a delayed fall out that could poison large areas. (p. 46)

(One wonders who is irrational?)

The next day, on May 25, the editors continue, Mr. Reston's theme:

> The international reaction to *Colonel** Nasser's threat to close the Gulf of Aqaba would give pause to any rational leader concerned with his own future and the interests of his country.

The implied threat to "Colonel Nasser's future" stemmed from President Johnson's warnings of the implications involved with the closure of the Gulf. The editorial then continued:

> The propaganda support Moscow has given Cairo should not mislead Egypt's President.

On May 26, once again the editors write that an "Israeli military reaction will be inevitable"** since she cannot maintain, from an economic viewpoint, a prolonged crisis as it would drain her economic resources. To deal rationally with Nasser, the editorial suggested, was impossible, since "past

*Note Colonel. Emphasis supplied by the writer.

**From the viewpoint of this writer it almost seems as if the *New York Times* editorial staff, influential as it is, was giving subtle hints to Israel to attack, or at least giving its blessings for an Israeli aggressive act.

experience with Colonel Nasser shows that any attempt to appease him only wets his appetite."

It was only to be expected that in one of the editorials a strategic analysis would appear. On May 28, the editors showed Israel's relative position, both in terms of population and military strength, and the evaluation of such an analysis a child could understand. Moreover, the *Times* did not neglect to point to Russia's fleet in the Mediterranean, which it used, according to the editors, to "become champions of the Arabs."

It is appalling and at the same time sad, that a newspaper, such as the *New York Times,* which considers itself one of the great newspapers of the world, is so biased and predisposed toward one particular viewpoint. Had the *New York Times* adopted a less biased position the outcome of the May and June crisis might have been different. The Zionists know very well that without the support of the American public they could never assume and maintain such an aggressive position as they have displayed in the past. The *Times,* being the most influential newspaper in the United States, definitely contributed to the formulation of a pro-Zionist and pro-Israeli viewpoint, and by neglecting, and obviously refusing, to present the true historical facts of the Middle Eastern state of affairs contributed to the deterioration of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

THE MASS MEDIA AND THE JUNE WAR

by Michael W. Suleiman

Future historians studying the events of the summer of 1967 may well conclude that Israel's greatest achievement was not its military victory but rather its success in the communication and acceptance of its point of view. Conversely, the Arabs' major defeat was not on the battlefield but in the competition for men's minds.

As Karl Deutsch puts it: "Control of the social institutions of mass communication, and generally of the storage and transmission of information, is an obvious major component of power."[1] The campaign to present the Israeli version, and *only* the Israeli version of what was happening in the Middle East last summer was perhaps without comparison in its extent and intensity — a campaign that greatly enhanced Israel's power and bargaining position.

Though no one has yet studied the radio and television coverage of the June war, a few studies have been made of

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(1) Karl W. Deutsch, *The Nerves of Government* (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 203.

daily newspapers,[2] magazines[3] and "instant potboilers,"[4] books purporting to tell the story of the latest Arab-Israeli conflict. The American Institute for Political Communication, a non-partisan, non-profit organization interested in "improving the flow of government and political affairs information to the American people" found that of eighteen syndicated columnists with Washington outlets, nine viewed the "crisis chiefly or primarily from the perspective of American foreign policy . . . six columnists took a strong, persistent pro-Israeli position," and only one writer did a column which "set out the difficulties, problems and needs of the Arabs."[5] Leslie Farmer, Willard G. Oxtoby and Harry N. Howard came to similar conclusions in their studies. As Tables I and II show, my study corroborates this evidence.

In my analysis, I followed the same procedure employed in a previous study.[6] The same magazines, *U.S. News and World Report, Newsweek, Time, Life, The Nation, The New Republic,* and the *New York Times,* "The Week in Review,"

(2) American Institute for Political Communication (AIPC), "Domestic Communications Aspects of the Middle East Crisis," A Special Report (Washington, D.C., July 1967).

(3) Leslie Farmer, "All We Know Is What We Read in the Papers," *The Middle East Newsletter* (Beirut), February, 1968, pp. 1-5; and Willard G. Oxtoby, "The War of Words: A Look at the Literature," in *America and the Middle East,* a mimeographed report (New Haven, Connecticut: New Haven Committee on the Middle East Crisis, March, 1968), pp. 31-36.

(4) Harry N. Howard, "The Instant Potboilers and the 'Blitzkrieg' War," *Issues,* Vol. 21, No. 3 (Autumn, 1967), pp. 48-52.

(5) AIPC, *op. cit.,* p. 2.

(6) Michael W. Suleiman, "An Evaluation of Middle East News Coverage in Seven American Newsmagazines, July-December, 1956," *Middle East Forum,* Vol. XLI, No. 2 (Late Autumn, 1965), pp. 9-30. The methodology is outlined here in some detail.

were chosen to detect any change in attitude.[7] The overall results are not much different from those of the 1956 Suez attack study. However, the *extent* of support for Israel and the antagonism toward the Arabs generally and toward President Nasser in particular was significantly greater in 1967. This was true in the editorials as well as the reporting.

The most striking element continues to be the extreme reluctance on the part of the American press to criticize Israel either in editorials *or* in news reporting. Hardly any place did I come across any reprimand of Israel or the Israelis without an accompanying justification. Only occasionally is the Arab point of view presented, which then sounds strange and unconvincing to a reader who has been saturated with the pro-Israeli stance. Sometimes, a tactic is employed to discredit the Arab point of view even while presenting it—by letting the Communists speak for the Arabs. For instance, the *New York Times* on June 18 reproduced excerpts from an *Izvestia* article attacking the Israelis as aggressors, whereas *Time* magazine dismissed as a Communist charge the looting and acts of atrocity of Israeli soldiers. It then provided Moshe Dayan's explanation: "An army of regulars and reservists of various ages and psychological drives cannot be perfect."[8]

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(7) The period of the study extended from May 11, 1967, the date of the Israeli public statements threatening an "attack" on Syria, to the end of June, 1967.

(8) *Time,* June 30, 1967, p. 27.

TABLE I
ITEM % OF ALL REPORTING ON M.E.*
MAY-JUNE, 1967

Name of Magazine	con Nasser	con Syria	con Arab	con France	con UN	con USA	con Israel	con Soviet	pro Nasser	pro Syria	pro Arab
N.Y. Times	30.8	4	8	4	11.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Life	23.1	0	30.8	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	0
U.S. News & World Report	30.2	4.6	21	0	2.3	2.3	2.3	9.3	2.3	0	0
Nation	60	20	0	0	20	0	0	40	0	0	0
New Republic	33.3	0	16.6	16.6	0	16.6	0	16.6	0	0	0
Newsweek	44.4	0	7.4	3.7	3.7	0	14.8	14.8	0	0	0
Time	10	0	50	10	30	0	0	10	0	0	0
Average %	30.2	3	17.7	3	7.7	1.5	3.8	10	0.8	0	0

pro France	pro UN	pro USA	pro Israel	pro Jordan	Balanced	Neutral	Total number of items
0	11.5	11.5	30.8	0	23	8	26
0	0	8	38.5	0	0	0	13
0	0	0	39.5	0	2.3	18.6	43
0	0	0	0	0	0	20	5
0	0	0	33.3	0	0	0	6
0	0	0	37	3.7	0	11.1	27
0	0	10	50	0	0	0	10
0	2.3	3.8	36.1	0.8	5.4	10.8	130

* Except for the column on the extreme right and the bottom row, all numbers indicate the percentage (in number of items) of press coverage under each category.
If added horizontally, total exceeds 100 percent because the same item can be and often is pro one party and con another.

TABLE II
ITEM % OF EDITORIALS ON M.E.*
MAY-JUNE, 1967

Name of Magazine	con Nasser	con Syria	con Arab	con France	con UN	con USA	con Israel	con Soviet	pro Nasser	pro Syria	pro Arab
N.Y. Times	40	0	20	20	0	0	0	20	0	0	0
Life	40	0	40	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nation	50	25	0	0	0	25	0	50	0	0	0
New Republic	20	0	20	20	0	20	0	20	0	0	0
Time	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Average %	35	5	25	10	5	10	0	20	0	0	0

pro France	pro UN	pro USA	pro Israel	pro Soviet	Balanced	Neutral	Number of Editorials
0	40	40	20	0	0	20	5
0	0	20	0	0	0	0	5
0	0	0	0	0	0	25	4
0	0	0	40	0	0	0	5
0	0	0	100	0	0	0	1
0	10	15	20	0	0	10	20

* Except for the column on the extreme right and the bottom row, all numbers indicate the percentage (in number of items) of editorials under each category.

If added horizontally, total exceeds 100 percent because the same editorial can be and often is pro one party and con another.

The Press and Nasser

The attitude of the press toward Nasser is illustrated in Table III. In contrast to Israeli leaders, *including* Moshe Dayan, the Egyptian President appeared to be the epitome of all that is hateful and bad. There seems to be a strong tendency to blame one man for all the difficulties of the Middle East. If Nasser is truly *believed* to be the cause of all trouble, then those holding such a view certainly display a good deal of ignorance concerning the Arab world and the region generally. On the other hand, this attitude might be a deliberate attempt on the part of Nasser's enemies to escape the blame for any of the difficulties involved. One wonders, for instance, if Israeli leaders have so very few faults or that the American press did not believe these faults were "news fit to print."

It is interesting to note that the same magazines that described Nasser as cautious and not interested in going to war with Israel,[9] switched their stand after the war started and began to condemn Nasser as the cause of all trouble. Furthermore, the picture of Nasser as the master strategist playing the East against the West was dropped in favor of a theory that reached conspiratorial proportions in the hands of C.L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times.* According to Mr. Sulzberger, all the troubles in the Middle East were caused by collaboration between the Soviet masters and the Egyptian (Nasser) client. It was charged that Nasser merely followed

(9) See, in particular, *Time,* June 2, 1967, p. 21; and *Life,* June 9, 1967, p. 4.

TABLE III
NASSER AND ISRAELI LEADERS ACCORDING TO THE PRESS

Nasser					
Name of Magazine	Dictatorial Attitudes	Cause of all trouble	Associated with Communism	Anti Western Attitude	Untrustworthy Unreliable
N.Y. Times	13	41	39	2	3
Life	3	10	10	1	0
U.S. News & World Report	20	43	26	0	11
Nation	6	4	4	0	0
New Republic	2	4	4	4	2
Newsweek	8	15	14	6	11
Time	0	3	10	0	3
Total	52	120	107	13	30

			Israeli Leaders		
Playing East vs. West	Inexperience Naivete	"Good" Qualities	Hardworking Tough Brave	Pro West	"Bad" Qualities
0	11	11	5	0	2
0	3	1	0	0	0
0	1	21	10	3	0
0	2	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	3	0	0
0	2	3	6	0	1
0	2	0	17	0	3
0	21	36	41	3	6

Numerals indicate number of times an attribute is mentioned.

orders and that he stirred up trouble in the Arab-Israeli conflict in order to divert attention from his difficulties in the Yemen war.[10]

Arabs and Israelis as Portrayed in the American Press

But disparagement was not restricted to Nasser. Hardly any "good" qualities were attributed to the Arabs generally, whereas the Israelis were practically without fault. The old romantic stereotype of an Arab as a wandering desert-dweller has given way to that of a "dark, shifty-eyed schemer and coward."[11] It is a stereotype that is reinforced by television and the movies. In contrast, the Israelis are pictured as "young, energetic, fun-loving, hard-working, brave and deeply sun-tanned."[12]

Table IV clearly illustrates the reluctance of the American press to portray the Israelis in a bad light, whereas there is no inhibition at all in enumerating the bad qualities of the Arabs. As Leslie Farmer beautifully summed it up:

> My intention is not to deny that the Arabs have faults; however, putting all the bad or questionable traits of a people—or person—together and reciting them like an indictment can make them look three hundred percent worse than they are. One could say, with as much truth, 'Socrates is ugly, dresses like a disgrace, has a dreadful wife but not the sense to divorce her, and spends most of his time talking'.[13]

(10) *New York Times,* June 25, 1967, p. 8E.
(11) Marcus Smith, "Reflections in a Mirror," *The Middle East Newsletter, op. cit.,* p. 7.
(12) *Ibitd.,* p. 6.
(13) Farmer, *op. cit.,* p. 5.

Table V shows that the previous ill-treatment and persecution of the Jews were mentioned but not as frequently as had been anticipated. This element was supplied in advertisements in the *New York Times* in which the public was reminded of "the horror and decimation of the European holocaust," from which the people of Israel "are still recovering."[14] The President and the American people were urged to "avoid another Munich," and to act "with other nations if possible—independently if necessary!"[15] Then after the war, Hadassa, the Women's Zionist Organization of America saluted the "defenders" of Israel.[16]

Israel's alleged interest in peace and security was also emphasized, although it must be added that talk of this nature increased *after* the war in which Israel displayed beyond any doubt that it was in no great danger. The American press began to echo the demands of some Israeli officials that it was not possible to return to the *status quo ante* and that Israel needed to have more "natural" frontiers. This was justified on the basis of "security" and the desire to live "in peace," although it was not immediately obvious to all readers how such an action would make peace more likely between Israel and the Arab countries.

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(14) *New York Times,* June 4, 1967, p. 4E.
(15) *Ibid.,* p. 7E.
(16) *Ibid.,* June 11, 1967, p. 5E.

TABLE IV

ARAB AND ISRAELI CHARACTERISTICS IN PRESS

	Arab Characteristics					
Name of Magazine	Nomadic Living	Low Standard of Living	Low Standard of Education	Women Few Rights	Undemo-cratic Orientation tion	Dishonesty Unreliabi-lity Inefficiency
N.Y. Times	15	1	1	0	3	18
Life	0	0	0	0	2	23
US News & World Report	3	15	0	0	0	15
Nation	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Republic	0	0	0	0	0	2
Newsweek	2	2	0	0	3	11
Time	5	2	0	0	0	20
Total	25	18	1	0	8	89

↓

		Israeli Characteristics				
Disunity and Rivalry	"Good" Qualities	High Standard of Education, Modern	Heroic Self-Reliant Hard-Working Efficient	Honesty, Self-Confidence	Democratic & Western like Orientation	"Bad" Qualities
24	5	0	15	6	0	2
14	4	4	24	9	0	0
41	5	4	37	2	1	2
1	0	0	1	0	0	0
3	0	0	7	0	0	0
9	10	5	4	5	3	0
10	12	9	17	4	0	3
102	36	22	105	26	4	7

Numerals indicate the number of times the particular characteristic is mentioned.

TABLE V

TREATMENT OF ISRAELIS AND ARABS IN THE PRESS

MAY-JUNE, 1967

Name of Magazine	Previous Ill-treatment of Jews	Israel's Desire for Peace & Security	Israel's Achievements	Israel strong but small underdog	Arabs intent upon Israel's destruction
N.Y. Times	**0**	24	**30**	**11**	**18**
Life	6	10	23	4	24
US News & World Report	1	6	4	34	26
Nation	0	3	0	1	7
New Republic	0	0	1	1	2
Newsweek	4	8	2	0	**5**
Time	12	20	11	3	30
Total	23	71	71	54	112

Justifying Israel's Actions	Arabs "mistreat" Israel	Mention of Arab Refugees	Arabs' desire for Peace & Security	Arabs' Achievements	Israel "mistreats" Arabs	Justifying Arabs' Actions	Arabs connected with Soviets	Arabs anti-West
58	47	19	0	0	4	4	18	0
28	45	11	0	0	6	3	16	0
19	29	1	2	0	8	+	91	28
5	9	5	0	0	1	0	10	0
3	4	3	0	0	1	+	5	1
7	22	13	1	0	7	+	10	9
30	47	14	0	0	31	8	13	14
150	204	66	3	0	58	15	163	52

Numerals indicate the number of times the particular characteristic is mentioned.

+ Not reported.

Not only are the Israelis beyond criticism but their achievements, it seems, are beyond compare. One wonders at times how many reporters had visited Palestine before it was taken over by the Israelis in order to speak so authoritatively about how the Israelis "made the desert bloom." In any case, apparently there is no need to check on this since "everybody" knows it. And the Israelis are, of course, kind and generous to the Arabs whom "fate" entrusted to their care. Such arguments were presented to justify (or encourage?) a possible Israeli take-over of any or all land occupied by Israel in the summer of 1967. The arguments sound much like those of the colonialists[17]—arguments that were supposedly rejected by the liberals and intellectuals of the West about twenty years ago.

Despite these achievements, the American leaders were constantly being reminded that the United States had a "moral and legal" commitment to go to Israel's aid. According to the American Institute for Political Communication:

> The Johanson Administration ... was beset by a well-organized domestic pressure campaign in behalf of the Israelis in the two weeks immediately prior to the Arab-Israeli conflict. To retain its freedom

(17) Paul Giniewski, in arguing *for* apartheid in South Africa and the establishment of a separate Bantustan, draws upon the Zionist establishment of the state of Israel for illustration. In a nutshell, his case against assimilation and for apartheid is expressed in the rhetorical question: "Did the Jews not learn that the only political rights, the only nationality which could not be contested, the only flag which could not be imputed a crime were their own, and that instead of being assimilated in foreign nations, instead of being German, English, French, anything but themselves, they had to be themselves, Hebrew, Palestinian, Israeli?" See his *The Two Faces of Apartheid* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1961), p. 350.

> of diplomatic action and to avoid being pushed into a unilateral approach to the Middle East crisis, the Administration was compelled to wage a defensive communications battle.[18]

However, the amazing fact is that this campaign continued *after* the war. No presidential hopeful, it seems, can escape making a statement on America's "commitment" to Israel. Political commentators continue to extol Israel's great victory while *at the same time* expressing disbelief that "tiny" Israel can be a threat to the Arab world. The David and Goliath analogy has not apparently lost its appeal, with no commentator stopping to think whether or not it has relevance any longer. The public is presented a picture of 2.7 million Israelis squared off against estimates of 60-110 million Arabs.[19] Somehow the writer forgets that he had just described those 60-110 million Arabs as inefficient, divided, weak, nomadic, etc. Furthermore, the *populations* are compared when the relevant facts concern the *military* forces. Troop strengths were estimated at 55,000 Jordanians, 70,000 Syrians, 100,000-150,000 Egyptians and some 10,000 from the other Arab countries. This is *at most* a total of 285,000 against a total of 300,000 Israeli reservists and regulars under one command.[20] Given the Israeli army's efficiency, excellent training and up-to-date weaponry, how any reasonable observer can think of the situation as a David-Goliath match, it is not clear. Reasonable observers, of course, did not. Hugh Sidey

(18) AIPC, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
(19) *Time,* June 9, 1967, p. 38.
(20) The *New York Times,* May 28, 1967, p. 1E, gave the following estimates of troop strengths. Israel: 250,000; UAR: 80,000; Jordan: 55,000; Syria: 70,000. *Time,* June 9, 1967, p. 38, estimated 71,000 Israeli regulars and 230,000 mobilized reservists.

reported in *Life,*[21] a report that was also mentioned by Dan Rather of CBS news, that General Earle Wheeler, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff had provided capability estimates to President Johnson which showed that the Israeli army would gain victory in three or four days. Arthur Goldberg, then U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., and others were skeptical. Wheeler rechecked with CIA director Richard Helms and then came back with the *same* estimate.[22]

Despite such assurances, the hue and cry about Israel's "struggle for survival" continues. It might be worthwhile to mention that Palestine was struggling for survival when the Zionists succeeded in establishing the state of Israel. More recently, Egypt, Jordan and Syria have come into that category. Yet James Reston, fully one week after Israel's victory which he discussed at length, goes on to say: "It is not easy to prove that two and a half million Israelis are a dreadful menace to sixty million Arabs!"[23]

Such a stance provides the news reporters and commentators with an excuse for justifying Israel's actions. Thus, it is constantly repeated that the Arabs "mistreat" Israel and are intent upon its destruction. Whenever Israel strikes at its Arab neighbors, mistreats its Arab population or annexes new territory, all such actions are justified and Israeli arguments are presented as proof of the logic and rightness of the situation. Furthermore, the Arabs were this time frequently and

(21) *Life,* June 23, 1967, p. 32B.
(22) Only then, apparently, did the Johnson Administration declare its "neutrality" in the Arab-Israeli conflict.
(23) *New York Times,* June 18, 1967, p. 14E.

almost indiscriminately associated with the Communist camp. Demonstrations against what was believed to be American involvement on the side of Israel were given detailed coverage. Perhaps the worst example was a vituperative anti-Nasser, anti-Egyptian 3-page attack by Thomas Thompson, *Life's* Paris Bureau Chief entitled "Cairo Diary of U.S. Humiliation."[24]

What of the Arab refugees? Here, the American press accepted the Israeli version of how the Arab leaders allegedly asked the Palestinians to leave their homes until the battle was over, whereas the Zionists supposedly asked them to stay![25] Since then, the Israelis changed their minds and the Arabs have been playing political football with the refugees. No effort was made to check the veracity of these statements. But despite these allegations, some mention of the plight of the Arab refugees is made. However, the most that any commentator suggested was a token repatriation on the part of Israel (ignoring the reported UN resolutions requesting Israel to repatriate or compensate the refugees), adding that all of the refugees can be resettled in "under-populated Iran [sic] and Syria."[26]

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(24) *Life,* June 23, 1967, pp. 70-74. Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 7, reports how his friends and acquaintances would not believe that he was returning to Lebanon to teach after a summer visit to the U.S. Their image of the Arab was apparently shaped by articles such as Thompson's.

(25) *Life,* June 23, 1967, p. 4.

(26) *Ibid.*

Sources of the News

It has already been pointed out that the party which succeeds in persuading others of its own version of the conflict has won a major victory. One element which helped Israel in this regard was that most of the "news" came from Israeli or pro-Israeli sources.

Table VI does not correctly convey the situation *unless* one adds the "USA or no Source Indicated" column to the "Israel" column. This is not entirely unjustifiable since most of the material with no source indicated came from Israeli sources or sources sympathetic to Israel. *Time* and *Life* provided a listing of their correspondents covering the events in the Middle East. *Time* had one reporter in Beirut who also followed developments in Jordan and Syria, one reporter in Egypt, and three in Israel.[27] *Life* had sixteen men in the area, the whereabouts of nine of whom were indicated. Of the nine, five were in Israel, two in Egypt, one in Jordan and one with the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.[28] If it is assumed that these are not a typical figures (except for *Nation* and the *New Republic* which are not newsmagazines), then it appears that about 60 percent of the reporting originated in Israel.

The scarcity of reports from the Arab countries involved in the conflict or of accounts portraying the Arab side was attributed in some quarters to restrictions, harassment and

(27) *Time,* June 9, 1967, p. 27.
(28) *Life,* June 23, 1967, p. 3.

censorship by the Arabs.[29] But these should not have proved insurmountable odds to enterprising correspondents who are supposed to search for a different point of view or an original story. Besides, it was admitted that the Israelis also applied censorship and travel restrictions.[30] Furthermore, definite attempts were made to present anti-Zionist or pro-Arab positions but such attempts were *resisted* by the news media.[31] Unfortunately, this demonstrates a reluctance to present the other side of the coin rather than a difficulty in getting the information. A salutary exception was the *Christian Science Monitor* which gave fair coverage to both sides.

Summary and Conclusions

It is instructive to follow the developments of the June, 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict as the American press reported them. In the process, I will point out the sins of omission and commission as well as the major themes that emerged from this and the other studies of the press during this period.

Prior to the beginning of the hostilities, the press argued that Nasser had regained some lost prestige in the Arab world and that he was *not* interested in a war with Israel, especially since he realized that neither Egypt nor the Arabs generally were capable of defeating the Israelis. Furthermore, the press laid "emphasis on employing the United Nations to resolve the crisis."[32]

(29) *Newsweek,* June 19, 1967, p. 82; *Life,* June 23, 1967, p. 3.
(30) *Newsweek, op cit.,* p. 82.
(31) AIPC, *op. cit.,* p. 3; Oxtoby, *op. cit.,* p. 34.
(32) AIPC, *op. cit.,* p. 2.

TABLE VI

ITEM % OF ORIGIN OF MATERIAL ON M.E.*

MAY-JUNE, 1967

Name of Magazine	Egypt	Jordan	Syria	Lebanon	Europe
N.Y. Times	3.9	0	0	0	0
Life	15.4	7.7	0	0	0
US News & World Report	2.3	2.3	0	11.6	16.3
Nation	0	0	0	0	0
New Republic	0	0	0	16.6	0
Time	20	10	0	0	10
Average %	5.8	2.9	0	5.8	7.8

USA or no Source Indicated	UN	Israel	Total Number of Items
90.2	0	3.9	26
77	7.7	46.1	13
41.8	0	16.3	43
100	0	0	5
50	16.6	16.6	6
80	30	40	10
66	4.9	18.4	103

* Except for the column on the extreme right and the bottom row, all numbers indicate the percentage (in number of items) of press coverage originating from or written about the particular country or area.
If added horizontally, total exceeds 100 percent because some reports supposedly originated in more than one country.

After the start of the war, however, Nasser was branded as the aggressor and the cause of all trouble in the Middle East. The issue of who actually attacked whom was muddled. Whether or not there was an intentional attempt to muddle the issue may be judged by the following examples. Hugh Sidey, in his June 16 column in *Life,* first reported that a CIA monitoring operation told the U.S. Government that "the UAR has launched an attack on Israel," and that later checks confirmed the report. Later in the same article, he writes: "Then secret sources noted that a number of Arab air fields appeared to be inoperative and the pattern of attack began to emerge. The Israelis, *whether first to strike or not,* were moving hard and fast against the UAR Air Forces."[33] (Emphasis supplied.) Another classic example of a most indirect and slanted reporting is Theodore H. White's version of how Israel decided to mount a surprise attack. "Thus, finally, on Sunday afternoon [June 4, 1967] the Israeli cabinet faced decision: to wait for diplomatic help, delay which might mean death; or let the army decide time, dimension and method of response to Egyptian attack [sic]. Eighteen men met that afternoon and voted yes."[34]

The United Nations certainly suffered in prestige and consequently in effectiveness when a good deal of criticism was first directed against Secretary-General U Thant for withdrawing UNEF troops from the Egyptian-Israeli border at the request of President Nasser. It occurred to no reporter or commentator, however, to suggest that, if these troops could

(33) *Life,* June 16, 1967, p. 24B.
(34) *Ibid.,* June 23, pp. 24B, 24C.

indeed keep the peace which Israel allegedly was interested in preserving, such UNEF forces be stationed on the Israeli side of the border. Not only was the suggestion not made, but few bothered to mention that Israel had refused since 1956 to station such troops within its borders *and* that it turned down U Thant's request to move them to the Israeli side after Nasser asked for the "removal of several UNEF posts along the Sinai Line."[35]

The double standard which is displayed in the attitude of some Westerners to the Arabs and the Israelis is illustrated further by the campaign, launched after Israel's victory, to downgrade the United Nations as an agency capable of helping to resolve the conflict.[36] At the same time, Israel's very existence was upheld on the argument that it was created by the United Nations.[37] The *New York Times* provided another example of the double standards employed. It begins by arguing that "when World War II ended, a Jewish state was ready to be born." While admitting that "in the process, nearly a million Palestinian Arabs were dispossessed," the *Times* reprimands them and the Arabs generally for "their refusal to come to terms" with Israel. Then it goes on to justify Israel's actions: "Once President Nasser proclaimed the closing of the Strait of Tiran leading into the Gulf of

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(35) Charles W. Yost, "The Arab-Israeli War: How It Began," *Foreign Affairs,* Vol. 46, No. 2 (January, 1968), p. 313. Mr. Yost's article is one of the best pieces written on the crisis and how it de eloped.

(36) See, in particular, Nadav Safran and Stanley Hoffmann, "The Middle East: Guidlines for Policy," *The Nation,* June 26, 1967. pp. 806-808.

(37) *Tin:e,* June 23 1967, pp. 24-25.

Aqaba war became a certainty, since the Israelis felt their survival was jeopardized."[38] The reader cannot escape the conclusion that to the *Times'* editor the survival of the Palestinians was not important whereas that of Israel was.

The press employed various tactics to discredit the Arabs or their point of view while helping the Israeli cause. The *New York Times* (May 28), for instance, headlined "Egypt's Stand: Nasser's Dangerous Gamble," and "Israel's Stand: A Life and Death Matter."[39] *Life* had a picture of a wounded Arab soldier tended by an Israeli medic.[40] Also, in a background piece, only part of the information was supplied. Thus, it was mentioned that 90,000 Jews were in Palestine by World War I, but it was not pointed out that this constituted 10 percent of the population. By 1947 the reader is told that the Jewish population soared to 600,000—again not mentioning that the Arabs constituted 2/3 of the population. While mentioning that the UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte was assassinated by terrorists, the fact that the terrorists happened to be Zionists was conveniently ignored.

Perhaps one of the saddest aspects of American press reporting of the latest Middle East war was the presentation of the issue as an Arab (or Moslem)-Jewish conflict.[41] Unfortunately, examples abound. C.L. Sulzberger wrote on June 18, "France understandably wants to regain a favored place in

(38) *New York Times,* June 11, 1967, p. 12E.
(39) *Ibid.,* May 28, 1967, p. 1E.
(40) *Life.* June 16, 1967, p. 38A.
(41) Senator Gore presented the issue in religious terms also. See Howard, *op. cit.,* p. 50.

the Arab world and the easiest way, alas, is by euchring out the English-speakers and ceasing to coddle the Jews."[42] *Time* magazine wrote that Mohammed el-Kony, UAR Ambassador to the UN, "scrapped a 20-page diatribe against the Jews," and gave U Thant a note accepting ceasefire.[43]

One wonders again if this muddling of the issue is intentional. The conflict is not between Arab and Jew but rather between Arabs, particularly those of Palestine, and the Zionist-Israelis. It is rather ironic that when Arab *secular* nationalism began to emerge late in the nineteenth century, a Jewish nationalism based on religion and race also began to gather momentum. The result was the state of Israel. As I.F. Stone, himself an American Jew, put it, " 'It's hard to be a Jew' was the title of Sholom Aleichem's most famous story. Now we see that it's hard to be a goy in Tel Aviv, especially an Arab goy."[44]

The last point that should be mentioned is the dehumanization of the Arab in the American press. This is accomplished by repeatedly reinforcing the stereotype, especially when presenting the "bad" qualities. Marcus Smith observes that "the Arabs are now a prejudice object in the United States."[45] Crude and cruel jokes at the expense of the Arabs appeared in various magazines after the June war. Cartoons, especially those of Bill Mauldin, practically constitute a hate

(42) *New York Times,* June 18, 1967, p. 14E.
(43) *Time,* June 16, 1967, pp. 16-17.
(44) I.F. Stone, "Holy War," *New York Review of Books,* August 3, 1967.
(45) Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 6.

campaign against the Arabs. The various comedy shows on television, especially the Rowan and Martin Laugh-in carried further the anti-Arab theme. All this is happening at a time when reconciliation among the various racial, ethnic and religious groups in and outside the United States is gaining momentum. Shouldn't an Anti-Defamation League fight against such tendencies?

"The quality of the information we have on other people determines the images of them we have in our heads."[46] This survey of American press treatment of Arabs and Israelis showed a definite slighting of the Arabs and their cause. A more responsible press would perform its appointed role in a democracy and help better understanding between Arabs and Americans.

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(46) Louis M. Lyons, in his introduction to Wilton Wynn's *Nasser of Egypt: The Search for Dignity* (Clinton, Mass.: The Colonial Press, 1959), p. viii.

THE TREATMENT OF THE ARAB WORLD IN SELECTED AMERICAN TEXTBOOKS FOR CHILDREN

by Adawia Alami

I. INTRODUCTION

Ever since the author first came to this country, she has had experiences which have made her aware of several stereotyped ideas that American people have about Arab countries. The ideas were expressed in questions, comments, or compliments. On different occasions she was complimented on her clothes and then asked if she brought them from her homeland or got them in this country. At other times she was asked what she planned to do with her clothes on her return home and if she would go back to her native dress or keep her western style. Men from the Arab States are sometimes asked about the harem which they left behind them.

Misconceptions are found about other people and other lands ranging in number and form from area to area. Understandings vary about students from Western or Eastern Europe, Middle or Far East, Africa or Australia. There may also be special differences in understanding between any one country and its neighbors, as in the case of Israel and its neighbors.

As a result of the discovery of many stereotyped ideas and misconceptions among the American people about her homeland and her people, the author decided to make a study of these misconceptions as they appear in textbooks for children.

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, in introducing a pamphlet by Dr. Virginia Gildersleeve, wrote, "In the Arab-Israeli controversy, for example, the Zionists have thousands of voices in our country to speak for them, but the Arab side of the conflict lacks adequate presentation and is commonly unheard and misunderstood."[1]

The Zionists are influential both financially and politically. They have the means for strong propaganda in the United States—money, people and influence.[2/3]

The Zionists, through propaganda about the Arabs as backward and primitive,[4] try to justify their taking over Palestine, the "promised land of the Jews." The impression they have given is that the Arabs who wandered to the Holy Land have come from the desert and could go back to the desert. Although there are many non-Zionist Jews in the United

(1) Harry Emerson Fosdick, Introduction to Gildersleeve's *The Roots of Our Crisis in the Middle East.* (New York: American Friends of the Middle East), 1954, p. i.

(2) Alfred M. Lilienthal, *What Price Israel* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1953), p. 207.

(3) Khalil Totah, *Dynamite in the Middle East* (New York: Philosophy Library, 1955), p. 206.

(4) Elmer Burger, *Who Knows Better Must Say So* (New York: American Council for Judaism, 1955), p. 73.

States, they have not been able to combat the Zionist propaganda, first because they do not know the Arabs, and second, because any anti-Zionist movement was considered by the Zionists as anti-semitic,[5] and many people do not want to be considered as belonging to such a movement.

The above propaganda, together with material that the people read or see in the moving pictures from the Arabian Nights stories, probably deepens the impression of some of the stereotyped ideas the Americans have held about the Arabs. Adults are affected by these ideas, and children are usually affected by the attitudes of adults.

Who are the adults who come in contact with children and influence their lives? Naturally parents have great influence on children and their attitudes. Children learn prejudices from their parents. Teachers influence children's lives, too, for children spend many of their waking hours for about nine months a year in school. Parents and teachers are some of those who come into immediate contact with children. But there are other indirect relations between children and adults, such as relations between authors, illustrators, newspaper correspondents, or radio and television broadcasters, and children are influenced by what they hear, read, and see. Children learn from adults in many fields.

In undergraduate work at Kent State University, the author had opportunities to visit many schools in Ohio, Colorado, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Georgia. In some of her

(5) Lilienthal, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

visits she went into classrooms where aspects of Arab life were being studied. Looking around the room, a visitor would notice the traces of the desert on the bulletin boards, in painted murals, or in models and objects. No aspects of modern city life were shown to balance the pictures of nomadic or village lives. On seeing those pictures, murals, or objects, the author would ask to see the textbook, and upon examining it, she would find distorted or incomplete information presented by the author of the book, which apparently was the source of the unbalanced picture in the classroom.

The teacher seeing the author's interest and knowing that she had come from the Arab countries, usually asked her to talk about her homeland. In most cases the children enjoyed, appreciated, and accepted what she had to say. But occasionally after she had finished talking, and when the question period came, she would be asked: 1) Do you live in a tent? 2) Do your children at school sit on seats or on the floor? 3) Do you have automobiles? 4) Do you have bathrooms? The author answered the children's questions although she had previously covered such information in her talk.

The author has had opportunity to speak to many other groups of children between the ages of six and sixteen, and in these talks she has discovered some of the misconceptions that these children have about the Arabs, their customs, their religion, and their way of life. Even among college students similar misconceptions prevail. Two college students were amazed to know that Moslems believe in God and while they

were discussing the subject before a third student, the student commented: "Do you mean to say she (meaning the author, who was not present at the time) really believes in God?"

It is the belief of the writer that children live in a world where understanding is necessary for peace and that understanding is best established early in life by protecting these children from prejudices and helping them build wholesome attitudes toward other peoples. It is hoped that this study may fulfill some of these objectives.

II. GATHERING AND INTERPRETING THE DATA

Compilation of the Data

Method of Collecting the Data

It is perhaps more important than at any previous time in history for every one to gain an accurate understanding of the world and its peoples. Such understanding comes from many sources today, but all understanding is built on previous knowledge, much of which was learned while the adult of today was attending elementary school. The accuracy of his knowledge may well depend upon what he was taught as facts in the school and how well his teachers helped him seek for current supplementary materials to be used in verifying these facts and in discriminating between facts and misrepresentations.

In most of the schools of America the textbook is the basic source of information. It, therefore, should be accurate, unbiased, and of recent publication.

Since the textbook is of such importance, and since this study deals with the Arab peoples, a study of the treatment of Arabs in the textbooks seemed imperative.

Following established research procedures, the questionnaire method was used. A questionnaire was sent to selected school systems in Northeastern Ohio. An effort was made in

the selection of these school systems to include a representation of city and county schools of varied sizes and from different parts of the area. Participants were asked to list the textbooks they use.

Prior to mailing the questionnaires a letter was sent to each of twenty-five school systems. The letter explained the reasons for making the study and the objectives of the questionnaire method. Every representative was asked if he would be interested in participating in the study. In case of acceptance, he was requested to reply on the enclosed card and state the number of questionnaire forms he would need for teachers who taught about the Arab peoples. It was thought that in this way the schools would not be identified and that teachers would not hesitate to participate. They would feel free to give any personal comments and reactions they cared to make.

Out of the twenty-five representatives contacted twenty-one sent replies. Nineteen were willing to participate and listed the number of questionnaires they needed; two asked for copies of the questionnaire to be reviewed before making any commitments; and four sent no reply. When questionnaires were sent to the two school systems where preliminary copies were requested for examination, one representative asked for enough copies to be distributed among the teachers who were teaching about the Arab peoples, and the other educator replied that he was unwilling to participate, without indicating the reason.

The following map indicates the geographic distribution of the school systems represented in the study.

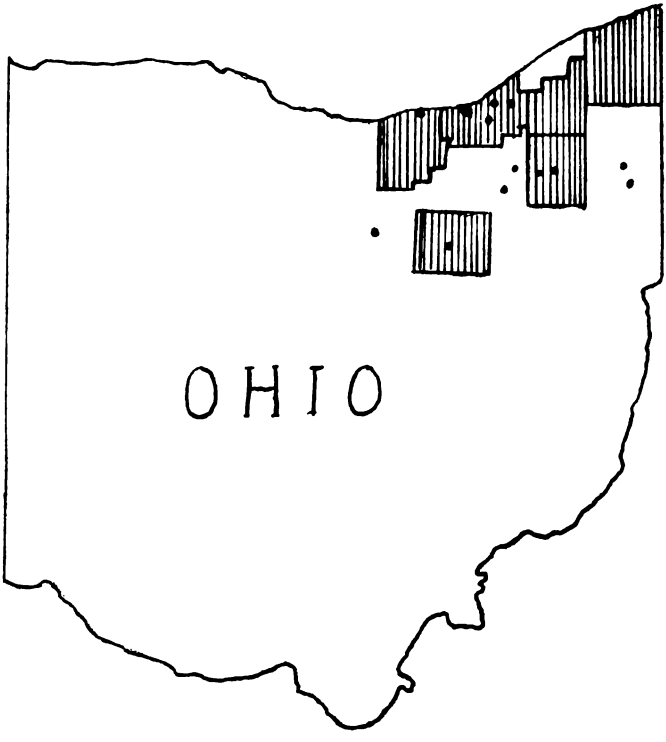

Fig. 1. — Geographic Distribution of the Participating School Systems[a] in the Study of the Arab World.

a. The school systems which participated in the study were:

1. City School Systems: Akron, Ashland, Cuyahoga Falls, Kent, Lakewood, Lorain, Niles, Parma, Ravenna, Shaker Heights, South Euclid, Warren, Wooster.

2. County School Systems: Ashtabula, Cuyahoga, Lorain, Geauga, Portage, Wayne.

3. Kent State University School.

The three hundred twenty requested questionnaires were distributed with an equal number of addressed envelopes for the return of the individual questionnaires. Although it had been thought wiser to send the questionnaires in groups to the administrator for distribution, it was thought more convenient for the teachers to return their completed questionnaires individually. This method it seemed would give the teachers the opportunity not to participate if they did not wish to do so.

Out of the three hundred twenty questionnaires distributed, one hundred seventy-five were returned. No follow-up memoranda were sent to the participating school systems as it was not thought necessary. The returns were considered sufficient for the data needed in the study, for it was statistically established that there would not have been a significant difference between two percents in using a smaller sampling and a larger one.[1]

(1) Cuthbert Daniel, "Statistically Significant Difference in Observed Per cents" *Journal of Applied Psychology* (Vol. 24 December, 1940), pp. 826-30.

The questionnaire was distributed to obtain the following information:

1. The names of textbooks used in teaching about the Arab peoples.

2. The designated part of the curriculum in which the Arabs are studied (geography, history, current events, social studies).

3. The view point from which the Arabs are studied (Arab desert life, Arab city life, Arab village life, Islamic religion) or any other standpoint.

4. The names of supplementary books which are being used in teaching about the Arab peoples.

5. Whether other supplementary materials are being used in teaching about the Arabs.

6. The sources of information used in teaching about the Arabs.

7. The grades in which the Arab peoples are being studied.

8. The years of college education which participating teachers had completed in preparation for teaching.

9. The years of experience that the participating teachers had had in the teaching field.

10. Other comments that the teachers cared to give about any of the above.

A cover letter was sent with each questionnaire explaining to the teacher the objectives in making the study.

Findings

Number of Textbooks Used

In the classrooms that participated in the study sixty-two textbooks were used in studying about the Arab peoples.

Among the hundred and seventy-five teachers who responded to the questionnaire, nine did not teach about the Arabs; therefore, these nine questionnaires were excluded from the study.

The Arab peoples were studied in one hundred sixty-six classrooms. The number of textbooks used by the participants were distributed as indicated in Table 1.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF TEXTBOOKS USED IN THE STUDY ABOUT THE ARAB WORLD

Textbooks	Responses
No textbook	7
One textbook	106
Two textbooks	32

Three textbooks	12
Four textbooks	3
Five textbooks	2
Six textbooks	2
No response	2

Supplementary books used in teaching about the Arabs were distributed as indicated in Table 2.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF SUPPLEMENTARY BOOKS USED IN THE STUDY ABOUT THE ARAB WORLD

Supplementary books	Responses
No supplementary books listed	105
One supplementary book	14
Two supplementary books	13
Three supplementary books	6
Four supplementary books	5
Five supplementary books	5
Six supplementary books	3
Seven supplementary books	4
Eight supplementary books	3
Nine supplementary books	3
Teach current events	5

The following comments were made about the use of supplementary books:

"None in particular, just reference books in the library."

"All materials and books available from public libraries are used during unit work at this time."

"Various fiction and non-fiction selections from the public library."

Our school is new and we have very limited library facilities which do not include supplementary books. What supplementary work we do is confined to the use of encyclopedias and we have little here, also.

Areas of the School Curriculum in Which the Arab World Was Studied

The Arabs were studied in classrooms contacted as part of the subjects indicated in Table 3.

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY OF SUBJECT MATTER AREAS REPRESENTED IN THE STUDY OF THE ARAB WORLD BY THE PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

Subject Area	Classrooms Represented
Geography	72
History	33
Social Studies	83
Current Events	78

It was stated that the Arabs were studied in history and/or Geography, Social Studies, or Current Events. In five cases the Arabs were studied only as current events; in most cases current events were checked with geography and/or history, or social studies. In nine cases it was stated that the Arab World was studied in history, geography and social studies, in seven cases, geography and social studies, and in two cases history and social studies.

One sixth grade, however, studies about the Arab lands in Bible studies, and two as part of the reading program.

Standpoints from Which the Arabs Were Studied

The Arabs were found to be studied from the points of view indicated in Table 4.

TABLE 4

TYPES OF ARAB LIFE STUDIED IN THE PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

Area Taught	Number of Cases
Arab desert life in	96
Arab city life in	54
Arab village life in	66
Islamic religion	70

Other topics which were added by the participants would come under three different categories:

1. The political situation which might include the following:

   a. Political events like the Suez problem and the friction between Arabs and Jews.

   b. Permanent situations under such titles as the international scene; the Arab role in world affairs; Arab Countries in the world of today; geographical importance of Arab lands; the Arab World's relation to Middle East crisis; the parts of the Near and Middle East as related to United Nations; Middle Eastern Nations.

2. Economic interests which included the following: "Products which we need from the Arabs and what we give them in exchange such as scientific knowlelge in mining, agriculture, and engineering"; products, resources, importance of petroleum lands; industry; trade; products of countries as a whole and importance in world affairs; farming and ranching in the Middle East; Arabs, Americans, and scientists working together to develop the great modern oil industry; transportation.

3. The history and culture of the Arabs which included the following:

   Historical importance: social, religious, intellectual and esthetic achievements; cultural life; second

cradle of civilization; history, especially the History of Egypt.

Supplementary Materials and Other Sources of Information

The question relating to the use of supplementary materials brought affirmative responses from every participant with the exception of three who answered in the negative, and two who did not respond to that question.

In answering the question about the sources of information the following responses were given to the listed sources:

TABLE 5

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON THE ARAB WORLD USED BY TEACHERS PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY

Source of Information	Number of Responses
Travel Agencies	62
United Nations	24
UNESCO	15
Arab Embassies	12
Arab Information Center	11
None of the above	23
No response	15

Eighty participants stated that they used other sources of information. Although thirty-eight did not specify the sources

of information they use, the other forty-two listed one or more of the following sources of information:

1. Magazines-particularly *National Geographic, Holiday, Life, Time* and *Newsweek.* Some participants, however, did not specify the magazines they used.
2. Children's periodicals such as *My Weekly Reader.*
3. Oil companies, particularly Aramco.
4. Libraries.
5. Film libraries.
6. Newspapers.
7. Radio and television programs.
8. Travelers' reports.
9. Encyclopedias for children and adults.
10. Bulletins and pamphlets with no specifications as to types or sources.

In trying to ascertain whether the teachers encountered any difficulty in locating supplementary materials, the following results were found:

TABLE 6

DIFFICULTY ENCOUNTERED WHILE LOCATING SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS IN TEACHING ABOUT THE ARAB WORLD BY TEACHERS PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY

Much difficulty	26
Little difficulty	63
Some difficulty	6
No difficulty	25
No response (with remarks)	9
No response (without remarks)	29

In several cases the participants stated that they had not tried to find supplementary materials in teaching about the Arab World.

The comments on this phase of the problem were as follows:

"I would find no difficulty in getting supplementary materials if I sought them."

"I use supplementary materials from any source that is available," (but there was no specific source mentioned.)

"Since we do not teach it as a unit of work, I find sufficient materials."

"Much of the contemporary material is written from an Israeli point of view."

In one case a "much difficulty" and "no difficulty" were checked. "Much difficulty on modern urban life, medicine, education, etc.," explained the participant, "and no difficulty on desert life and history."

> "Other countries and lands have material more readily available."
>
> "Depending on country, we study countries individually."

Grades in Which the Arab Peoples Are Taught

It was found that the studies of the Arab Peoples were being taught between the fourth and the eighth grades, distributed as follows:

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF GRADES IN WHICH THE ARAB WORLD IS TAUGHT IN THE PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

Grade	Number
Fourth grade	18
Fifth grade	6
Sixth grade	74
Seventh grade	51
Eighth grade	12
Ninth grade	2
Not stated	2
Other (not specified)	1

Number of Years of Teacher Training and Experience

A hundred sixty-six teachers participated in the study. According to the years of their college education, the results were classified as follows:

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF YEARS OF COLLEGE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY

Number of Years	Teachers
2 years	10
3 years	25
4 years	26
Over 4 years	105

These teachers had had the following years of experience:

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE OF TEACHERS PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY

Number of Years	Teachers
1 - 5 years	57
5 - 10 years	34
Over 10 years	72
No response	3

General Comments

The teachers participating in the study wrote many voluntary general comments to supplement their responses on various questions. Their comments could be classified under two different categories:

1. Explanatory remarks:

"Our basic text, *Exploring the Old World,* devotes around six pages to the Modern Arab countries with exception of Egypt which is concerned mainly in its history B.C."

"This year we were fortunate in our study of the Near East because of the Suez Canal trouble that arose just at the time of our study of Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, etc. So we used the radio and news events, news, pictures and television as a supplement to our text."

"We study about Islam (a little). *Our Big World*— (this book is to be changed next year as it is out of date)."

"We teach geography and history as separate subjects but teach the geography and history of a certain country at the same time as much as possible."

"One must constantly be watching for the news in all parts of the world today in order to keep up to date on developments especially in strategic areas.

> The Arab World (Near East) is an especially 'tough' spot. No textbook can possibly be without faults because conditions change rapidly."
>
> "Actually we do not spend too much time on the Arab lands."

2. Remarks indicating attitude toward the study or the Arab Peoples:

> "I am interested in your work. The need for some thing like that is great. The very best luck."

Three invitations to the writer to give talks were included in the responses to the questionnaire.

There was only one remark which could be considered unfavorable to the Arabs. This remark read as follows:

> "I am not sympathetic to the Arab states. The worst remnant of a Feudalistic system is found among them. And I dislike very much their Moslem religion which enslaves their women. My information is that there are some eleven million chattel slaves in Arabia, especially Saudi Arabia."

The participant in his remark, then went on to show his sympathy to Israel thus:

> "Conversely I am very sympathetic to Israel, as a modern democracy in our western sense of the word.

It has a very high level of political, social and industrial culture."

"I would be very happy to correspond with Miss Alami if she should so desire. I am greatly interested in world affairs."

Interpreting the Data

The Use of Books

This survey revealed heavy reliance on the textbook by the teachers who responded to the questionnaire. Of the 166 participants in this section of the study, 159 reported that they used one of more textbooks to teach about the Arab World. Five teachers reported the use of no basic text because the Arab World was being treated only as a part of current events. The other two replies indicated the use of no basic text, but a reliance on several textbooks as supplementary materials.

When asked to identify the supplementary books used, 105 of the 166 reported that they did not use any book other than the text. Fifty-three indicated reliance on other textbooks in addition to the basic text. Only eight persons reported using other types of supplementary books.

Since it was revealed that 95.8 percent of all the teachers surveyed relied on textbooks as a basic source of information about Arab lands and that 86.9 percent of those using supplementary books relied on one or many additional textbooks,

the influence of information in the textbook must be acknowledged as paramount in importance. Thus, it seemed necessary to examine the textbook information carefully and critically to be certain that it provided a balanced picture of the Arab lands free from omissions, misstatements and other inaccuracies which lead to misconceptions, that the books are of recent copyright date, and that the information in new editions has been brought up currently to the date of publication.

The Use of Other Supplementary Materials

Despite the fact that 98.2 percent of the participants stated that in teaching about the Arabs, supplementary materials were being used, and despite the fact that 51.2 percent stated that they had encountered little or no difficulty in obtaining these materials, in some cases other responses did not seem to support these statements. Several of these participants, for example, stated that they did not even try to obtain any supplementary materials; yet they had checked the response indicating that such material was not difficult to locate. Others stated that they would not have had any difficulty if they had actually attempted to get the material.

Apparently those teachers who had actually tried to locate materials about the Arab World realized that it was not so easy as getting materials about other parts of the world or other units of work. Such statements as "most of the materials seem to have been written from an Israeli point of view," or that "it was not difficult to get materials about the Arab desert

life but it was difficult to get them about modern or urban life" seemed to show thoughtful analysis before filling out the questionnaire. Furthermore, in answering the question about the sources of information used, fifteen people gave no response, twenty-three stated that they used none of the listed sources of information, and thirty-eight stated that they used other sources than those listed, although they did not specify what sources they had used.

In order to throw some light on the materials used in teaching about the Arabs, an analysis of some of these supplementary materials may be of value. Travel agencies rated higher than any other material (in number at least) as sources of information from which to obtain materials about the Arabs. Although beautiful and spectacular materials can be obtained from these agencies, much of the old, the picturesque and the bizarre is frequently included without adequate information. This is true concerning other countries also, but is apt to be especially true of the Arab world where there is usually much interest in and emphasis on the history of Bible times.

Some of the teachers reported that they used materials from the United Nations and the UNESCO as sources of information. Although this material has some value, that value depends more or less, on the need for the material and the way in which it is to be utilized. Sometimes U.N. material does not fit the occasion and is too difficult as reading material for younger children. It should be of value, however, in providing information for the teacher.

The Arab Embassies and the Arab Information Center seemed to be used the least as sources of information. However, in making this study these two sources of information were contacted and materials were sent as requested; but, apparently, there was not much material available.

Specific materials from other sources of information that were being used in teaching about the Arabs seemed, in some cases, to be rather vague. The library, for instance, was mentioned eleven times without specifying types of material used. Magazines in general were listed several times, but specific magazines were not always listed. In two cases *Life* magazine was listed, in two other cases *My Weekly Reader* was listed, in three cases *World News* of the week, in one case *Holiday* magazine, and in six cases *The National Geographic Magazine*, one participant stating that "the *National Geographic Magazine* was used extensively." Articles about the Arab World do not seem to appear very frequently in periodicals; also, the information in the article depends on the purpose for which the article was written. Furthermore, the purpose for which it is going to be used in the classroom should govern the selection of each article.

Oil companies, in general, were mentioned several times and the *Aramco World* was listed nine times. But it should be remembered that publications from oil companies are generally concerned with information about their companies and the developments in their industry. The *Aramco World*, like other such magazines, deals mainly with the developments of the Arabian American Oil Company, not with the developments of the entire country. These booklets do have the value

of illustrating the vast new source of wealth in an Arab country.

A few responses to the questionnaire on the use of supplementary materials and sources of information showed some misinterpretation or inconsistency. In one case, the participant did not respond to the question on using supplementary materials, but checked "no difficulty" in locating such materials. In another case, the participant stated that supplementary material was being used if available, "little difficulty" was checked, with travel agency as the only source of information used. In a third case, it was stated that the participant used supplementary material from any source that was available, but check "other" without listing any specific material. He then stated that he had found no difficulty in obtaining the supplementary material he needed.

Evaluation of the supplementary material was not intended in this study, but it has been discussed briefly to provide further evidence of the importance of textbooks as the major source of facts in Northeast Ohio schools providing children with the basic information to be used in studying about the Arab Peoples.

III. A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MATERIAL ON THE ARAB WORLD IN TEXTBOOKS FOR CHILDREN

Review of Previous Studies of Textbooks

The textbook has long been recognized nationally and internationally as of great importance in the classroom instruction. (See part II). For this reason it has seemed essential to examine the textbooks used by Northern Ohio teachers in teaching about the Arab World.

International understanding is more important today than it has been at any time in the history of world affairs. In this changing world of 1957 it is essential to understand the peoples of Asia. Merril Hartshorn, executive secretary of the NEA's National Council for the Social Studies, who represented the United States and served as chairman at the UNESCO conference on the treatment of Asia in Western textbooks, after attending this conference wrote:

> With the ferment and change in the countries of Asia, the rise of nationalism and anti-colonialism, and the fact that about one half of the world's population lives in the Asian world, we in the United States have a very real reason for being concerned about our lack of knowledge of the history, geography, and culture of Asian peoples. We want to be friends and allies of Asian nations; and if that is to materialize, we must know and understand them much better than we do now!

(1) Merril F. Hartshorn, "Asia in Western Textbooks," *N.E.A. Journal,* 46, No. 2 (February, 1957), p. 91.

Hartshorn then added that the problem facing teachers today in teaching about Asian peoples is difficult in at least two major respects, one of which is in obtaining adequate teaching materials.[2]

Helen K. Bottrel, Herbert J. Abraham and William C. Bagley[3] in discussing the textbook have stated that it is still the most widely utilized tool of learning. It plays an important part in giving children the information they need about human history and culture of the world in which they live.[4/5]

But the errors made in textbooks are of many kinds. Laura F. Ullrick stated that these errors fall into three categories:

1. Actual misstatements of facts.

2. Half-told truths, where the statements made are correct, but the impression left is wrong.

3. Wrong balance of presentation or complete omissions.[6]

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(2) *Ibid.*, p. 92.

(3) William C. Bagley, "The Textbook Methods of Teaching," *The Textbooks in American Education,* Thirtieth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, (Bloomington, III.: Public School Publishing Co.) 1931, p. 7.

(4) Helen K. Bottrel, "Textbooks Can Be Creative Resources" *Educational Leadership,* XII, No. 7 (April, 1956), p. 418.

(5) H. Abraham, "The Improvement of History Textbooks in the Interest of International Understanding," Unesco Chronicle, II, No. 1, (January 1956), p. 9.

(6) Laura F. Ullrick, "History Textbooks Still Under Discussion" *American Association University Women Journal,* Vol. XXIII, No. IV (June, 1930), p. 187.

Textbooks chosen for examination were those listed as being used currently by the teachers who participated in this study.

Out of the 61 textbooks listed by teachers, 58 were examined, three of which did not deal with the Arab world and the other three could not be located as neither authors nor publishing companies were listed.

The presentation and discussion of the data will come under the following categories:

1. The treatment of Bedouin life.
2. The treatment of farming.
3. The treatment of city life.
4. The treatment of the subject of education.
5. The treatment of Islamic religion.
6. The treatment of Israel versus the Arab World.
7. The treatment of the Arab world in pictures.
8. The treatment of the evolution of Arab nationalism.

Before discussing the relevant points, namely 6, 7 and 8, in detail, it is necessary to state:

1. That this study was not intended to be in any way hyper-critical of materials which has been written in the United States.

2. That every effort has been made to keep the study as objective as possible. Only those statements which could be documented have been used.

The Treatment of Israel Versus Arab World.

When referring to Palestine one book states that "the Jews who returned to Palestine found that in many ways the land was still the same as it had been in the days of their ancestors."[7]

In Palestine only the city of Tel-Aviv was described as modern and introduced in pictures as such. This was emphasized in almost every book that dealt with Palestine. When some books dealt with Israel, other cities were discussed as modern, like Haifa for instance, and the old city of Jerusalem was shown as backward. As the author of one book stated: "One of the first things we notice is that everyone walks in the center of the street. There are no sidewalks, and the streets are so narrow that wagons and other vehicles cannot travel on them."[8] The author may have forgotten or not understood that people go to visit the old city to see how it has been over the ages and that they would be disappointed if the old city were modernized. The author of this paper, being from Jerusalem, knows that there are certain places in the old city where vehicles can go, such as to the government hospital, to three gates of the Mosque of the Rock, to St. Joseph's School,

(7) J.A. Meyer, Stuart O. Hamer, Lilian Grisso. *The Old World and Its Gifts,* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Co., 1952), p. 129.
(8) J.G. Meyer, Hamer and Grisso, *op. cit.,* p. 123.

to a public boy's school, and to a public girl's school. The Arabs, however, just as in many big cities all over the world, have spread out of the old city and have built new sections. Elmer Berger, who visited the Arab countries and the state of Israel in April of 1955, writes from Jerusalem, Israel:

> There is no doubt that the housing in Jerusalem is impressive—numerically. There are many lovely streets and trees. It must be noted, however, that some of the loveliest of these sections were built by, and belonged to Arabs before 1948.[9]

In speaking about the houses in old Jerusalem, it was stated that they were built of stone and clay bricks.[10] If clay had been used, it would be doubtful if the houses could have lasted over the centuries and stood the changes or weather and the effects of wars.

John Scofield writes differently when he speaks of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. He states: "Old and new ways meet and mingle in the modern Moslem nation which contains some of Christianity's most sacred shrines."[11]

Elmer Berger, in a letter written during his visit to the Middle East stated:

> It is plenty clear that Zionism had done all American people a distinct disservice in its incessant efforts to picture the rest of the Middle East as 'backward' and 'inferior'. This simply is not true, and I hope we shall find the ways and means of saying it is not true.[12]

(9) Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
(10) Meyer, Hamer and Grisso, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
(11) John Scofield "Hashemite Jordan Arab Heartlan," *National Geographic Magazine,* Vol. CII (December, 1952), p. 841.
(12) Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

In speaking about his stay in Jerusalem, Israel, he stated:

> Actually there is no hotel to compare with St. Georges in Beirut; no boulevards to compare with those of Damascus; no bazaars like those in Cairo; no government buildings to compare with the gem of architecture where the Syrian Parliament meets.[13]

The treatment of the Jews in textbooks published before 1948 and Israel in textbooks published after the creation of Israel was almost always more comprehensive than the treatment of the neighboring countries. In some of the textbooks there were such statements about Israel as "A land rich in the courage of its people,"[14] and "One of the smallest but at the same time, one of the most important states of the Middle East is Israel."[15]

With reference to the right of the Jews in Palestine, this right seemed to be presented as follows:

1. Palestine being the "Promised Land" of the Jews and their early home.[16]

2. Palestine being set aside by the mandate government to be the national home of the Jews ". . . Iraq, Trans-Jordan and Palestine were mandated by the League of Nations to Great Britain. They are Arab Lands,

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(13) *Ibid.*, p. 82.

(14) Edward R. Kolevzon, John A. Heine, *Our World and Its People* (New York: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1956), p. 318.

(15) Norman J.G. Pounds, Edward L. Cooper, *World Geography* (Cincinnati, Ohio: South-Western Publishing Co., 1957), p. 518.

(16) Gertrude, Whipple, Preston E. James, *Our Earth and Man* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1956), p. 205.

but Palestine has been reserved in part, as a national home of Jews from all over the world."[17]

3. The United Nation's Partition Plan "By direction of the United Nations, Israel was to have a large share of Palestine, the Ancient Holy Land, and the rest was to be an Arab Nation."[18]

But if the Jews had the spiritual attachment to Palestine, so did the Moslems and Christians in all their denominations. Furthermore, even if their forefathers held it for a time two thousand years ago, so did the Arabs. In reference to this fact, Virginia Gildersleeve writes: "The small land of Palestine, about the size of our state of Vermont, had been inhabited for over a thousand years by the Arabs."[19] The Arabs also believe "That a large proportion of its Arab inhabitants are the descendants of Cananites who lived in the country at the time of the Hebrew invasion in the 12th Century B.C., who continued to live there during the Hebrew occupation and who remained there when the Jews left it nearly two thousand years ago."[20] If a claim based on possession which terminated 2,000 years ago was a valid one, the United States should be given back to the Indians, its first inhabitants.

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(17) A.W. Abrams, E.L. Thurston, *World Geography* (New York: Iroquois Publishing Co., 1933, p. 260.

(18) Earnest L. Thurston, Grace Croyle Hankins, *Homelands Beyond the Seas* (New York: Iroquois Publishing Co., Inc., 1955), p. 367.

(19) Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve, *Many A Good Crusade* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1954), p. 182.

(20) Frank C. Sakran, *Palestine Dilemma—Arab Rights Versus Zionist Aspirations* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948), p. 203.

In answer to the claim that Palestine was set aside by the Mandate government to be the "national home" of the Jews, Virginia Gildersleeve writes:

> What right had Great Britain, asked the Arabs as the years went on, or indeed the League of Nations, to give away any part of Palestine without the consent of the inhabitants who had lived there and tilled its soil for over a thousand years? What right had they to say that foreigners might come to the ancient land and establish a 'national home', whatever that may mean? Surely this was contrary to all the principles of democracy and self determination.[21]

The partition proposal aroused a storm of protest from the member nations in the Middle East, who objected to it vehemently: Gildersleeve continues:

> But the delegation of the United States of America, that country which of all the West the peoples of the Middle East had looked upon as their best friend, was ordered by President Truman to support the partition plan, and every source of propaganda was used by the American Zionists to present the idea favorably to the people of America and to prevent the opponents of it, whether they were Christian, Moslem, or Jew, from being heard.[22]

Some textbooks spoke of a war on Palestine. In one textbook, it was stated, for instance, that: "In 1948 the Arabs aided by the Arab League (Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen), made war on Palestine."[23]

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(21) Gildersleeve, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 407.

(23) E.R. Kolevzon, Heine, *Our World and Its People* (New York: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1956), p. 318.

Such a statement without giving children any background would certainly be misleading. These children will grow up and some day make their decisions about world affairs and international relations. They should be told what the other side believes and how the Arabs feel. Thus, the child would have a more complete picture from which to draw conclusions.

The Arab side of the question was discussed by Dr. Khalil Totah, who believes that in the Palestinian War the Palestinian Arabs were neither armed nor trained, and the Arab governments which assumed the responsibility of rescuing Palestine from the Zionist danger were no better organized than the Palestinian Arabs themselves. Syria and Lebanon had just been born after a long and bitter struggle with France. They had no funds, no arms, no armies with which to fight. Egypt had its own quarrel with Britain. For years it had been denied an efficient armed force. Iraq also had its difficulties with Britain. Saudi Arabia and Yemen were too undeveloped nationally and too far away geographically to be effective partners in the war. The only organization the Arabs had, then, was the Arab League; but like the United Nations, it had no army of its own and no commander-in-chief. In addition to all that, "so far it was always the British who defended the Jews," thought the Arabs; thus they did not get sufficiently prepared.[24]

Looking at the picture from the other side, to facilitate the creation of the 'National Home', British policy did everything to favor the Jews economically as well as politically. It

(24) K. Totah, *Dynamite in the Middle East* (New York: Philosophy Library, 1955), p. 203.

disarmed the Arabs and armed the Jews for "so-called self defense."[25] It did not take effective action to check the Jewish smuggling of arms. Totah wrote "During and after World War II the Jews accumulated great quantities of arms and ammunition by purchase, by theft, through bribing of British army officers and by every possible means."[26] During World War II the Jews had about 30,000 men and women who received military training with British forces in North Africa and elsewhere. It was impossible to get Arab volunteers to join the British forces so soon after the revolt (1939) when so many Arabs were killed and hanged by them."[27]

Dr. Totah believes that although the Arabs themselves were not blameless in the loss of Palestine, yet there were world forces beyond their control which contributed to a Jewish victory. There were about 12 million Jews in Western Europe and the Americas. Five million of these were in the United States. Christians are brought up on the Bible and biblical characters have the sympathy and admiration of the West. Moreover the Zionists had, and still have, an unbelievably tremendous organization creating sympathy for their cause. Their men in the Supreme Court, in the Congress, and even in the White House made the leaders in the government of the United States accessible to them. The Zionists were masters at lobbying and they were backed by immense wealth. Their representatives in the United Nations spoke in a language which was their mother tongue.[28]

(25) *Ibid.*
(26) *Ibid.*, p. 204.
(27) *Ibid.*, p. 205.
(28) *Ibid.*, p. 207.

The following statement by Totah would summarize the conditions under which Palestine was lost leaving nearly a million souls homeless, hopeless refugees.[29]

> Much of the blame for Arab defeat must be laid at Arab doors, but not all of it. First Britain, then United States, and through its pressure, the United Nations are mainly responsible for what happened in the Holy Land.[30]

In reference to the Palestinian War, it was stated in a textbook that, "most of the Arabs in Israel fled to nearby Arab countries."[31] Another book stated:

> Nearly a million Arabs moved from their homes in Palestine when the Jews created Israel. Arabs from Palestine moved to Jordan, Syria, Egypt and other Arab lands. Thousand of Arabs live in the new Nation, Israel, among their Jewish neighbors; but those who fled cannot return. There is little room for them.[32]

In the so-called Palestinian War, the Arabs did not flee from Palestine, but *were forced* to leave. In *What Price Israel* Lilienthal spoke of Palestine as "... the contentious land in which more than 900,000 Arabs were forced to relinquish beautiful orchards and villages."[33]

Jamal Nasir writes:

> Both before and after the end of the Mandate, the Israelis seized every possible opportunity to

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 181.
(30) *Ibid.*, p. 201.
(31) H. Barrows, E. Parker, C. Sorensen, *Our World Lands* (New York: Silver Burdett Co., 1954), p. 309.
(32) Norman Carl S., Frank E. Sorensen, *Neighbors Across the Seas* (Philadelphia: The John Winston Co., 1954), p. 228.
(33) Lilienthal, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

> get rid of the Arabs still living in the area alloted to them.[34] In some cases massacre was resorted to, as in the village of Deir Yassin, where the women of the village were massacred and their bodies thrown down the wells, one morning when most of the men of the village were away at work.[35]

Nasir added:

> In the course of the fighting, the Zionists occupied a number of Arab towns and villages, some of which were in the area alloted to the Arabs under the United Nations Partition Plan. In such instances, the civil inhabitants were driven out by Israeli troops or were given half an hour to leave. In many cases all the means of transportation were seized by the Israeli army, so that the inhabitants were obliged to abandon all their possessions in their homes.[36]

Nasir added:

> Few outsiders realize now that the whole of the southern part of Israel as it stands to day was occupied not in the general fighting from May to July, 1948, but by a deliberate violation of the United Nations Armistice in October, 1948.[37]

The author of this study happened to be a school principal in Beersheba at the time the city fell, October 21, 1948, and saw the young men taken war prisoners, the women, children, and old men driven empty handed to the outskirts of Gaza to the west and Hebron to the north. She and her family happened to be among those so driven from the city.

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(34) In the U.N. Partition Plan.

(35) Jamal Nasir, *A Day of Justice* (Jerusalem: The Modern Press, 1956), p. 38.

(36) *Ibid.*, p. 40.

(37) *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Apparently, the Zionists had planned to evacuate the Arab inhabitants from Palestine so as to make room for as many Jews from all over the world as could be tempted to come to Israel.[38]

Although this was not meant to be a quantitative study of information in the textbooks, the author could not help noticing that Israel was given much more space in almost all the books examined than its Middle Eastern neighbors.

In one book Israel and Jordan were discussed under one title "Israel and Jordan." Israel was discussed on seven pages, while Jordan was discussed in less than one column.[39] Out of nine questions, eight were about Israel and one was about Jordan, which read, "Why should the population of Jordan consist largely of nomadic tribes?"[40]

Another book gave Israel space equal to Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan together.[41] In a third book the material about Israel was 992 words, about Jordan 100 words, and about Kuwait, with oil production for the year 1955 third only to that of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.[42], 31 words which read, "at the head of the Persian Gulf is the little, independent Arabian

(38) Lilienthal, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

(39) DeForest Stull, Roy W. Hatch, *Our World Today, The Eastern Hemisphere* (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1953), pp. 255-263.

(40) *Ibid.*, p. 263.

(41) S. Hamer and others, *Exploring the Old World* (New York: Follet Publishing Co., 1955), pp. 80-81.

(42) "World Oil Production by Countries," *World Oil* (February 15, 1956), p. 186.

country of Kuwait. It is under the protection of Britain. Its main exports are pearls, horses, and wool."[43]

One textbook gave Egypt 765 words, Israel 1060, and all the rest of the Middle Eastern countries 1500 words.[44]

By examining textbooks in reference also to Israel and the Arab World, contrast is shown as to the progress of Israel and the backwardness of its neighbors. In one textbook can be found the following statement:

> Everywhere we go in Palestine, we see people doing their work in different ways. As a rule the Arabs are backward in their ways and seem to like to do things the way their ancestors did 4,000 years ago. This is perhaps due to the fact that they are very poor and cannot afford modern implements. We do know that since the coming of the Jewish immigrants from various countries of the world, conditions have improved wherever they have settled. The Jews have formed cooperative societies in order to raise money for creating electricity, erecting modern buildings, and purchasing farm machinery. They have also planted large orange and lemon groves.[45]
>
> In Jaffa we find the usual life in the Middle East —the crowded, narrow, dirty, busy streets, and the little shops. Two miles away we find a modern city. It has wide attractive streets and some busy factories. The name of this city is Tel-Aviv.[46]

In reference to Tel-Aviv the author of another textbook writes:

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(43) Thurston, Hankins, *op. cit.*, p. 367.
(44) Kolevzon, Heine, *op. cit.*
(45) Meyer, Hamer, Crisso, *op cit.*, p. 136.
(46) P. Curtright, W. Charters, W. Lefferts, *Living Together in the Old World* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1953), p. 71.

> Perhaps you will be surprised to find that although this is an old land, Tel-Aviv is a new city. It was built by the Jews who moved there recently. It looks even newer and more modern than most American cities.[47]

The author of one of the textbooks in contrasting methods of farming speaks of primitive and crude Arab ways, and of Israel's prosperity in their cooperative farms.[48] The authors of another book stated that in Egypt[49] and Iraq,[50] farmers do not own their land, they work for a land owner. But not one book mentioned the land reform laws that had taken place in Egypt, Iraq, and Syria.

In reference to the new farms in Israel it was stated in a textbook that "Israel exports millions of oranges each year, most of them from the new farms which they established.[51]

In 1931-1932 total exports of oranges (including some lemons) were 3,631,541 cases although about one third of the orange plantings only were bearing. The plantings of oranges reached its boom in 1929 and 1930, approximating 37,000 acres. Of all the fruits in Palestine, Jaffa oranges were by far the most important and most valuable.[52]

In the year 1939, Palestine was the second largest citrus exporting country. The latest figures for the citrus industry

(47) Carl, Sorensen, *op. cit.,* p. 227.
(48) Whipple, James, *Our Earth and Man, op. cit.,* pp. 206-207.
(49) Whipple, James, *Living on Our Earth, op. cit.,* p. 94.
(50) *Ibid.,* p. 89.
(51) Barrows, Parker, Sorensen, *op. cit.,* p. 310.
(52) Frank Adams, "Palestine Agriculture," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 164 (November, 1932), p. 75.

in Palestine before the creation of Israel showed that it covered 75,000 acres of which the Arabs owned 38,500 acres.[53]

As to the seemingly miraculous development of Palestine by the Zionists the following statistics collected by Lilienthal may give some light:

> Between November, 1948 and June, 1953 the new State of Israel received from this country (U.S.A.) in governmental grants, loans, Point Four assistance and U.S. surplus agricultural commodities some 295 million dollars. This, of course, is over and beyond the more than 600 million dollars contributed by private American sources, and the revenue from the sale of Israel bonds. After the 1950 Washington Conference of Jewish groups, Israel's financial influx from the U.S. for 1950-1953 was set at one billion dollars. This was the aid given a country of 1,600,000 inhabitants, a country of approximately 7,800 square miles, or about three quarters of the size of the state of Vermont.
>
> The Arab countries which surround Israel have a combined area three hundred times as large, and a population thirty times as numerous. From November 1948-June 1953, the governments of Egypt, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Jordan have been given 88 million dollars for economic development by way of U.S. grants, loans and Point Four assistance.[54]
>
> Indeed if a proportionate amount of money had gone into the Arab World, the U.S. would be amazed how much difference some twenty-five billion dollars can make in the 'democratic' posture of the backward countries![55]

In his book, *Who Knows Better Must Say So,* Berger states that he saw the deserts in bloom, the modern cities,

(53) Sakran, *op. cit.,* p. 6.
(54) Lilienthal, *op. cit* p. 154.
(55) *Ibid.,* p. 155.

the irrigation, and drainage projects—"and all the rest which is abundantly projected into American propaganda mills."[56] But he had two reservations about them:

1. They are all matched or surpassed by similar projects in the other countries of the area. This fact does not minimize what exists in Israel. But it does put the lie to the Israeli-Zionist line that Israel is the only hope for progress in the Middle East.

2. The significance of the Israeli accomplishments themselves—without regard to comparison with the rest of the area—is mightily diluted by the fact that Israel is much more of an institution supported by charity than it is a State. Extraordinarily large grants from the United States or United Jewish Appeal, German reparations or bonds, or even capital invested more on a basis of sentiment than hard accounting analyses have supplied the capital.[57]

In her analysis of the Arabs, Mrs. Laurance Bowen, Jr., stated:

> I draw the obvious conclusion that the Arab East and the West could be of great value to each other in counter-balancing character traits and exchanging good qualities. Moreover. it is dangerous and foolish to write a people off. It has been done time after time in the history of the world, always resulting in disaster for the power that made the error. Let's not let it happen to the United States! Let's take a second look.[58]

(56) Berger, *op. cit.,* p. 103.
(57) *Ibid.,* p. 104.
(58) L. Bowen Jr., "An Appreciation of the Arabs," *The Arab World* (October, 1956), p. 8.

The Picture Treatment of the Arab World

Pictures, as is well known, are concrete and interesting. They arrest attention.[59] But in order to make the best use of pictures they must be carefully selected. Certain standards should be held in judging them. Certain questions should be asked, one of which is whether the picture conveys a generally true presentation or a misrepresentation of the idea to be conveyed.

Most important in using pictures is the question of truthful impression. "What proportion of Eskimos live in ice houses? According to Vilhjalmar Steffanson, the noted explorer, surprisingly few, and some Eskimos have never seen one."[60] Pictures of ice huts may be authentic in every detail and show accurately how some Eskimos live, but give the wrong impression as to how *most* Eskimos live. In view of these facts, should such pictures be chosen to be used in a book? Especially is this question important if textbook after textbook used such pictures, omitting almost entirely pictures of the many types of homes, villages and cities in which the Eskimos do live.

Pictures therefore should be selected in terms of their general truthfulness. Are they typical? If not, will they lead to wrong impressions and ideas?

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(59) Edgar Dale, *Audio-Visual Methods in Teaching* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), p. 243.

(60) *Ibid.*, p. 269.

In examining 18 textbooks at random, 202 pictures of the Arab world of today and of Israel were found. They depicted the following areas:

Eighty-two pictures were connected with different phases of Bedouin life. Several times the same picture appeared in more than one book. These pictures included Bedouin homes, towns, and oases; people picking dates from palm trees; camels and camel caravans; a camel with a jeep car, camels with oil refineries for a background; an Arab learning new ways from an American; two Bedouin schools with children seated on the sand as representative of the Arab schools; and one picture of a story teller.

Twenty-one of the 202 pictures showed Arab farm life and farming. Every one of them represented primitive methods of living, farming, or irrigating.

Only 36 of the 202 pictures represented Arab city life, and of these 36, only 7 were about modern cities. Two of these were about modern Cairo, two about Cairo museum, one about modern Damascus, two pictures were of the harbor of Alexandria, one showing an American ship at anchor and the other depicting cotton bales on its docks. The other 29 city pictures were of old sections of cities and backward city life. Cities that were represented other than old sections of Cairo and Damascus were old sections of Baghdad, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, and Nazareth with peasant girls carrying their water jugs on their heads; Jaffa Harbor, and undefined cities.

There were 25 other pictures of Egypt representing the following:

Six pictures of the Suez Canal, 8 of the Aswan Dam, 3 of the pyramids, one air picture of the delta, 5 pictures of sailing boats, one of a train, and one of an automobile party in the desert.

Fifteen pictures supposedly illustrated other phases of present day occupations of the Arabs. Only four of these could be considered ways of earning a living. Two pictures showed hand labor building irrigation ditches in Iraq, four were of Bedouin looms, one of which was described as: "Arab looms, the only kind known in many parts of Iraq." Four pictures were of oil wells or refineries, three of old fashioned stores, one of a native packing station in Algeria, and one of a grain bazaar.

There was one picture of the Mosque of the Rock in Jerusalem, one of the Holy Kaabah in Mecca, and one of the church of the Garden of Gethsemane in Jerusalem.

As to the treatment of Israel or the Jews in Palestine, the pictures presented them thus:

Four pictures of Tel-Aviv, one of mechanized farming, four pictures of cooperative farms, one of a shepherd in the hills of Galilee, two of the wailing wall in Jerusalem, and one of a refugee Jewish family.

The remaining nine pictures in the 202 counted seemed to be used for making comparisons between Jewish ways and

Arab ways. Such pictures were placed on the same pages and included a cooperative Jewish farm and a Bedouin camp; the Hebrew University and an old street in Jerusalem; a modern Jewish tractor and an old Roman well in old Jerusalem being used by Arabs; a Palestinian electric plant with an old street in the city of Hebron and a Bedouin camp in the desert.

It may be of some significance to notice that there was a picture of a Jewish refugee family, while there were none of the 900,000 Arab refugees who have been homeless for almost nine years.

In textbooks other than the eighteen listed, it may be of interest to mention two particular pictures. One is a picture of Prophet Mohammed riding his camel and carrying a sword to spread his religion.[61] Never before had the author of this study seen a picture of Mohammed. The other is of a crude wheel for producing olive oil.[62] This type of wheel is not typical of olive oil wheels in the Arab world.

In conclusion, the pictures, important as they may and should be, seemed to correlate with the text in over-emphasizing Bedouin Arab life, primitive farming life, backward city life, neglect of education, misrepresentation of Islamic religion, and an apparent interest in and sympathy with Israel that did not appear in the case of the Arabs.

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(61) E.W. Pahlow, *Man's Great Adventure* (New York: Ginn and Company, 1949), p. 234.

(62) Whipple, James, *Our Earth and Man, op. cit.,* p. 308.

The Treatment of the Evolution of Arab Nationalism

Some of the textbooks examined seemed to favor foreign domination in the Arab World and objected to the awakening of nationalism in that area. In one book it was stated:

> The growth of a spirit of what we might call nationalism throughout many of the lands occupied by native peoples in Asia and Africa, is sometimes disturbing. France has had to face difficult situations in her North African territories as well as the loss of Indo-China. It is not always clear that native people would be any better off financially or otherwise just because European interests might be overthrown.[63]

In reference to Egypt a textbook included this statement: "... the modern Egyptians, with the help and direction of the British, have provided a marvelous irrigation system."[64]

In the same book it was also stated: "The British have also made Egypt a great cotton country"[65] and that they had helped the Egyptians to develop important manufacturing plants.[66]

Speaking about Egypt in a textbook there appeared this statement:

> Britain has now lost all of its influence in Egypt. A number of the Moslem leaders in Egypt wish the

(63) Pullen, Hughes, *The Making of Today's World* (New York: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1956), p. 732.
(64) George Earl Freidland, *American's World Backgrounds* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), p. 128.
(65) *Ibid.*, p. 129.
(66) *Ibid.*

> British to let Egypt entirely alone and have nothing to say about Egyptian affairs. Perhaps these Moslems forget how many of Egypt's improvements, such as dams, and railroads were made by British plans and mostly with British money. It is natural for a country to wish to run its own affairs and to be completely independent. But it should also be strong enough to defend its own freedom, and wise enough to manage its government well.[67]

In reference to North Africa the authors of one of the textbooks stated:

> The American soldiers found, in the Tell, quaint towns and villages, fertile farms, thrifty vineyards, and fine groves of olive trees and citrus trees. They found many European colonists. The Tell is the home of most of the Europeans in North Africa. Most of the natives are Berbers, Arabs, and Moors.[68]

Then they added:

> The French possessions in Western Africa south of the Sahara are three times as large as those north of the desert. The population, more than 25 million, is also larger. In spite of these facts, the southern colonies are much less valuable to France than the Northern area. Doubtless they always will be less valuable.[69]

The above statement came after the statement that at the present time all the people of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, number nearly 21 million. Nearly a million and a half are Europeans.[70]

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(67) Curtright, Charters, Lefferts, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
(68) Barrows, Parker, Sorensen, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
(69) *Ibid.*, p. 100.
(70) *Ibid.*, p. 92.

From these statements some conclusions may be drawn concerning imperialism. Evidently the Europeans select the good fertile land and improve it for themselves and not for the natives. This might explain why European powers take interest in some particular place, and neglect other places. It might also explain why the natives try to get rid of the Europeans who occupy or "protect" their country by neglecting its people.

Before World War I, the countries which are now known as Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other countries in the Arabian Peninsula, were all one country.[71] Though it was under the Turkish domination, it was enjoying the feeling and security of being one united land. The Arabs hoped to get their independence, therefore agreed to help the Allies by revolting against Turkey during that war. The end of the war in 1918 found the Arab countries entirely free from Turkish rule. But liberation from the Turks did not mean independence. With the exception of the Arabian Peninsula, they were placed under British or French mandate, not as a united whole, but in small subdivisions.[72]

Despite these facts the authors of a textbook stated: "Syria and Lebanon are two countries. They were made two countries because more than one half of the Lebanese Arabs are Christians, while most of the Syrians are Moslems."[73] If

(71) M. Dabbagh, *A Brief History of Palestine* (Amman, Jordan: Ministry of Education, 1956), p. 66.
(72) Sakran, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
(73) N. Carl, F. Sorensen, *Neighbors Across the Sea* (Philadelphia: The John Winston Co., 1954), p. 226.

that were a good reason, what about Palestine, Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan, in all of which the people are mostly Moslems?

The increase of educational opportunities for children and youth in the Arab countries and developments in other fields could lead to the conclusion that the countries have greater development under their own governments than under foreign domination.

In reference to education in Palestine during the British Mandate, Khalil Totah writes that in the year 1930 after an occupation of thirteen years, and after a decade of civil administration, the government stated that "no complete new school has been erected from general revenue since the occupation."[74] Totah stated that this was despite the report of the Directory of Education in which the statement was made in September 1930, places in town schools could be found for only 2,422, viz., 51.18 percent of the applicants.[75]

Totah added: "The Director of Education stated that the shortage of school accommodation was so serious as to make it necessary for the parents and the children who were refused admission to make a demonstration in front of the offices of the governor of Jerusalem.[76]

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(74) Khalil Totah, "Education in Palestine" *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences,* Vol. 164 (November, 1932), p. 155.

(75) *Ibid.*

(76) *Ibid.*

Totah, in his article, stated that in 1930 the average budget for education for the last eight years was 5.51 percent of the total budget. Education expenditure was $750,000, while the police and prison expenditure was $2,379,250.[77]

In 1930, educational opportunities were provided for 19 percent of the Arabs, as Totah stated, while the High Commissioner of Palestine was paid from Palestine revenues, $36,000 per year, and the Director of Education $10,000. Other British officials were paid similar salaries.[78] These figures seemed fabulous to Palestinians. Totah believes that it is doubtful if those officials could have received such salaries in England in 1930.[79]

In closing the discussion on the attempts of Great Britain to provide the Arabs in Palestine with an education, Totah states: "One is reminded of the word attributed to Lord Curzon that an educated native is a nuisance."[80]

Foreign influence resulted in the divided Arab lands, difficult to reunite, the divided Berlin, the divided Jerusalem, the lost Palestine, and the wretched Arab refugees.

It may be significant to include a statement made by the British Royal Institute of International Affairs in a report on textbooks of all nations: "Everywhere one found what one would expect to find, in no country do historians fail to

(77) *Ibid.*
(78) *Ibid.*, p. 162.
(79) *Ibid.*
(80) *Ibid.*, p. 165.

reflect nationalism and to condone their own national policies while condemning those of others."[81]

Apparent Reasons for Misconceptions

Misconceptions seemed to stem from the following:

Inaccurate statements

To clarify this statement it was found necessary to use other illustrations. In several textbooks these inaccurate statements were used: "Plans for piping lines across Arabia to Haifa in Palestine have been made."[82] In another book: "Refineries and tanks at Haifa handle oil brought in by pipe lines in Iraq."[83] In a third book: "In order to ship the oil from the Middle East to other parts of the world, foreign companies have built pipe lines and harbors. One of the most important pipe lines carries the oil to Haifa, Israel on the Mediterranean Sea."[84] In a fourth book: "Haifa at the north almost on the Syrian border is being made into another great port."[85]

But by looking at any modern world map it can be seen that Haifa is almost on the Lebanese border not on the Syrian,

(81) "Preface" *Textbooks Their Examination and Improvement, op. cit.*

(82) R.O. Hughes, C.H.W. Pullen, *Eastern Lands* (New York: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1954), p. 58.

(83) Croyls, Hankins, *op. cit.,* p. 369.

(84) Kolevzon, Heine, *op. cit.,* p. 328.

(85) G. Dawson, E. Tiegs, F. Adams, *Your World and Mine,* (Columbus: Ginn and Co., 1951), p. 305.

and that since 1948 and 1949, there has been no Palestine on the world map.

It should be remembered that Haifa harbor was constructed between the years 1929-1933[86] and not in 1954 when the book *Your World and Mine*[87] was published. It should also be remembered that the oil from the Middle Eastern countries has not been flowing into Haifa since the Arab-Israeli War in 1948.[88]

Other inaccurate statements were about Bethlehem. Authors of one textbook stated that Bethlehem is in Israel,[89] while another book called it "the village of Bethlehem."[90] Bethlehem is still an Arab city in the country of Jordan.[91]

In one of the textbooks examined the statement was made that the Arabic language is the speech used in the Middle East.[93] Certainly there are countries in the Middle East which do not use the Arabic language at all, such as Iran, Pakistan and Turkey.

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(86) "Two Ports in the Public Eye Dunkirk Reopened; and Haifa, Where Jewish Immigrants Are Now Held," *The Illustrated London News* (August 24, 1946), p. 211.

(87) Dawson, Tiegs, Adams, *op. cit.*

(88) "Six Kingdoms of Oil," *Time,* Vol. LIX, No. 9 (March 3, 1952), p. 28.

(89) Kolevzon, Heine, *op. cit.,* p. 296.

(90) Meyer, Hamer, Grisso, *op. cit.,* p. 130.

(91) Maynard Owen Williams, "Pilgrims Follow the Christmas Star" *National Geographic Magazine,* Vol. CII (December, 1952), p. 832.

(92) Curtright, Charters, Lefferets, *op. cit.,* p. 38.

The Arabic language is the language of the Arab World which includes the following: Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Algeria, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Kuwait, and Yemen, all of which are members of the Arab League. Other Arab countries which are non-self governing territories are: Bahrain, Muscat and Oman, and Qatar.[93]

It should be clarified that although most of the Arab countries are Moslem countries, not all Moslems are Arabs.

Incomplete statements

Misconceptions in some cases were created by incomplete statements. Further illustrations could be used. In one textbook it was stated: "The establishment of Israel did not solve the Palestine problem, for many Arabs are still dissatisfied, and numerous problems, including those of boundaries remain to be settled.[94] The establishment of Israel created more problems more serious than boundaries. No reference was made to the fact that having 900,000 Arab refugees still in unsettled conditions is just as important as the boundary problems, if not more. This problem alone is good reason for the dissatisfaction of the Arabs.

Other illustrations found in texts could be given of accounts of how the great developments in Israel were made

(93) *Facts and Figures about the Arab World, op. cit.,* p. 1.

(94) Robert M. Glendenning, Earnest W. Tiegs, Fay Adams, *Your Country and the World* (New York: Ginn and Co., 1954), p. 484.

without any reference to the money from outside sources that had been poured into those developments. In only one textbook examined had there been any statement about the financial assistance upon which Israel has depended. The authors of this book stated:

> But all this has been carried on with aid from outside the country, either as loans to the government of Israel or money from the immigrant relief fund. Even though the farms are modern and prosperous looking, they have not been self-supporting. Their income has not been sufficient to pay their expenses. We cannot be yet sure that good farming methods will make Israel a successful agricultural country.[95]

In reference to Israeli industry the authors of the same book stated:

> Because of the high cost of producing crops, few of Israel's products can be sold in foreign countries. Only the citrus fruits can find a ready market in the world trade unless food prices in the world market are very high. The farms of Israel do not yet provide enough food for the people, and much must be imported.[96]

Despite the great interest in the oil countries of the Arab world, description of the developments of these countries was entirely omitted from some books. However, in one of the books, this statement was found: "Ibn Saud, a native ruler who had exercised authority over much of the region referred to as Saudi Arabia, had been well paid for giving access to this oil to the American company which has gone under the name of Aramco."[97]

(95) Whipple, James, *Our Earth and Man, op. cit.,* p. 208.
(96) *Ibid.*
(97) Pullen, Hughes, *op. cit.,* p. 732.

In another book there was this statement: "Oil exports have made the rulers of these countries very wealthy. Men who formerly were chiefs of poor desert tribes are now receiving thousands of dollars a day from oil companies."[98]

Even when developments in Saudi Arabia were mentioned, full credit was given to the Arabian-American Oil company.[99/100]

In a textbook mentioning the oil of Kuwait, the statement was made that "Like the King of Saudi Arabia, the Sheik of Kuwait receives money for the oil taken from his country."[101]

Omissions

Omissions of important facts, might lead to certain misconceptions. While this study was not intended to be a quantitative analysis of textbooks, at times there seemed to be too little space given to the Arab world in the textbooks examined in comparison to the space given to other countries.

One kind of omission seemed to appear when the authors of a textbook, in speaking about Count Bernadotte in Palestine stated:

> Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, representing the United Nations, tried to bring about peace

(98) Whipple, James, *Our Earth and Man, op. cit.,* p. 198.
(99) Dawson, Tiegs, Adams, *op. cit.,* p. 302.
(100) Lewis Paul Todd, Kenneth S. Cooper, *World Ways* (New York: Silver Burdett Co., 1954), p. 372.
(101) Carl, Sorensen, *op. cit.,* p. 218.

> between contending groups. After he was assassinated, Dr. Ralph Bunch of the United States became the U.N. agent.[102]

No mention was made of what Bernadotte had attempted to do in trying to bring about peace or that he was assassinated by an Israeli.[103] But the same authors of the same book, in reference to the treaty between Jordan and Britain, stated, "King Abdullah was murdered by another Arab in July, 1951 while attending a religious service."[104]

In no textbook was an Arab hero mentioned. If the stories of some well-known heroes were included in some of the history textbooks, children might learn to appreciate Arab history and might understand the Arabic sense of values.

Information not Brought Up-to-date

In some cases the information in textbooks was not kept up-to-date. When a new edition of a textbook was printed, there usually was little or no change in the information about the Arabs. One illustration would be that of *The Old World and Its Gifts*.[105] The first edition was printed in 1938; in the 1952 edition, all the material about the Arabs seemed to be the same as in the 1938 edition. The only change made was that of adding a section on Israel. A similar illustration is to be found in the textbooks *Our World Today—Asia, Latin*

(102) Pullen, Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 733.
(103) Fayez A. Sayegh, *The Record of Israel at the United Nations* (New York: The Arab Information Center, January, 1957), p. 55.
(104) Pullen, Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 733.
(105) Meyer, Hamer, Grisso, *op. cit.*

America, and U.S.[106] and *Neighbors on Our Earth.*[107] In five years between editions of each there was little change in the former and no change from the latter, yet much has been happening in the Arab World during that five-year period.

General Remarks

It is vital to provide the coming generation with a picture of other nations that is, as Luther H. Evans put it, "accurate, balanced, objective and fair."[108] Luther Evans, in discussing the importance of textbooks stated:

> To the teacher the textbooks are, if not the principal source of information, at least an authoritative guide; to the child their printed pages are scientifically accurate and correctly stated truth.[109]

Therefore, constant evaluation and revision of textbooks are essential.

In the preceding pages, concepts which could lead to wrong impressions and faulty ideas about the Arabs have been discussed. But it is important to state in concluding this chapter that there were some textbooks that attempted to present more accurate information and to have a more objective attitude than others. Authors of some textbooks for instance,

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(106) Forest Stull, Roy W. Hatch, *Our World Today—Asia, Latin America, and United States* (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1943, and 1948).

(107) Gertrude Whipple, James E. Preston, *Neighbors on Our Earth* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955).

(108) Luther H. Evans, *Preface of Textbooks, Their Examination and Improvement, op. cit.,* p. 1.

(109) *Ibid.*

spoke of the contributions of the Moslems to the World.[110] One book observed that "Arabs did not object to Jews living in Palestine. They objected to the Jewish aim of creating a Jewish state in Palestine."[111]

It should be noted that it was not always true that the information in the newer textbooks was more accurate than older ones. Two books published in the early thirties and a book in the late forties, for instance, appeared to have more objective and accurate information than some of the books published in the fifties.

Finally ,in closing this chapter the following statement by Luther Evans of the Library of Congress seems appropriate.

In discussing the importance of textbooks in forming attitudes, he wrote:

> Textbooks can be the seed of an eventual harvest of international understanding and friendship by the presentation of facts qualitatively and quantitatively correct and in proper prospect; but they can also be the seed to a crop of misunderstanding, hate and contempt among natives and toward other ways of life by the presentation, as facts, of unqualified, unbalanced, and inaccurate statements.[112]

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(110) R. Cordier, F. Robert, *History of World People* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1949), p. 161.

(111) *Ibid.*, p. 175.

(112) Luther H. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Comments from fellow students and other Americans first made the author aware of certain misconceptions held in the United States about the Arab World. Visits to classrooms in many communities in which children were studying about the Arab countries confirmed her belief that there must be inadequacies in the textbooks used in the schools.

Since it is essential to the welfare of the whole world that every nation have an accurate understanding about other nations, it seemed imperative to try to evaluate the textbooks children are using in studying about other countries. Since a study concerning all textbooks in all countries would have been too extensive a problem and could not have been undertaken by one person, it was decided to limit this study to an examination of textbooks for American children dealing with the Arab world.

In order to make the evaluation of these books as accurate as possible, it was essential that information considered authentic be used to document the findings. By checking these books against documentary material it was found that misconceptions about the Arabs do exist in certain textbooks. The term "misconception," as used in this study, refers to omissions, distorted information, insufficient relevant facts, and inaccurate statements. Misconceptions about the Arab world created by the material in the 55 textbooks are due to the following reasons:

1. The desert, nomadic, or Bedouin life in most cases dominated the whole picture of Arabs and over-balanced all other phases of Arab life. This was true of both textual material and photographic illustrations.

2. Primitive conditions were over-emphasized in textbooks that dealt with farming and the farmer's life. Little effort seemed to be made to report any of the many new developments.

3. "Backwardness" was stressed in textbooks, which dealt with Arab city and village life. Omission of any evidence of modernization of city life was true of most of the textbooks.

4. Education in the Arab world, when mentioned, was misrepresented. In most textbooks, however, it was neglected.

5. Islam seemed to be misunderstood and therefore misrepresented. Some textbooks stressed the war-like characteristics of Islam and omitted almost entirely its philosophy and basic beliefs.

6. In textbooks that deal with Palestine before 1948, and Israel, after it was created, there seemed to be evidence of propaganda for and sympathy with Israel which did not appear in the case of the Arab World.

7. Pictures did not give an accurate representation of Arab life and of the efforts for progress in the Arab

countries. Although some pictures were authentic as isolated individual pictures, they did not give a balanced, well-rounded idea of the Arab World.

8. There was evidence of biased treatment of the natural rise of Arab Nationalism and Arabs' desire for independence. This could lead to the conclusion that textbooks were based on materials written by Europeans.

Misconceptions in the above areas seemed to stem from the following:

1. Inaccurate statements.
2. Misleading statements.
3. Incomplete statements which led, at times, to wrong impressions.
4. Omissions of important facts about the Arabs and about famous characters in Arab history.
5. Information that in many cases was not brought up-to-date in new editions of textbooks.

The causes of the inadequacies in textbooks for children seemed to be a result of lack of real understanding of the Arabs, their cultures, their customs, their problems, and their values. This may be due to the following:

1. Isolation of the United States which for a long time had little interest in understanding the rest of the world.

2. Difficulty and expense of travel to Arab lands.

3. Difficulty in obtaining adequate data.

4. Measuring civilization and backwardness from an American or European point of view or acceptance of the thesis that anyone who differs in development from the author is backward.

5. Imperialistic and Zionist propaganda.

6. The effort to create interest by stressing differences from American ways, by omitting similarities, by pointing out the picturesque and the spectacular.

7. Too few Arabs in this country interested in helping bring about better understanding.

8. Reports of travelers who have preconceived ideas and who in many cases, seem to see only what they want to see. This could lead to the conclusion that textbook authors failed to recognize cultural implications of the countries concerned.

However, it is of great importance to mention that occasionally objective statements were included that seemed to be lost in the presentation of the total material. There were also a few authors who seemed to have tried to present objective material.

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