The Politics of the Rise and Fall of the Association of the Arab American University
Graduates

by

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Abstract

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) came into existence in 1967 as a response to the negative portrayals of the Arabs in the U.S media. The establishment of the Association was a crucial and significant move by a group of U.S.-based young scholars, professors and intellectuals of Arab origin to challenge all forms of stereotyping and disinformation about Arabs. It was optimal timing to start such an association as it was at the peak of the U.S. civil rights movement, and intellectuals and scholars were eager to challenge and write about racism and other human rights movements including nationalist movements. As both American-born and immigrant Arabs were harmed by media distortions, the AAUG's main goals were to bring young university graduates together, integrate their knowledge and expertise, challenge and combat bigotry, and most importantly, educate and inform the American public. By utilizing archival material and scholarly literature, this thesis analyzes the reasons behind the rise and fall of the AAUG since its establishment in 1967 till dissolution in 2007. Key findings are advanced theoretically by adopting Edward Said's anti-colonialist and anti-racist framework as established in *Orientalism*, alongside the unity and solidarity of Third Worldism, and the significance of human interdependence for preventing human suffering advocated by care ethics in the work of Fiona Robinson. In this research, I argue that the AAUG's weakening and demise was gradually influenced first by the fall of pan-Arabism in the Arab world, which was caused by a series of events in the region. Many of the Association's prominent members, and other organizations that were financially supporting the Association, were influenced by fragmented politics of their home countries that led them to cease funding the AAUG, and hence affected the functioning of the organization. Second, it was caused by the U.S.'s pro-Israel domestic and foreign policies which had intensified in Israel's favor through each Arab/Israeli conflict or event. Although the AAUG dissolved in 2007, it left a lasting

legacy to a new generation of civil society movements. This will be shown by the discussion of the resistance of the new generation of civil society movements in the Arab world which embraced the Palestinian activism as well as resisted against the oppression and corruption of their state leaders, as witnessed during the Arab Spring. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated by the discussion of the rise of the new transnational civil society movements such as BDS movement and its supporters from all over the world.

To My Family

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

Topic Background and Thesis Statement:

For its entire history, racial stereotyping has been ingrained in the fabric of the U.S. It has been a common aspect of American culture since the days of American slavery. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Black people were regarded by the white majority as unevolved, apelike, and inferior (Plous and Williams, 1995). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, racial stereotyping had also been experienced by other groups, mainly the new migrant labourers to the U.S. (Bicha, 1982). Those newly arrived migrant groups included Irish, Italians, and eastern European Jews. Each of those groups were stereotyped as having undesirable features. For example, the Irish were described as drinkers and the Italians were described as Mafia members or "Mafiosi" (Butera, 2001). Prevalent stereotypes about the Jews were that they had hooked noses, that they controlled the world's money, and were business-oriented (Chang and Keliner, 2003). Other groups who also suffered from negative racial stereotypes in the U.S. were Asian Americans and Latinos. Asian Americans were described as clannish and Latinos as emotional (Butera, 2001).

Racial stereotypes are mainly caused by a system that has a deeply embedded racism, and this racism provides the rationale for ranking the groups in society. This ranking is controlled by a dominant group that disempowers and devalues (Other) racial groups in society who are considered to be inferior (Other). This control gives the dominant group the power to develop negative beliefs and attitudes towards the (Other) inferior group(s), and hence the Other ends up being treated in a discriminatory way by both individuals and social institutions within society (Williams, 2018).

Arab Americans and Arabs in the U.S. had also been subjected to negative stereotypes by being characterized as terrorists, irrational fanatics, liars, cheats, etc. Those negative stereotypes have their roots in the 18th and 19th century European colonial stereotypes of

Eastern people (understood as Oriental/Other), which characterized Arabs as a backward, heathen population and sexualized Eastern women as living in harems (Nelson, 2015).

As stated by Karel Bicha, "Stereotypes fulfilled, and continue to fulfill, distinct purposes" (Bicha, 1982, 17). Those purposes might be economic, social, and political. The economic and social, for example, are used to degrade certain racial groups, and hence exclude them from the societal and economic opportunities that exist in the community (Williams, 2018). The political might be an outcome of a war or a conflict, and hence it paints the Other racial group as less human by imbuing them with negative characteristics that would justify their discrimination and exclusion (Najjar, 2000).

The utilization of negative stereotypes for political purposes had been the case with Arabs in the Arab world as well as Arabs in the diaspora after the 1967 war. After the 1967 war, massive attention was given to Arabs in mainstream American media, as shown by Edward Said's study *Orientalism*. Generally, portrayals of Arabs reflected negative stereotypes and racist imagery (Said, 1978, 283). Israeli attacks were portrayed by Israel as acts of self-defense, and claimed Israel as the victim representing wisdom and civilization, which had no choice because it was surrounded by enemy Arab states who wanted to destroy it. The Arabs and Palestinians, on the other hand, were portrayed as terrorists and were associated with the most inhumane characteristics and derogatory stereotypes such as being barbaric, filthy, fanatical and uncivilized (Trice, 1979). Essentially, for the most part, the American media had been driven by pro-Israeli politics in the U.S. rather than by accuracy and truth. This narrowed the imagination and corrupted the vision of Americans toward the Arabs (Starck, 2009).

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) came into existence in 1967 as a response to the negative portrayals of the Arabs in the U.S media. The establishment of the Association was a crucial and significant move by a group of U.S.-based

young scholars, professors and intellectuals of Arab origin to challenge all forms of stereotyping and disinformation about Arabs. It was optimal timing to start such an association as it was at the peak of the U.S. civil rights movement, and intellectuals and scholars were eager to challenge and write about racism and other human rights movements including nationalist movements. As both American-born and immigrant Arabs were harmed by media distortions, the AAUG's main goals were to bring young university graduates together, integrate their knowledge and expertise, challenge and combat bigotry, and most importantly, educate and inform the American public (Abu-Laban, 2007).

Essentially, AAUG's main goal was to be a unique and revolutionary organization that would provide the American public with accurate and objective information about Arabs in terms of their culture, history, and politics. This was to counter problematic, stereotypical, and Orientalist imageries. The main ways it did this included encouraging scholarly writing, publications, and teach-ins, and organizing conferences and trips to the Middle East for select groups and individuals (Jabara, 2007). The Association established its own printing press to challenge the mainstream media; it gave an arena to both marginalized Arabs (the "Orient") and non-Arab Americans to publish alternative narratives which challenged those of the dominant media of the "Occident" (Suleiman, 2007). The Association tried to engage with American policymakers and elevate its position in American mainstream discourse in terms of media, ads, editorials, and letters (Pennock, 2017).

The early formation of the AAUG coincided with the heyday of Pan-Arabism, which propelled the AAUG to defend the rights of both the Arab-American community and the whole Arab world. It worked as well to create good relations and connections between American nationals and nationals of other Arab states. Most importantly, it aimed to establish a community of interest among both Arab-American university graduates and Arab-American professionals. The contacts of the AAUG in the Arab World encompassed

academics, community-based organizations, and activists from the UAE, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, Kuwait, and some areas of North Africa. Hence, the AAUG was in a distinctive position from other discipline-based and professional organizations in the U.S. at the time (Abu-Laban, 2007). The reason behind this was that it emphasized including a set of assumptions concerning the global community in a multidisciplinary manner through its efforts in building a transnational collective identity that would support other anti-imperialist movements around the globe (Khan, 2018).

Therefore, the AAUG was unique in the concept of oneness. The organization focused on the rights of Arabs and the Palestinian cause; however, it also challenged other cases of colonialism, imperialism, and racism. The organization refused to limit its concerns to matters and subjects that only affected Arab-Americans, and succeeded in creating a transnational collective identity by actions supporting South Asians, Latin Americans, Africans, and Black Americans. This was shown during the organization's scholarly conventions which were inclusive of political activists and invited established scholars from all over the world. In these conventions, and even within publications by the AAUG, the organization highlighted the connections and commonalities between anti-imperial movements all over the world. Thus, it reemphasized and underlined the importance and power of transnational solidarity (Khan, 2018).

Most of the members of the organization were involved in demonstrations against apartheid in South Africa. Also, members protested and argued for civil rights for African Americans. The reason behind this solidarity was the belief in the commonality of the Third World and its racialized members who had been subject to "dehumanization." This solidarity affected and benefitted the marginalized groups (Khan, 2018).

The AAUG's resistance was framed not only as an Arab issue, but as a humanitarian and a Third Worldist one. The issue belonged to all backgrounds as it was a moment and an

era where there was a connection among people experiencing oppression around the world. It was a popular moment for anti-war mobilization, with the Vietnam war as its greatest example. The common suffering propelled solidarity among all social movements calling for social justice whether for the Arab world or for other suffering peoples (Odeh, 2018).

However, the AAUG's witnessed its weakening and demise gradually by the fall of pan-Arabism in the Arab world, which was caused by a series of events in the region. Many of the Association's prominent members, and other organizations that were financially supporting the Association, were influenced by fragmented politics of their home countries that led them to cease funding the AAUG, and hence affected the functioning of the organization. Second, it was caused by the U.S.'s pro-Israel domestic and foreign policies which had intensified in Israel's favor through each Arab/Israeli conflict or event.

Hence, as an overview discussion for Pan-Arabism, since its establishment, the AAUG adopted the values of Pan-Arabism that excluded any sectarian or national identification (Suleiman, 2007). It was essentially the most avowedly secular and Pan-Arab foundation among the other Arab American political entities in the 1960s and the 1970s (Pennock, 2017). The values of Pan-Arabism had their roots in historical Syria (modern day Lebanon) in the late 1800s when Syria and Palestine began to aspire to a free Arab nation independent of Ottoman tutelage. Those values of Pan-Arabism were formulated by intellectuals, who in 1860 conceptualized an independent "Arab Fatherland" that would unite Jews, Christians, and Muslims and who aimed to create an independent Arab nation extending from the Suez Canal to the Persian Gulf. In the early 20th century, pan-Arab ideas became very popular in the Arab armies, especially those in Syria and Iraq, which mainly consisted of members drawn from the newly risen middle class who resented the elite politicians and their linkages to the colonial powers (Addi, 2018). In Egypt in the 1920s and 1930s, many Egyptians, mainly from the Egyptian opposition, advocated for Pan-Arabism;

they were either politicians (many were members of the Liberal Constitutional Party) or intellectuals who reflected their Pan-Arabist ideas in political articles or in their own personal writings (Dawn, 1988).

Hence, since Pan-Arab ideas rejected foreign domination, they were adopted by the nationalist movements in the Arab world during the period of decolonization with the aim of creating a unified Arab front against the colonial powers in the region. This was shown, for example, in the nationalist movements that participated in the Arab Revolt (1937-1939) which were supported by many Arab states (Fieldhouse, 2006). Another example was the Socialist Ba'ath Party in Syria in 1947, which held anti-colonial views and advocated for a united Arab nation (Addi, 2018). Furthermore, the Free Officers Movement in Egypt in 1952 aimed to end British occupation in the region and adopted the core values of Pan-Arabism (Farrukh, 1964). One of the members of the movement was Gamal Abdel Nasser, who later became the president of Egypt and the central proponent of Pan-Arabism (Dakhlallah, 2012). In addition, in Algeria in 1954, the National Liberation Front (FLN) fought against the French occupation and called for Arab and Muslim solidarity (Rabasa et al., 2007).

The Arab League, also known as the Pan-Arab League, was established in 1945 (Singh, 1965). It was based on the ideas of the independence and unity of the Arab world that were embedded in pan-Arabism (Hourani, 1947). The League focused not only on the freedom and independence of its member states or the Arab states more generally, but also on advocating for and creating solidarity with non-Arab states and movements that were struggling to achieve their rights and independence (Singh, 1965). The League's ideologies of unity, solidarity, and anti-imperialism which were prevalent at the time acted as inspirations to many of the post-colonial movements in the region and overseas. In the Arab world, for example, they were embraced by the New Leftists which included the Palestinian Fida'yin, the Tricontinental Movement, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

(PFLP), the Organization of Lebanese Socialists, and others. The New Leftists rejected the idea of national borders, because for them national borders were fluid. This led to the creation of cross-national alliances that called for solidarity and anti-imperialism (Haugbolle, 2017).

In the U.S., the Third World perspective that had been embraced by the League had also been embraced by some of the leftist Black movements. This was reflected in the Black post-colonial movements that supported Arab issues including the Palestinian struggle and connected their own struggles with those of the Arab world. Examples of these movements were the Black Power movement, the Nation of Islam, The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Black Caucus, The Black Panther Party, and others. The League's position toward the Black American and African movements was one of support for their struggles; it considered that the struggle for freedom and dignity was common to both Arabs and Africans, which made all the League's members support the African countries in their struggle for freedom, dignity, fairness, and equality as they aimed for the same goals for the Arab states.[1]

In sum, starting from the 1960s, there was a global emergence of civil society movements, many inspired by the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and global anti-imperial and anti-colonial struggles. Many of those movements proclaimed solidarity with other minorities and related movements across the world. The basis of solidarity among those movements was their unity against war, colonialism, imperialism and racism that contributed to marginalization and oppression. The activism of those movements, and their support of each other's goals and demands, was demonstrated in North America until the end of the 1980s. The AAUG was the first Arab-American Association to focus on Arab issues in North

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[1] Arab League. (1990). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its ninety-third ordinary session*, page 85.

America as well as in the Arab world and to build a transnational collective identity in solidarity with other marginalized Third World movements around the globe (Khan, 2018). This had been demonstrated by its cooperation with and support for Arab intellectuals as well as other Arab North American organizations. Furthermore, this was reflected in its solidarity with and support of Third World leftist movements, leaders, and intellectuals in the U.S. and around the globe. The 1960s and 1970s basically witnessed a profound atmosphere of solidarity among several social movements around the world. For the AAUG, those decades were its golden era where the Association propelled solidarity among all social movements calling for social justice, whether for the Arab world or for other suffering peoples (Odeh, 2018).

Although the Arab League and the AAUG were both influenced by the values of Pan-Arabism, the League's main and major difference from the AAUG was its statist character. Its statist and hierarchical character exposed its members to be more directly influenced by the changing global political and economic order that forced the states to follow their interests and leave care behind. However, the case with the AAUG as an organization consisting of intellectuals enabled it to have a more rigid and stable base for the sustainability of a caring environment that is in the most part free of any direct international pressure.

After decades of unity, solidarity, and consensus among Arab states following the values of pan-Arabism under the umbrella of the Arab League, Egypt, which was considered the leader of Arab unity, signed the Camp David Accords with Israel in 1978. The signing of the Accords by Egypt shocked the other Arab states and broke the trust and brotherly relations that had existed in the region for a long time. Although after the Camp David Accords, the League tried to encourage the Arab states to abide by the values of Pan-Arabism, the member states had already lost trust in each other and in the sense of mutual responsibility that they previously respected. Hence, conflicts and disputes took over the

region, which posed severe challenges for the League. The self-interest of Arab states took precedence over the previously existing unity and cooperation. This had been shown in a series of conflicts and events such as the First Gulf War (1980), the Second Gulf War (1990) the Lebanese Civil War (1982), and other events which will be thoroughly discussed in the following chapters. Therefore, that time of unity, solidarity, responsibility, and care in the Association did not last forever. The pan-Arabism that the AAUG embraced as one of its primary ideologies was declining in the Arab world. Hence, most of the members of the Association were influenced by the politics and events taking place in their home countries, which caused controversies between members in the Association and led to many of them leaving the Association. Another major reason for the Association's decline was the pro-Israel U.S. domestic and foreign policies that were in a process of intensification and acted as a major challenge to the practices and the effectiveness of the Association.

As an overview for the other major reason of the Association's decline, U.S. foreign and domestic policies had been supportive of the project of establishing a Jewish state in historic Palestine even before the establishment of Israel in 1948. After 1948, one of the major methods supported by Israel to direct pro-Israel U.S. foreign and domestic policy was the Israel lobby. The Israel lobby had pressured Congress members and their staff to support Israel and represent it in a positive light, free mostly from any criticism. In the executive branch, the Israel lobby contributed large campaign donations to candidates in both the Republican and Democratic parties. The Israel lobby also worked to mold pro-Israel U.S. foreign policy by ensuring that critics of Israel did not earn important foreign policy positions, so that U.S. foreign policy would support Israel's interests (Mearsheimer and Walt, 2006). This influence was demonstrated in several ways, including for example by the U.S.'s support for Israel during the 1967 Arab/Israeli conflict, whether in the large-scale aid that Israel received or in Israel's support in U.S. public opinion. The influence of the Israel lobby

also extended to the mainstream media, which portrayed Israel as the hero and the Arabs as villains using a negative, stereotypical, and Orientalist discourse (Bennett, 2014). Those defamatory imageries of Arabs led not only to their exclusion from politics but also to their harassment by the government, often as subjects of surveillance. Pro-Israeli groups also imposed pressures on movements and organizations in the U.S. that supported the Palestinian cause, by cutting funds or donations that they had previously provided (Fischbach, 2018). The effect of this influence was also reflected in the U.S.'s stance toward the Arab League supported boycott of Israel; in the U.S., several anti-boycott laws and acts were introduced to challenge the boycott, as well as a lot of U.S. governmental pressure on the Arab states to normalize relations with Israel.

The influence of pro-Israeli politics in the U.S. extended to the media and had its roots in the early part of the 20th century when Jewish organizations and activists started working with Congress. In 1922, for instance, a joint congressional resolution was initiated to call for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. In the 1920s, the media coverage in the major newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *Times* tended to condemn Arab Muslims and Christians of Palestine and sympathized with the political idea of Zionism (Christison, 1997, 50). In the 1940s, the pro-Zionist lobby, which was advocating the political idea of Zionism, grew to one million members and gained strong support from a huge segment of the U.S. politicians as well as the media in terms of movies, radio, and newspapers. During advancement the UN Partition Plan in 1948, the press turned out to be genuinely pro-Israeli (Christison, 1997, 54). Since the 1967 war, there was an intensification of support for Israel in the U.S. especially among the evangelicals who were on the right wing. This support was based on the evangelicals' negative views of the Arabs, who turned to the Soviet Union during the Cold War; for example, as Egypt's turning to the Soviets for arms during the 1956 Suez Crisis (Mead, 2008, 42). Hence, post 1967, this opened a way for the Israeli lobby for

turning American public opinion and shaping policies to be more in favor of Israel. The success behind this control and influence was largely due to the absence of any kind of Arab interest groups in comparison to the existence of those of Israel. For the most part, this allowed Israel to portray itself in the media in a positive light in comparison to the states and societies of the Arabs, and to be genuinely free from any criticism. American support escalated following each conflict in the Middle East, and served to make Israel's aggression immune from any criticism by either the U.S. government or the American public (John Mearsheimer and Stephan Walt, 2006).

The U.S. pro-Israeli politics acted as domestic factors that challenged the safety, security, and rights of Arabs in the diaspora. Many of the activists who were members of Arab American organizations were targeted and harassed by the government, which affected the operation and functioning of those organizations. Furthermore, many of those organizations received threats full of discriminatory and stereotyping language, in some cases escalating to assassinations.[2] For example, some of the prominent members of the AAUG had been subject to federal harassment and interrogation during Operation Boulder (1972) (Pennock, 2017). This anti-Arab prejudice, combined with the influence of the Israel lobby, led to the exclusion of Arab Americans from the political process. The exclusion and defamation of Arab Americans led to their inability to influence prominent elite officials. This made it easier for pro-Israeli groups to sway U.S. public opinion and foreign policy to be pro-Israel without any threat of opposition (Samhan, 1987). Furthermore, it acted as a barrier to Arab Americans to creating an Arab lobby that would challenge the influence of the dominant Israel lobby, as well as silencing their voices and infringing their basic rights and liberties.

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[2] ADC. (1985). *Don't Let Terrorism Spread Into America* [Document]. Eastern Michigan University. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

My research question is what domestic and international factors challenged the AAUG in fighting anti-racism and in supporting Palestinian human rights? My overarching argument is that both *the fall of Pan-Arabism in the Arab world and the U.S.'s pro-Israel domestic and foreign policies acted as international and domestic factors that led to the weakening and fall of the AAUG*. My main aim is to trace the political climate in the U.S. and Arab world from the 1940s to the 1990s, the exploration of which would clarify the historical and current inequalities and injustices that the Arab Americans and other marginalized groups (eg. Black Americans) have been experiencing. This would help those who are discriminated against and stereotyped to bring change and unity. Furthermore, my goal is to demonstrate the significance of unity and solidarity embedded in Pan-Arabism during its heyday, and how its rise and fall affected the Arab Americans. Without these concepts and acts, all humankind will suffer due to the fact of the interconnectiveness and relationality of human beings. Shireen Abu Akleh, a Palestinian-American journalist working with Al Jazeera, was assassinated by an Israeli sniper in Jenin on the morning of May 11, 2022. Abu Akleh dedicated her life to journalism and to covering the brutality of the Israeli occupation throughout a career spanning two decades (Lynch, 2022). Her vision resided in the back of my mind as a huge motivation before I began my research. Abu Akleh once stated: "Maybe it's not easy for me to change the reality, but I was at least able to deliver that sound to the world" (Al Jazeera Channel, May 11). This is also the main goal behind my research. Hence, throughout my research, I will be adopting the critique of orientalism advanced in *Orientalism* by Edward Said, the anti-colonial and anti-racist approach in Third Worldism that advanced the unity and solidarity of the Third Worldist movements, associations and governments from the 1940s to the 1980s, and the importance of human interdependence in Ethics of Care by Fiona Robinson as my theoretical frameworks. These theoretical frameworks will help me demonstrate the roots of stereotypes and injustices that Arabs and

Arab-born immigrants experience, will support me in understanding the reasons behind the solidarity and unity as well as the disunity and fragmentations of the diverse movements and organizations that I will be covering, and will allow me to demonstrate the importance of the interdependence of all humankind for human survival and prosperity.

Theoretical Framework:

In order to understand anti-racism and the roots of stereotypes in my research, I will first describe the framework that I will be utilizing and adopting. Specifically, I will be using Edward Said's anti-colonialist and anti-racist theoretical framework advanced *in Orientalism*. Said's Orientalism shows the power dynamics and the relationship of domination by the Occident (Western and European people) over the Orient (Asians, North Africans and Middle Eastern people). It is a relationship of European-Atlantic power over the Orient, whose origins are traced back through various imbalanced power relationships—whether political power, as with the colonial and imperial establishment, or moral power, as with the civilized and powerful "Us" vs the uncivilized and weak "Them" (Said, 1978).

Orientalism has been structured and re-structured within a web of racism, political imperialism, dehumanizing ideologies, and cultural stereotypes. This is seen in the justification given by colonial powers to the colonized—namely, that they have supposedly superior knowledge and capacities in comparison to the backward and incapable colonized. For instance, in the case of Egypt as discussed by Said, it was seen by the British to be in the best interests of Egypt to be occupied, as the British knew Egyptians better than Egyptians knew themselves; in other words, it was in the best interests of the "subject race: occupied: Orient" to be dominated by the "dominant race: Europeans: Occident" who will bring them out of their backwardness and wretchedness. Arabs/Orientals had been depicted as cunning, lying, unkind, and anything contrary to the nobility, clarity, directness, peacefulness, logic, rationality, and values of the "Anglo-Saxon race" (Said, 1978). Orientalist generalizations

13

used by the Occident were embedded in and demonstrated by scientific statements such as the claims by Ernest Renan of the inability of the Orient to reach the levels of knowledge and superiority of the Occident (Said, 1978, 149).

The Orientalist biases that were embedded and regularized in Western literature formed the basis of the Western empire until it became, effectively, a system of truths. These truths were aided by pressures that drew on and normalized the differences between the European and the Oriental, and hence became racist, imperialist, and ethnocentric (Said, 1978).

Many Western ideas of Oriental inequality and backwardness in the early 19th century were associated with supposed biological difference or racial inequality. These theses underlined the scientific divisions between races on the basis of Darwinism by dividing races into advanced "Occident" and backward "Orient," and were used by the pro-imperialists to justify the right to occupy and rule the uncivilized. The uncivilized "Orient" came to be seen not as a group of individuals but as problems to be solved, a subject race that should be subjected (Said, 1978).

Despite the change of world superpowers after World War II from Britain and France to the United States, the web of interests that were based in Orientalism from the colonial powers persisted. Arabs and Muslims continued to be characterized in stereotypical and defamatory ways, especially after the wars of 1967 and 1973. Arabs were seen as disrupters by the West and Israel. They were dehumanized and, as in the Palestinian case, their history was taken from them (Said, 1978).

The European Jewish position changed from being an oppressed group during Nazism by the Europeans/Occidentals to being heroes. On the other hand, Arabs and Muslims were depicted as bloodthirsty, oversexed, irrational, and homicidal, and chained to the destiny that was created for them by the Orientalist polemic. As mentioned by Said, Emmett Tyrrell

argued in a 1976 article in Harper's magazine called "Chimera in the Middle East" that Arabs are naturally violent murderers, traits that are purportedly carried in their genes (Said, 1978, 287). Arabs were seen as less developed and their resistance to oppression has been perceived as savagery and terrorism. "Good Arabs" are those who are considered obedient, and who accept their inferiority under Israeli superiority. Arabs have been dehumanized as racially inferior, and are hence viewed as mere biological beings who are culturally, politically, and institutionally nil (Said, 1978).

Therefore, since my research focuses on the AAUG's anti-racism initiatives for Arabs and the tactics used to internalize the alienation, oppression, and defamatory images of Arab people, I will adopt Said's anti-racist and anti-colonialist framework advanced in Orientalism.

I will also be adopting Third Wordlism to this work. The theory of Third Worldism is essentially advocating for a united front by the national liberation struggles in the face of the hegemonist and imperialist superpowers as well as the growing inequality in the global economy (Muni, 1979). Third Worldism's history can be traced back to the times of colonialism and anti-colonial nationalism that existed in the early 20th century. However, the consolidation of the idea had been grounded during and post the period of decolonization and national liberation movements, which is post 1945. Hence, the idea of Third Worldism is usually traced back in literature during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Third Worlidism started by aiming to generate unity and support amongst nation states and emergent nationalist groups of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Arab world. Moreover, it condemned all forms of colonialism whether Western colonialism by the European powers, Eastern colonialism by the Soviet Union's occupation of Eastern Europe, or lastly informal colonialism which was existing in the United States' neocolonialism. The first generation of Third Worldism (1940s-1950s) symbolized their moment of arrival at the 1955 Bandung

meeting, which was attended by the newly risen decolonized states and the nationalist movements of Africa and Asia (Berger, 2004). The key figures that attended the Bandung meeting were Sukarno, President of Indonesia (1945-65), Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India (1947-64), Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of Egypt (1954-70), Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (1954-69), Kwame Nkrumah, the future Prime Minister of Ghana, (1957-66) and Zhou Enlai, Prime Minister (1949-76) and Foreign Minister (1949-58) of the People's Republic of China. Additionally, the meeting was attended by newly risen nationalist movements in Africa and Asia, and it included observers from African-American organizations and Greek Cypriot (Berger, 2004, 12). The advocates of Third Worldism at the time linked it to the different forms of Pan-Africanism, Pan-Americanism and Pan-Arabism as well as to national liberation (Berger, 2004).

Gamal Abdel Nasser was a significant figure of the first-generation Bandung regime. Nasser was the main advocate for Pan-Arabism and the wider Third Worldism in the Middle East. He advocated for united and liberated Arab, Islamic and African nation-states. The vehicle of influence that Nasser used in the Middle East for his ideas was the Arab League. In Nasser's times, the Arab League for the most part had been advocating and promoting the cultural, technical and economic unity amongst the peoples and governments of the Arab world. Furthermore, the League had been supporting the liberation of the Palestinians and the liberation of the other colonized nations in Africa and the Arab world (Berger, 2004).

The second generation (1960s-1970s) was a continuation of the ideas and activities of the anti-colonial nationalists, who worked to romanticize the traditions and cultures of their communities in the pre-colonial era. The 1970s was the golden age of Third Wordism, it was considered the 'Triumph of Third Worldism'. The 1970s witnessed the rise of several new rulers who adopted the Third Worldist tone. This generation was focusing on the cultural and technical co-operation between the movements and governments of Asia and Africa.

Furthermore, it advocated for attaining self-determination and human rights of peoples and nations (Berger, 2004). The third generation of Third Worldism (1980s) entered a period of decline by the decline of the Cold War. The decline was also mainly caused by the rise of contradictions and conflicts in the process of decolonization that were influenced by the changing order of the global economic order as well as by the feeling of the some of the movements, governments and commentators with the loss of the relevance of Third Worldism in this new order (Berger, 2004). This decline was reflected in the Arab League, especially after the Arab League's headquarters moved from Cairo to Tunis under Anwar Al Sadat's rule (Berger, 2004, 17).

Although Third Worldism had been an ideology about the Third World and of the Third World by its aim to assert the humanity of the oppressed, colonized and previously colonized people, it still inspired the solidarity of millions of peoples in the advanced capitalist countries, which ended up in advancing and promoting the concept of revolutionary internationalism (Nash, 2003). Revolutionary internationalism was witnessed in a golden era that was full of building links of solidarity, engaging in collective actions, exchanging ideas, and developing common resources across the globe's borders and amongst different backgrounds (Nash, 2003, 96). It was a kind of collective challenge in the face of the globe's inequalities and injustices. The support from the West had been mainly from the New Leftists, who aimed to be in solidarity with the liberation struggles of the Third World. This was heavily influenced by the manifesto of Third Worldism, Frantz Fanon. Fanon mentioned that the struggle of freedom wouldn't be achieved except if it took place on a global stage. For Fanon, global solidarity was the leeway for freedom. Fanon's conception of freedom was the freedom of the oppressed, the freedom for those who sought equality and the freedom of the outcast (Nash, 2003, 99). This had been a diverse definition of freedom that attracted the attention of the anti-colonial movements and the liberation movements from the U.S. to

China, which aimed to collectively resist the colonial and capitalist-imperialist systems of oppression as well as the racialized colonial division of humanity. Hence, unity and solidarity here meant joining together and sharing tactics in order to advance their shared global struggle and differentiated struggles (Nash, 2003).

The main reasons behind my adoption of Third Worldism is its reflection to the concepts of unity and solidarity that I will be tackling in my discussion of Pan-Arabism that was adopted by the Arab League, anti-colonial movements, post-colonial movements and most importantly the Association of Arab American University Graduates (AAUG). These concepts reflect the characteristics on which the AAUG and other organizations and social movements were based. The AAUG was built on the idea of sharing tactics, resources and information with other social movements and figures across the world in order to resist racism, colonialism, oppression, injustices and inequalities. This was also shown in their support of Palestinian rights, Arab rights, and all other racially marginalized groups' rights. Furthermore, what was unique about the AAUG was that it promoted, through acts of support and solidarity, the rights of other oppressed groups such as South Asians, Latin Americans, African Americans, South Africans and other Third World racialized members (Khan, 2018). By the fall of the last wave of Third Worldism in the 1980s due to the rise of contradictions and conflicts in the process of decolonization, this was reflected in the demise of the AAUG and the Arab League by their influence of the changing and controversial global and domestic politics at the time.

According to the unfortunate reasons of the demise and fall of the atmosphere of unity and solidarity of Third Worldism in the 1980s, this made me keen to draw and extrapolate from Fiona Robinson's Ethics of Care the idea of the significance of interdependence. Robinson's Ethics of Care emphasizes how the responsibilities of humans towards each other are important for attaining their basic human security. According to Robinson, the ethics of

care defines the self as relational. In Robinson's words, "the self has no separate, essential core but, rather, becomes a 'self' through relations with others" (Robinson, 4, 2011). Hence, an ethics of care approach claims that relations of interdependence and dependence are fundamental features of human existence (Robinson, 2011). The necessity for mutual solidarity as the one that was found in Third Worldism is traced back to the importance of the interconnectedness of each human being, as well as social solidarity and consensus building. Ignoring these necessary factors results in human suffering. The fact of the interconnectedness and relationality of all human beings makes their unity, solidarity, care, and responsibility to each other's suffering lead to their survival and endurance. This contributes to my research's discussions of the chaos, conflicts and sufferings that are going to be demonstrated to be outcomes to the decline of the Third Worldist's unity and solidarity during the 1980s.

Methodology:

My methodology for the research is primarily based on qualitative research. I use the archives of the Arab League which are covering the League's meetings from 1967 to 2007. The League's archives are in Arabic and I translated them into English. They are archival materials about meetings at the Arab League's headquarters in Cairo and in Tunisia. They show the rise and fall of Pan-Arabism, the actions of the Arab countries towards Arabs in the diaspora, and the position of the Arab World within other global movements that were similarly striving for rights and freedoms. More specifically, they cover the League's position during the peak of Pan-Arabism and they show the member states' acts of solidarity and unity at the time. In addition, they demonstrate the League's position during the fall of Pan-Arabism by discussing the rise of conflicts and disunity in the Arab world during the meetings, which had their negative implications on the Arabs in diaspora. Furthermore, they disclose the League's position and relationship with the Arabs in diaspora by demonstrating

the concerns and the acts of support of the League's members to them. In addition, they thoroughly discuss the League's stance with anti-colonial and anti-racist movements and groups around the globe, which reflects in what way the League adopted the Third Worldist character that was prevalent at the time. The utilization of these documents helped me to observe the reasons that led to the rise and decline of the Association by linking the challenges, conflicts, and events that took place in the Arab world to their implications on the Association. Furthermore, they helped me to observe the League's persistence on its members' unity and solidarity even after the fall of Pan-Arabism as well as its incitement on its members' solidarity with other oppressed and marginalized non-Arab groups around the globe. Moreover, they helped to detect the League's position and stance towards the U.S. pro-Israel foreign and domestic policy.

Arabs have a long history in Michigan, which started by the arrival of the first wave of Lebanese and Syrian Christians, Iraqis, Yemenis and Palestinians who came for seeking employment in Detroit in the early 20th century. The second wave arrived during the middle of the 20th century and it mainly contained Palestinian refugees. The third wave arrived from 1967 till the 1990s and was mainly consistent of Yemenis and Lebanese who escaped the civil wars and Palestinian refugees (Hassoun, 2005). In 1952, the Organization of Arab Students (OAS) was formed in Ann Arbor, Michigan. OAS was one of the first Arab leftist activism in Michigan that was radicalized post 1967 as a reaction to the Arabs' defeat in the war and a challenge to the American policies which they viewed as an uneven handed at the time (Pennock, 2017). I use the archives concerning the AAUG which are covering the period from 1971 to 1989 and are housed in the Eastern Michigan University Archives, which had a long history of Arab leftist activism. The materials illuminate the context, aims, and goals of both the AAUG and its interface with Arab states. These were found in the organization's conventions, conferences, and correspondence. Furthermore, the archival

materials include organizations affiliated with the AAUG, which showed both the influence that the AAUG had on these organizations and the challenges those organizations faced as well. The material also shows the context, aims, and goals of those organizations and movements that were similar to the AAUG in an era when advocating for civil rights and mutual solidarity was at its peak. Most importantly, the archival materials include the AAUG's publications and its Newsletter, occasional papers, Arab World Issues, and special reports that reflected the stances of the members in each major event that took place in the Arab World and might have had an effect on the fragmentation of the organization. The archives helped me to observe the acts of solidarity between the Arab American organizations including AAUG, and other marginalized groups, movements, organizations and individuals in North America and around the globe. Most importantly, they helped me to observe the implications of the conflicts and controversial events in the Arab world on the Arabs in diaspora as well as the implications of the U.S. discriminative domestic policies on ethnic minority groups.

Additionally, I used secondary sources including books and journal articles. Many of these were published by the Association's members, former presidents, and scholars and are available at the University of Alberta's library. This includes their journal, *Arab Studies Quarterly*, which includes several retrospective issues by the Association's formal presidents and prominent members that were published in 2007, in the year of the Association's dissolution. Mostly, they are discussing the weaknesses and strengths of the Association since its establishment in 1967 till dissolution in 2007. They helped me to observe the Association's practices and activities during the golden age of Pan-Arabism with the unity and solidarity of its members, as well as its practices and activities during the fall of Pan-Arabism with the fragmentation and disunity of its members from a firsthand account. Hence, this helped me to tackle the kind of international and domestic factors that led to decline of

the Association through time. Other journals and books by prominent scholars helped me to uncover the domestic and transnational solidarity amongst marginalized groups in the U.S., and the oppressive conditions that Arabs and other marginalized groups were experiencing under the racist and discriminative domestic policies in the United States.

Chapter Breakdown:

In Chapter Two, I mainly discuss the rise and fall of Pan-Arabism. I will also discuss decolonization and the role of post-colonial movements at the time with demonstrating their transnational Third Worldist unity and solidarity that connected the Global North with the Global South. Furthermore, I will examine the historical background of the Arab League and its actions towards the Palestinian issue. Lastly, I will address the differences of the Arab League as an inter-regional organization from the European Union (EU). I argue that Pan-Arabism declined after the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1978, when the Arab states' particularistic interests prevailed over their goals of consensus, solidarity, and unity. This led to the rise of conflicts, enmity, and instability in the region that still exist in a continuous process today. By the fall of Pan-Arabism after Camp David, each of the following controversial events in the Arab world acted as an international factor that worsened the fragmentation and disunity between those of Arab origin in the diaspora after a period of unity and solidarity among them. Additionality, I argue that the anti-colonial movements and the post-colonial movements witnessed a period of solidarity among different groups due to the resonance of the Third World ideology at the time. Lastly, I argue that the failure of the Arab League to be a cohesive and unified supranational organization—as is the case of the European Union which has proved to be a success—was solidified by the prevalence of particularistic and individualistic politics amongst the Arab states over the principles of Arabism. The particularistic and individualistic politics that the Arab states

adopted not only negatively affected the people of the Arab world, but also those who held the values and principles of Arabism in the diaspora.

In Chapter Three, I address the Arab League's status during the rise and fall of Pan-Arabism. I will discuss the Arab states' boycott of Israel and the position/opinion of the Arab League in this changing process. Most importantly, I discuss the role that U.S. pressure had on the Arab states' boycott of Israel. I argue that the Arab League had been trying to maintain the valued principles of Pan-Arabism in the area, but after losing the sense of trust and mutual responsibility that member states had previously adopted, they began to focus exclusively on their own interests. This was shown through the League's condemnations of the Camp David Accords (1978), the First Gulf War (1980), the Lebanese Civil War (1982), the Second Gulf War (1990), the Somalian Civil War (1991), the Bahraini/Qatari dispute over Al Jinan Island (2001), the Sudanese Civil War (2002), the American Invasion of Iraq (2003), and Israeli aggression on Arab lands and terrorism in the region throughout the years. Each of those events had increasingly damaging effects on Arabs in the diaspora, either by the controversies affecting their disunity or by their harassment and discrimination in the U.S. as people from an Arabic background.

In addition, I argue that the loosening and abandonment of the Arab boycott of Israel was caused by U.S. pressure on the Arab states, which shifted the boycott from a state based boycott to a civil society one. This was caused by the influence of the Israel lobby and think tanks on U.S. foreign and domestic policies, which turned them to Israel's advantage. This was also reflected in the U.S. Aid Programme to Israel which supported Israel's economy and made Israel the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid, in the ongoing U.S. anti-boycott legislative actions throughout the years, and in the Congressional acts which criticized the boycott. These were all domestic factors showing the extent of pro-Israel politics in the U.S. that negatively affected Arabs and those of Arab origins in the diaspora. U.S. pressure was

also shown by the government giving aid to Arab states on the condition that they normalize relations with Israel, which led to either the loosening or the abandonment of those states' boycotts of Israel. As the Arab normalizations led to fragmentations and faced resistance from populations in the Arab world, they also had the same implications on Arabs and those of Arab origin in the diaspora.

In Chapter Four, I discuss the process of fighting stereotypes about Arabs during the period of independence. I also examine other anti-racist and anti-imperialist organizations in North America which adopted practices and goals similar to those of the AAUG. In addition, the AAUG and how changes in Pan-Arabism affected its operation, by looking at the politics in the Middle East since the establishment of the AAUG in 1967 until its dissolution in 2007. Lastly, the practices and goals of the new generation of civil society movements. I argue that the Orientalist stereotypes that were embedded in U.S. politics acted as a major domestic challenge by positioning the Arabs and those of Arab origin in North America in a status of alienation and inferiority. Orientalist stereotypes had been in a process of intensification in the U.S. after the 1967 Arab/Israeli conflict. Since 1967, stereotypes were embedded in the U.S. media in a pro-Israel biased manner. They were used as a tool for anti-Arab prejudice, and they are still in existence today; organizations such as the ADC and others continue to challenge the distorted imageries and the unjust treatment of Arabs and those of Arab origin in the U.S. Furthermore, I argue that there had been an atmosphere of great care, responsibility, and unity among the anti-racist and anti-colonialist organizations from the 1960s to the 1980s in North America, but this was challenged by factors including the U.S.'s pro-Israel foreign and domestic policies that were reflected in the media and literature. Black American solidarity with the Palestinian cause had almost faded away with the decline of Third World activism and also faced Israeli pressure which cut off donations and funds from pro-Israeli groups to Black pro-Palestine groups. However, since those with Arab origins

were and still are subject to stereotyping and harassment, they continue to advocate for both the Palestinian cause and their rights in the U.S. and Canada.

Mostly importantly, I will argue that although the AAUG achieved many successes—whether by its solidarity with other marginalized groups, by lifting the morale and confidence of Arab Americans or by creating the *Arab Studies Quarterly*, which is the leading journal in its field—its weakening and demise were caused by the influence of its members and by the international factor of the unstable and fragmented politics in the Middle East. This international factor included political struggles related to the Camp David Accords (1978), the Lebanese Civil War (1982), the Second Gulf War (1990), and the Oslo Agreement (1990), which all caused controversies among the members of the Association and led to the departure of many prominent members who were the source of funds to the organization. Additionally, many of the other organizations, either based in the Arab world or domestically in the U.S., were affected by those controversies, and ceased to fund the organization. These were all factors that paralyzed the practices that the organization previously performed during its golden age in the 1960s and 1970s.

Furthermore, I will argue that the U.S.'s pro-Israel policies acted as a domestic factor in weakening the AAUG. The domestic factors that affected the functioning of the organization were caused by Israeli pressures on the domestic policies of the U.S. through the Israel lobby and think tanks which led to the alienation and exclusion of those of Arab origin from direct participation in politics. Furthermore, they embedded the Orientalist stereotypes of both Arabs and those with Arab origins which deemed them as extremists and hence exposed them to federal harassment and anti-Arab prejudice, as witnessed in Operation Boulder (1972).

Lastly, I argue that the practices and goals of civil society movements are a continuation of the path and the goals of the AAUG by their focus on the Palestinian cause

and Arab issues. Civil society movements started initially as domestic movements in the Arab world to challenge both their states' authoritative politics and normalizations with Israel. They were later expanded into transnational movements in the Arab world, Europe, North America, and other parts of the world. Their efforts and agenda were shown during the Arab Spring and they are ongoing today.

In Chapter Five, I will conclude by summarizing my findings which have been indicated throughout the covered chapters, and discussing future research that might be conducted on my topic.

The significance of this research to Political Science lies in illuminating and discovering the external and internal dimensions of AAUG's political engagement in North America and beyond, as well as how anti-racism strategies were forged from the establishment of the AAUG in 1967 until its dissolution in 2007. This would explain the reasons behind the evolution and change in both the treatment and perception of the Arab world and Arab-Americans from the lens of the United States, North America in general, and Western countries by looking deeper into the development and the effects of Orientalist practices. It would also elucidate the grounds that led to the subjugation of the Arabs and Arab Americans in diaspora in several cases.

Looking for the international and domestic factors that caused the weakening and decline of the AAUG, would unveil both the unjust pro-Israel U.S. Middle East foreign policy as well as the discriminatory and racist U.S. domestic policies and practices exercised on Arabs and Arab Americans in diaspora.

Consequently, raising awareness of this topic on a global level would help people whose image has been distorted and deformed for several decades, and who have been suppressed and alienated unjustly so that they are no longer deprived of their human rights, fundamental freedoms, and security.

Most importantly, by illuminating the oppressive and suppressive factors and dimensions, other groups with experiences could relate to the same process which would encourage and promote solidarity and the Third Worldist's principles against the systematic dimensions of racism and alienation on a global scale. Accordingly, this would not only challenge the racist politics against Arab people, but also those against other oppressed and alienated groups around the globe.

Chapter Two: Pan-Arabism, Anti-colonial Struggles and the Foundation of the Arab League

Introduction:

The first section in this chapter will cover the history of the rise of Pan-Arabism from the 19th century in the Arab world through the theories of Arab scholars and thinkers until its implementation in the 20th century in politics by Arab leaders. It will also address the gradual decline of Pan-Arabism with the rise of enmity and conflicts in the Middle East until its demise after the Camp David Accords in 1978. I will also tackle the history and role of the Arab nationalist movements in the decolonization process in the Middle East. In the following section, I discuss post-colonial movements in the Middle East, which adopted pan-Arabism as their primary ideology. I also cover the New Leftists, who were influenced by many ideas of pan-Arabism. The rise of Islamist post-colonial movements and their role in the region will be also addressed. I will also discuss the relations and solidarity of post-colonial movements in the Middle East with other Global South post-colonial movements and Black movements in the United States. Lastly, I will discuss the position and role of the Arab League towards post-colonial movements outside the region. Tackling the history of both the process of decolonization and the post-colonial movements, will provide the reader with the origins of the pan-Arab and anti-colonial stances that were born during the period of decolonization and were later adopted by the post-colonial movements and became subject to change by the rise of challenging domestic and international factors. Additionally, I will cover the history of the Arab League by investigating the history of Arab nationalism and Arab unity in the region, and the role of the colonial powers (Britain and France) in the Middle East. It will also tackle the rise of pan-Arabism and its influence on unifying the founding members from a hodgepodge of Arab states in the early 20th century. Following this, I will cover the role and position of the Arab League in supporting the Palestinian cause

since the Arab League's establishment by drawing information from scholarly articles and the annual meetings of the Council of the League of Arab States from 1967 to 2007. In addition, I will explain the differences between the composition and structure of the Arab League and the European Union (EU) while discussing the historical conditions of both regional organizations that led to their establishment. Discussing the history and structure of both the EU and the Arab League will demonstrate the role and position of the predominance of sovereignty in both regional organizations that were subject to change by the change of politics and ideologies over time, and hence affected the effectiveness of both organizations differently. This will specifically include how sovereignty prevailed over the interdependence and unity of the Arab states, and hence affected the functioning of the Arab League as a unified and supranational regional organization in comparison to the EU.

In this chapter, I will argue that Pan-Arabism witnessed its fall after the signing of Camp David Accords in 1978, and since then the Arab states' particularistic interests prevailed over their goals of consensus, solidarity and unity, which led to the rise of conflicts, enmity and instabilities in the region that still exist. By the fall of Pan-Arabism after Camp David, each of the following controversial events in the Arab world acted as an international factor that worsened the fragmentation and disunity amongst those of Arab origins in diaspora after a period of unity and solidarity between them. Furthermore, I will be arguing that the anti-colonial movements and the post-colonial movements witnessed a period of solidarity amongst different groups due to the resonance of the Third Worldism at the time. Lastly, I will be arguing that the failure of the Arab League to be a cohesive and unified supranational organization as in the case of the European Union which was proved to be a success, was solidified after the prevalence of the particularistic and individualistic politics amongst the Arab states over the principles of Arabism. The particularistic and individualistic

politics that the Arab states adopted didn't only negatively affect the people of the Arab world, but it also affected those who held the values and principles of Arabism in diaspora.

Rise and Fall of Pan-Arabism:

Rise of Pan-Arabism

> The Arab nationalist awakening is rooted in strong cultural ties. The rich heritage of the Arabic language, the memory of several centuries of Arab cultural predominance in the Mediterranean world along with the strong bond of Islamic religion provided a common historical tradition, which contributed to the feeling of the oneness of the Arab peoples. The desire of the Arabs for political unity and independence is a natural and inevitable expression of that fact. (Aziz, 1956, 59).

Arabism was an expression of Arab resistance against foreign domination. It started in historical Syria (modern day Lebanon) in the late 1800s when Syria and Palestine experienced a rise of aspirations that aimed for a free Arab nation independent of the Ottoman tutelage. Those ideas were formulated by intellectuals such as Butros El Bustani, from what is today Syria, who in 1860 conceptualized an independent "Arab Fatherland" that would unite Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Another example was Najib Azoury, from Mount Lebanon, who aimed for an independent Arab Nation extending from the Suez Canal to the Persian Gulf (Addi, 2018). In the 1860s there was also the rise of quasi-secular Arab nationalism in Syria and Lebanon; these were people who aimed for an Arab national revival, who saw greatness and glory in Arab history, and who felt that its decline was caused by the bigotry and fanaticism of the Ottoman domination. One of the main advocates of this movement was Ibrahim al-Yajizi, who was of the view that Arab unity would renew their former great civilization (Dawn, 1961).

By the end of the 19th century, Pan-Arab nationalism grew parallel to the rise of the Young Turks who rejected the idea of Arabness, which led many Arabs to feel alienated from the Turks. The dominant view in the British and French culture at the time supported the Arabs to attain their ambitions in the region and get rid of the Ottomans (Addi, 2018).

By the outbreak of World War One, both the French and British backed the Arab nationalist demands against the Ottomans. This was shown in the Arab Revolt of 1916 headed by Sharif Hussein who followed the idea of Arab ethno-nationalism. The British promised him that they would help to create an independent Arab Caliphate from the Gulf to Sinai, including the Arabian Peninsula. Hussein was immensely popular with Arabs — with Muslim Arabs due to his position as the guardian of the Holy Places and with the Arab secular nationalists due to his appeals to Arab ethno-nationalism. However, Hussein's caliphate did not last long due to the establishment of the Sykes-Picot agreement in which the British and French divided the Arab world between themselves. Hussein felt betrayed by the British, but the British created two monarchies for both of his sons in Iraq and Transjordan (Addi, 2018). Another major instance after World War I by the Hashimites was shown at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 when Amir Faisal stressed the independence of the Arab-speaking individuals of Asia and the necessity of their unity by referring to the cohesion of their culture, geography, and economy (Baqai, 1946).

However, between the two World Wars, the Arab nationalists felt betrayed by the British due to the Sykes-Picot Agreement as well as the British promises in the Balfour Declaration (1917) which was overseen by the League of Nations to the Jews of Europe to create a Jewish national home in Palestine, given that Palestinian Muslims and Christians were the majority living there. During this time, there was also an intensified activism by Pan-Arab nationalist intellectuals. A great example was Sati Al Husri, who had his own culturalist vision of the nation as an organic body joined together by a common language and a shared past. Al Husri dreamed of an Arab empire from the *Mashreq* to the *Maghrib* (which is from Arab countries located between the Mediterranean Sea and Iran to the Western part of North Africa). Al Husri's ideas were very influential in Egypt, specifically with Egyptian writers who believed that Egypt had a historic role in the destiny of the Arab world. This

influence was an outcome of his conferences attended in Egypt and the books that he published there (Addi, 2018). Al Husri's ideas reflected that identity was the factor that destined the creation of a state rather than the state being destined to create a new identity, and in this case the identity was found in a common language and a shared history (Rubin, 1991). Al Husri was also appointed by Amir Faisal as his Minister of Education in Iraq, which was a move that greatly disseminated the idea of Arab unity in colleges and schools in Iraq (Masalha, 1991).

Michel Aflaq and Zaki al Arsuzi in Syria were heavily influenced by the ideas of Al Husri. Aflaq was the cofounder of the Socialist Ba'ath Party, "Ba'ath" meaning the resurrection of the Arabic language and a united Arab nation. The Ba'ath Party's Arab nationalist ideas became very popular in the Arab armies, especially those in Syria and Iraq which mainly consisted of the newly risen middle class who resented the elite politicians and their linkages to the colonial powers (Addi, 2018).

Other major Arab nationalist authors in the 1920s and 1930s whose publications and works were used as history textbooks in the schools of Iraq, Palestine, and Syria were 'Umar Salih Al-Barghuti, Khalil Tuta, Muhammad 'Izzat Darwaza and Darwish al-Miqdadi. Those authors' publications strongly influenced the rise of Pan-Arab thought from elementary to secondary schools in those regions. They mainly addressed the history of Palestine in *T'arikh filastin*, the history of the Arab Umma in *Ta'rikh al-umma-al-'arabiyya* and the early Arab history *Durus al-ta'rikh al-'arabi min aqdam al-asmina ila alan* (Dawn, 1988).

Egypt offered a friendly and welcoming environment for the Syrian intellectuals who promoted Arabism, especially after the First World War. Most of the Egyptians who advocated for Arabism in the 1920s and 1930s were from the Egyptian opposition; they were either politicians (many were members of the Liberal Constitutional Party) or intellectuals

who reflected their Pan-Arabist ideas in political articles or in their own personal writings (Dawn, 1988).

After the Egyptian Revolution of July 23, 1952, Egypt became dominated by an atmosphere of Arab nationalism in both its culture and politics. The aims of the revolution were to end corruption and social injustice in Egypt, but the other major motives were anger over the defeat in Palestine in 1948 and the will to end British occupation in the region (Farrukh, 1964). Even before Nasser's rule, the first Egyptian president, Muhammad Naguib, stated on the radio program Voice of the Arabs that:

> Egypt has one clear and unequivocal policy, to support actively the unity of the Arabs so that they can face aggression, injustice and subjugation as one man .... [It] calls on the Arabs to stand in one rank in [the] face of imperialism .... [and] to obtain with their own money and to make for themselves arms which will repulse aggression, and to maintain peace and justice. (Bishku, 1988, 50).

Gamal Abdel Nasser, the new Egyptian president, fully adopted the ideology of anti-Western domination, aimed to liberate Palestine, and unite the Arab world (Addi, 2018). Nasser's ideology affirmed the three core values of Pan-Arabism: Arab unity, anti-Zionism (understood as the settler-colonial project of Israel), and anti-imperialism. This was shown by the decision of Egypt to fight the European powers during the 1956 Tripartite Aggression under Nasser and when Egypt united with Syria to establish the United Arab Republic from 1958 to 1961 (Doran, 2006). The victory of Egypt in the Tripartite Aggression had played a very significant role in Middle Eastern leadership. Although Pan-Arabism as shown above had existed and been vibrant in the Middle Eastern countries and Egypt since the 19th century, Nasser was largely the champion of Pan-Arabism in its implementation. Nasser took advantage of the geo-strategic importance of Egypt in the Middle East and made use of it to lead and advance Pan-Arabism (Awan, 2017). Nasser reflected the language of Pan-Arabism in his speeches by referring to Egypt as a "member of the great Arab entity" and by referring to the Arabs as "one nation" (Awan, 2017, 117). Since Nasser believed that Arab unity was

the only weapon with which to fight foreign imperialism in the Arab world, all other Arab states were inspired by his ideas, followed his footsteps, and embraced his propagation of Arab unity (Jillani, 1991).

Nasser's popularity attracted many sympathizers. This was demonstrated in 1958 when five members from the Syrian army, who had the same Pan-Arabic and anti-imperialistic ideological goals as Nasser, talked to him about merging Syria and Egypt. Following those talks, on 22 February, 1958, Egypt and Syria became one state with one army and one party under the name of the United Arab Republic (UAR). Following this, on 8 March, 1958, Yemen signed a pact with the United Arab Republic and became connected to it in a federation called the United Arab States. After fourteen days of Syrian/Egyptian unity, Iraq and Jordan also merged into a federation called the Arab Federation that lasted for six months. The UAR, on the other hand, dissolved on 28 September, 1961, due to the centralization of Egyptian political leadership by Nasser that many Ba'athists opposed. Four months later, Yemen was likewise expelled from its federation with the UAR (Awan, 2017).

Fall of Pan-Arabism

The separation of Egypt and Syria certainly had wounding but not fatal effects on the spirit of Arabism in the region (Farrukh, 1964). Also, although the Arab defeat in the 1967 war caused a major rupture in Pan-Arabism, the theory remained popular among the leftist movements and intellectuals dispersed in the Arab world and its diaspora. The real fatal blow, however, was arguably witnessed in Sadat's pursuit of Egypt's national interest and agreement with the Camp David Accords in 1978 with the United States and Israel. This normalization with Israel broke from the key articulated elements of pan-Arabism under Nasser. As stated by the Egyptian journalist Heikal, "nothing had been more damaging to the search for Arab unity than the Camp David Agreement" (Sirriyeh, 2000, 58). Furthermore, Professor William Quandt, professor of Political Science at the University of Virginia and a

participant in the negotiations, described the Accords as ruining the strategic balance of the Arab world by "Saddam {Hussein of Iraq} aggressively pretending to be the new Nasser."(Al Jazeera, 2008 March 30). He also described the Accords as the final blow to Arab nationalism (Al Jazeera, 2008 March 30). The Accords devasted the principle of consensus which was a highly valued and embraced principle in Arab politics. Most importantly, they led to the expulsion of Egypt from the Arab League, which was considered the guardian of Pan-Arabism (Sirriyeh, 2000).

Since the Palestinian question was the nucleus of Pan-Arabism, one of the damaging effects of the Accords was that they failed to include a resolution on the Palestinian question and only focused on Egyptian national interests. All of the events following Camp David proved the failure and disillusionment of the Accords which aimed for a wider Middle Eastern settlement but ignore a just resolution to the Palestinian issue. Sadat was blamed for the successive attacks on Syria and Lebanon by Israel due to his particularism to perceived Egyptian national interests, which led him to fail to consider Syria and Lebanon during the negotiations. After signing the Accords, Israel annexed East Jerusalem, extended its rule to the Golan Heights, and intensified its civilian presence through settlements in Gaza and the West Bank. Egypt, on the other hand, recovered Sinai but lost its leadership and the trust of the rest of the Arab states (Quandt, 1986). The recovery of Sinai was viewed by the Arab states as being traded by Egypt for the legitimization of Israeli control in other occupied territories and was viewed by many of the Egyptian people as a public humiliation. Hence, the whole Arab world, and even the Egyptian people themselves, felt betrayed by the Egyptian government after entrusting it with the leadership of the Pan-Arab movement (Green, 1984). Egyptians' disappointment in their government was shown by the Egyptian Foreign Minister Mohamed Kamel when he commented on the eventual assassination of Sadat by saying: "Had you been here when Sadat was assassinated you would have been

astonished, because Sadat has a very popular image abroad as a man of peace, but here the reaction was nil. Nobody bothered or cared. People thought that this is somebody who fooled them and gave a lot without getting anything tangible in return" (cited in Green, 1984, 156).

Moreover, the reaction of some Arab states after the signing of the Accords reflected the new atmosphere of enmity that took over the Middle East. For example, on December 5, 1978, Syria, Libya, Algeria, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) signed the charter of the Tripoli Conference, which condemned Sadat's "high treason." Saudi Arabia also condemned Sadat for breaking the previously unified Arab Front, for not consulting the Saudi government before his visit to Jerusalem, and for praying in the Al-Aqsa mosque, which was an act that legitimized the Israeli occupation in Jerusalem and over one of the most holy Muslim religious sites. Jordan also refused to support Sadat to avoid any action that would be considered as "selling out" the Palestinian cause (Steven Rosen and Francis Fukuyama, 1979).

The particularism of the national interests that began with the shock of Sadat's signing the Camp David Accords was followed by devastating events and conflicts in the region that reflected the new atmosphere that took over Arab states in the wider region. It was the beginning of the promotion of national interests and the states' particularistic patriotism '*wataniyyah*' over the goal of consensus, solidarity, and Pan-Arabism '*qawmiyyah*' (Manduchi, 2017). As Patrizia Manduchi says:

> The debate on the causes of the decline and fall of Arab nationalism, as Owen rightly summed up, became heated starting from the 1980s, at the time of the decline of the ideology. In his interpretation, while the Arab regimes were reinforcing their political power, especially from the 1970s on, it became more and more difficult to defend an idea of pan-Arabism that was not merely the theoretical principle of solidarity and cooperation. (Manduchi, 2017, 30).

Therefore, following Camp David, the politics of the Arab states became more particularistic and focused on national interest. This was also shown by Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, which led to basically no Arab action or interference to end it (Sirriyeh,

2000), even despite grotesque massacres in Sabra and Shatila. This was also true in the Iran-Iraq War in 1980, which caused major instability in the region by Iraq following its "national interests," and most importantly, by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1991, which led to the Gulf War and many other inter-Arab conflicts that completely devastated the earlier valued notions of Pan-Arabism (Manduchi, 2017). Nevertheless, before the devastating fall of Pan-Arabism and during the rise of Third Worldism, emerging Arab states had to contend with a history of imperial rule and power as reflected in the Mandate system of the League of Nations after World War One. This history made decolonization which was the predominant factor to the anti-imperialist stance of the post-colonial movements central to the experience and politics of Arab states.

Decolonization:

The Mandate System in 1918 classified the Arab territories as "A" Mandates. The "A" Mandates treated the independence of the Arab regions under Britain and France to be provisionally recognized under the judgement of the Mandatory powers (Britain and France), until they were satisfied that those mandated territories could stand alone as independent states. Lebanon and Syria were under the administration and assistance of France, and Iraq and Palestine, including Transjordan, were under the assistance and administration of Britain. Henri Simon, the minister of the British colonies once stated that there is "no difference between a colony … [and a] mandated area." (Kanya-Forstner, 2000, 243). Post-World War One, the period which historians refer to as the start of decolonization, the pressures of the war on the colonial subjects as their recruitments during the war, the intensification in the production which exploited a lot of labor and supplies from the colonies, and the rise in the prices of essential commodities and food put the British and French, in the eyes of their colonies, in a very dangerous situation. This led to the rise of nationalist movements against the colonial powers, such as the 1919 protests led by Saad Zaghloul in Egypt, the Iraqi Revolt

in 1920, and the Great Syrian Revolt in 1925. The British and French were able to suppress those nationalist movements, with the British going for some compromises such as the abrogation of the Egyptians protectorate in 1922, and the French abusively suppressing any uprising as in 1925 Insurrection in Damascus. However, as Sir Harry Johnston, the British proconsul in Central and East Africa stated in 1919, this was the "beginning of revolt against the White man's supremacy" (Kanya-Forstner, 2000, 254).

The French colonial administrator Robert Delavignette described decolonization and the nationalist movements as sudden and powerful. In his words "They shot up like volcanic Lava" (Betts, 2012, 24). The resistance to the colonial powers did not stop by their attempts of suppression; it kept growing with resentment from the nationalists. Britain and France lost their status as "Great Powers" as an outcome of being drained in the two World Wars and from the rising resistances from the people in their colonies (Betts, 2012).

Syrian nationalism had been a developing process from the Great Rebellion of 1925 to the radical nationalist activities from 1933 to 1936 to the rise of the National Bloc nationalist party, which fought for independence from the French until Syria earned its full independence in 1946. In Lebanon, the rise of the nationalist movements against the French occupation started from 1936, with different religious groups such as Najjada by the Muslims and Kataib by the Maronites. Due to the colonial pressures, those groups kept meeting and organizing in private and came into the open again after the independence in 1943 and the full French evacuation in 1946 (Fieldhouse, 2006). The Levant Crisis in May 1945 was the straw that broke the camel's back in Syria and Lebanon. It was three weeks of violent attacks by the French on Syria and Beirut. The French bombarded the main quarters of Damascus and there were from 400 to 700 individuals from the Levant who lost their lives, which led the French to use mass graves. Following this, after the nationalists' pressures and Britain's

hidden efforts to disturb the French's control over the Levant, the final French evacuation from Syria and Lebanon was completed by April 1946 (Thomas, 2000).

The Anglo-French Declaration of 7 November 1918 promised the Arabs self-determination. In addition, the promise of the recognition of "independent nations" which was in article 22 of the League of Nations was supposedly to apply to Palestine too. The White Paper promised that Palestine would not be a Jewish state, Jewish immigration would be controlled by the British and the immigration rate would be limited to "economic absorptive capacity." The British assigned Haj Amin Al-Husayni as the Great Mufti in 1921 which was an unusual title that made British success unlikely. Al-Husayni was active in anti-Zionist riots of 1920. He escaped to Syria after he was condemned to 10 years imprisonment but was back in the position as the Grand Mufti in 1921 by pardon. The pardon did not stop Al-Husayni and the nationalists from their activism. In 1929, the Arabs initiated the Wailing Wall riots, which ended in violence and the killing of 133 Jews and 116 Arabs. In 1936, the Arabs staged a general strike that was intended to last until the British carried out the Arab demands in full. Furthermore, the Arabs were in revolt from 1937 to 1939 and that was supported from other Arab states; yet, many of them were imprisoned and the British turned a blind eye to the rise and actions of the illegal and violent Jewish Haganah organization. During the crisis of 1947-1948, the Arabs in Palestine were divided into several factions and along with the failure of the Arab states that they depended on to protect them, it made it harder for them to cope with the crisis. While the internal weakness of the Arabs might have acted as a dilemma that made it harder for them to cope with the crises, the main and the more important reason was the determination of the British to block them (Fieldhouse, 2006).

France also attempted to block decolonial efforts. The anti-colonial struggle in Algeria known as the "First Algerian War" started in 1954 by the National Liberation Front (FLN). The FLN used guerilla strategies under the name of a legitimate struggle for

independence from the French. The rebels had been using the strategies of targeting police posts, public utilities, warehouses, and security force installations. Furthermore, it targeted civilian-centric soft venues and high-ranking officials in the colonial administration. The FLN kept carrying out a wave of highly bloody attacks until Algeria reached its independence in 1962 (Rabasa et. al, 2007). The decolonization in Morocco was achieved by the connections of the Istiqlali nationalist leaders with members of the French anti-colonial French left, who aided them to reach their independence. The Istiqlal party was founded in 1944 to demand full independence. The party targeted Western "brokers" to be their spokesmen for independence in the West. In 1949, they met with Rom Landau, a British citizen with Polish-German origins who had a great reputation and charisma amongst the Western states. Landau helped them to send their calls for independence to the British and American by publishing journals and giving talks at private clubs, universities, and think tanks which attracted the interests of several major figures. The Istiqlal party played on both the domestic and international pressures to convince the French government to abandon Morocco until they reached their independence in 1956 (Stenner, 2012).

The attempts of decolonization in Egypt started from the Urabi Revolt (1872-1882) that were broad national grievances that attempted the Egyptian political independence from the Ottoman and British empires. Influenced by Woodrow Wilson's rhetoric of self-determination after World War One, Egyptian nationalists led by Sa'ad Zaghloul carried out the 1919 Revolution. Following this, the Wafd Party in the 1930s continued Zaghloul's demands for independence. Throughout the 1940s, Egypt was continuously witnessing nationalist demonstrations. In 1952, Egypt nationalism attained new heights by experiencing full-scale anti-British demonstrations and a coup d'état that ousted King Farouk by the Free Officers. Gamal Abdel Nasser, a member of the Free Officers and the leader of Pan-Arabism, held the presidency after Egypt's proclamation as a republic and the last British troops to

evacuate Egypt was in 1956 (Ramdani, 2016). During the first four decades of the 20th

century, Tunisia also witnessed a flood of nationalist movements. With the leading nationalist

party Néo-Dustūr, which was founded in 1934, the Tunisians were able to achieve their full

independence in 20 March 1956 (Baccouche, 1998).

The Arab world, as previously mentioned by the French colonial administrator

Robert Delavignette ,witnessed the rise of nationalist movements and gained independence

like volcano lava or a row of falling dominos. Following World War Two, after Libya's joint

administration by Britain and France as a former Italian colony, Libya gained its

independence in 1951 (Vandewalle, 1998). Transjordan was recognized by the British as

independent in 1946 (Haron, 1983). Saudi Arabia was already recognized as independent

since 1932 since the rise of the Wahabbi nationalism (Hitman, 2018). The United Arab of

Emirates also recognized by the British as independent in 1971 (Kazim, 2007). Where

colonial rule and settler-colonialism continued however, was in Palestine. Other areas

experienced post-colonialism. The harsh experiences witnessed during the period of

decolonization led to the rise of post-colonial movements as tools and weapons against

further colonization and foreign intervention.

Post-colonial Movements:

After Nasser's rule over Egypt, he articulated an ideology that combined the Islamic,

Arab, and African circles of identity. Arabism of course was the predominant one of them all.

However, Nasser's primary ideology that combined the three circles had a major influence on

post-colonial movements' formations and ideologies in the region and overseas (Helfont,

2015). Gamal Abdel Nasser was considered the leader of the Arab nationalist movement and

he unified the Arab front against the West and Israel. After the 1967 Arab/Israeli war, the

region witnessed the rise of radical Islamist movements, which blamed the loss in the war on

the Arab secular leaders. In Greater Syria (Syria and Lebanon), French colonialism led to the

creation of a fractured society that was split into ethnic and religious fissures that have not recovered to the current day. After Syria's independence, the Ba'th party ruled the country and it operated with a nationalist and anti-Western foreign policy, which led Syria to be also one of the prominent states adopting Arabism. The secular nationalist movements in the region and the Islamist movements after decolonization could not unite as each of them had a different goal. The Islamists aimed to create a caliphate, and the nationalist movements in Syria and Egypt aimed to unite the Arabs under the ceiling of anti-Western and anti-Israeli movements (Gasiorowski, 2016).

Pan-Arabism "qawmiyyah," has a lot of equivalent terms as shown in the newspapers, political books, speeches of leaders, radio and political books . This include: Arab nationalism: ('al qawmiyyah al A'rabiya'), Arabism: ('al U'ruba'), Arab Unity: '(al wahda al A'rabiya'), Arab Union: (al itihad al A'rabi'), Regionalism: ('al iqlimiya') and State patriotism: ('Al wataniya'). Arab nationalism has its roots way back in history, which will be discussed later; the focus now is on its adoption after decolonization and its influence on the post-colonial movements' ideologies (Manduchi, 2017). The Pan-Arab National movement reached its peak with the establishment of the United Arab Republic (1958-1961) between Syria and Egypt. Pan-Arabism was dominant and prevalent in the region; it was used as a tool of unity against any Western or Israeli intervention. Embedded in the principles of Pan-Arabism, the Arab world's goals were to challenge European imperialism and Israel, which was an outcome of European imperialism (Smith, 2021). Arabism and its embrace of the Third-World perspective acted as a threat to the previous colonial powers and specifically it was a major threat to the new Western superpower, the United States. The United States, as mentioned by Edward Said, viewed Arabism as the primary target of the American policy makers who perceived its rise and continuity would by all means challenge the United States' political objectives in the region (Wise, 2009).

After 1967, there was doubt about the continuity of Arabism as there was an atmosphere of disappointment and depression with the turnout of the war. However, that did not mean that it faded away; contrarily, there was a rise of the new radical left, known as "the new Arab Left," who still retained the principles of resisting the West and Israel and were even trying to gain a foothold in national politics. The start of the New Leftists began in 1968, when students in the Arab countries and all over the world carried out protests. The Arab world, as previously mentioned, was in a state of shock and embarrassment after the defeat of 1967 and the youth of the day were on a journey mixing soul-searching and anger. Although the defeat caused doubts in Nasser's aims and project for many, still many Arabs continued the embrace of Arabism and stressed the common Arab identity and the necessity of their unification. Furthermore, even the larger political atmosphere post-1967 still stressed the importance of the Arab unity. 1967 basically gave space to the creation of new political movements. Those newly Leftist-developed movements based their ideologies also on Palestinian nationalism, communism, socialism, Nasserism and Ba'thist Arab nationalism (Haugbolle, 2017).

The Palestinian Fida'iyin (guerilla groups) for example, who were groups of almost 50,000 individuals had the idea of a popular revolution and Arab unity, which had a major influence on other movements in Arab society. The New Left's main goals were to get rid of any political, patriarchal, or racial domination, and even economic exploitation. It defended and promoted freedom of thought and expression and the freedom from material deprivation that would require a democratic process that expands the rights of the individuals. The New Leftists in the Arab world and even in the West preferred direct action, which is essentially the confrontation of the state, established Left parties and the social authorities. The meaning of the revolution for them was a bottom-up revolution that would totally occupy the public sphere for an alternative life and reawakening of a new political life that would engage

people on the local level. An example of this was the Tricontinental Movement which had its basis in Lebanon, Palestine, and Algeria. The Tricontinental Movement was also challenged Western imperialism and in its first forum it included other struggling continents such as Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Haugbolle, 2017).

The New Leftists contradicted the idea of national borders, because for them national borders were fluid. This led to the creation of cross-national alliances amongst them that called for solidarity for anti-imperialism. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) was a major example, noted for seeing the masses as struggling people and holding that the Palestinian vanguard would be a vanguard to all Arabs and even could reach a global revolution. In Lebanon, the New Left was witnessed in the Organization of Lebanese Socialists. In Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Oman there were also several movements that represented the New Left. The New Left was also shown in the Movement of Arab Nationalists (MAN), which was originally established by Palestinian students in Lebanon and Syria and grew to region-wide network of cells. MAN supported the unification of Syria and Egypt and supported Nasser's ideology of Arabism. They were concerned with protest, the organization of the leftist youth, and social justice (Haugbolle, 2017).

The Palestinian Feda'iyin, whose vanguard was Fatah, had been calling to fight for all the Arab fronts and underlined that the Palestinian fight was part of the Arab revolt against imperialism for all the world groups. The Palestinian Fida'iyin were a role model to many Leftists in the globe, and many Leftist movements in the United States and Europe looked up to them as an example on how to struggle against imperialism (Haugbolle, 2017).

While many of the left national movements were secular, in contrast the Wahhabi nationalism of Saudi Arabia influenced many post-colonial Islamist movements in the regions that had risen in the 1960s as a reaction to the thought of the failure of the secular nationalists in 1967 Arab/Israeli War (Wise, 2009). Post-colonial Islamist movements'

primary goal was conformity with the moral and cultural values that match the Islamic precepts. Post-colonial Islamists were opponents of secular nationalists. They embraced the idea of political Islam and they began to rise during the period from 1950s to 1970s, when the majority of post-colonial secular nationalist regimes started to become authoritarian and repressive. These regimes effectively created a space for the Islamist formations after repressing a huge amount of the secular opponents. For example, there was Sayyid Qutb, the leading member of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Abdul Ala Mawdudi, the founder of the Jamaat-i-Islami in Pakistan. Another example was Hezbollah in Lebanon, which was created as an outcome of the civil war in Lebanon in 1975. Hezbollah gained momentum during the two-decade long Israeli occupation of Southern Lebanon by fighting the Israeli occupation forces. Although it represents the Shi'a of Southern Lebanon and is funded and supported by Iran and Syria, its main goal was freeing the occupied territory and achieving national independence. However, its main proponents are Sunni Muslims, the Maronites, and the PLO. Furthermore, there was the Hamas movement in Palestine. Hamas is the political wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, which is the main opponent of Fatah-dominated PLO. Hamas gained momentum in the 1990s after opposing the Oslo process and in the second Intifada in 2001 by playing a major role in attacking the Israeli occupation. Hence, its main goals were also freeing the occupying territories and achieving national independence. (Ayoob, 2004).

The Black Power movement in the United States showed support for the Palestinian struggle, which deepened and reflected its attitudes toward identity, race, and political action in the United States. Malcolm X joined the Nation of Islam, which had an internationalist emphasis that formed the basis of the Black power internationalism and support for the Palestinians. Malcolm X visited the Middle East in 1957 to attend the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, which was under the sponsorship of Gamal Abdel Nasser (Fischbach, 2018,11).

In 1959, he was invited by Nasser again to Egypt and he also visited Palestine and this mainly reflected Nasser's anti-colonialist and Third-Worldist ideology which combined the Africans, Arabs, and the Asians altogether and underlined their solidarity. This had a major influence on Malcolm X as shown in his saying, "What happens to a Black man in America today happens to the Black man in Africa. What happens to a Black man in America and Africa happens to the Black man in Asia and to the man down in Latin America. What happens to one of us today happens to all of us … The Negro revolt [will] evolve and merge into the world-wide Black revolution that has been taking place on this earth since 1945." (Fischbach, 2018, 12).

Malcolm X visited Palestine again in 1964 but he stopped first in Cairo for the meeting of the Organization of African Unity. He recognized after that meeting that most of the African leaders supported the Palestinians. On 15 September 1964, he attended a press conference for the PLO. Following that trip, he clearly stated that there would be no positive process for African-Americans except when their struggles would be tied with the African, Asian and Arab struggles, who were striving for real independence for all of the oppressed peoples in the world (Fischbach, 2018). Gamal Abdel Nasser was viewed by the Black radicals as the leader of anti-imperialism especially after his nationalization to the Suez Canal. This was one of the main reasons behind Malcolm X's immersion in the Global South's postcolonial leaders, specifically Nasser who stimulated in him the Third-Worldist politics that condemned the political project of Zionism in historic Palestine (Baig, 2019).

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which was established as a student-based civil rights organization in 1960. Malcolm X's internationalization and support of the Palestinian struggle were one of the several factors that helped SNCC to move to new and broader directions starting from 1964 (Fischbach, 2018, 17). SNCC activists who traveled abroad found themselves frequently asked about Malcolm X and about their stances

concerning global issues at the time. For example, Ethel Minor, who was a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity in 1964 founded by Malcolm X, was deeply impressed by his internationalist ideas. Minor joined SNCC in 1967 and spread the passion of supporting the Palestinian struggle in SNCC since then that influenced many of her colleagues in the organization, including Stokely Carmichael, who later cowrote with Minor a controversial article about the Arab-Israeli conflict. The article also underlined the necessity of Black Americans to be aware that they are part and should be supporting the Third World as in Asia, Africa, Latin America, all peoples from African descent and Native Americans, while stating the illegality of Israel and the importance of supporting the Palestinians (Fischbach, 2018).

The Algerian War of Independence was also a major factor that helped solidify SNCC's thinking about the unity of the Arabs and Blacks, since the Algerians were Africans and Arabs. This encouraged awareness of a transnational oppression and it was a redefinition of the Black American blackness that led African Americans to be aware that racism, imperialism and oppression in the world is an extension of the racism that they experienced in the United States. Therefore, it was also their duty to challenge the oppression in other parts of the world. SNCC viewed the U.S. support of Israel to be America's siding with the aggressor, since Israel also supported South Africa's racist apartheid regime. Therefore, it was a solidarity based on supporting other oppressed people of color and revolting against the government's siding with the enemy of the Black people and the enemy of the Palestinians and Arabs (Fischbach, 2018). Stokely Carmichael, the Chair of SNCC, stated once that "We must step up our propaganda against Zionism—we should include in the propaganda the fact that the Zionists have invaded Egypt [i.e., Sinai]—that Egypt is in Africa and Africa is our motherland and an aggression against the motherland is an aggression against us—This is very important because every time we get a chance to hook-up with Africa WE MUST."

(Fischbach, 2018, 47). Carmichael's speeches and statements had always highlighted the necessity of supporting the wider Arab world and specifically Egypt due to its Africanness.

The Black Caucus, a group in the National Conference For New Politics (NCNP), was a collective made up of civil rights advocates, anti-Vietnam War groups and Black and White New Leftists; one of its members was Ali Anwar. Anwar referred to the Arab/Israeli war as the "the imperialistic Zionist war." This was certainly met with attacks that indicated that the Black Power movement involved other ir interests that went out of domestic race relations. However, it was so crucial for molding the African American understanding of the relationality of their sufferings to other Third World sufferings and hence the necessity inclusivity of them in the 1960s and 1970s (Fischbach, 2018).

James Lawson, an African American activist and the president of the United African Nationalist Movement, also stated "How can those who pretend to be of African extraction advocate war machines to a predominantly white nation (Israel) to destroy their own kind? Many Arabs are Black and African! It is ironical, and tragic, that a group of 'Negroes' would take this course against their own kind." (Fischbach, 2018: 70).

Martin Luther King also visited Jerusalem and had stayed on the Arab side. King's position on the conflict had been balanced to the criticality of the situation in the U.S. politics. However, he had mentioned once that during his visit to Jerusalem he had been talking to many people who were assumed to be the Arabs due to his stay in the Arab part of the city. Furthermore, in his sermon "A Walk Through the Holy Land," King mentioned the economic exploitation and the political domination of people of color and the necessity of retaining their human dignity and freedom. King tried to be balanced on the conflict but he was also emphasizing the importance of the Arab security in a time this was rarely tackled (Fischbach, 2018).

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was another major and important example of Black solidarity with other suffering in the world beyond the US. Eldridge Cleaver, the leader of the Black Panther Party, adopted internationalism and the necessity of recognizing the Black freedom struggle in the U.S. and anti-colonialist revolution overseas. The internationalist spirit of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and al-Fateh caught the attention of the Black Panther Party. Furthermore, *The Wretched of the Earth* by Frantz Fanon and *The Battle of Algiers* movie were inspirations to many Black Power militants due to their emphasis on and references to both Blacks and Arabs. Cleaver resided in Algeria in 1969 and had his office of Afro-American Information Center there, which was near the office of al-Fateh. Al-Fateh linked the Palestinian cause to the African cause, which was a major factor that pushed for the solidarity of the BPP with them. Solidarity with the Arabs and Palestinians was a major part of the BBP's ideology (Fischbach, 2018, 128). The internationalism of the BBP was shown by a statement of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a BBP member who stated "To the average Panther, even though he worked daily in the ghetto communities of North America, his thoughts were usually on something larger than himself. It meant being part of a worldwide movement against US imperialism, white supremacy, colonialism, and corrupting capitalism. We felt as if we were part of the peasant armies of Vietnam, the degraded Black miners of South Africa, the Fedayeen in Palestine." (Fischbach, 2018, 128).

Muhammad Ali, the world's most famous boxer, also showed his interconnectedness with the Arab World and the Palestinian cause. Ali visited Egypt in 1964 and met the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser. He also travelled to the Middle East, visited Lebanon in 1974 and met with the Lebanese Prime Minister Taqi al-Dun al Sulh at the time. Ali believed that America was the headquarters of imperialism and Zionism which put him out of the ring for several years until 1971 (Fischbach, 2018, 140).

Hence, Black solidarity with the Arab world and the Palestinians had a major role in history until the 1970s. Although it might have lost its shine that had been there, it still resonates in the African American political understanding, especially in anti-imperialist and activist groups. This had been shown in the more recent statement by Khury Petersen Smith: "The U.S. and Israel make the connections for us … the same urban police departments that harass, brutalize and murder Black folks here train with Israeli law enforcement— who oppress Palestinians … [Meanwhile,] funds for Israeli weapons are resources diverted from Black neighborhoods in desperate need." (Naber, 2017, 19).

Malcolm X's relations and activism with activists such Yuri Kochiyama opened the way for him to support the Japanese people after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Furthermore, his visit to Cairo opened the way for him to support the African world, the Palestinians and the Arab world against imperialism. This was an inspiration to all of the following postcolonial movements to highlight and recognize the relationality of all who struggle and to draw new set of responsibilities and rights for a real pursuit of global justice not dependent on their state. Asma Abbas, an anti-colonial political theorist, stated that "it is through loving, desiring, and being attached that one suffers with and for another, becomes available to another as an ethical-political subject, and musters the energy to sustain or interrupt reality. To recalibrate the fears (terrors) and attachments (loves) of Black, Muslim, indigenous, immigrant, racialized, and gendered subjects becomes the necessary groundwork towards 'shedding the aesthetic and sensual pathologies' that we have inherited from colonialism, liberalism, and capitalism." (Kashani, 2018, 77).

This was reflected in the Arab League too and its support for postcolonial movements that necessitated relationality and the resistance for a common struggle. For instance, the League condemned the Apartheid system in South Africa and asked for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela, and it asked all the oil producing states to stop exporting oil to South

Africa. Furthermore, it asked all the member states to boycott the South African government and to stop importing from it minerals and any other raw materials as per the decision issued in Addis Ababa in May 1963.[3] Furthermore, the League's Council decided there was a necessity for cooperation between the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Union to support and finance the African Liberation movements that would be considered as a victory to both the Arab and African efforts.[4] In addition, the League expressed its satisfaction and contentment for the release of Nelson Mandela, who was an important mark for Africa's resistance. The League also stated that the struggle for freedom and dignity is common for the Arabs and Africans which makes all the League's members support the African countries in their struggle for their freedom, dignity, fairness, and equality as they aim for the Arab states. [5] Hence, in the following section, I will discuss the history of the Arab League, which will reflect its Pan-Arab and Third Worldist tone.

Historical Background of the Arab League:

Since the start of the 20th century, Arab nationalists had been aiming for a long time to achieve the goal of an Arab Union. However, several challenges stood in front of this goal. First, Arabs had just won their freedom from the Ottoman Empire only to again be placed under the dominion of the European powers under a system of mandates to satisfy their interests. The Mandate System divided the Arab World into several small states to make its domination easier and the Arabs' power weaker to prevent any kind of solidarity-based resistance (Khadduri, 1946). Additionally, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which divided the Arab regions that were under the Ottoman rule to be controlled by Britain and France instead of being under the Arabs' control, was another attempt by the European colonial powers in

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[3] Arab League. (1967). *Minutes of the sessions of the forty-seventh ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 263.
[4] Arab League. (1973). *The role of the sixtieth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States,* page 193.
[5] Arab League. (1990). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its ninety-third ordinary session*, page 85.

1916 to paralyze the union and independence of the Arab countries (Singh, 1965). However, those attempts did not prevent nationalist movements from resisting the colonial powers. All nationalist movements, whether in Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, or Lebanon, had been striving for their freedom. This led the British Empire to promise the Arab nationalists independence and a plan for Arab unity to make the stance of Great Britain more favorable in the eyes of those nationalists, and to disadvantage other powers, such as France, in the region (Khadduri, 1946). Britain wanted to maintain its influence and imperial interests in the Middle East, which was emerging as a strategically important and oil-rich region. Hence, Britain was keen to satisfy the Arabs by any means. It had to first drive away German interests during the war, as expressed by George Lenczowksi, a British diplomat at the British mandate of Palestine who said, "Axis influence was at its peak, and Britain felt an urgent need to make a bold bid for Arab friendship " (Aziz, 1955, 281). Furthermore, as a result of the Arab Revolt in Palestine from 1936-1939, the British seized the opportunity to deprive Jews of the support it had been providing them with the Balfour Declaration by issuing the White Paper in 1939 as a way to satisfy the Arabs' anger. According to the French, Britain had been trying to drive them away from the Levant. Thus, the British had been trying to impress the Arabs through efforts to secure their friendship and thus secure their interests in the region (Aziz, 1955).

The idea of Arab unity, following the promotion of their by Britain, became the core topic of the Arab nationalists. Amir Abdullah of Jordan and Arab nationalist leaders in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Palestine began to work on the project. On May 29, 1941, in war-time, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Anthony Eden stated that the British government was ready to promote the cultural, economic, and political unity of the Arabs but that the plan of action had to come from the Arabs themselves. After Eden's statement, the Egyptian government took the first steps towards this unity by deciding to bring the Arab

governments together in a meeting to reach a friendly agreement together. Egypt first invited Nuri Pasha al-Said, the prime minister of Iraq, to Cairo in August of 1943. Following Nuri's visit to Egypt, a plan of action was submitted by Nuri to Richard Casey, Britain's Minister of State in Cairo. The plan called for the unity and independence of the Arabs, the unity of Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan and Syria into Greater Syria, and the formation of the Arab League by including Greater Syria and Iraq and any other Arab states that wished to join (Khadduri, 1946). Nuri had earlier outlined activist activities for Arab unity which were shown at the end of 1942 in an unpublished manuscript known as the "Blue Book," which he gave to Mr. Casey. The book called for the unity and independence of the Arab world with particular reference to Palestine (Hourani, 1947).

Nuri's visit was followed in September by the visit of Transjordan's Prime Minister Tawfiq Abdul Huda Pasha, who reached the same agreement as Nuri. In November, Egypt invited Syria's Prime Minister Sadullah al-Jabiri, who accepted the idea of Arab unity and suggested all Arab countries unify as one state. The next visit was by the Lebanese delegation to Cairo, also by Riadh Beh Al-Sulh in January 1944. There was also an exchange of letters between Nahas Pasha, the prime minister of Egypt at the time, and Saudi Arabia and Yemen for their opinions on the matter (Khadduri, 1946).

In September of 1944, Nahas Pasha invited Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iraq, Transjordan and Palestine to Antoniadas Palace in Alexandria. Palestine sent Musa beg Al-Alami, who was a representative of various parties in Palestine. During this meeting, all agreed on Arab unity under a union that would ensure the sovereign equality of the member states. The main purpose of that league was to peacefully settle any disputes between member states without any violence (Khadduri, 1946). The Alexandria Protocol/Conference had two special annexes that dealt with both Lebanon and Palestine. First, it reasserted the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon and the respect of its existing borders. It also

stated that the peace, stability and rights of Palestine were interrelated with those of the rest

of the Arab world. Furthermore, it highlighted the necessity that the recognition of the Arab

rights was reflected in the independence of Palestine and that the Arab territories would

always provide their full support and efforts to the Arabs of Palestine. The conference also

detailed and affirmed the secular and non-religious character of the league (Hourani, 1947).

The pact included the necessity of maintaining close relations that would bind the

Arab states together, the recognition of the independence and sovereignty of each member

state, and each state's right to secede from the league at any time (Khadduri, 1946). After

laying down the provisions of the pact in March 1945, the states signed the pact and created

the Arab League (also known as the Pan-Arab League) on March 22, 1945 (Singh, 1965).

After its formation, the League did not only focus on the issues of its independent

members, but also protested against continued Jewish immigration from Europe to Palestine.

It supported the independence of Tripolitania, which is a historic and former province of

Libya. Furthermore, it had a keen interest in the future of the former the Italian colonies, such

as Libya, and for the Algerian independence from French occupation. Interestingly, it also

focused on the nationalist causes of non-Arabs, such as the Indonesian attempt to nationalize

Dutch properties and Cyprus's war of independence against the British in 1955 (Singh, 1965,

205).

The Arab League was an outcome of a series of developments in history; it was not

created out of a vacuum. It began with the Arab Revolt in 1915, which was an awakening

movement that aimed to reintegrate the Arab community. The Arab awakening not only

aimed for unity of the Arabs, but it also aimed to liberate the Arab territories from foreign

domination. Hence, the foundation of Arabism was based on both aims of unity among Arabs

and the struggle for independence. Thus, those chains of development that began with the

Arab Revolt in 1915 and culminated in the Arab League in 1945 had been shown in between

by the Iraq Revolt 1920, the Syrian Revolt from 1925 to 1926, the Palestine Revolt in 1936,

the Pan-Arab Conference of 1937, the Inter-Parliamentary Conference of 1938 in Cairo and

the Palestine Conference in 1939 in London, which was participated in by all Arab

governments (Hourani, 1947).

The Arab League was an institution that entailed solidarity but at the same time

highlighted the importance of the sovereignty and independence of its member states. The

League was based on the embodiment of Pan-Arabism, though there was emphasis on the

Westphalian state structure by ruling elites. Hence, the Arab leaders were confronted by two

conflicting requirements: First, to act on the role of preserving a united Arab community

defined by Arab nationalism and second, to act as agents of sovereign states. Therefore, the

principles of sovereignty and pan-Arabism were in conflict from the start. The first few

decades of the League were full of optimism for the balance of these two conflicting

principles, demonstrated by the independence of several Arab states, peaceful settlements of

inter-Arab state disputes, the signing of the Joint Defence and Economic Cooperation Treaty

in 1950, and establishment of a Joint Arab Command for future Arab/Israeli confrontations.

Egypt, Iraq, and Syria, for example, also shared the same flag between 1963 and 1972. Most

importantly, challenging the fragmentation that was imposed during the mandate system,

Egypt and Syria were united under the United Arab Republic from 1958 to 1961, a move that

exemplified the noble objective of the League to Arab unity and integration that challenged

previous policies of fragmentation practiced by the colonial powers (Dakhlallah, 2012).

Under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt in 1952, Egypt became a

central proponent of pan-Arabism. Egypt acted as the sponsor of the Palestinian cause and

resistance against Israel, which was reflected in the principles of the League. However, the

prevailing of state sovereignty was first shown when Egyptian President Anwar Al Sadat

signed the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty (Camp David Accords) in 1979 that sought peace with

Israel through a series of negotiations that involved Syria and Palestine. Under the treaty, Egypt regained the Sinai Peninsula from Israel and won political and financial benefits from the United States. Arab unity and the strong principles of pan-Arabism that were embedded in the League, however, never recovered after the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty (Dakhlallah, 2012). After 1979, the Arab states' sovereignty took precedence over Arab unity, a reaction to the shock of Egypt, the leader of the pan-Arab movement that was now turning its back on the Arab world and pursuing a path based on "raison d'etat instead of raison de la nation" (Dakhlallah, 2012, 404).

The Actions of the Arab League towards the Palestinian Issue:

Since its establishment in 22 March 1945, the Arab League dedicated itself mainly to solving the Palestinian conflict. The seven founding members of the League –Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, Transjordan, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia – managed to apply the League's Pact's special annex to Palestine. The special annex indicated that Palestine's independence and international existence could not be questioned (Mayer, 1986). Hence, the pact recognized Palestine as de jure independent and authorized it to be part of the work of the Council. This step of inclusion was in accordance with the public opinion of the peoples of the Arab World who would not recognize the League as complete without Palestine (Aziz, 1955). Since the Palestinian Arab Higher Committee, led by the Grand Mufti Hajj Amin Al Husayni, was dissolved by the British in 1937, the Arab League decided instead to select a Palestinian Arab representative in the League. The League appointed Musa Al-Alami, a popular Palestinian lawyer, who showed great achievements during his time in office by establishing League offices in London, New York, and Washington. After the increase of rival parties in Palestine, the League formed a five-man Arab Higher Committee to Palestine in 1946 with Hajj Amin Al Husayni as its president and Jamal Al Husayni as his deputy (Mayer, 1986). After the Arab Higher Committee had been discredited by the disasters of

1947-48, most of the Palestinian found themselves under the sovereignties of Jordan, Egypt and Syria and they couldn't fill the vacuum (Hamid, 1975). Following this, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was created by the Arab League in 1964 as a way of embedding and institutionalizing Palestinian energies (Said, 1992). The League viewed that the PLO was both representing the will of the Palestinian people in their struggle and it was a suitable entity that could be part of the collective Arab struggle of liberating Palestine (Shemesh, 1988). In 1973, PLO was recognized by the Arab League as the sole representative of the people of Palestine and in 1974, Yasser Arafat was given the full floor to speak to the UN General Assembly (Shiblak, 1997).

As an initiative to support the Palestinian case, the League members imposed an economic boycott on the Israel's industry and trade, which they took to be central to enabling the Zionist political project of establishing a settler-colony in Palestine. In 1946, the League created a permanent Boycott Committee. Boycott offices in every Arab state were recommended by the committee and even the creation of alternative industries to the Israeli market for Arab states were recommended (Mayer, 1986). Both unofficial and official Arab bodies continued to urge that all regional conferences and organizations that Israel participated in should be boycotted (Arab League, 1952). The boycott was also administered by the Damascus-based Central Boycott Office, which was a special bureau of the League of Arab States. The boycott further included non-Israeli individuals or companies who supported Israel or maintained economic relations with it (Weiss, 2013).

The Arab League continued to raise the Palestinian issue and show its full support to it in all of its meetings, which can be seen in meetings from 1967 to 2007. In 1967, the League's Council asked for the elimination of racial discrimination in the world, focusing on the racist policies that Israel had been practicing towards Arabs, especially those in the

occupied territories.[6] The Council also asked all the world's countries with economic or diplomatic relations with South Africa to adhere to United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1761 concerning racial discrimination, and to cut those ties in order to help end the apartheid systems practiced in South Africa and Palestine.[7] Furthermore, after the Arab/Israeli war in 1967, the League's Council asked the UN for the immediate return of Palestinian residents of Gaza and West Bank who were driven out of their homes and lands. The Council also condemned Israeli attacks on Arabs, which included setting curfews, harsh inspections, money and land confiscations, blowing up houses, and imposing collective punishments on civilians as a reaction to the resistance actions. Those attacks led to the flight of many Palestinians.[8] In 1969, the Council condemned Israeli attacks on religious holy sites and pleaded with the international press to cover those acts that impinged on human dignity and international ethics.[9] The Council also announced it would put any media personnel who would be biased or belonging to the Israeli media on a blacklist.[10] Additionally, the Council issued an announcement stating the necessity of contacting those Arabs in the diaspora to update them with the Palestinian case in order to enable them to act as ambassadors to the Arab World in the West. It also added that within this process, the League should support them with recordings, films, and other resources that would help them to easily portray the situation under Israeli occupation.[11]

In 1972, the League's Secretary General emphasized the necessity of Arab unity in the face of the United States and Israel, since no single country would have the capabilities to expel the occupation solely. Therefore, Arab solidarity was viewed as the only way to free

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[6] Arab League. (1967). *Minutes of the sessions of the forty-seventh ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 236.
[7] Ibid. page 263.
[8] Arab League. (1968). *Minutes of the sessions of the forty-ninth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 247.
[9] Arab League. (1969). *Minutes of the sessions of the fifty-first ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 144.
[10] Ibid. 422.
[11] Ibid. 429.

Palestine and the Arab lands.[12] In 1973, the Council further advocated the necessity of including the Palestinian case in the school curriculums of all Arab states.[13] The Council also created an aid program for the families of Palestinian martyrs and prisoners.[14] In 1975, the League's Council decided to support the *Samed* organization, which dedicated its income to support Palestinian martyrs' families by exempting them from customs and taxes and providing them with the needed supplies that would enable them to do product exhibitions in the Arab countries. Furthermore, the Council also called for the necessity of supporting the Palestinian Red Crescent, which provided healthcare to Palestinians including Palestinian fighters and their families. It also added the necessity of building clinics and hospitals in Jordan to care for Palestinian martyrs and prisoners' families.[15]

In 1976, the Syrian Ministry of External Affairs suggested in the 64th Ordinary Meeting of the League to establish a project of an Arab and international campaign for solidarity with the steadfastness of the Palestinians people of the occupied land. It would dispense money to the occupied lands and encourage celebrities to proclaim their support for the Palestinians and Arabs in Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon. It would also support the Palestinians in the media, call for resistance in churches and mosques, and form delegations of politically and intellectually prominent Palestinian youths, such as Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish and others, to converse with other international intellectuals to help send messages to the UN's Secretary General. Most importantly, it would connect with the Vatican and world leaders asking them to condemn the occupation's actions and to call for immediate intervention to stop the Israeli oppression. Lastly, it would issue a photo brochure

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[12] Arab League. (1972). *Minutes of the sessions of the fifty-eighth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 178.
[13] Ibid. 211.
[14] Ibid. 212.
[15] Arab League. (1974). *The role of the sixty-fourth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 394.

showing Israeli atrocities in Palestine and the Palestinian resistance.[16] In 1977, there was a call for the Arab media to carry out a campaign whose main purpose was to define the racist content of the "Koeing Memorandum," a confidential and internal Israeli government document by Yisrael Koeing, who was a member of the ruling party in 1976. This document served as physical proof of the Israeli government's intentions, which included the occupation of Arab lands and the expulsion of the Arabs from them. It would also act as a media response to peace projects offered by Israel to reveal the cynical purpose of even projecting them. Lastly, it would support the Arab resistance in occupied lands as their resistance was the only guarantee for continuing the Palestinian struggle until it reached its goals.[17]

In 1977, the League's Council requested that the Tripartite Commission for Human Rights investigate Israeli violations to human rights, investigate the brutal conditions of Palestinians and Arabs in Israeli prisons, and submit a report about the harsh conditions they were exposed to.[18] The Council also indicated the necessity of stopping the United States from supporting Israel militarily, economically, and politically, which contributed to the Israeli oppressive and aggressive acts on the Arab occupied lands in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine.[19]

In 1973, The Yom Kippur War took place, where Syria and Egypt conducted surprise attacks on Israel in Golan Heights and Sinai. Much of this conflict was for regaining the annexed Arab lands and for pursuing self-determination for the Palestinian people. (Bean and Girard, 2001). Since the United States and other countries such as the Netherlands were

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[16] Arab League. (1976). *The role of the sixty-fifth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 560.
[17] Arab League. (1977). *The role of the sixty-seventh ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 310.
[18] Ibid. 312.
[19] Arab League. (1979). *The role of the seventieth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 208.

backing and supporting Israel, Sadat convinced the oil producing countries to use the oil as a

political weapon, and put a complete embargo on oil shipments to these countries (Doxey,

1976). Hence, Yom Kippur War turned to force the superpowers to resolve Egypt's interests

according to its national interest, but at the same time, Egypt came out of this war

economically devastated. Hence, this led Egypt to end up resettling to sign the first peace

treaty between an Arab state and Israel in 1978 that Egypt gained from a large economic

assistance from the United States (Bean and Girard, 2001).

In 1978, the League condemned the Camp David Accords, since the Arab states

stated that the accords impinged on Palestinian human rights. The League also added that the

actions of Egypt impinged on the real responsibility that Egypt held toward Palestine and the

whole Arab world. Hence, the League denounced the accords and refused to abide with their

political, economic and legal outcomes.[20] As a consequence of Egypt's agreement with the

Camp David Accords, Egypt was expelled from the League and the headquarters were moved

from Cairo to Baghdad. The League also decided to boycott any Egyptian personnel that

dealt directly with Israel, whether politically or economically.[21]

In 1980, the League condemned the United States government for not recognizing

the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and for designating it as a terrorist

organization.[22] The League also condemned international terrorism and specifically

mentioned Israeli terrorism on the occupied lands of Palestine. Furthermore, the League

objected to the idea of treating terrorism and resistance movements as the same.[23] In 1988,

the League condemned the United States Congress' decision to support and finance Jewish

immigration to Palestine, which inevitably led to the expulsion of Arabs out of their homes.

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[20] Arab League. (1978). *The Ninth League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 93.
[21] Ibid. 96.
[22] Arab League. (1980). *The Eleventh League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 112.
[23] Arab League. (1987). *Extraordinary Session of the League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 202.

In addition, the League stated that Arab countries would adopt economic and political sanctions against any country that recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.[24]

In 1990, the League called on the Special Ministerial Committee to support Palestine by presenting its updates on both the Arab and international arena.[25] The League stated the necessity of following up on the Palestinian Intifida. It also asked all member states to support the Palestinians financially and psychologically and to push for the continuity of Palestinian resistance. Moreover, it requested the UN Security Council to stop inhumane practices practiced by Israeli occupation, which it said contradicted the Human Rights Charter and Geneva Conventions.[26] The League's Council called on the Arab media organizations to present books and films portraying the Palestinian resistance and publish them on the international arena for global awareness.[27]

In 1993, the League assigned the Arab delegations in New York and Geneva to ask the UN Security Council to research and cover the effects of the Israeli violations of the Human Rights charter, based on Israeli actions against Palestinians within the occupied lands.[28]

In 1996, the League stated the urgency of finding solutions to the crisis of Palestinian refugees and stated that this could be solved by holding a high-level seminar, whose main goal would be emphasizing on the Right of Return of the Palestinian refugees based on the United National General Assembly Resolution 194 section 11. This could be

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[24] Arab League. (1988). *Extraordinary Session of the League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 286.
[25] Arab League. (1991). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its ninety-third ordinary session*, page 5.
[26] Arab League. (1992). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its ninety-eighth ordinary session*, page 5.
[27] Ibid. 96.
[28]Arab League. (1993). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its ninety-ninth ordinary session*, page 56.

only achieved with the cooperation of the relevant organizations and the expertise to this subject.[29]

Although since 1947, the Arab League had rejected the idea of the two-state solution that was presented in the UN Partition Plan (1947), the League's position after the Oslo Accords (1995) changed into accepting the establishment of a two-state solution in which Palestine would be one-fourth of its historic size (Jabareen, 2013). Hence, in 1996 , the League warned of the dire consequences of Israel's continued denial of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and it expressed the negative impact of the continuity of that situation on the 1995 Oslo Peace Accords.[30]

In 1997, the League stated the necessity of contacting the international organizations for human rights to work out solutions for releasing Palestinian children in prisons who were exposed to the inhumane conditions and physical and psychological torture. Furthermore, the League condemned the use of live bullets against Palestinian demonstrators, which led to the killing and injuring of several demonstrators.[31] The League also mentioned to stop treating the Palestinian case as just a humanitarian case and separating it from its legal and political aspects and dimensions. Furthermore, it added that the Secretary General of the League should have a copy of the microfilm containing all records of Palestinian properties.[32]

In 1998, the League condemned Israeli/Turkish military cooperation and elaborated how it could negatively affect peace and stability in Palestine. It added how this cooperation could be detrimental to Palestinian human rights.[33] The League called for international

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[29] Arab League. (1996). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundred and sixth ordinary session*, page 31.
[30] Ibid. 29
[31] Arab League. (1997). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundred and eighth ordinary session*, page 5.
[32] Ibid. 10.
[33] Arab League. (1998). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundred and tenth ordinary session*, page 49.

organizations on human rights, governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations to cooperate with them to put an end to Israeli abusive practices against Palestinians, which included assaults and terrorism by armed settlers, who threatened to remove them from their lands, ruined and burned agriculture, cut down trees, and sprayed fatal pesticides that impacted Palestinians. It also added the urgency to stop Israel from using internationally banned bullets under the Hague Conventions of 1899. Additionally, it pointed out standing against the continuity of the Israeli Supreme Court to allow the use of torture against Palestinians in prisons and not releasing them as agreed upon with the PLO. Lastly, it condemned the demolishing of Palestinian houses and prevention of rebuilding them.[34]

In 1999, the League mentioned the emergency to contact the UN Secretary General, the leaders of the Arab states, the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Islamic and Arab American Organizations, and Arab experts and ask them to stand altogether against the establishment of an Israeli Pavilion in Disney World under the name of "Jerusalem is the Capital of Israel." The League added that their cooperation would include the necessary communication with Disney that would reflect and emphasize the dangers of such a situation on the holy Jerusalem's case due to its being a central and most important location to the current peace settlements.[35]

The League gave its full support to the Palestinians during the Second Intifada in 2000. The League also mentioned that it fully supported the Palestinians in their resistance and efforts to regain all their legal rights and their persistence. Hence, the League decided to create donations under the name of "Jerusalem's Intifada" with an amount of 200 million dollars to be spent on martyrs' families, injured individuals, and the education of Palestinian children. Furthermore, the League decided to create other donations under the name of "Al

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[34] Arab League. (1999). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundred and eleventh ordinary session*, page 4.
[35] Arab League. (1999). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundred and twelfth ordinary session*, page 15.

Aqsa Donations" with an amount of 8 million dollars for projects that would protect the Arab and Islamic identity in Jerusalem. Moreover, those donations would be used to aid the Palestinian community to be self-sufficient and to prevent the Palestinians to be dependent on the Israeli economy and to be free from the Israeli siege and methods of separation.[36] The League expressed the will of all Arab leaders to request the UN Security Council to create an International Criminal Court trial for "Israeli war criminals" after their massacres to the Palestinians, Syrians, and Lebanese, using the cases of Rwanda and Yugoslavia as precedent.[37]

In 2001, the League expressed its resentment of the United States using its veto power in the UN Security Council against protecting Palestinians in their occupied lands and against establishing a UN Observing Mission. The League viewed the United States' stance in this situation as unaligned with its position as a prominent member in the peace settlements and as a member of the Security Council, which is responsible for international peace and security.[38] The League condemned the Israeli re-occupation of Palestinian lands, camps, and cities and its reinforcement of economic and military blockades. Hence, the League emphasized that the only choice for peace with Israel would be the withdrawal of its military forces from the occupied lands in 1967 and dismantling of the illegal settlements that were against 1949 Geneva Conventions. The League also advocated establishing an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. In addition, it authorized the Right of Return according to the UN Resolution 194. The League also condemned the Israeli attacks on the Red Cross and prevention of the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations from performing their tasks that are authorized by both humanitarian international law and the

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[36] Arab League. (2000). *Extraordinary Session of the League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 5.
[37] Ibid. 10.
[38] Arab League. (2001). *The Council of the League of Arab States at the summit level in its thirteenth regular session*, page 39.

Fourth Geneva Convention.[39] The League further demanded from Israel all the economic and

financial losses it caused to the Palestinians and requested the immediate compensation for

such losses.[40]

In 2004, the League mentioned that peace would only be achieved by regaining the

lands and by having an independent Palestinian state by 2005. Furthermore, any Israeli

withdrawal from the occupied lands should be an absolute withdrawal with no possibility for

re-occupation under both international supervision and the Palestinian national authority.[41]

The League also condemned the Separation Wall and considered it a threat that might cause

new Palestinian displacements. Furthermore, it would prevent the establishment of an

independent Palestinian state. Hence, the League called on the support of international

organizations to halt the building of the wall and demolishing what has already been built

according to decision no. 10/13 for the UN Emergency Special Session in 2003.[42]

The League called on the Arab missions in New York to make their ultimate efforts

to issue a decision from the UN General Assembly or the Security Council that would make

the Arab Peace Initiative one of the main pillars for peace in the region, beside the Roadmap

for Peace and U.S. President George W. Bush's Vision for Palestine.[43] The League further

warned against the continuity of Palestinian displacement and condemned the racist

Separation Wall, which prevented Palestinians from reaching The United Nations Relief and

Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) that keeps addressing

Israeli abuses and the dangers of the wall.[44] Lastly, during the 122nd meeting in 2004, the

League condemned the racial discrimination that the Arabs faced in the diaspora, specifically

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[39] Arab League. (2002). *The Council of the League of Arab States at the summit level in its fourteenth regular session*, page 15.
[40] Ibid. 16.
[41] Arab League. (2003). *The Council of the League of Arab States at the summit level in its sixteenth regular session*, page 26.
[42] Ibid. 27.
[43] Arab League. (1999). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States at the Ministerial level in its hundred and twenty second ordinary session*, page 11.
[44] Ibid. 21.

Palestinians, and it indicated that this was one of the worst incidents of racial discrimination on the international arena that should be challenged internationally.[45]

In 2006, the League condemned the Israeli attack on Areeha prison. It added and reemphasized that real peace would not be achieved except by establishing an independent Palestinian state, which should include the West Bank and Gaza, with Eastern Jerusalem as its capital.[46] The League also praised the Palestinian legislative elections process, which showed the capability of the Palestinians to decide their own destiny and have their own state with Jerusalem as its capital. In addition, the League called for the respect of the international community for such a process and expressed its full support for the Palestinian national authority led by president Mahmoud Abbas.[47]

Finally in 2007, the League condemned the Israeli excavations below and around Al-Aqsa Mosque, which might lead to its collapse. Hence, the League called for international organizations and institutions, specifically UNESCO, to hold responsibility for protecting Christian and Islamic holy sites. Furtherly, it reemphasized Jerusalem's Arabism and it rejected any illegitimate action from Israel by trying to occupy or control Jerusalem.[48] The League also called for the immediate release of the Palestinian political prisoners and captives, whose numbers exceeded 10,000 individuals and who included the speaker of the Legislative Council, its members, and some ministers. The League was urgently demanding for their immediate release which should be applied according to international law, international humanitarian law, and the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention. In addition, the League assigned its Secretary General to aid the Iraqi government and the Palestinian

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[45] Ibid. 75.
[46] Arab League. (2006). *The eighteenth League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 30.
[47] Ibid. 31.
[48] Arab League. (2007). *The nineteenth League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 21.

national authority to find immediate solutions to protect and provide a decent life for Palestinian refugees in Iraq.[49]

The League's structure and primary ideology were based on Arab-nationalism, which the Palestinian question was its nucleus as shown above. Arab nationalism is different than European nationalism which was reflected in the differences between the Arab League and the European Union as regional organizations that adopted both ideologies respectively.

Differences of the Arab League as an Inter-regional Organization From the European Union (EU):

As discussions of the history and nature of origins and meetings would suggest, Arab nationalism, asserted in the League of Arab States as Pan-Arabism, cannot be compared to Pan-Slavism or Pan-Germanism. There is a huge difference between the European and Arab ideologies. European nationalism is based the traditions of being strong sovereign states that were inherited from Roman society and law. However, the basis of the Arab nationalism is different. Arab society has never been based on the concept of a sovereign society. Additionally, it has never been based on the Greco-Roman political tradition (Hourani, 1947). European society has always been composed of heterogenous ethnic groups with different cultures and religions (Cole, 2011). Thus, what mainly binds European society together is their common territorial borders (Le Galès, 2002). Arab society has also always been composed of distinct religious and racial groups, but united by a common world of thought and Arabic culture (Hourani, 1947). Hence, as mentioned by Hourani, "It is thus dangerous to compare conditions in Arab countries with conditions in Western Societies" (Hourani, 1947, 135). Therefore, the Arab League was more clearly an organization of heterogeneous groups bound by a common language and culture rather than a geographical organization. The Arabisation of the region is an outcome of the Islamic expansion of the Arabian Peninsula,

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[49] Ibid. 22.

which came after the death of Prophet Muhammad. This expansion united the peoples of the region under a common Arab culture and language. Hence, the Arab League was an expression of this Arab identity (Dakhlallah, 2012).

The League was created as a way to enhance state sovereignty and it succeeded in doing so. This was mainly due to the politics of Arab nationalism and shared identity that forced the Arab states to adopt the idea of Arab unity to legitimize their own regimes. They feared the idea of unity, as it might have affected their sovereignty. Hence, the Arab League was a result of interests and fears that were shown in interests of unity and collaboration but fears from integration that might weaken the political leaders in their home countries. Thus, the Arab League failed to be a supranational entity, which resulted in the triumph of the domestic regimes and minute contemporary triumph of an attempt to develop a regional institution. This contemporary triumph ended after Egypt's expulsion from the League after Camp David from 1979 to 1989. Therefore, the domestic concern of surviving was the primary concern for unification. The norms of unification were prevalent and trying to survive from the 1950s until Camp David, as they were associated with Arabism's *Al qawmeya Al A'rabiya* that was common among Arab rulers at the time. However, following this incident nationalism of the individual states *wataneya* was more prevalent (Michael Barnett and Etel Solingen, 2007).

The Arab League does not have a governing structure that is separate or independent from governments of the member states. The main bodies of the League are the League Council, the Special Permanent Committees of the League Council, the Specialized Ministerial Councils, the Office of the Secretary General, the Main Department under the Secretary General, and the Arab Parliament. The League Council has a representative from each of the member states and it is considered as the highest authority. The Council meets twice a year and its job is to discuss issues and write rules and policies. Each member gets a

vote, yet the crucial decisions are terminated on a unanimous vote. The Special Permanent Committees of the League Council are made up of ministers of member states and has technical staff that aid them to apply the decisions that are made in the summits. The Specialized Ministerial Councils are made up of the relevant government ministers of each of the member states and they put down the policies for their determined field. The Office of the Secretary General is the body that leads the League daily and it warns the League on topics that could negatively affect the relations between the member states or even other countries. The Secretary General oversees the application of the decision taken by the League's Council, and most importantly, reconciles conflicts between member states. The Main Department under the Secretary General is an assistant Secretary General who establishes projects on the issues that are important to the organization and puts down reports. Lastly, the Arab Parliament has 88 seats, four for each member state, which are selected from the countries' governments. The meetings of the parliament are twice a year and they discuss economic, cultural, and social issues (Díez, 2017).

The European Union (EU), on the other hand, was created to revive the region from the bloody carnage that took place between the European countries in World War Two. It started with the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community that united Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Italy, Belgium, and France in 1952. Following this, the Treaty of Rome led to the European Economic Community, which established a common market among the European states and stopped countries from charging customs. Ireland, Denmark, and the United Kingdom joined in 1973. Furthermore, there was an increase in the influence of the European Parliament in European affairs, mainly due to the ability of the citizens to elect their representatives directly. Greece, Portugal, and Spain joined the Union in the 1980s and Germany reunified in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall. In the 1990s, Sweden, Austria, and Finland joined the European Union (Díez, 2017). After the Maastricht

and Amsterdam treaties and the Schengen Agreement, Europeans had the ability and privilege to move freely within the Union. The Maastricht Treaty in 1992 was the foundation treaty of the European Union and it was established on three pillars. Two pillars were concerned with the Common Foreign Policy and Security, and that home affairs and justice were intergovernmental. The third pillar covered the European Economic Community, European Atomic Energy Community, and the Coal and Steel Community, and sovereignty is shared (Corner, 2014). Most importantly, the Euro progressively became the common currency for most of the members of the EU, which in the 2000s welcomed 12 more members. The Treaty of Lisbon in 2007 gave the institutions better co-ordinational and institutional methods that were both important for their security and other matters (Díez, 2017).

The concept of external sovereignty is a European invention dating from the 16th century that yielded political success. By the creation of the EU, there was the introduction of pooled sovereignty in which states exercised their influence in world politics, proportionally pursued autonomous policies and at the same were able to maintain decent life conditions for their own citizens. The traditional concept of state sovereignty has been broken by the member states of the European Union. The pooling of sovereignty was adopted to lead to the transfer the state's legal authority over its external and internal affairs to the whole Community, with the majority of the states permitting action through procedures not including state vetoes. Hence, the sovereignties of the member states are limited by the direct effect and supremacy of the European Union law (Keohane, 2002).

The EU has a unique structure. In the European Council, European and national leaders come together to debate various issues. It establishes the fundamental course of European policy but lacks the legislative authority. Every six months, the various Heads of State from its member nations convene for at least few days. The Council also includes the

high representative for foreign affairs and security policy. The European Parliament is made up of representatives who are chosen at large by the people of Europe. Each country has an number of elected representatives based on its size. The EU's organs and member states are subject to its budgetary and oversight duties. The interests of the entire Union are protected and advanced by the European Commission. It is in charge of promoting and carrying out laws, regulations, and spending plans. For the Commission, each national government selects its own members. Additionally, each nation represents its own interests in the European Union Council. The Council represents the member states, passes European legislation, and carries out the coordination of European initiatives. The creation of the Union's foreign and security policy is one of its most significant responsibilities. The Treaties, which are the primary sources of regulations in the European Union, specify all duties and authority. They also describe the duties of the other, smaller organizations of the Union, such as the Committee of the Regions and the European Central Bank, among others (Díez, 2017).

Conclusion:

Throughout this chapter, the rise of Pan-Arabism as a theory that had been taught and discussed in the late 19th century by Arab thinkers and scholars has been illuminated. Initially, Pan-Arabism was used as a valuable tool of solidarity against the oppression by foreign powers in the Middle East. The Middle East had been dominated by the Ottomans for centuries and then by the European colonial powers. Pan-Arabism, as an idea emphasizing the importance of Arab unity and solidarity, was a great weapon in challenging colonial oppression. It paved the way for the establishment of the Arab League, which was one of the earliest regional organizations to consolidate the Third Worldist principles of unity, solidarity, and anti-imperialism. In addition, the oppression of the Arabs by the colonial powers in the early 20th century was shown to lead to their solidarity and unity after several years of resistance and rebellion, which ended up with successfully establishing the Arab

League in 1945. The Arab League might be not one of the most successful attempts of a perfect inter-regional organization as compared to the European Union, but still it held the Arabs together against the forces of imperialism and it is based on one of the most causes of supporting the freedoms and rights of the Palestinians, which is a significant humanitarian cause globally and also impacts the whole region. The post-colonial movements and the awareness of the importance of embracing the sufferings of the others in a period which was vibrant of pan-Arabism and Third-Worldism, showed the power of the solidarity of the oppressed. The solidarity of the Black movements with other post-colonial movements in the Middle East and Africa has been an inspiration to many generations. It was a significant move in awareness of the relationality and common vulnerability of all human beings and the importance of their united resistance to the global status of paternalism, racism, and colonialism in an era where the concepts unity and solidarity of Third Worldism were flourishing. Hence, this acts as a reminder that in order to challenge the long-standing structures of racism and paternalism, the embrace of the interdependence of all humans in their struggles and the awareness of their common vulnerability and responsibility to each other that existed in the golden age of Third Worldism should be advanced.

Chapter Three: Pan-Arabism in the Arab League, the Arab Boycott of Israel, and the

Process of Normalization

Introduction:

The first section in this chapter will cover the role of Pan-Arabism in establishing the Arab

League and its basis and position of the Arab League during the peak of Pan-Arabism and

after its fall. Covering the history of the rise and fall of Pan-Arabism in the Arab League,

which was the main component of the Arab states during the heyday of Pan-Arabism, will

demonstrate to the reader the repercussions of the fall of Pan-Arabism on both the Arab

world and overseas. Following this, I will discuss the Arab League boycott of Israel that

began with the establishment of the Arab League and its implementation by the Arab states

during the heyday of pan-Arabism. Then, I will discuss the U.S. pressure to end the boycott

which was reflected in its anti-boycott laws and acts. I will then address the normalization of

the Arab states' relations with Israel and the role of U.S. pressure in those processes.

In this chapter, I will argue that the Arab League had been putting efforts to maintain

the valued principles of Pan-Arabism in the area, but the member states still followed their

interests after losing the sense of trust and mutual responsibility that they had been previously

adopting. This was shown through the League's condemnations of Camp David Accords

(1978), First Gulf War (1980), the Lebanese Civil War (1982), Second Gulf War (1990),

Somalian Civil War (1991), the Bahraini/Qatari dispute over Al Jinan Island (2001),

Sudanese Civil War (2002), the American Invasion of Iraq (2003), the Israeli aggression on

the Arab lands throughout the years and on terrorism in the region. Each of those events had

a more and more wounding effects on those in diaspora either on their disunity due to their

conflicts or on their harassment and discrimination by the U.S. as people from an Arab

heritage background.

In addition, I argue that the loosening and endings of the Arab boycott to Israel were caused by the U.S. pressures on the Arab states, which turned the boycott from a state based boycott to a civil society based boycott. This was caused by the influence of the Israel lobby and think tanks on the U.S. foreign and domestic policies, which turned them to Israel's favor. The U.S. pressures were also witnessed in conditioning its aids to the Arab states till the Arabs normalize with Israel, which led to either the loosening or the endings of those states' boycotts to Israel. As the Arabs' normalization with Israel led to fragmentations and faced resistance from the publics of the Arab world, they were also having the same implications on the Arabs and those from Arab origins in diaspora.

Arab League and Pan-Arabism:

The Arab League was created from a completely anti-imperialist notion; it aimed to establish a unified Arab bloc totally independent from Western powers (Doran, 1999). The founding basis of the Arab League began by a note, "Arab Independence and Unity," that Prime Minister Nuri al Said sent to Mr. Casey, Great Britain's Minister of State in Cairo. The note highlighted the League's motive to strive for Arab independence from the colonial powers, to attain unity and solidarity, and to reach a settlement on the Palestinian question (Khadduri, 1946). In 1946, for instance, this anti-imperialist notion proved useful by the League's members as they stood by Egypt against the British. The promotion of Arab solidarity and independence by the League also helped the Triangle Alliance (Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia) to stop the Hashemites from uniting with Turkey during the Turco-Iraqi Treaty in 1946, and hence they successfully restricted Turkish influence in the Fertile Crescent as they claimed it had a strong imperial overtones. The Arab solidarity and anti-imperialist notions of the League were certainly clearly shown in the League's commitment to Palestinian self-determination (Doran, 1999). This commitment was shown even before the

expiration of the British mandate in Palestine in a speech by the Egyptian prime minister,

Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi, in 1948 in which he stated:

> Honored Senators! 15 May is at hand! Great Britain will abandon the Mandate and its responsibilities. Thus all the Arab inhabitants of Palestine are subject to the mercy of these three gangs [The Stern Gang, the Irgun, and the Hagana]. Is it possible that we will remain as spectators fixed at a standstill? [Voices: No!] I felt that-I, who for many reasons did not in any way promote [the view] that our forces should become embroiled [in this conflict]-must come before you in your capacity as the representatives of the nation…and I must say: If the killing is not stopped in a manner that will grant Arabs peace, then there is no choice but for the Egyptian forces to set about establishing security in Palestine! (Doran, 1999, 129).

As shown in al-Nuqrashi's speech, the decision to be involved in the conflict was

controversial by some parties, but the main reason for breaking this controversy and

considering the involvement in Palestine as a duty was the prior commitment to Arab

solidarity and the liberation of Palestine that the Arab League emphasized (Doran, 1999).

Baqai in his article "The Pan-Arab League" described the Pan-Arab notion of the

Arab League as the following:

> This unity was long overdue. For no two peoples are so close to each other as those living in the area generally described as the Middle East: they have strong natural ties of a common language, rich in literature and thought; common historical traditions, which successfully overcome local differences and dynastic feuds; and a common religion, in which even non-Muslim Arabs take pride as the best contribution of the Arabs to the world. (Baqai, 1946, 144).

Although the Sykes-Picot Agreement was an attempt to build artificial barriers that would

weaken the unity among Arabs, there were several events after its implementation that

reflected Arabs' persistent drive for unity and that helped build the foundation for the Arab

League. The first was the World Islamic Congress in Jerusalem in 1931, which called for the

unity of the Arab lands and their complete independence from colonial rule. There was also

the Treaty of Taif in 1934 by King Ibn Saud who emphasized Arab independence,

brotherhood, dignity, and unity. Furthermore, there was the Treaty of Friendship with Egypt

in 1936, in which King Ibn Saud declared similar claims for unity and independence. Most

importantly, the Palestine Conference was held in 1939, which manifested and solidified this

unity that was later displayed as the foundation of the Arab League (Baqai, 1946). Hence, the League's early and main aspirations since its establishment — independence, peace, and stability in Palestine; the British evacuation from Egypt; and the Anglo-French evacuation from the Levant — were all reflections of the former events and treaties that acted as manifestations of its ideas (Baqai, 1946).

As mentioned before, consensus was embodied in the Arab League's Charter in Article 6. Consensus had been taken very seriously by the Arab public and Arab governments since the establishment of the League until the 1980s. This was specifically reflected in its embrace of unified, collective Arab action against the West and Israel. Therefore, any unliteral action under the name of state sovereignty was perceived as "bad politics" or even as an act of betrayal. This valued norm was continuous in post-World War Two Arab politics until Sadat signed the Camp David Accords to further Egypt's national interests (Sirriyeh, 2000). After the signing of the Accords, the League moved its headquarters out of Cairo, Egypt was suspended from the League, economic and diplomatic sanctions were imposed on Egypt by the League members, and the Persian Gulf states terminated $1 billion of its annual assistance to Egypt (Green, 1984). This led to a lack of trust among the Arab states and a state of strategic imbalance in the region that shifted the region from one attempting to attain peace, stability and unity to one filled with enmity, instability and division.

The annual meetings of the Arab League from 1967 to the early 2000s will be discussed in the next below to further demonstrate the dramatic change from a period of vibrant Pan-Arabism in the 1960s to a period of decline in Pan-Arabism in the 1980s in the Arab world.

The Arab League and the Heyday of Pan-Arabism

After the Human Rights violations that took place in the attacks of 1967, the permanent delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic in 1967 requested the League's General

Secretariat to ask the League's Council to emphasize and maintain the importance of Arab

unity and solidarity. This was mainly seen as a continuity of the valued principle of Arab

unity which was the only way that the Arab states could regain some power in the face of the

violation of their political and human rights by the United States' support of Israel and the

aggression that both showed to the Arab people in 1967.[50]

Since one of the fundamental principles of Pan-Arabism was anti-imperialism, this

was also reflected in the League's actions toward other non-Arab states. For instance, in

1967, the League's Council stated that racial discrimination in South Africa and the

domination of the European minority there should be condemned just as the whole Arab

world condemned the racial discrimination practiced in Palestine.[51] Furthermore, the

League's Council stated that the only way to combat apartheid and racism in South Africa

and the occupied Arab territories was through Afro-Arab unity and solidarity. Since South

Africa and the occupied Arab territories were exposed to the same devastating experiences,

there was an urgency to offer donations and political, literary, and financial aid to both

international organizations that were fighting apartheid systems in many countries and the

freedom movements in South Africa respectively.[52]

In 1968, the League's Council also expressed its resentment and the necessity for

Arab solidarity to regain the regions of Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine that were occupied

during the Israeli aggression in 1967. The Council emphasized the necessity for immediate

action by the whole Arab front to prevent and stop the mass expulsions and aggressions that

innocent civilians in those regions were experiencing.[53]

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[50] Arab League. (1967). *Minutes of the sessions of the forty-eighth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States,* page 221.
[51] Arab League. (1967). *Minutes of the sessions of the forty-seventh ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 262.
[52] Ibid. 231
[53] Arab League. (1968). *Minutes of the sessions of the forty-ninth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States,* page 247.

In 1969, the League's Council received a memorandum from the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs discussing the necessity of solidarity with Arabs in the diaspora. It declared that this could be achieved by aiding and financing Arabs abroad and depending on them as a soft power assisting and working for the Arab cause back home. This would benefit their image and position in the diaspora as well as possibly being a peaceful way to prevent and end the violations occurring in their home countries. Hence, the League's Council decided to connect with the Arab diaspora to teach them about the situation in the Middle East and encourage them to act in solidarity with the Arab cause. Furthermore, the Council encouraged them to teach their sons and daughters the Arabic language and impart the necessity of Arab unity to future generations.[54]

After the League's Council received a memorandum from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sudan in 1971 that detailed the importance of the Afro-Arab unity, the League's Council urged the necessity of all Arab countries to donate to the Aid Fund for the Victims of South Africa. In addition, the Council expressed that it was essential for all Arab countries to offer financial contributions to the Ninth African Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity. Lastly, the Council asked the Arab states to offer scholarships to African students, especially those whose home countries were still under colonial occupation.[55]

A 1971 report by Mahmoud Riad for the General Secretariat of the Arab League stated that Israel found that the United States was willing to dominate the Middle East after the region was decolonized from the colonial powers of Britain and France. This made Israel target the creation of a special relationship between itself and the world's current superpower, the United States. Israel succeeded in obtaining this relationship and receiving what it wanted and needed from the United States: political, military, and economic support that enabled it to

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[54] Arab League. (1969). *Minutes of the sessions of the fifty-second ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States,* page 426.

[55] Arab League. (1971). *Minutes of the sessions of the fifty-fifth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 1011.

successfully execute its aggression on the Arab states in 1967. It also succeeded in maintaining its expansionist settler-colonial plans by occupying the West Bank, Gaza, Sinai, and the Golan Heights. Riad expressed how dangerous the situation was by announcing that from 1967 to 1970, Israel received military, economic, and political support from the United States that exceeded the amount it received from 1948 to 1966 from the United States. Therefore, Riad stated that the only way to challenge those dangers was by maintaining Arab solidarity. He also stated that the Palestinian case was not only the Palestinians' responsibility but all the Arab states' responsibility and there was no way for a single Arab state to free Palestine on its own. Hence, it became the mission of all Arab states to drive out their colonial enemies in order to free themselves and their lands.[56]

In 1973, the Arab League expressed its full support for the governments and people of Syria and Egypt after the surprise attack by Israeli forces on the Golan Heights and Sinai. The League's Council also expressed its satisfaction with the efforts of several Arab states to strengthen and unite the Arab effort and action against the Zionist enemy.[57] In the same year, the League decided to provide US $15,000 to the Expatriate Conference in Buenos Aires that took place at the end of September. The League stated that since the conference included Arabs who originated from almost all of the Arab states, its financial and moral support was necessary to strengthen Arab solidarity in the diaspora, which through its unity and strength could have a major positive impact on the fate of the Arab cause back home.[58]

In 1974, the League's Council stated the need for establishing an office for the Arab Cooperation Expert Committee in any of the Arab States. This Committee would hold

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[56] Arab League. (1972). *Minutes of the sessions of the fifty-eighth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 177-178.
[57] Arab League. (1973). *The role of the sixtieth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 192.
[58] Ibid. 586

training courses and seminars about the importance of Arab cooperation specifically in Arab states which were in need of this awareness.[59]

Furthermore, after the Lebanese Civil War in 1975, the League's Council collected $1 million in donations to the International Red Cross from the Arab states to provide the Lebanese people with shelter and medical and humanitarian assistance, which was an act that reflected solidarity, care, and unity.[60]In the same year, the League's Council established the Arab-African Cooperation Committee, which included the United Arab Emirates, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Somalia, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, Palestine and Mauritania, to improve cooperation among Arab states.[61]

Overall, during the 1960s and the 1970s, the League experienced an effortless atmosphere of cooperation, unity, and solidarity among the Arab states that was being maintained on a willingly brotherly basis between the states. However, by the end of the 1970s, the region witnessed a dramatic change. A series of events occurred among the Arab states that propelled disunity and self-interest to predominate over the previously existing unity and cooperation.

The Arab League and the Fall of Pan Arabism

In 1978, the League condemned the Camp David Accords and stated that they violated Palestinian human rights. The League also added that the actions of Egypt impinged on the real responsibility that Egypt held toward Palestine and the whole Arab world. Hence, the League denounced the Accords and refused to abide with their political, economic, and legal outcomes. Furthermore, since Egypt was the leader of Arab unity, the League's Council emphasized the importance of unifying all Arab efforts to deal with the new strategic

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[59] Arab League. (1974). *The role of the sixty-first ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 376.
[60] Arab League. (1976). *The role of the sixty-fifth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 300.
[61] Arab League. (1976). *The role of the sixty-sixth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 302.

imbalance resulting from the expulsion of Egypt that might expose the region to new dangers.[62] However, the Arab presidents, kings, and princes in the Ninth League of Arab States Summit Conference in 1978 still called for Egypt to revoke its signing of the Accords, which the League considered an attempt by Israel to destroy Arab unity and related efforts.[63]

As mentioned, as a consequence of Egypt's agreement to the Camp David Accords Egypt was expelled from the League and the League's headquarters was moved from Cairo to Baghdad. The League also decided to boycott any Egyptian personnel that dealt directly with Israel, whether politically or economically.[64] However, the League's Council emphasized that Egypt's land and people were still considered a part of the Arab world, and this should be respected. Furthermore, the Council stated that there should be a very distinct separation between the treatment of the Egyptian people and the Egyptian government. This separation should be strictly applied to the treatment of Egyptian citizens residing in other Arab countries whose maltreatment would be recognized as an infringement of the valuable principle of Arab unity.[65]

In 1978, the League's Council called for all Arab countries to support Lebanon in both the Arab and international media to aid it in regaining all its occupied lands, including South Lebanon. Additionally, the Council decided to create a joint Arab project that would collect money to support Lebanon financially in order to help it rebuild what had been destroyed economically, residentially, and socially.[66]

In 1979, the League condemned the United States' role in the Camp David Accords and its support of Israeli politics. Moreover, it added that the continuation of these politics would not only negatively affect Arab unity but would also negatively affect political

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[62] Arab League. (1978). *The Ninth League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 93.
[63] Ibid. 94
[64] Ibid. 96
[65] Ibid. 97
[66] Ibid. 112

relations between the United States and the Arab world. In addition, the League stated that there would be additional support to the Private Media Box which belonged to the League to intensify media activity in the United States by providing coverage of the situation of Palestine and the Arab World. Lastly, it requested the League's General Secretariat work on cooperating with and supporting Arabs in the diaspora whose support could have a major positive impact on both inter-Arab relations and relations between the United States and the Arab world.[67]

In 1980, the League condemned the Iran-Iraq war which began on 22 September, 1980, and stated that those disputes were an infringement of the intended unity between Arab and Islamic states. It ordered an immediate ceasefire and the attempt to reach a peaceful resolution of the conflict instead.[68] The League's Council also mentioned the necessity of settling the Arab disputes. It expressed its deep concern for the disputes and the disunity of Arabs in times that required their unity in the face of the enemy. Furthermore, it stated that the continuity of those disputes would destroy the substance of the text of the Arab Solidarity Charter issued during the Summit Conference in Casablanca in 1956.[69]

In 1982, the League's Council emphasized its position on condemning the Gulf War and demonstrated the war's fatal danger to the region and its unity. Furthermore, it expressed its concern about the Lebanese Civil War and its negative outcomes for the unity and safety of Lebanon. Furthermore, it requested an immediate end to the Israeli occupation of Lebanon which posed a danger not only to Lebanon but to all its neighbor states and the rest of the Arab world as well.[70]

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[67] Arab League. (1979). *The tenth League of Arab States Summit Conference,* page 107.
[68] Arab League. (1980). *The eleventh League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 171.
[69] Ibid. 172
[70] Arab League. (1982). *The twelfth League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 190.

In 1987, the League's Council condemned Iran's laying mines in the Persian Gulf, and expressed the full support of the Arab states to the Gulf countries against any dangers.[71] Furthermore, in the same meeting, the League's Council condemned Iran for occupying part of the Iraqi territories, and expressed its full support to Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. [72]

In 1991, the League condemned the Iraqi aggression on Kuwait in 1990 and indicated its refusal to recognize the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait. Hence, it requested the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwaiti lands and asked Iraq to restore Kuwait's full legitimate rights according to Resolution 661 (1990) of the UN Security Council.[73] It also condemned the Iraqi threats to the Gulf countries and the mobilization of its forces on the border of Saudi Arabia, which was a threat to not only to the Gulf countries but also to the whole Arab world. The League considered those acts to be an infringement of the principle of Arabism which highlighted peace and cooperation among Arab states.[74]

In 1993, the League's Council expressed its full support of the Palestinian First Intifada, and called on the world's superpowers — specifically the United States — to pressure Israel to put an end to its human rights violations in order to attain a real peace process.[75] Furthermore, the League's Council called on the international community and the United States to force Israel to apply UN resolutions and other International organizations' decisions related to the full withdrawal of Israel from both the Golan Heights and the occupied lands in the Middle East.[76] However, during the League's attempts to regain an atmosphere of solidarity and unity among Arab states, the Middle East was drowning in conflicts; these were either inter-Arab conflicts, conflicts in the Middle East involving other

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[71] Arab League. (1987). *Extraordinary Session of the League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 195.
[72] Ibid. 202
[73] Arab League. (1991). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its ninety-third ordinary session,* page 304.
[74] Ibid. 305
[75] Arab League. (1993). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its ninety-ninth ordinary session,* page 4.
[76] Ibid. 7

states outside the region or neighboring states to the region, or Israel furthering its annexations and aggression in the occupied lands. For example, in the same meeting, the League's Council condemned Iran's occupation of Abu Musa Island and Greater and Lesser Tunbs in the United Arab Emirates.[77]

In the second annual meeting of 1993, the League's Council condemned further annexations by Israel in South Lebanon and the West Bank in the final week of July 1993. The League's Council asked for the urgent implementation of Decision 425 by the UN's Security Council to put an end to Israeli aggression on Lebanese lands and stop practices that were considered human rights violations according to the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. Furthermore, the League's Council requested the immediate release of Lebanese political prisoners who were experiencing inhumane conditions in Israeli prisons.[78]

The Arab League had been rigidly rejecting any kind of normalization with Israel since 1947. However, the League accepted Oslo Accords signed between Israel and the PLO representative Yasser Arafat in 1995 despite the fact that it was endorsing economic and political normalizations with Israel. This was mainly as the Arab League recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of Palestine since 1974, which made the League to have no position to reject such process (Shlaim, 1994). On the other hand, the accords were met by more controversies and disunity amongst the League's member states and the PLO itself. For example, within the PLO, the Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine and the Damascus-based Democratic Front For the Liberation of Palestine opposed the accords. The reactions by the League's member states were also mixed as some states as Lebanon and Syria criticized the accords and others as Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and Jordan seized it as an opportunity to establish economic relations with Israel. Furthermore, several Arab states were

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[77] Ibid. 24
[78] Arab League. (1993). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundredth ordinary session*, page 57.

dismayed by Arafat's particularistic diplomacy as they considered it as a violation to the Arab unified negotiating strategies (Shlaim, 2016).

In 1995, the League's Council called for the Arab states to support the Kingdom of Jordan to recover its lands occupied by Israel which should have been returned according to the Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty in 1994 and the International Legitimacy Resolutions.[79]

Also in 1995, the League's Council planned a high-level seminar to emphasize the implementation of the Right of Return to the Palestinians according to the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194 (Article 11).[80] In the same meeting, the League's Council asked the international community to put pressure on Israel to provide compensation to Lebanon for the damage caused by their repeated attacks on Lebanese lands.[81] Furthermore, the Council asked for an immediate investigation into the conditions of Lebanese prisoners in Israeli prisons which should adhere to the abiding relevant international agreements. Additionally, it asked Israel to pay the resulting compensation in accordance with the international laws in force.[82]

In 1996, the League's Council called on the Arab Group at the United Nations to consider including an appropriate item on the agenda of the next session of the General Assembly on the continuation of Israel's sole possession of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction in the region. It added that this constituted a serious imbalance in both the regional and strategic balance by exposing the neighboring states to dangers. Hence, it stated that there should be an immediate disarmament of those weapons in order to achieve peace and security in the area.[83]

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[79] Arab League. (1995). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundred and second ordinary session*, page 17.
[80] Arab League. (1995). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundred and third ordinary session,* page 31.
[81] Ibid. 36
[82] Ibid. 38
[83] Arab League. (1996). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundred and fifth ordinary session,* page 27.

In 1998, the League's Council condemned the Israeli/Turkish military cooperation and elaborated on how it could negatively affect the peace and stability in Palestine. It added that this cooperation could be detrimental to Palestinian human rights, the peace settlements in the region, and the peace and stability of the Arab states.[84] Furthermore, in the same meeting, the League's Council condemned terrorism and requested the states that shielded terrorists in the region to immediately return them to their countries if they were wanted by the justice system. [85] Hence, in 1999, the League's Council announced the establishment of The Arab Convention For The Suppression Of Terrorism in May of 1999. It expressed the urgency of all Ministers of Interior and Ministers of Justice of Arab nations to combat terrorism in order to achieve peace, security, and stability in the region.[86]

In March 2001, the League's Council condemned the Somalian Civil War. It added that there should be immediate support from League members to Somalia in rebuilding what had been ruined in the conflict.[87] During this meeting, the League's Council also expressed its full support to both Syria and Lebanon against the Israeli threats to them in 2001; it stated that those threats were not only considered dangerous to Syria and Lebanon, but also to all of the Arab states, including the Palestinian people and their authority. It further added that it condemned the terrorism allegations towards Arab states that were used to justify Israel's illegal occupation of the Arab states. Hence, the League decided to draw a clear Arab strategy that would reveal the Israeli plans in the region which were threatening Arab unity, peace, security, and territorial integrity and were, most importantly, infringing on the peace settlements.[88]

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[84] Arab League. (1998). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundred and tenth ordinary session*, page 49.
[85] Ibid. 61
[86] Arab League. (1999). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundred and twelfth ordinary session*, page 59.
[87] Arab League. (2001). *The Council of the League of Arab States at the summit level in its thirteenth regular session*, page 8.
[88] Ibid. 42

One of the major conflicts in the region that the League discussed in the summit of 2001 was the Bahraini/Qatari dispute over Al Jinan Island. The League's Council called for an immediate dispute settlement between both states, in order to regain and strengthen the brotherly bond in the region and to attain peace and security.[89]

In 2002, the League's Council requested that Iraq expedite a permanent solution to the issue of the Kuwaiti Prisoners of war and hostages. Furthermore, it asked the Iraqi authority to return Kuwaiti properties in accordance with the relevant International Legitimacy Resolutions. Additionally, it pleaded for Kuwait's cooperation in what Iraq offered for its missing persons in Kuwait through the International Committee of the Red Cross. The League's Council condemned the decision of some of the Arab states to attack Iraq, as it considered these actions a fatal threat to the national security and unity of all Arab states.[90] During this meeting, the League's Council also condemned the Iranian government's act of building housing facilities in Iraq in which to settle Iranian citizens. It demanded that the Islamic Republic of Iran desist from such violations and provocative actions that interfered in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign state. It added that such actions would not help to build trust among Arab states and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Furthermore, those actions were threats to the stability, security, and unity of the region. In addition, they endangered the security and safety of regional and international navigation, which put the Persian Gulf at risk.[91] The League's Council also mentioned the Sudanese Civil War and expressed its rejection of any attempts that would expose the state of Sudan to fragmentation. Additionally, it called on the United States to lift its unilateral economic sanctions on Sudan, so that it could seriously contribute to the success of the peace process in Sudan. Furthermore, it demanded that regional and international parties support the efforts

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[89] Ibid. 44
[90] Arab League. (2002). *The Council of the League of Arab States at the summit level in its fourteenth regular session*, page 21.
[91] Ibid. 22

that aimed to achieve peace and national reconciliation in Sudan, and to refrain from interventions that would obstruct efforts aimed at achieving those desired goals.[92]

After the 2003 American invasion of Iraq, the League issued Decision no. 277 at the Beirut Summit, which denounced the Iraq invasion and threats to the security and safety of any other Arab state. The league supported the international stances which opposed the use of force in Iraq and considered the outcomes of danger and instability that would be caused by war in the region. Most importantly, the League added that in light of the great danger and negative repercussions surrounding any military actions against Iraq and its people, Israel had attempted to implement its plans to empty the occupied Palestinian lands of Arab residents and replace them with Israeli settlements instead, which increased the suffering of the Palestinian people. Hence, the League emphasized the responsibility of the Security Council to protect the state of Iraq and its people, and to preserve its independence, peace, and territorial integrity. Furthermore, the League stated that the Security Council should ensure the security, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Iraq's neighboring countries. Most importantly, the League stated that while there would be a process of disarmament of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, there should be also a process of disarmament of weapons of mass destruction in the whole region, including in Israel in accordance with Security Council Resolution no. 687 (Article 14) in 1991.[93]

The GGC countries on the other hand were not only supporting the U.S. invasion of Iraq, but they were also considered the United States' traditional ally. The main reason behind their support to the U.S. which was shown in opening their military basis for the U.S. against Iraq, was for maintaining their security and their positions as regional powers from the dangers of Iraq and Iran in the region (Çetinoğlu, 2010).

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[92] Ibid. 27
[93] Arab League. (2003). *The Council of the League of Arab States at the summit level in its fifteenth regular session,* page 6-7.

During the Hundred and Twentieth Ordinary Session of the League in 2003, the League's Council urged the Arab countries that had not yet ratified the Arab Convention to Combat Terrorism to expedite the completion of the ratification procedures.[94] The Arab Convention to Combat Terrorism was adopted by the Council of Arab Ministers of the Interior and the Council of Arab Ministers of Justice of the Arab League in 1998 for suppressing the terrorist offences in the Arab world, which posed threat to the stability and security of the region. Hence, it was adopted well before 9/11 and the war on terror, but it was reemphasized on to be ratified by the Arab states after 9/11 and the war on terror (Wolff, 2013). Furthermore, the Council invited the Arab countries to join the international conventions related to combating terrorism. The Council also condemned the terrorist bombings in the cities of Al Riyad and Casablanca during May of 2003.[95]

The League's Council called upon the Arab states, Arab funds, and Arab financial institutions to expedite their assistance for the reconstruction of Iraq for peace, security, and balance in Iraq and the wider Arab world. Moreover, it strongly condemned the criminal, inhumane, and immoral practices committed by the soldiers of the coalition against the Iraqi people, especially in prisons and detention centers. It mentioned that those practices constituted a flagrant violation of human rights and of all international covenants and treaties. Additionally, the Council demanded that the perpetrators and those responsible for the criminal acts to be brought to trial and be punished for them.[96]

In 2005, the League's Council rejected Syria's Accountability Act put forward by the United States, which had the purpose of ending Syria's development of weapons of mass destruction. The League's Council considered this Act as transgressing the principles of

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[94] Arab League. (2003). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States at the Ministerial level in its hundred and twentieth ordinary session*, page 7.
[95] Ibid. 7.
[96] Arab League. (2004). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States at the Ministerial level in its hundred and twenty-second ordinary session*, page 31.

international law and the United Nations' Decisions. Furthermore, the Act was recognized as being blatantly biased in favour of Israel, which would lead to a deterioration of peace in the Middle East and would cause serious harm to Arab interests. The League expressed its solidarity with Lebanon against any attempts to target its historical brotherly relations with Syria, and it refused any interference in Lebanon's internal affairs through this Act or any other subsequent legislation.[97]

In 2007, the League's Council condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. It added its refusal to confuse terrorism with the true Islamic religion and Arab values which uphold tolerance and reject terrorism and extremism. Furthermore, the Council stated the need to work on addressing the roots of terrorism and eliminating the factors that feed it by eliminating hotbeds of tensions and double standards in the application of international law. Most importantly, it emphasized the need to put an end to foreign occupation, injustices, and assaults on human rights and dignity in the Arab world. The League also highlighted the importance of strengthening existing cooperation between Arab states and international and regional organizations in the field of combating terrorism. It mentioned specifically the Counter-Terrorism Committee formed under Security Council Resolution no. 1372 in 2002, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Moreover, the League mentioned the importance of activating the executive mechanism of the Arab Convention to Combat Terrorism. It urged the concerned authorities in the Arab counties that had not submitted their answers to the questionnaires related to terrorism to follow up with the implementation of the agreements and submit them to the Arab Office of the National Police in preparation for submitting them to the Councils of Arab Ministers of Justice and Interior.[98]

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[97] Arab League. (2005). *The Council of the League of Arab States at the summit level in its seventeenth regular session*, page 52.
[98] Arab League. (2007). *The nineteenth League of Arab States Summit Conference,* page 63.

During the heyday of Pan-Arabism, the Arab League, with the support of its member states, abided by the valued principles of unity, cooperation, anti-imperialism, and solidarity of Pan-Arabism. After the signing of the Camp David Accords, the League kept striving to have the Arab states abide by those valued principles. However, the member states lost trust in each other and lost the sense of mutual responsibility that they previously respected. Hence, conflicts and disputes took over the region, which posed severe challenges for the League. This occurred mainly because member states decided to pursue their national interests while leaving the principles of unity *Qawmiyyah* behind; they later recognized that this path proved useless and delusionary after the 1978 Accords. This led to inter-Arab state conflicts and inter-state conflicts between Arab and non-Arab states that endangered the whole region, furthered the Israeli annexations, and opened the way for the rise of terrorism in the region due to the resulting regional and strategic imbalance.

In the following sections, I will be discussing how the Arab League for decades had been the main advocate for the Arab Boycott of Israel while demonstrating the boycott process during the heyday of Pan-Arabism. However, following this, I will be demonstrating that due to the international pressures, the changing politics and hence the changing of the Arab states' interests, the League's stance towards the normalization and boycott of Israel of its members had changed from rigid to fragile through time.

The Arab Boycott of Israel:

In 1945, the Arab League encouraged the boycott of Jewish goods and services in the British Mandate of Palestine to weaken their power in establishing a Jewish state in Palestine and to protect the rights of the Arab indigenous population in Palestine (Iskandar, 1966). Since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, the Arab League maintained an official boycott of Israel. The boycott had three categories. The first was the primary boycott, which was essentially the prohibition of Arab League members from directly buying from, selling to

or entering into a business with either an Israeli citizen or the Israeli government. The second category was the secondary boycott, which banned League members from joining any global entity which would be blacklisted by the Central Boycott Office (CBO) by doing business with Israel. The last category was the tertiary boycott, which was the prohibition of League members and their citizens from dealing with companies that did business with blacklisted companies (Weiss, 2013). Additionally, the boycott was extended to companies with "Zionist sympathizers" in their managerial positions or on their boards, or any individual who takes part in pro-Israel political activism (Kontorovich, 2003). In May 1949, the League decided to establish boycott offices in all Arab states under the supervision of a head office, the CBO in Damascus (Iskandar, 1966).

The secondary and tertiary boycotts were enforced by the Arab states' establishment of a system of certifications and questionnaires which were mandatory for foreign companies to complete to prove that their conduct was compliant with the Arab League boycott. Companies which failed to respond to questionnaires or certificates, behaved in ways that violated the boycott's guidelines, or were even suspected of engaging in such behavior might be blacklisted (Steiner, 1975). The blacklist witnessed its heyday in the 1970s, when it numbered almost 15,000 firms (Kontorovich, 2003). However, since Camp David (1978), the Arab boycott witnessed many disintegrations, which will be discussed later (Kalyal, 2001).

The main motive behind the League's boycott of 1945 was to lend the support of Arab states to the Indigenous Arabs of Palestine who were exposed to aggressions by violent Jewish paramilitary groups committed to political Zionism (these groups were labeled as terrorist by the British during the Mandate period) . The Palestinians, on the other hand, were prohibited by the British Mandate from organizing any paramilitary groups for self-defense. Furthermore, since Israel violated the Armistice Agreement of 1949 while the Arab states

conformed to it, the Arab states decided to implement a boycott instead as a method to curb

Israeli aggression (Iskandar, 1966).

The Arab League recommended and encouraged the boycott, but the boycott

regulations were not binding on the League members. Adherence to the boycott was

dependent on each state's decision (Weiss, 2013). Each state established and upheld the

boycott within the framework of its governmental system. Typically, this was done through

the national boycott office, which was in charge of carrying out the nation's laws of

legislative and executive origin (Steiner, 1975).

The necessity that the boycott be maintained was frequently mentioned by both the

Arab League's members as well as its Council in the League's annual meetings. In 1974, the

League's Council received a note from the Embassy of the United Arab Emirates in Cairo

that indicated the urgency of specifying the service of the General Commissioner to renew

the boycott of the Arab states against Israel.[99] Also, in 1976, the League's General Secretary

received a memorandum from the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the United

States taking several measures and passing legislation related to some of its companies and

institutions aimed at weakening and eliminating the boycott as one of the means used by

Arab nations against Israel. In response, the Syrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized

the importance of maintaining the boycott to challenge the enemies of the Arab world. [100]

In 1978, after Egypt signed the Camp David Accords, the Arab League's Council

decided that all League members should extend the boycott laws to companies and

individuals dealing with Israel in Egypt, while distinguishing between the government and

the people of Egypt. Since the agreement concluded by the Egyptian government with Israel

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[99] Arab League. (1974). *The role of the sixty-first ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 362.
[100] Arab League. (1976). *The role of the sixty-fifth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 518.

stipulated the establishment of diplomatic, economic, cultural, political, and other relations, the League considered that this new situation would lead to extremely dangerous conditions in Egypt that were inconsistent with the principles, traditions, and foundations of Arab nationalism. Hence, as there was an Arab boycott of Israel in various areas including security, economy, culture, and media, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Economy of the Arab countries also met immediately after the signing of the Peace Agreement between the Egyptian government and Israel to set procedures that would protect the interests of the Arab nations in various fields. These included the application of boycott laws to companies, institutions, and individuals in the Arab Republic of Egypt who dealt in an illegal manner directly or indirectly with Israel, while avoiding taking any measures that would harm the interests of Arab people in Egypt.[101]

In 1991, the League's Council decided to prohibit dealing with airlines that transported Jewish immigrant settlers to Palestine and the occupied Arab territories, and to prevent their planes from landing in Arab airports or flying or passing through Arab airspace. Furthermore, it added to the prohibition on dealing with foreign companies by including those institutions and bodies that provided any facilities for the immigration of Jews to Palestine and the occupied territories or their employment in it in any way whatsoever. It also decided to prohibit dealing with companies that owned, managed, or agented ships and tankers that transported Jewish immigrants whose final destination was Palestine or the occupied Arab lands and permanently blacklisted those companies.[102]

After the second Intifada in 2001, the League's Council tried to re-activate the Arab boycott against Israel and resist the Israeli infiltration into the Arab world. Hence, it stated that it would begin to reactivate the activity of the competent liaison offices in Arab countries

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[101] Arab League. (1978). *The Ninth League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 96.
[102] Arab League. (1991). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its ninety-sixth ordinary session*, page 50.

for that purpose. Furthermore, it added the necessity of holding regular, periodic boycott conferences called for by the CBO. It also stated the importance of reactivating the joint economic committees located abroad and revitalizing their role in detecting re-exports of Israeli goods to Arab countries by verifying the validity of the data contained in the certificates of origin. Lastly, it directed the League's General Secretary to follow up on the implementation of that decision, and to instruct the CBO to call for an urgent meeting of liaison officers to activate the Arab boycott against Israel.[103]

One of the most successful boycott methods was the blockade of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba by Egypt which increased Israel's transportation costs by compelling it to make purchases from distant markets despite their availability in the surrounding states (Losman, 1972).

The oil embargo of 1973-74 was also one of the most dramatic boycott weapons used by the Arab world. After the October War of 1973, the oil producing countries put a complete embargo on oil shipments to the Netherlands and the U.S., which were Israel's allies (Doxey, 1976). Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE raised the price of oil from $3.01 per barrel in October to $11.65 per barrel in December and imposed a production cut of 25% (Issawi, 1978). The oil embargo was met with widespread criticism from Israel's supporters who construed it as an "interference in the internal economic affairs of innocent or neutral parties" (Greene Jr, 1978, 86). Commentators in defense of the embargo commented that those who were in neutral positions should abstain from directly or indirectly providing military materials to an aggressive party, which was what the U.S. was doing with Israel (Greene Jr, 1978).

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[103] Arab League. (2001). *The Council of the League of Arab States at the summit level in its thirteenth regular session*, page 4.

Hence, the boycott was used by the Arab states as a weapon to challenge and curb Israeli aggression, occupation, and further extension into the Arab world. On the other hand, the U.S., Israel's closest ally, had since the beginning of the boycott put pressure in many ways on the Arab states to end the boycott.

The U.S. Pressures on the Arab Boycott:

Since the beginning of the boycott, the U.S. had made attempts to end it and its imposition, and these affected the ability of the League members to maintain the boycott. Those pressures, besides the U.S. Aid Programme to Israel, included many legal ways that assisted and supported Israel's economy (Kalyal, 2001). In 1959, the U.S. issued its first legislative action that opposed the Arab boycott of Israel. In 1965, the U.S. pressures against the boycott were strengthened by Congress' decision to impose mandatory reporting for any U.S. company that participated in the Arab boycott of Israel (Weiss, 2013). The reporting was mainly directed by the Commerce Department and the reason behind it was to monitor the extent of the Arab boycott on U.S. business (Turck, 1976). In 1969, in section 3 (5) of the Export Administration Act it was stated that:

> It is this country's policy to oppose…boycotts…imposed by foreign countries against other countries friendly to the United States, and…to encourage …domestic [export] concerns…to refuse to take any action, including the furnishing of information or the signing of agreements, which has the effect of furthering or supporting [such] boycotts… (Steiner, 1975, 1374).

In 1975, the Stevenson bill mandated that all reports submitted, including details regarding a company's observance of the boycott, had to be made public. Companies that failed to report were subject to severe penalties. The bill also stated that U.S. companies cannot refuse to do business with other U.S. companies or persons based on the requirements of the foreign boycotts (Steiner, 1975). In 1976, the ninety-fourth Congress passed anti-boycott legislation that denied both tax advantages to domestic firms with overseas sales and foreign tax credits to any U.S. company that participated in the secondary and tertiary

boycotts (Turck, 1976). Furthermore, in 1977, Congress passed laws that deemed the boycott of any U.S. company because of their relations with Israel to be illegal. In addition, the 1977 laws stated that any company that participated in or cooperated with the boycott would face both criminal and civil penalties. The penalties included, for example, the loss of tax benefits provided by the U.S. government to exporters, which according to one study reduced participation in the boycott from between 15% to 30% (Weiss, 2013).

In 1979, the Export Administration Act (EAA) included antiboycott provisions that mandated criminal penalties for persons participating in boycotts. The criminal penalties were either five years of imprisonment, fines up to $50,000, or a fine five times the value of the exports (Weiss, 2013). In 1991, the U.S. passed two laws that indicated that any U.S. company that participated in the boycott would not be contracted by either the State Department or the Pentagon (Kalyal, 2001). In 2012, Congress issued the Consolidated Appropriations Act that called for the necessity of normalizing relations of Arab League members to Israel by terminating their boycott. Moreover, it prohibited U.S. companies from complying with the boycott and stated that there would be penalties for those who participated or cooperated in the boycott. Lastly, it implied that the U.S. would limit the sale of weapons to states that participated in the boycott of Israel (Weiss, 2013).

Pressures and criticisms about the Arab boycott were not only practiced by the U.S. on Arab states; they were also practiced by some European states and the United Kingdom, and in some cases included governmental sanctions on Arab states that participated in the boycott. Those stances were mainly adopted due to Israeli pressures indicating that the Arab boycott was not conducive to peace (Iskandar, 1966).

The United States' Executive branch was subject to frequent pressure to curtail the boycott by private groups such as the American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League (Steiner, 1975).Those pressures were not surprising since the U.S. was the first

country to recognize Israel. Since Israel's creation, the U.S. had always been interested in Israel's security and survival (Reich, 2014). The U.S. and Israel had always had a special relationship that was frequently demonstrated by U.S. presidents. For instance, in 1962, President John F. Kennedy stated that "The United States has a special relationship with Israel in the Middle East, really comparable only to that which it has with Britain over a wide range of world affairs" (Bar-Siman-Tov, 1988, 231). In 1977, President Jimmy Carter also stated that "We have a special relationship with Israel. It's absolutely crucial that no one in our country or around the world ever doubt that our number one commitment in the Middle East is to protect the right of Israel to exist, to exist permanently, and to exist in peace" (Bar-Siman-Tov, 1988, 231).

Israel has been the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid in both military and economic assistance. Specifically, after the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict, there was a tremendous increase in U.S. aid to Israel, in which military aid was increased from to $140 million to $1.2 billion (Bar-Siman-Tov, 1988, 246).

The Israeli lobby in the U.S. was instrumental in preventing the entrenchment of the idea of the Palestinian right of self-determination in the American community. Israel successfully studied the American political system which made it able to control any issue related to the Middle East. This was mainly done by sending Israeli speakers and students to local events in the United States and American conferences which revolved around the Middle East. This allowed Israel, whether the Israeli government or its embassy officials or even its citizens, to influence U.S. local policies which assisted them to turn all the issues to their advantage as witnessed by the boycott policies. US lobby groups like AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee) and think tanks acted as parties in the game to target both Middle East experts and American governmental officials such as the evangelicals and the neo-conservatives during the time of the George H. Bush administration (Terry, 2005). In

contrast, one of the reasons that the members of the AAUG decided not to form a lobby group was that they were convinced that American domestic and foreign policies were not open for any organizational pressure outside the mainstream (Aruri, 2007).

AIPAC had also been very influential on Capitol Hill. In 2004's electoral process, there were 30 Political Action Committees (PACs) supporting Israel. Media coverage, as discussed previously, had also been influenced by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) to be pro-Israel. Elite views had been shaped by pro-Israel think tanks such as the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP). Although there were disagreements amongst those groups about the creation of a two-state solution, they were all unified by the common goal of maintaining the special relationship between Israel and the U.S. that served Israel economically, politically, and militarily. This was the major difference between Arab solidarity and Israeli solidarity, as discussed by Janice Terry. Differences among the Arabs ended up in fragmentation and disunity; hence, disagreements were not handled the same way as in the Israeli case. Thus, the Israel lobby had been more successful in imposing its influence on all U.S. political sectors (John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, 2009). Aaron David Miller, a former U.S. government official, stated: "Today you cannot be successful in American politics and not be good on Israel. And AIPAC plays a key role in making that happen" (quoted in John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, 2009, 66).

Although pro Israel lobby groups have had a major influence on many US government officials and Congress members, there have been recent changes that indicate the prospect of a more even-handed policy shift. For instance, in 2019, the Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders argued that part of the U.S. annual military assistance to Israel which amounts $3.8 billion should be dedicated to humanitarian relief in Gaza (The Times of Israel, 2019 October 28). Furthermore, these changing attitudes toward the U.S. foreign policy have been witnessed in Congress in the Squad, initially composed of four

Democratic representatives, including Palestinian American Rashida Tlaib of Michigan. The Squad has been growing in numbers, and has been openly defending the Palestinian rights. Also, some Democrats have been openly supporting BDS, which is a positive and a hopeful indicator of change towards a more caring and a more even-handed U.S. foreign policy (Scham, 2020).

The bias of U.S. foreign and domestic policies toward Israel was also frequently mentioned during the Arab League's meetings. For example, in 1969, the League's Council expressed that the U.S. had stood by Israel in all stages since the 1967 war and it cooperated with it fully in all means. It also added that the U. S. supported Israel financially and morally throughout the term of President Johnson. On January 15, 1969, Dean Rusk, U. S. Secretary of State in President Johnson's cabinet, presented the U.S. government's response to the Soviet proposals to the Soviet charge d'affaires in Washington, which included that the U.S. adopted the Israeli point of view, and commended Israel's demands for the complete confiscation of Sinai. The U.S. defended the Israeli aggression in June 1967, and held the Arabs responsible. Furthermore, Johnson focused on the need for Arab countries to suppress what he called "terrorist acts" and held them responsible for Israel's reprisals while ignoring the legitimacy of the resistance to Israeli occupation, and the violence associated with Israel's establishment and the creation of Palestinian refugees. The League stated that the American response ignored the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and tried to show the crisis as if it was a dispute over the borders between neighboring countries. Thus, the League supported the Arab countries' recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people that Israel usurped.[104]

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[104] Arab League. (1969). *Minutes of the sessions of the fifty-first ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 156.

In 1977, the League's Council emphasized the Arab countries' resistance to vertical attempts to weaken the Arab-Israeli boycott, and affirmed the Arabs' commitment to all provisions of the boycott. When it was discovered by the boycott organs that the U.S. was to pass some laws against the provisions of the boycott, the subject was presented to the Boycott Conference in its fortieth session, and the League took the recommendations presented to the Council in its current session at the time. Hence, the Council stated the importance of adhering to the principles of the boycott and its literal decisions. It also expressed the importance to all member states of implementing the decisions of the boycott and adhering to them. It called for the Arab newspapers to focus on the principles of the boycott, to explain its legitimate aspects, and to stress that it was far from any racial or religious discrimination as the U.S. had claimed. Lastly, it advised launching a broad press campaign in the U.S. and Western Europe and distributing a large volume of pamphlets that would show the legitimacy of the Arab boycott.[105]

In 1979, the League's Council stated that the U.S. was Israel's main military, political and economic supporter. Despite the size of the U. S.'s interests in the Arab world, it employed a major part of its capabilities and put pressure on the Arabs to stop boycotting Israel. The League also condemned the policy practiced by the U.S. with regard to its role in concluding the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty. It stressed that the continuation of this policy would have a negative impact on relations between Arab countries and the U.S..[106]

Despite the League's efforts to maintain the boycott, the fragmentation in the Arab world, the prioritization of the Arab states' self-interest over the Palestinian cause, and the continuous U.S. pressures on the Arab boycott led most of the Arab states to either loosen or

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[105] Arab League. (1977). *The role of the sixty-seventh ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States*, page 336.
[106] Arab League. (1979). *The Tenth League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 107.

completely end their boycotts and normalize relations with Israel by the end of the 20th century.

The Arab States' Normalization of Relations with Israel:

U.S. pressure was a main reason that opened the door of normalization of relations between the Arab states and Israel that started with Camp David in 1978 (Kalyal, 2001). In the Arab world "normalization" is referred to as *tatbi'a*. *tatbi'a* and in the Arab context is defined as "the process of building open and reciprocal relations with Israel in all fields, including the political, economic, social, cultural, educational, legal, and security fields" (Salem, 2005, 1). Since Egypt's economy had been devasted after both the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict and the 1973 October War, the U.S. seized the opportunity and offered Egypt a large assistance package conditional upon Egypt's accepting the peace treaty and normalizing relations with Israel (Kalyal, 2001). That assistance package included both major monetary and military aid. Thus, Egypt and Israel maintained a process of normalization in cultural relations which included the exchange of delegations in international conferences, universities, and book fairs with the aim of reaching a mutual ideological solidarity (Harlow, 1986). The economic normalization was shown by Egypt supplying oil to Israel and Israel supplying agricultural products to Egypt (Aulas, 1983). After Egypt's normalization of relations with Israel — which was an example of state interest par excellence — the normalization trend spread in the Arab world by each state responding to U.S. pressures and looking to its own interests over the principles of Pan-Arabism, and in particular the centrality of the plight of the Palestinian people (Susser, 2014). For example, after the Gulf War in 1991, the Gulf countries lifted some of their boycott measures (Kalyal, 2001). Although Saudi Arabia had been one of the strictest Arab adherents of the boycott (witnessed by the oil embargo imposed in 1973), after the Gulf War in 1991 it was one of the first GCC states to support a two-state solution and a peace treaty with Israel. After the invasion of Iraq

in 2003 followed by the Saudi-Iranian cold war, there had been increased security and intelligence cooperation between Saudi Arabia and Israel with Iran targeted as their common enemy (Uzi Rabi and Chelsi Mueller, 2017).

Qatar, on the other hand, was the first GCC country that both recognized and formally launched trade relations with Israel. Qatar reached the ultimate normalization with Israel in 1996 when Israel opened its trade representation office in Doha. Many of the Arab countries which had begun normalizing relations with Israel put limitations on their processes at the time of the Second Intifada, but Qatar still continued its diplomatic and economic relations with Israel at the time. The normalization process between Qatar and Israel was maintained until Israel's military operation on Gaza in 2008, which led Qatar to freeze all its trade ties with Israel (Rabi, 2009).

In 1993, Morocco established direct economic links with Israel, and opened liaison offices in their respective countries (Kalyal, 2001). In 1996, Tunisia under President Zein al-'Abdin Bin Ali established and maintained trade links with Israel and opened its bureau in Tel Aviv while Israel opened its office in Tunisia as well (Gadi Hitman and Chen Kertcher, 2018).

In the 1990s, Oman and Bahrain expanded their trade relations with Israel (Uzi Rabi and Chelsi Muelller, 2017). Although both limited their trade missions during the Second Intifada, in 2005 Bahrain fully abandoned the boycott in order to be able to attain a free trade deal with the United States. Oman followed its steps in 2006 (McMahon, 2014). Furthermore, both Oman and Bahrain supported and welcomed the UAE's signing of the Abraham Accords (2020) (Guzansky, 2020).

In 1993, the PLO and Israel established economic relations by signing the Oslo Accords I. The following year, Jordan and Israel (assisted by President Bill Clinton) signed the Wadi Araba Treaty and developed both economic and cultural relations between both

states. In 1997, following the signing of the Wadi Araba Treaty, Jordan signed another trade package with Israel, which enabled it to gain duty-free access to the U.S. markets. Hence, by the end of the 1990s the power of the boycott of Israel started to wane in the Arab world (Kalyal, 2001).

In 1995, Israel and the PLO signed Oslo Accords II. The Accords included diplomatic, economic, political and military cooperation between both sides. It was a turning point for opening the door of normalization to the Arab states. This was firstly witnessed in the Arab League's tolerance on lifting the economic boycott of Israel, which was a revolutionary decision when considering the League since its establishment. Following this, a number of Arab states have been establishing economic and diplomatic relations with Israel (Shlaim, 2016). After Oslo, the question of Israel's right to existence ceased to be central amongst the Arab states. Hence, it has not only been normalized by the Arab states to recognize Israel but also to establish commercial and diplomatic relationships with it (Jabareen, 2013).

Still further, in 2020, the UAE and Israel signed the Abraham Accords Declaration with the assistance of the American government. The Abraham Accords led to official and full cultural, diplomatic, political, and economic normalization among both states. Although the UAE was originally one of the Arab states that persisted in the boycott of Israel and denied its existence, the signing of those accords was justified by maintaining national interests (Baqi, 2022). Those national interests included protection from the threats of Iran as a common enemy to Israel and the UAE, and having certain guarantees of access to advanced arms from the U.S. (Guzansky, 2020).

Most of the peace initiatives between the Arab states and Israel that dissolved the power of the boycott were assisted and pressured by the U.S., as shown above. In a 2006 Arab League conference, a participant stated that "The majority of Arab countries are

evading the boycott, notably the Gulf states and especially Saudi Arabia." He added that the main reason behind the weakening of the boycott was the "growing U.S. pressures in the direction of normalization with the Jewish state" (Weiss, 2013, 2). However, although the leaders of the Arab states followed their interests over the noble cause of Pan-Arabism, of which its nucleus was the Palestinian cause, resistance was still found amongst the peoples of those states in civil society movements that will be thoroughly discussed in the following chapter.

Conclusion:

Throughout this chapter, it was shown that the founding of the Arab League was a significant development that enabled the political implementation of the valuable aspects of Pan-Arabism and Third Worldism in the region, either by prioritizing the principle of consensus amongst the states —making Arab leaders feel that every Arab state's struggle was their own struggle — or by emphasizing support for struggles outside the region which implanted a sense of responsibility and care in the region. The predominance of national-interest over cooperation in a series of events as shown throughout the chapter, and particularly the shock of the Camp David Accords in 1978, led to the breaking of trust and brotherly relations that had existed in the region for a long time. Furthermore, the Arab boycott of Israel and the role of the U.S. throughout the whole process perfectly illustrates the change of politics and dynamics in the Arab world from states that were in unity and solidarity during the peak of Third Worldism to states that ended up in disunity and disharmony. By complying with U.S. pro-Israel pressures and by following their own self-interest, Arab states shifted from the valuable principles of consensus that the region was built on. The United States' foreign and domestic policies during the Arab League's boycott's period conveyed to the reader the extent of the domestic pressures that the Arabs in diaspora experienced.

Hence, this demonstrated that when the idea of the importance of interdependence, unity, oneness, and wholeness of humanity is excluded from the equation, human suffering usually occurs (Akhavan, 1996). In other words, when selfishness and pride predominates, the care and responsibility of all people suffers due to the relationality of all human beings around the globe (Robinson, 2011).

Chapter Four: Anti-Racist Resistance, the AAUG, and the New Generation of Civil

Society Movements

Introduction:

The first section in this chapter will cover the process of fighting Arab stereotypes in North America and the Arab world by Arab American organizations, Arab states, academic authors, and other minority groups. Covering the stereotypes about the Arab Americans and the Arabs, will demonstrate how the process of Arab stereotyping acted as a crucial domestic factor that led to the alienation and degradation of those with Arab origins in North America. Following this, I will explore the history and role of several anti-imperialist and anti-racist organizations in North America whose activism started in the 1960s. Most of the organizations that will be discussed represented different ethnic groups, yet manifested acts of solidarity with other marginalized and oppressed groups and organizations representing them. Discussing the history and practices of the anti-imperialist and anti-racist organizations in North America, will help in illustrating to the reader the kind of international and domestic pressures and challenges that those organizations experienced. Finally, I will cover the role and history of the new generation of the civil society movements worldwide which is considered a continuation to the journey of the AAUG and which sought to remedy the failures of the Arab states by persistently calling for anti-normalization and maintaining boycotts against Israel.

In this chapter, I will be arguing that the Orientalist stereotypes that were embedded in the U.S. politics acted as a major domestic challenge by positioning the Arabs and those of Arab origins in North America in a status of alienation and inferiority. The Orientalist stereotypes had been in a process of intensification in the U.S. post the 1967 Arab/Israeli conflict. Since 1967, stereotypes had been embedded in the U.S. media in a pro-Israel biased manner. They had been used as a tool for anti-Arab prejudice, and they are still in practice

until today in which organizations such as the Arab American-Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) and others are still persisting to attain justice for the distorted imageries and unjust treatment of Arabs and of those with Arab origins in the U.S. Furthermore, I will be arguing. I argue that there had been a great atmosphere of care, responsibility and unity amongst the anti-racist and anti-colonialist organizations from the 1960s to 1980s in North America, but still the U.S.' pro-Israel foreign and domestic policies that were reflected in media, radio and literature and other factors acted as a huge challenge to them. The Black solidarity with the Palestinian cause had almost faded away by the fading of the Third World Activism as well as by the Israeli pressures that existed in the cutting of the donations and funds from the pro-Israel Jewish groups who had been previously donating to the Black activist groups. However, since those with Arab origins had been and are still subject to stereotyping and harassment, they are still practicing their activism to both the Palestinian cause and to their rights in the United States and Canada. In addition, In this chapter, I will be arguing that although the AAUG achieved a lot of successes, still its weakening and decline were caused by the influence of its members by the unstable and fragmented politics in the Middle East which acted as an international factor in its weakening. The international factors were witnessed in Camp David Accords (1978), the Lebanese Civil War (1982), Second Gulf War (1990) and Oslo Agreement (1990), which all caused controversies amongst the members of the Association and hence led to the leave of many of the prominent members who were fundraising the organization. Lastly, I argue that the civil society movements' practices and goals are considered a continuation to the path and goals of the AAUG by their focus on and persistence to the Palestinian cause and Arab issues. The civil society movements started first as domestic movements in the Arab world that were fighting against both their states' authoritative politics and normalizations with Israel. They were later expanded into transnational movements in the Arab world, Europe, North America and other

parts of the world. Their efforts and agenda were shown and reflected during the Arab Spring and they are still ongoing till today.

Fighting Stereotypes About the Arabs:

As Michael Suleiman noted close to fifty years ago, "Nations in conflict generally internalize a stereotype of their enemy that consists exclusively of evil or contemptible characteristics, but, on the other hand, of themselves and their allies as possessors of the best human qualities. In the battle to win the hearts and minds of world public opinion, each side attempts to transmit its own stereotypes of the other to third parties, and the result may well be to influence the policies of the latter." (Suleiman, 1974, 109). This phenomenon was witnessed in the United States during the Arab/Israeli conflicts in which Israelis were portrayed as the humane victims and Arabs had been portrayed as lacking humanity, the sharpness of suffering and a party that is oppressing the victims of Nazism (Suleiman, 1974). The Arab/Israeli conflict had a major effect on the intensification of the derogatory and negative stereotypes on the Arabs especially in the world's most influential media, the American media. The Israeli attacks had been portrayed as being about self-defense with Israel as the victim, and as holding wisdom and civilization, which had no choice surrounded by enemies that want to destroy it. The Arabs and Palestinians on the other hand were portrayed as terrorists and associated with the most inhumane characteristics and derogatory stereotypes as barbaric, savages, filthy, fanatics and uncivilized (Trice, 1979). As mentioned by Sarah Gualtieri "The American press had demonized Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, laying the blame for the June War entirely at his feet, while it portrayed Israel as David, overrun by an Arab Goliath." (Gualtieri, 2018, 24). Therefore, this misinformation and bias in the U.S. media was intended to build anti-Arab prejudice in the public in order to silence any debate or controversies about the Arab/Israeli conflict that might put Israel's actions and the need to support Israel in question (Samhan, 1987).

Stereotypes have been used throughout history in order to justify the mistreatment of certain groups. The employment of stereotypes had been used with the Jews, African Americans, the Japanese, and the Arabs. The superiority of the stereotyper is attained through embedding the inferiority of the stereotyped "other," which could have a major role in the molding of policy decisions as previously mentioned by justifying injustices and oppressions by nations and individuals over the stereotyped "other." Arabs had always been dehumanized and had always been presented as the bad guys in the eyes of the West (Semaan, 2014). Early Arab immigrants in the United States were referred to as dirty Syrians, Camel jockeys, and Turks, which are terms reflecting colonial derogatory stereotypes about the Arabs (Starck, 2009). This had also been highly witnessed in the American media especially after the start of the Arab Israeli conflict in 1956. In news articles in the *New York Times* and Newsweek, Arabs were presented as having the heritage of defeat and fundamentalism and as lacking civility, unity and democracy. Arab women have long been portrayed as impersonal, distant, and passive in the mainstream US news articles such as the *New York Times*. Political cartoons dehumanizing Arabs and depicting them negatively have also been rampanent, especially the Palestinians, who were viewed as as cockroaches, animals and rodents. In the early 20th century, Arabs were portrayed as criminals and in contemporary American fiction, they have been portrayed as inhumane, backward, greedy, and evil (Semaan, 2014). Egyptians during the Arab Israeli war were portrayed as savages. President Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1967 in the *New York Times* was called "Hitler on the Nile" (Jabara, 2018).

Edward Said once stated that American media has been "crude, reductionist, coarsely racialist" (Starck, 2009, 191). The American media had been driven by politics rather than accuracy and truth and the major example of this is its biased stance in the Arab/Israeli conflict. This narrowed the imagination and corrupted the vision of Americans

towards the Arabs (Starck, 2009). Jack Shaheen in *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* demonstrates how an effective repetition of an idea over again and again can lead to its normalization. Shaheen shows this by studying more than 900 Hollywood movies that kept portraying repeated stereotypical and negative imageries of the Arabs until they became internalized and normalized. Arabs have been portrayed as terrorists abducting white heroines, anti-Christian, and anti-Jewish. Arab women in more than 500 movies have been presented as demonic, humiliated, or eroticized but movies never portrayed Arab women as successful, normal, and human. Egypt's imagery had been intertwined with either money or mummies but the famed hospitality of Egyptians and their cultural and literary achievements have never been portrayed. Palestinians had been always portrayed as terrorists but their refugee camps and the harsh conditions they face under the occupation have never been portrayed. Hence, Shaheen shows how normalizing the stereotypical imagery of the Arabs from the early twentieth century until the current day legitimized this imagery by repetition throughout generations. He also demonstrates how this had been a phenomenon practiced with other groups including Blacks, Latinos, Jews, and Asians, and then Arabs, in order to justify white superiority over the wretched others. (Shaheen, 2003).

In scholarly work and academic textbooks, Arabs have been stereotyped through myths. Edward Said described these myths as being presented as facts through the purported "scientific" analysis by the Orientalists. Orientalist stereotypes have been seen in high school, junior high and elementary school textbooks in the US, which perpetuate the negative stereotypes and myths of the Arabs to the new generations. This led to the internalization and normalization of the stereotyped imagery of the Arabs through several generations, which in turn led to the suffering and the continuity of suffering of the Arabs around the world. Post 9/11, the attacks were taken as an opportunity by racists, and as a rhetorical justification for

embedding the stereotypes and maintaining their othering attitudes which shows the fatality of this internalization (Semaan, 2014).

Wars and conflicts usually create the victimized Other which is a phenomena that had been witnessed from the times of the Romans and Barbarians till today's conflicts and wars. As mentioned by Najjar "Every war, every outburst of genocide, is prepared by propaganda which paints the victim, the Other, as less than human...This is the ultimate lesson of Auschwitz – he who treats his brother as less than human prepares the path to the furnace." (Najjar, 2000, 12). Negative stereotypes planted hate and pride that ended up with fatal consequences in the United States. Since the Arab imageries were intertwined with terrorism, after any bombing attack the attacks were associated with Arabs. For instance, after the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, only later discovered to be done by a white American Christian man, there were more than 200 hate crimes committed against Arab Americans. The distorted internalized imageries of the Arabs were also working in favor of racist policymakers who created policies that made the Arabs politically salient (Najjar, 2000). Arab American and Arab men negatively affected by stereotypes faced false accusations of sexual harassment in their workplaces and were profiled at airports. Due to the stereotype of normally associating Arabs with Islam, both Arab Christians and Muslims were affected by the gendered Orientalist stereotypes. Arab Christians had been automatically assumed to be Muslim and were impacted by the anti-Muslim bias in their daily lives (Kayyali, 2018). In the days after 9/11, over 700 violent incidents against Arabs and Arab Americans were documented, which were mostly due to reasons based on prejudice and discrimination that were outcomes of the deeply rooted stereotypes (Marvin Wingfield and Bushra Karaman , 2007).

The Arabs' association with terrorism also exposed them to harassment by the U.S. government and equated any kind of activism with terrorism. The greatest example of this is

Operation Boulder in 1972, in which Arabs' visas were restricted and the federal government stepped up illegal investigations and surveillance of Arab Americans. This was protested by many Arab American organizations and American leftist groups. Hence, stereotypes subjected the Arabs and Arab Americans to political racism and harassment. ABSCAM was also an outcome of long-standing stereotypes which were exploited by FBI agents. ABSCAM was an incident where several FBI agents posed as Arab sheikhs after the oil crisis and offered several Congressmembers bribes, which was intended to show that rich Arab sheikhs sought to buy America and deform their imagery to the American public (Pennock, 2017).

The unjust U.S. foreign policy towards the Arab countries in the 20th century led to the solidarity and activism of many Arab Americans who took pride in their cultural heritage and wanted to revive their national identity through their unity. After the Arab-Israeli war in 1967, there was a value to the idea of an Arab identity rather than a national one. This led to the establishment of more unified Arab American activism against the negative stereotypes embedded against the Arabs and the rise of several Arab American activist organizations that acted as major tool in fighting the stereotypes. It was a reawakening of an Arab identity that left behind any religious or national differences (Semaan, 2014). This activism led also to scholarly awareness, such as Jack Shaheen's observation that stereotypes would not die on their own and this would not be achieved except through mobilization and resistance. Shaheen adds that it would not only require Arab mobilization but solidarity with other minority groups who had faced similar oppression to change American public opinion and policies (Shaheen, 2003).

After 1967, there was a flood of Arab American organizations that were mainly created to fight the intensification of the negative stereotypes and racism that rose after the Arab Israeli conflict. The majority of these organizations were non-sectarian and had the goal of presenting the Arab cultural heritage proudly. The Association of Arab American

University Graduates (AAUG) established in 1967 will be thoroughly discussed in this chapter is a major example of this. The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) in 1972 also had major contributions in fighting stereotypes. Furthermore, the Arab American-Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) has been one of the major organizations fighting stereotypes and discrimination against the Arabs. Additionally, the American Arab Institute (AAI) had major influence in improving the imagery of the Arabs (Najjar, 2000).

AAUG had been fighting stereotypes by providing the American people with information about Arab heritage and culture. AAUG offered information through publications, lectures, conferences, contacts with political figures and political parties and relations and solidarity with other U.S. civil rights and leftists movements organized by Latinos, African Americans, Native Americans and Asians. AAUG was the inspiration to the following or other Arab American organizations as NAAA and ADC (Jabara, 2007). The AAUG fostered a sense of Arab pride and ethnic identity in different generations and backgrounds of Arab Americans who might otherwise lose their confidence due to the embedded and long-standing negative stereotypes. It was an educational organization but it also engaged in political activism to fight the negative representations of the Arabs that affected the American political leaders' actions, policies, and perceptions, and challenge political Zionism (Pennock, 2017). The well-reasoned and authoritative tactics that were used by AAUG to fight stereotypes were described by the sociologist Elaine Hagopian to "challenge, by scholarly production and example, the Orientalist image of Arabs and Muslims as ignorant, conniving, lecherous, and bloodthirsty peoples." (Pennock, 2017, 30). ADC has been active in challenging negative media portrayals, educational presentations and foreign policies due to the belief that stereotyped perceptions are evident in all those fronts. ADC intended also to fight stereotypes and discrimination along with other racial and ethnic groups (Najjar, 2000). ADC conducted a lot of protests against offensive stereotypes about

Arabs and Arab Americans that it viewed as having negatives outcomes for the safety of Arab origin people in all life aspects as employment and even self-respect (Starck, 2009).

The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions movement (BDS) has also been one of the major forms of solidarity that had influence in combatting racism and stereotypes practiced against the Arabs especially post 9/11. One of its unique aims is global solidarity for resistance and liberation, something the Pan-Arab movement also sought. Its main goal is to resist the oppression and division of Palestinians due to the nature and occupation of the settler-colonial Israeli regime, but it is also focusing on combatting Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism. Hence, it is linked implicitly to a broader history of resisting Western imperial hegemony in the Middle East that is based on Orientalist, racist and stereotypical discourses and which justified the U.S. wars and intervention in the Middle East in Iraq and Afghanistan by demonizing and associating terrorism with the Arabs. Since BDS is operating in several countries and is a transnational movement that is calling for global solidarity, it opened the way for other movements from different backgrounds to support its goal. An example of this is Jewish Voices for Peace which is one of the largest Jewish civil rights group that is critiquing Zionism as a political project and Israeli racist politics (Mullen, 2021).

The Arab League also played a major role in fighting the defamatory imageries made up about the Arabs and it refused any kind of those acts also to be made about any other group. For example, in 1967 The Council decided to ask the League's office in Canada to lead a media campaign against the stereotypical and racist campaigns against the Arabs in Canada and the United States.[107] Furthermore, the League's Council condemned Apartheid in South Africa, and the racism practiced by Israel, the government of South Africa, and the

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[107] Arab League. (1967). *Minutes of the sessions of the forty-eighth ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States,* page 82.

United States, which justifies Israel's and the United States' aggressive acts against the Arabs and African Americans.[108]

Mizrahi Jews, or "Oriental Jews," in Israel had been heavily experiencing racial discrimination and oppression. Baseel Yousef referred to Israel as adopting the "sacred selfishness" as once mentioned by Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, which entails the self-obsession of the Ashkenazi "European Jews." Yousef mentioned an example that shows the alienation and status of inferiority that the Mizrahi were relegated to; for example, in 1974, Haim Gvati the Minister of Agriculture, stated that the fact that the Jewish Arabs can be part of the Israeli economy and agriculture is cancerous and poisonous to the Israeli community (Yousef, 1989). Hence in 1969, the League condemned racism practiced on the Arabs and Mizrahi Jews in Israel, which is an outcome of the othering and racism against the Arabs as an ethnic group. The League's Council emphasized that the antagonism was not between the Jews and Arabs but between Israel's racism and the Arabs.[109] The Subcommittee for the Study of Foreign Journalists of the League issued a report that stated putting foreign journalists on a blacklist would be on two conditions. The first would be based on an objective criterion in the means of their direct or indirect belonging to the Israeli media, which is racist and portrays stereotypical imageries that hurt the safety and wellbeing of Arabs. The second criterion would be based on a personal criterion which would include an ultimate biasness of media personnel to Israel and absolute hostility to the Arabs.[110] The League's Council also emphasized the necessity of supporting the Arabs in the diaspora who number in the millions and face false propaganda about the Arabs and community pressures that alienate them from their home countries. Hence, the League's Council decided the

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[108] Ibid. page 263.
[109] Arab League. (1969). *Minutes of the sessions of the fifty-first ordinary meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States,* page 144.
[110] Ibid. page 422.

necessity of communicating with and supporting the Arabs in diaspora to support their

feelings of security and pride in their Arabness.[111]

In 1979, The League's Council emphasized the importance of focusing on dealing

with the American public opinion concerning the Palestinian case and Israeli aggression

against the Arab countries which was characterized by a biased pro-Israel portrayal in the

American media brainwashing American citizens and harming the images of both the Arabs

and Arab-American citizens. Hence, the League decided to give additional support for the

Private Media Box, which was the donations' box for the League's media in order to increase

the media activity in the United States that would support both the Palestinian case and the

Arab case and consequently preserve and protect their deformed imageries.[112] The League

condemned Washington due to its absolute support of the Israeli government and its labelling

the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and other Arab liberation movements as terrorist

organizations. Hence, the League blamed the US for supporting Israel politically, militarily,

and economically, while regarding the liberation and resistance movements' reactions of self-

defense as terrorist acts and ignoring Israeli aggression.[113] Hence, the League in 1985

ultimately refused linking national liberation movements and the people's rights as per the

objectives and principles in international law and the UN with terrorism. It added that

directing the charges of terrorism prevents those who are struggling for their freedom as in

Africa and the Arab world from having their freedoms and rights, and even exposes them to

discrimination.[114]

In 1999, the League condemned the accusations against the state of Sudan for

slavery. The League expressed that this accusation not only put Sudan in danger but the rest

of the Arab World as well. Hence, the League asked the international voluntary organizations

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[111] Ibid. page 426.
[112] Arab League. (1979). *The tenth League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 107.
[113] Arab League. (1980). *The eleventh League of Arab States Summit Conference*, page 172.
[114] Arab League (1985). *Extraordinary Session of the League of Arab States Summit Conference* , page 206.

and the international community to challenge false accusations that did not have any firm

basis, but which gave rise to drives and campaigns that defamed the image of the Arabs and

Muslims and their civilizations. Those acts led to the justification of the bombings and

attacks of the United States to a medicine company "Shifa'" in Khartoum, which was

considered an attack that violated Sudan's sovereignty under both international law and the

UN Charter.[115]

In 2002, the League condemned all the media campaigns that portrayed the Arabs as

terrorists post 9/11 (2001), and which led to continuous harassment of Arabs in diaspora.

Furthermore, those deformed portrayals led to attacks on several mosques, Islamic centers,

and Arab organizations. Hence, the League asked the ambassadorial councils and League's

missions in the diaspora to follow up and prevent all the human rights violations on the Arabs

in diaspora with the authorized specialized forces that would provide protection and legal

rights that are stated in the constitutions of those countries and related international

conventions. The League also recommended the creation of a website that would connect

both the Arabs in the diaspora and the League for getting their news and updates for their

protection. In addition, the League recommended issuing a campaign sponsored by several

NGOs, Arab and Islamic organizations to provide and portray more accurate images relating

to the peaceful Arab civilization and heritage. It stated that this campaign would also support

the Arab organizations in the West that had been working for protecting and amending the

deformed imageries of Arabs and Islam.[116] Lastly, in 2004 the League condemned any racial

discrimination or hatred against Arabs and Muslims. It refused any associating of anti-

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[115]Arab League. (1999). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States in its hundred and twelfth ordinary session*, page 38.

[116] Arab League. (2002). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States at the ministerial level in its hundred and seventeenth ordinary session*, pages 64 and 65.

Semitic and anti-Christian accusations with Arabs and Muslims that would lead to the defamation of both the peaceful Islamic and Arab principles and civilizations.[117]

While there were several movements, organizations and figures that had been and are still fighting racial stereotypes, in the following section, I will be discussing the anti-colonial and anti-racist activities that these movements and others conducted with other groups from different backgrounds to challenge the colonial and capitalist-imperialist systems of oppression as well as the racialized colonial division of humanity during the peak of Third Worldism.

Anti-racist and Anti-imperialist Organizations in North America (1960s-1980s):

Starting in the 1960s, there was a global emergence of civil society movements, many inspired by the US Civil Rights Movement and global anti-imperial and anti-colonial struggles. Many of those movements proclaimed solidarity with other minorities and related movements across the world. The basis of solidarity among those movements was their unity against war, colonialism, imperialism, racism, and many other similar factors that were contributing to marginalization and oppression. The activism of those movements, and their support of each other's goals and demands, was demonstrated in the case of the North America until the end of the 1980s. This section will discuss several examples of social movements and organizations in North America which proclaimed solidarity with other movements and organizations.

The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) was established in 1970. It dedicated itself to working on the advancement of national legislative priorities for underrepresented and marginalized Americans, including African-Americans. The CBC aimed to increase awareness across the nation and in Congress for a fair federal budget that would not be

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[117] Arab League. (2004). *Decisions of the Council of the League of Arab States at the ministerial level in its hundred and twenty-second ordinary session*, page 76.

distributed at the expense of the poor and underrepresented Americans. It was critical of the excessive military spending that came at the expense of domestic social programs that supported the marginalized and vulnerable in American society. The CBC was also a huge critic of tax exemptions for private schools. This was mainly because there was an increase in private academies in 1969-early 70s as many members of the white population aimed to avoid integration with Blacks and other minority groups.[118] For instance, in the 1960s-70s, white parents in the South pulled their children out of public schools and enrolled them in private schools at an alarming rate and a great majority of them threatened to burn the newly implemented multi-ethnic books (Jones, 1979). The CBC, especially under Walter Fauntroy as Chair, had legislative interests that extended beyond domestic affairs; it challenged racial inequality in South Africa, and strived to pressure the Reagan administration to harden US foreign policy against the apartheid system in South Africa. Furthermore, Fauntroy supported the Palestinian cause and met with Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1985, which caused controversy at the time (Wasniewski, 2008).

The Palestine Congress of North America, the Arab American University Graduates (AAUG), the Congressional Black Caucus (with newly elected Chairman Walter Fauntroy) and other Black organizations occasionally designed Policy Roundtables in Washington. The aim of those Roundtables was to link the problems that existed in domestic communities in the United States with American foreign policy in the Middle East crisis.[119] For example, the first Policy Roundtable was called "Domestic Implications of the Mideast Crisis and U.S. Policy" and it took place on March 7, 1981 in Washington D.C.[120] It discussed how the crisis

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[118] Congressional Black Caucus. (presumed). (ca. 1979). *Notes on the Ninety-Sixth Congress*. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Caucus Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[119] Johnson, P. (1981, February 27). [Letter to Ahmed]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Caucus Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[120] Johnson, P. (1981, February 11). [Letter to Edward W. Said]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Caucus Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

in the Middle East was not a distinct issue by demonstrating its negative outcomes on the

economic well-being and the lives of people in domestic communities in the United States.

For instance, the United States' massive arms and aid programs for Israel and Egypt had

disastrous impacts on the needs of Black and marginalized communities in the United States,

affecting such areas as employment, urban development, and job programs.[121] In sum,

taxpayers paid more to develop Israel than they did to develop and meet the basic needs of

their own communities.[122] Beside the disastrous impacts on the U.S., the U.S. support of

Israel was seen as preventing any peaceful solution in the Middle East because Israel

followed its own colonial activities by furthering its annexations in the Arab world and its

illegal settlements in Palestine.[123]

The Policy Roundtable also discussed how American aid not only forced the

Americans taxpayers to contribute to the military buildup but also prevented the achievement

of any real security incentive in the Middle East. Reverend Joseph Lowry, a member of the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference, summed up the situation in the Roundtable by

saying, "when I was in Southern Lebanon, I saw 100,000 Black jobs flying faster than the

speed of sound overhead."[124] Furthermore, the growing alliance between Israel and the racist

South African regime was discussed during the Roundtable, which emphasized the necessity

of Black solidarity with the Arab struggle and the Palestinian struggle for self-determination

because of the similarity of suffering of all groups. The outcome of the 1981 Policy

Roundtable was very enlightening for the Black organizations because it highlighted the

imperialist and racist policies of Israel, the impact of the support of the United States for

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[121] Nakhleh, K., & Farsoun, S. (1981). [Letter to n.d.]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Caucus Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[122] A.A.U.G. (1981). Background paper for the Policy Roundtable in March 7, 1981. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Caucus Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[123] Ibid. 3
[124] Ibid. 6

those agendas which affected the peace and stability in the Middle East, and the negative domestic implications on marginalized communities in the United States.[125]

Another example was Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), which was founded in 1971 by Jesse Jackson, the Chicago director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket. The main goal of PUSH was to eliminate poverty and secure racial equality. It was renamed the National Rainbow/PUSH in 1985, and its main supporters were racial and ethnic minorities, women, and workers (Plouffe, 2016). PUSH invited the AAUG for several seminars and provided them with a platform to voice the rights of the Palestinians and how to deal with the Middle East crisis. The purpose of those seminars was to create a well-informed public about those issues, who would collectively press for change in U.S. policy in the Middle East.[126] In several circumstances, Jesse Jackson came out in support of both Palestinian rights and Palestinian self-determination. Hence, from the beginning of its establishment, PUSH had aimed for a peaceful solution to the Middle Eastern conflict that would protect the rights of all those involved.[127]

Operation PUSH's agenda and beliefs, as shown in its preamble, were that it "Firmly believes that people with a deep human concern must raise the moral issues of our day and struggle uncompromisingly for social, economic and political justice for all."[128] Furthermore, it defined itself as "a national human rights organization and movement with a civil economic thrust directed toward equity and parity for all."[129] Most importantly, it indicated that it "Focuses on creating an ethical atmosphere, self and community motivation and social

[125] Mcdowell, L. (1981, March 9). [Letter to PCNA Staff]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Caucus Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[126] Odell, J. (1980, March 3). [Letter to Nabeel Abraham]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Caucus Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[127] A.A.U.G. (1979). *The Current Status of the Black Community in the United States* [Report]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black News Articles on Arab Issues 1979, Box 68, Folder 13), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[128] Operation Push INC. (1971). *Philosophy* [Preamble], page 1. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black American Project, Box 68, Folder 14), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[129] Ibid.1

responsibility"[130], which were all claims that reflected its focus on the oppressed and

marginalized communities from all parts of the world, not only from a certain group.[131]

Additionally, PUSH firmly opposed, challenged, and criticized the apartheid regime in South

Africa. For example, on 28 June, 1980, Jesse Jackson met with the South African

Ambassador Donald Sole in Washington and requested him to immediately stop the "shoot to

kill" strategy used by the government against the Black and colored communities in South

Africa.[132] PUSH also advocated to break the partnerships between American corporations

and the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. It asked the American government to join the

international community in supporting the economic sanctions against South Africa. It also

encouraged the U.S. to normalize ties with the Arab world, pressure Israel to respect the

territorial integrity of Lebanon, and provide the Palestinians with justice, self-determination,

and a homeland.[133]

Internationally, PUSH advocated for the development of a new world order that

would be based on equity between peoples. It stated that "Black Americans strive for

reciprocity with third world nations and reparations from the U.S. for years of economic

oppression and slavery."[134] In a presidential address in 1980, Jesse Jackson stated that

"Blacks have a vital interest in peace in the Middle East because in a hot war we will die first

and in a cold war over oil, we will be unemployed and freeze first. The human rights

community is too silent on the Mid-East crisis." In keeping with care ethics, this showed the

sense of the inter-connectivity of the suffering and vulnerability of all people, and hence the

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[130] Ibid. 1

[131] Ibid. 1

[132] Weekend Defender Chicago. (1980, June 28). *Rev. Jesse Jackson Meets With S.A. Ambassador* [News]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black American Project, Box 68, Folder 14), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[133] Jackson, J. (1980, February 29). "The Challenge of Independence—The Threat of Dependence" [Conference]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black American Project, Box 68, Folder 14), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[134] Johnson, P. (1980, July 30). [Memo to A.A.U.G Board], page 1. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black American Project, Box 68, Folder 14), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

necessity for collective responsibility and care for the general well-being of everyone.[135]

Jackson also tackled the issue of racism and stated that "We must reject racism. Racism has as its root the notion that some are pre-ordained for heaven. Likewise, racism teaches that others are pre-ordained for hell."[136] This could be verified in the context of colonial justifications caused by internalizing the 'othering' of the colonized. This was witnessed by the effects of Orientalist narratives which purported culture and religion as the main reasons for decades of oppression and suffering of many people in the Middle East, and even of those in the diaspora.

In a resolution by PUSH in 1979 called "Resolution on Peace in the Middle East," it was stated that "There will be no lasting peace in the Middle East until a home land for the Palestinian people is given the same weight of importance in our concerns as the sovereignty of the national interest of the Lebanese people and a homeland for the Jews…"[137] Looking at this resolution, many similarities in its message and aims could be matched and found within the language of the Arab League about the importance of Palestinian freedom and its effect on the peace of the whole region. This showed how oppression in one area could act as a cancerous disease infecting the whole world. Hence, the neglect of responsibility towards the oppressed and lack of solidarity with them would lead not only to the fall of a certain people or nation but, gradually, to the decline of all nations.

The Black Theology Project (BTP) was established in 1975 as an anti-racist movement to counter and resist the systemic racism in the United States at the time.[138]

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[135] Jackson, J. (1980, July 16). "Equity in a New World Order—Reciprocity and Reparations" [President Address], page 2. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black American Project, Box 68, Folder 14), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[136] Ibid. 12

[137] Operation PUSH. (1979, August 8). *Resolution on the Peace in the Middle East* [Convention]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Jesse Jackson Presidential Campaign 1984, Box 68, Folder 7), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[138] Kenyatta, M. & Kirkpatrick, D. (presumed). (ca. 1980). *Black Theology Project* [News From the Black Theology Project]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Theology Project 1980, Box 68, Folder 10), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

William Howard, the president of the National Council of Churches of Christ gave a speech at the BTP's national conference in Philadelphia in 1978 that reflected the movement's anti-imperialist stance by underlining that no justice could be achieved as long as the white machinery is dominant and continues its imperialistic domination of other peoples in other parts of the world. Howard indicated that inclusion was not the solution in a society that bred oppression, injustice, and corruption. He explained that a just world was not bound to a neighborhood, city, state, or nation. The resistance to such an unjust system should be based on global solidarity and mutual opposition. The aim of the movement was to reach God's kingdom in which there would be love and care and in which class and race would no longer dominate human relations. Howard stated that in order to attain God's kingdom on earth, global relationships with oppressed people in other parts of the world should be established.[139]

The BTP described the roots of the global crisis as spiritual, material, and moral; in other words, the crisis and injustice that existed in the world were an outcome of racism and capitalism which justified the devastation of human and natural resources all over the world. The BTP believed that this corrupt and unjust system dominates the economy, media, politics, and society and silenced whoever challenged it. The BTP also believed that the Black churches should unite with other oppressed people in the world with no differentiation as to whether they were a secular or a sacred community in order to bring about societal liberation and end oppression.[140] This agenda was reflected in the National Conference of the BTP in Atlanta in 1977 where it was stated: "We embrace all of God's children who hunger and thirst for justice and human dignity. We rededicate and recommit ourselves, and the

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[139] Howard, W. (presumed). (ca. 1980). *Gospel Liberation Themes: A Challenge to Blacks* [Paper]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Theology Project 1980, Box 68, Folder 10), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[140] Kenyatta, F. et al. (1977). *Message to the Black Church and Community* [Document]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Theology Project 1980, Box 68, Folder 10), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

black churches in whose leadership we participate, to the struggle for freedom from injustice, racism and oppression".[141]

Throughout its annual national conferences, the BTP was keen to mention the oppressed peoples in other regions in the world. For example, in its Third National Conference in 1979, which focused on Black solidarity with the South African liberation struggles, the BTP invited Abdeen Jabara from the AAUG to discuss the "Palestinian question with reference to Israeli-South Africa-USA as well as parallels between apartheid and Israeli suppression of Palestinian Arabs."[142] Also, in a resolution for the BTP in its national convention of 1979, it was stated that "As Black Christians committed to fight for liberation of the oppressed whether they be in South Africa, Israel, the occupied Arab territories or in the U.S., we see the essence of struggle of the Palestinian people as the same as the struggle for freedom of our Black brothers and sisters in Southern Africa."[143] The resolution also condemned the illegal Israeli settlements on the Palestinian lands, the U.S. military and economic aid to Israel, and Israel's military occupation of Palestinian lands.[144]

The All-African People's Revolutionary Party (A-APRP) is another important example. This group announced its existence as a revolutionary party at the historically Black Howard University in Washington D.C. in 1972. In an educational brochure, the party stated that its main goals were to educate the masses about the world Zionism as a political movement and the crimes that it has committed against Arabs, Palestinians, and African people. It also aimed to build a well-organized and global anti-Zionist movement. Furthermore, it called for the necessity of helping the Arabs and Palestinians to regain control

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[141] Ibid. 4
[142] Kenyatta, F. (1979, April 16). [Letter to Abdeen Jabara]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Theology Project 1980, Box 68, Folder 10), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[143] Amsterdam News. (1982, August 14). *Blacks and the Israeli Conflict* [Press Report]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (African American Organizations in the Middle East 1983, Box 78, Folder 11), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[144] Ibid.

of their occupied lands. Lastly, one of its objectives was to end the illegal settler regimes of Israel, Rhodesia, and South Africa. Overall, it aimed to build a better life for Africans, Arabs, Palestinians, Native Americans, and all other oppressed people in the world.[145]

Another organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was founded in Atlanta in 1957, and closely associated with its first President Martin Luther King Jr.. The SCLC's goal was to ensure full citizenship rights for the Black community in the United States. Furthermore, it advocated for equality and full integration in all aspects of American life, and opposed all forms of racial injustice. The SCLC also came to fully support Palestinian rights and called for a Palestinian homeland. In addition, it spoke of the necessity of reaching a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict, and was a strong advocate of a U.S.-PLO dialogue.[146] In a proposal by the SCLC to the AAUG in 1979, the SCLC supported the mobilization of mass Black support for the Palestinian cause and the Arab world, and stated in the proposal that "Thinking that Palestinians in general and the PLO in particular are bestial terrorists who should be crushed like the American Indians were Crushed, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has committed itself to a national program to combat that image and to present the Palestinian cause as one of human rights and justice to black Americans."[147] This statement showed the anti-racist stance of the SCLC by opposing the defamation and the degradation of the Palestinians, and its anti-colonial stance by comparing the Palestinians to the Native Americans and hence underlining their right to their homeland.

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[145] All African Peoples Revolutionary Party. (presumed). (ca. 1983). *Israel Commits Mass Murder of Palestinian & African Peoples: Zionism is Racism…It Must Be Destroyed* [Educational Brochure]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (African American Organizations in the Middle East 1983, Box 78, Folder 11), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[146] A.A.U.G. (1979*). The Current Status of the Black Community in the United States* [Report]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black News Articles on Arab Issues 1979, Box 68, Folder 13), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[147] Ibid. 4

Another example, the Martin Luther King Day Coalition, is an anti-racist non-profit organization that was established in Ohio in 1976 (MLK Coalition, 2022). The Coalition aimed for solidarity with other minority, anti-racist individuals and organizations in the U.S. To counter a rally planned by Nazis on January 15, 1981, which targeted Black people in Buffalo, the Coalition asked for the support of all anti-fascist and anti-racist organizations. The Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the Palestine Congress of North America and the AAUG contributed donations to the Martin Luther King Day Memorial Rally Coalition. The Coalition expressed its gratitude to them and indicated that its struggle was a struggle for all of the oppressed peoples in the world and that it was not distinct from that of the Arab struggle.[148]

The Black United Front was founded in 1965 in Brooklyn. It was a loose coalition of several Brooklyn organizations that aimed to help the Black community to be self-governing and self-sufficient. The Black United Front's stance on the Middle East was anti-imperialist and criticized Israeli policies and the occupation in Palestine. It also came out in support of the PLO and its agenda. The Black United Front was one of the few organizations that broke with the pro-Israel Jewish community and taught that Zionism was a form of racism in its schools.[149]

In 1977, Andrew Young was appointed by Jimmy Carter to be the Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations. In 1979, Young met with the then PLO Representative to the UN, Zahdi Terzi. Because of that meeting, Young was pressured to resign on August 15, 1979 and was claimed to be "fired." Many Black American leaders were outraged about this resignation, and after that incident, met with the PLO leaders as an act of solidarity with

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[148] Flounders, S. (1981, January 13). [Letter to Penny Johnson]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black Americans 1981, Box 68, Folder 9), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[149] AAUG (1979). *The Current Status of the Black Community in the United States* [Report]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black News Articles on Arab Issues 1979, Box 68, Folder 13), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

Young. For example, Dr. Joseph Lowery, the president of the SCLC, and Walter Fauntroy, the Representative from the District of Columbia, visited PLO offices in Beirut. Furthermore, Jesse Jackson and other PUSH members also visited the occupied territories, Israel, and the PLO offices in Lebanon.[150] Also, Coretta Scott King, the wife of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., commented on Young's resignation by stating "His many contributions toward improving America's relations with third world countries and as a spokesman for the developing nations have earned him a permanent place in the hearts of people of good will everywhere."[151] Furthermore, many Black leaders were worried about the outcomes of Young's resignation due to the fact that it could lead to negative effects on the United States' relationships with third world countries. This panic and despair of Black leaders reflected Terzi's statement that "The U.S. by succumbing to such pressure, has disqualified itself from playing an even-handed role in the middle east."[152] This showed the devastating effects of pro-Israel pressure on U.S. foreign policy and on U.S. relations with the majority of the Third World Countries.

Along with the pressures experienced by Young, many of the Black groups that supported Palestine faced a lot pressures as cutting their funds from pro-Israel Jewish groups who had been previously donating to them. For example, in 1979 SCLC witnessed a major fund fall due to the cutting of funds from several pro-Israel Jewish groups (Fischbach, 2018).

The Arab American Institute (AAI) was founded by Jim Zogaby in 1986. The main goal of the AAI that was discussed in 1985 was to include the Arab American community in U.S. politics while affirming their ethnic identity. The organization recognized that its inclusion in American political life would help it to support their brothers and sisters back

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[150] SCLC Proposal. (1979). [Addendum III]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black American Project, Box 68, Folder 14), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[151] The Courier. (1979, August 25). *Will Andrew Young's Resignation Hurt Carter?* [News Article], page 9. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Black American Project, Box 68, Folder 14), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[152] Ibid.

home in the Arab world by having an influence and voice in U.S. policies.[153] Hence, the

AAI's main initiatives were to attain peace in the Middle East by a change in U.S. foreign

policy, to support Palestinian rights, and to keep calling out for Palestinian statehood and

self-determination.[154] The AAI also aimed to support and foster solidarity with other

oppressed groups in the United States such as Hispanics, Blacks, Native Americans, and

Asians.[155] The AAI rejected and condemned Israel's characterization of the Palestinians as

terrorists, which Israel used as a justification for its aggressions and for its refusal to

recognize Palestinian rights to self-determination.[156] The AAI also emphasized the necessity

of Israel's withdrawal from all the lands it occupied in 1967 in defiance of U.N. Resolution

242.[157] Additionally, the AAI advocated for challenging ethnic stereotyping of all ethnic

groups in the U.S. by voicing that through hearings in Congress.[158]

Members of the AAI attended the conventions of major political parties in order to

advocate and advance peace in the Arab world. Although they met with some progress,

James Zogby indicated that it was not significant enough due to Arab Americans' adoption of

"village identity." "Village identity" indicated the process by which people first self-

identified with the village that they belonged to, then with the country, and then, as a final

step, with being an Arab.[159] AAI aimed to solve this dilemma and to continue influencing the

political process in order to fill the gap that had been vacated by the Arabs, which allowed

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[153] Arab American Institute (1989). [Convention's Update]. Eastern Michigan University. (Arab American Institute, Box 44, Folder 16), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[154] Zogby, J. (1988). Building A Movement On Palestinian Rights [Plan of Action], page 4. Eastern Michigan University. (Arab American Institute, Box 44, Folder 16), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[155] Ibid. 3

[156] Ibid. 5

[157] Ibid. 6

[158] Simon, L. (1989, March 22). [Letter to n.d.]. Eastern Michigan University. (Arab American Institute, Box 44, Folder 16), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[159] King, W. (1987, August 3). *Arab-Americans Looking to Politics* [The New York Times]. Eastern Michigan University. (Arab American Institute, Box 44, Folder 16), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

space for Israeli influence on U.S. foreign policy, and was filled with negative stereotyping of Arabs that had been internalized in the whole community.[160]

One of the most significant acts of the AAI happened on 12 January, 1988, Martin Luther King Day, when Jim Zogaby and other members of the AAI stood in an act of civil disobedience in front of the Israeli Embassy holding a banner that read: "Dr. King Taught Non-Violence & Justice…Not Occupation & Repression."[161] All of them were arrested, but they received support from Mrs. King who stated: "I also deplore the human misery and hopelessness of the Palestinian people who live there."[162] Additionally, the SCLC president at the time, Joseph Lowery, supported them by indicating "I will honor the picket line [of the demonstrators]….We have to register our concern about the violence inflected on the Palestinians."[163]

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) was founded by James Abourezk in 1980. The ADC started as a grass-roots organization and one of its tactics was resisting the Israeli propaganda initiatives that were directed to the United States. The ADC mainly intended to deal with issues that included stereotyping, discrimination, and racism against the Arabs. And Arab Americans[164] For example, in 1984, the ADC challenged a publication by Leonard James called "How to Prepare for College Board Achievement Test in European History and World Cultures" which was taught in high schools. This publication included anti-Arab perspectives that portrayed Arabs as hate-filled terrorists.[165]

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[160] Freedenthal, S. (1987, August 8). Arab-Americans seek more political clout [Houston Chronicle]. Eastern Michigan University. (Arab American Institute, Box 44, Folder 16), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[161] Arab American Institute. (1988). *Emergency Committee for Palestinians Rights and the Civil Disobedience Campaign* [Issue 88], page 2. Eastern Michigan University. (Arab American Institute, Box 44, Folder 16), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[162] Ibid. 2

[163] Ibid. 2

[164] Abourezk, J. (1983). *Building up grass-roots support* [Forum]. Eastern Michigan University. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[165] Abourezk J. (1984). [Letter to Manuel Barron]. Eastern Michigan University. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

In 1984, the ADC joined the New England-wide March and Rally which took place on September 22 in Boston. The rally included several anti-racist, anti-war, and anti-imperialist movements. It called for peace, justice, and the end of war and racism. It urged the government to stop supporting repressive regimes in Nicaragua, El Salvador, South Africa, Israel, and the Philippines. It also urged the government to stop military interventions and instead to support health care, nutrition, housing, education, and public services in the United States, all of which had been devastated.[166]

In December 1987, Israel crushed a Palestinian uprising, killing 19 (including a 9-year-old boy and a 65-year-old woman) and injuring 200. The ADC called for urgent, decisive action by the U.S. to end this violence.[167] During Israeli attacks on any of the occupied lands, the ADC even sometimes tried to bring the injured to the U.S. for medical treatment. For example, in 1983, under a project called "Save Lebanon" it brought 31 Palestinian and Lebanese children who were severely injured by the Israeli attacks to the U.S. for medical treatment.[168] In a statement by James Zogby to the ADC, Zogby stated that "it was our children who were being wounded. We did not—we couldn't—stand by"[169], and hence they did everything in their power to make that project come true. Many communities across the U.S. — including Polish Americans, Italian Americans, and Black Americans — contributed to and volunteered with that project, either by aid or services.[170]

ADC is headquartered in Washington, but its offices and members in different locations had been the subject of several terrorist attacks in 1985. The first was in Boston on

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[166] ADC. (1984). *Vote No to War…Build Peace and Justice in '84* [Document]. Eastern Michigan University. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[167] ADC. (1987, December 18). *Popular Uprising In Occupied Territories Meets With Israeli Gunfire* [Issue]. Eastern Michigan University. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[168] Abourezk, J. (1983). *Building up grass-roots support* [Forum]. Eastern Michigan University. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[169] Zogby, J. (1983, February 16). "Injured Innocents Arrive in U.S." [The Columbus Dispatch], page 1. Eastern Michigan University. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[170] Ibid. 1

August 16 where a pipe bomb was placed in front of the office, and two police officers were injured. The second one was on October 10 in California, where Alex Odeh, a member of the organization, was killed. The third one was on November 29 in Washington, where the Assistant Director, Barbara Shahin, was almost killed by the flames. The organization also received several threatening phone calls and telegrams.[171] The ADC had received threats since its establishment in 1980 which were full of discriminatory and stereotyping language about Arab Americans in the U.S. and Arabs in the Middle East. Many organizations, including the New Jewish Agenda, condemned the attacks on the ADC by stating: "As Jews working to promote the inclusion of all peoples into discourse favoring mutual respect and peaceful political processes, we applaud the work of the ADC and urge it to resume its operations as quickly as possible."[172] Abourezk was frustrated by the lack of media coverage of the incidents and by the comments of Irv Rubin, the head of the Jewish Defense League, who commented on Odeh's death, saying: "I have no tears for Mr. Odeh, got exactly what he deserved."[173] Rubin's comment showed how the effect of the internalization of stereotypes and the defamation of a certain group could create such an extent of hate that it could reach to publicly and shamelessly ridicule someone's tragic death.

The New Jewish Agenda was not the only Jewish organization that showed support and solidarity to the Palestinian cause and peace, there were and still there are a lot of Jewish and Israeli organizations and scholars who showed and are still showing that kind of solidarity and support. For example, Naom Chomsky, is a Jewish American intellectual who published a lot of works criticizing the Israeli politics towards the Palestinians as well as

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[171] ADC. (1985). *Don't Let Terrorism Spread Into America* [Document]. Eastern Michigan University. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[172] Anderson, J. (1985, December 1). *Arab Group Building Was Ransacked* [The Washington Post]. Eastern Michigan University. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[173] The Philadelphia Inquirer. (1985, December 4). *Attacks on U.S. Arab groups threaten everyone's rights* [The Philadelphia Inquirer]. Eastern Michigan University. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

criticizing the American foreign policy in the Middle East. For example, this was thoroughly

shown in his 1974 book *Peace in the Middle East? Reflections on Justice and Nation-hood*

by not only criticizing on the Arabs' conditions under Israel but also criticizing the United

States' pro-Israel policies in the Middle East (Said, 1975). Chomsky has also been part of the

most highly noted intellectuals who published in the Arab American University Graduates'

(AAUG) collections of publications that revolved around the Palestinian cause, Middle East

policy and Arab issues (Faris, 2007). Another example, Uri Davis; an anti-Zionist Jewish

Israeli scholar who doesn't identify himself with Israel's racist settler colonial project

(Abdulhadi, 2018). Davis has also published a lot of works about the inalienable national

rights of the Palestinians and the harsh conditions that the Palestinians experience under the

Israeli apartheid system (Davis, 1995). One of the recent examples is the Jewish Voice for

Peace (JVP), which is a US-based Palestinian solidarity grassroot organization that was

founded in 1996. JVP has been both critical of the Israeli politics towards the Palestinians

and has been also working on changing the U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East for

attaining justice and peace in the Arab world (Schneider, 2021). Also, other anti-racist

movements by Jews and Israeli citizens are Not In Our Name: Jewish Voices Opposing

Zionism, the Stop the Wall Campaign in Palestine, Israel Women in Black and 'refuniks'

who are Israelis who refuse to serve the IDF. Those movements acted in solidarity with the

Palestinian rights and provoked international debates that challenged the apartheid regime in

Israel (Abu-Laban and Bakan, 2008).

   The Arab-American Media Society (AAMS) was founded by Warren W. David in

Detroit, Michigan in the mid-1980s. AAMS was mainly dedicated to spreading timely

information about the Arab world, its culture, and people through creative and available

media systems. The goal of the AAMS was to correct the negative and damaging image of

Arabs that had been internalized in news media and entertainment, and it specifically

challenged Arab portrayals in radio, film, television, and other media during the 1980s in the U.S.[174]

For example, AAMS aired on local radio a program called "Salamat" which was a one-hour English-speaking program presenting interviews with Arab origin musicians, scholars, and community representatives to talk about Arab history, culture, music, art, and literature. The main reason it was an English program (at the time there were three Arab radio programs in Arabic) was to spread awareness and reach the greatest number of people in an English-speaking American audience.[175] Also in 1982, the AAMS did an educational filmstrip with a student/teacher guide and an audio-track for public schools which addressed anti-Arab stereotyping, discrimination, and prejudice and the harm they caused to Arab-Americans.[176] The development of a human mindset through ideas is usually solidified during the school years by information offered through education, so offering narrative that challenged the normalized existing stereotypes of Arabs in public schools was a great step for awareness for future generations.

Furthermore, AAMS produced a film about the response and the experiences of the local Lebanese and Palestinian communities to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The aim of the film was to challenge the biases of the American media to the Israeli version of events that had harmed and shattered those communities. The AAMS mainly aimed to make the voices of the Lebanese and Palestinian communities heard to enable them to portray and unveil the hidden tragedies that they had experienced and help them to reach the American people. The film was based on the narratives of both a Palestinian woman and a Lebanese woman and was illustrated by photographs, file footage and historical material of the war.[177]

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[174] AAMS (1982). [Annual Report], page 1. Eastern Michigan University. (Arab American Media Society, Box 45, Folder 15), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[175] Ibid. 1
[176] Ibid. 2
[177] AAMS (1982). *A Community in Crisis* [Document]. Eastern Michigan University. (Arab American Media Society, Box 45, Folder 15), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) was founded in 1972 in Washington D.C., and its main aim was to be an effective political action group.[178] In a meeting that took place to set the aims of the organization in 1971, it was specified that the NAAA would not only focus on Arab interests, but would also commit itself and its resources to supporting other U.S. ethnic groups to achieve domestic and international aims.[179]

The NAAA adopted both anti-imperialist and anti-racist frameworks in its goals. For example, in its anti-imperialist stance, it strongly condemned the Israeli occupation of Arab lands and denounced the U.S.'s economic and military aid to Israel.[180] Since the U.S. supposedly supported the self-determination of all colonized people, the NAAA urged the American government to recognize the PLO for the sake of the Palestinian right to self-determination.[181] In its anti-racist stance, the NAAA strongly condemned antisemitism and recognized that its hate-based rhetoric was similar to other racial hatreds based on myths and stereotypes.[182] Furthermore, it criticized the racist policies practiced by the Israeli government on the Palestinian population and compared those practices to the situation of Native Americans.[183] Most importantly, it challenged the defamation of Arabs in the U.S.

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[178] National Association of Arab Americans (1978). *On Turning Frogs Into Princes Or Why President Carter is Right in Opposing Israel's Settlement Policy* [Counterpoint]. Eastern Michigan University. (National Association of Arab Americans, Box 43, Folder 19), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States. [179] National Association of Arab Americans (1971). [Meeting Minutes for November 16, 1971]. Eastern Michigan University. (National Association of Arab Americans, Box 43, Folder 19), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[180] National Association of Arab Americans (1978). *On Turning Frogs Into Princes Or Why President Carter is Right in Opposing Israel's Settlement Policy* [Counterpoint]. Eastern Michigan University. (National Association of Arab Americans, Box 43, Folder 19), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States. [181] National Association of Arab Americans (1975). [Letter to the members of the 94th Congress]. Eastern Michigan University. (National Association of Arab Americans, Box 43, Folder 19), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[182] National Association of Arab Americans (1978). Anti-Semitism and Anti-Semitism [Counterpoint], page 1. Eastern Michigan University. (National Association of Arab Americans, Box 43, Folder 19), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

[183] Ibid. 2

government and media, which created an anti-Arab atmosphere for Arabs and Arab Americans.[184]

The Federation of Arab Canadian Societies (FACS) was founded in 1967. It represented several organizations whose goals were to serve the interests of Arab Canadians. FACS also had both anti-racist and anti-imperialist aims. For instance, in its resolutions of 1975, it condemned the Canadian government's surveillance of both Arabs and other ethnic groups in Canada.[185] It also condemned the Israeli apartheid system and called for a secular, non-racist state in Palestine.[186] Additionally, besides calling out for Palestinian self-determination, it strongly supported the right of self-determination for the people of Quebec.[187]

Each of the previously mentioned organizations had different goals and were established for different reasons. However, what was unifying across all of them was that they all fought for the rights of other oppressed groups either within their own communities and country or in other parts of the world. They were aware of the negative outcomes if they failed to express their support for other oppressed and vulnerable people, and were also aware of their moral responsibility that, if neglected, would sooner or later cause everyone to suffer.

In the following section, I will be discussing more thoroughly the Association Arab American University Graduates (AAUG). AAUG's Third Worldist character had been an inspiration to many of the Arab American and Arab Canadian organizations, which had been discussed in this section. It was one of the primary organizations that propelled solidarity among all social movements by calling for social justice whether for the Arab world or for

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[184] Nelson, B. (1973, October 25). *Mideast War Spurs Unprecedented Formation of Arab Groups in U.S.* [Los Angeles Times]. Eastern Michigan University. (National Association of Arab Americans, Box 43, Folder 19), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[185] Federation of Arab Canadian Societies. [1975 Resolutions], page 1. Eastern Michigan University. (Canadian Arab Federation, Box 90, Folder 1), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[186] Ibid. 2
[187] Ibid. 3

other suffering peoples. Hence, I will demonstrate the Association's aims and goals that were implemented in its practices and activities.

AAUG: Its History, Aims, Goals, and Practices

The defeat of the Arab armies in the 1967 Arab/Israeli war resulted in frustration on the part of both Arabs and Arab Americans. This was mainly due to the extensive anti-Arab rhetoric that became prevalent in the U.S. media because of Israeli influence on U.S. foreign and domestic policies (Suleiman, 2007). Hence, for both Arabs and Arab Americans, the war was not only a challenge to Arab ideologies, political parties, and armies, but also a psychological humiliation due to the unfair and biased response of U.S. domestic and foreign policies (Kayyali, 2018). Arabs were portrayed as the villains and aggressors despite the occupation of their lands and the massive losses they experienced. As illustrated by Rashid Bahshur, "Many of us shared a sense of shame and hurt which was aggravated by daily assaults on our culture, our people and our countries of origin in the mass media and in the public discourse" (Bahshur, 2007, 8). The negative stereotyping of Arabs after the 1967 conflict threatened the position of Arabs and Arab Americans, especially recent immigrants, and required an immediate solution to help and protect those communities (Alnasrawi, 2007).

On December 9, 1967, American Arabs Rashid Bashhir and Abdeen Jabara called for a general conference in Ann Arbor for professionals and professors to discuss issues arising from the developments of the dire situation in the Middle East (Suleiman, 2007). Following that meeting, the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) was established at the October 1967 meetings of the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) in Chicago to improve relations between the U.S. and the Arab world and to combat the stereotyping and bias in the U.S. media that was harming both Arabs and Arab-Americans (Aruri, 2007). Only five participants attended this meeting, largely because many Arab

Americans felt vulnerable identifying themselves as pro-Arab due to the threats and alienation that Arabs experienced at the time (Suleiman, 2007).

The primary aim of the AAUG was advanced as:

Promoting knowledge and understanding of cultural, scientific and educational matters between the United States and Canada, and the Arab-speaking countries, to create a climate for mutual understanding through cultural and educational programs which will enhance the appreciation of the values of the Arab-speaking countries in the United States and Canada and vice versa….the Association is a non-profit, non-political, non-sectarian Association (Suleiman, 2007, 78).

Hence, the AAUG aimed to raise awareness with the American public about the real values, history, and culture of the Arab world to challenge the negative and defamatory stereotypes of Arab states that were prevalent in the U.S. at the time. The AAUG was a "non-sectarian Association" — it adopted the values of Pan-Arabism, that excluded any sectarian or national identification. Its members identified themselves as Arabs, and the varied religious affiliations of members were immaterial. The Association valued its members based on their dedication, hard-work, and commitment, not on any religious affiliations of any kind (Suleiman, 2007). The AAUG was essentially the most avowedly secular and Pan-Arab foundation among other Arab American political organizations and orientations in the 1960s and the 1970s (Pennock, 2017).

American Arabs were especially isolated in American society after 1967 and "Arab" became a derogatory term; therefore the practices and activities of the Association had a major impact on lifting the morale and confidence of many Arab Americans. The Association helped to bring together third- and fourth-generation Arab Americans with recent Arab arrivals and instilled the pride in their origins and ancestry that had been shaken and concealed after a long period of alienation and marginalization (Suleiman, 2007). Hence, it introduced and fostered the concept of "Arab American" identity into the consciousness of several sub-groups including Lebanese, Syrians, Palestinians, Iraqis, Egyptians etc. and the

American public more generally, which, as described by Abdeen Jabara, "was no small accomplishment" (Jabara, 2007, 17).

Arabs and other marginalized groups were deemed by the academic mainstream as not being credible in scholarly research and presentation, an outcome of discrimination based on their ethnic background (Sultana, 2018). Hence, the AAUG established its own printing press, Medina University Press, in order to challenge this racist, oppressive, and exclusionary phenomenon (Pennock, 2017). The printing press was a tool to offer Arabs and other groups an alternate arena to offer their views that had been marginalized, undervalued, and deemed unacceptable by the public (Suleiman, 2007). Thus, the AAUG published analyses and material which had been refused by mainstream publishers who only accepted limited, Western-oriented perceptions of the Middle East (Terry, 2007). As well as publishing books, fact sheets, and monographs, the AAUG also held annual conventions and had its own journal, the *Arab Studies Quarterly,* which was founded by Edward Said and Ibrahim Abu-Lughod and is still operating and in circulation today (Aruri, 2007).

Many of the AAUG's publications and conferences focused on problems that could not be discussed in the Arab world such as political corruption, Arab nationalism, and governance. The main reason behind this was to offer solutions to Arab issues and to give a safe arena for Arab intellectuals to discuss topics that could not be as openly discussed in their home countries (Suleiman, 2007). Thus, the AAUG was viewed by its supporters from the Arab world as a safe space which provided a great opportunity for critical analysis of their own conservative governments with a view to bettering socioeconomic and educational development (Abu-Laban, 2007). The AAUG was one of the few organizations that connected non-state actors in the Arab world with communities and diasporas in both Canada and the United States (Kayyali, 2018). As Randa Kayyali put it, "AAUG advocated a

transnational, Pan-Arab nationalism. AAUG's narrative fits Benedict Anderson's conceptualization of "long distance nationalism" (Kayyali, 2018, 32).

The AAUG did not focus only on the interests and issues of Arabs and Arab Americans, but it also focused on advancing the interests of other marginalized groups in the United States and other parts in the world. The Association worked to educate an uninterested and uninformed public to attain social justice and fairness for all marginalized communities. Hence, the AAUG was one of the primary Pan-Arab organizations that fought for the human dignity of Arabs as well as for the many ethnic groups who suffered from discrimination and defamation (Suleiman, 2007). As mentioned by Khalil Nakhleh, who was elected as the President of the Association in 1981:

> Since one of our goals is to inform ourselves and the public about the nature of Arab struggle by exposing the inherent racism in Zionism, it becomes imperative for us to expose and oppose other racist ideologies that feed on and nurture Zionism. Instead of assuming an apologetic posture about the so-called 'global network of terrorism', we need to take the initiative in exposing the actual global network of racism, oppression and militarism in which the Zionist state and the 'moral majority state' play pivotal roles (Nakhleh, 2007, 108).

As shown in the previous chapters, the 1960s and 1970s were eventful times in the U.S. with civil rights, anti-war, and anti-colonialist movements, and Third World Leftist movements generally. The AAUG perceived their own struggle to be in the same context of those movements. Hence, since the Association adopted an explicit anti-colonialist stance, it strove to support those movements and it even attracted their support to its cause as well. Prominent leaders and members of other Leftist, anti-racist and anti-imperialist movements were frequent attendees and participants at AAUG conventions and events (Aruri, 2007). The Association reached out to eminent Third World leaders for solidarity and support (Pennock, 2017), and organized fact-finding delegations for church leaders, youth, academics, and labor unions to the Middle East, which helped to bring back to the U.S. the first-hand experiences

of those diverse delegations about the real situation in the Middle East, especially in Palestine (Nakhleh, 2007).

For example, in 1979, the Association invited a delegation of prominent Black leaders to Lebanon. The delegation included Jack O'Dell and Reverend Bennet Smith, representing SCLC, as well as Jaqueline Jackson, and Jesse Jackson from PUSH. The delegation met with PLO leaders and visited hospitals, orphanages, and refugee camps, which allowed them to witness the harm and pain caused by the policies of Israel and the United States (Khan, 2018).

The AAUG organized annual youth trips in the 1980s for Arab American and Arab Canadian youth to the Arab World. In 1984, there was a youth delegation to Jordan and the West Bank. Much of the feedback from the participating university-attending youth indicated that the trip connected them with their Middle East heritage and made them committed to serve the struggling people and their causes there. Most importantly, the trips increased both these university-attending young adults' interest and devotion to their cultural and political identity, helped them to maintain links with their ancestral homelands, and increased their knowledge and understanding of the realities of the Arab World through direct exposure. More generally, they strengthened the ties between the Arab American community and the Arab World.[188] The trips were also said to be useful for the youth as they enabled them to speak intelligently and confidently because they had first-hand experience about the Middle East crisis. Furthermore, they encouraged the youth to become more involved in the Palestinian issue. Most importantly, when the youth returned to Canada and the United States, many of them participated in several projects and activities that raised awareness

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[188] Ayish, S. (1985, April 1). [Letter to AAUG Board of Directors]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Youth Delegations Questionnaire, Box 68, Folder 2), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

about the real situation in the Middle East and provided an accurate picture of the Arab world

that had been distorted for a long time.[189]

Although Arab issues, and the Palestinian cause specifically, were the most prominent

issues for the Association, their concerns and efforts were not limited to Arab Americans.

The AAUG supported a form of transnational collective identity in solidarity with Latin

Americans, Africans, South Asians, and Black Americans to collectively work against settler

colonialism and racism (Khan, 2018). In the second annual convention of the AAUG in 1969,

the Association released a position statement which stated that:

> The Association believes that the ideological direction and premises of the Palestinian
> Revolutionary Movement are humanistic, progressive, and consonant with the best
> traditions of Man. That it has related itself successfully to the revolutionary
> movements of the oppressed people of the world is natural and has enabled it to
> receive their moral and material support. Just as the Palestinian Revolution has
> publicly supported the just cause of the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the
> Black Community in the U.S., the Association registers its gratitude for the
> continuing support of these communities to [*sic*] the legitimate aspirations of the
> Palestinian People (Khan, 2018, 252).

Most of the members of the Association repeatedly participated in demonstrations against

apartheid in South Africa. They were also involved in the protests of Black Americans and

supported their civil rights. At the 1970 convention, for instance, the AAUG invited Shirley

Graham Du Bois, the widow of the activist W.E.B. Du Bois, and Louis Farrakhan, the leader

of the Nation of Islam, and supporter of Black nationalism. In 1972, the Association had the

first African-American Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm as a keynote speaker at its annual

banquet. In 1979, the AAUG organized the Day of Liberation of Africa and Palestine, and

invited representatives from the All African People's Revolutionary Party. The Association

was also invited to the conferences, events, and conventions of Black American

organizations. In 1972, it was invited to a two-day meeting with the Congressional Black

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[189] Qutub, S. (1984). [Questionnaire]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Youth Delegations
Questionnaire, Box 68, Folder 2), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

Caucus in which the Association called for an American boycott of South Africa (Khan, 2018).

Essentially, in the AAUG's conventions, speakers and participants came from all over the world. These included, for example, Eqbal Ahmed, a Pakistani anti-imperial activist; Krishna Menon from India; Andreas Papandreou from Greece; Professor Israel Shahak from Israel; many members from the PLO delegation to the U.N. General Assembly; many major figures from the Occupied Palestinian Territories such as the great poet Mahmoud Darwish; and many participants from various parts of Europe. There were many other participants from Latin America, South Africa, and many other parts of the world, which indicates the inclusivity, acceptance, and diversity that the AAUG was working and aiming for (Moughrabi, 2007). As well as being rich in different experiences, thoughts, and viewpoints from all over the world, the conferences and conventions also uniquely offered a safe space of free speech for all participants who faced constraints and tyranny in their home countries. As mentioned by Mohammad Hassanein Heikal in the message he delivered at the 1984 annual convention, "Come as near to us as you can. Come to us as often as can. Get involved as much as you can. Come and share your thoughts with us, and don't put any limitation on your thinking" (Faris, 2007, 119).

As mentioned in the last chapter, the AAUG and PCNA arranged a Policy Roundtable in 1981 for the Black Caucus and other Black organizations in Washington to discuss the Middle East crisis, U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, and its implications on the domestic communities in the U.S, which also highlighted the Association's interconnectedness with Black organizations.[190] Furthermore, in October of 1980, the AAUG invited members of the Congressional Black Caucus and National Black Leadership to an

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[190] Johnson, P. (1981, February 27). [Letter to Ahmed]. Eastern Michigan University Archives (Black Caucus Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

AAUG-sponsored seminar. The seminar intended to discuss war and peace in the Middle

East, the Arab world after Iran, the implications of Camp David on Israel, Arabs and the

Palestinians, and Israel's role in South Africa. More specifically, its purpose was also to

analyze and discuss critical issues in U.S. policy towards the Arab world and how they

affected both the American people and Arab peoples.[191]

In 1980, the AAUG also contacted Reverend Joseph Lowery, the president of the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), to provide him with the book *Israel's*

Sacred Terrorism which discussed Israeli policies and goals in the region. The Association

asked him about the possibility of its participation in the SCLC national convention that took

place in August of that year.[192] Furthermore, the AAUG contacted Operation PUSH in 1980

to express its desire to work with them on joint projects that year. The Association expressed

that as U.S. foreign policy became more militaristic and repressed both groups domestically,

that created common ground for them to act in solidarity. Therefore, the Association also

expressed its will to participate in the PUSH national convention that took place in July of

that year in New Orleans.[193] Moreover, in January 1980, the AAUG asked PUSH for

cooperative efforts in combating the distorted image of the Palestinians, their intentions, and

their rights. The Association indicated that it had already allocated special funds for that

purpose. Furthermore, along with the Palestine North America Congress, the Association

planned to set up special booths and seminars for such purpose.[194]

In 1981, the AAUG contacted PUSH to express their condemnation of the brutal

killings of twenty-three Black youth in Atlanta, Georgia. The Association referred to this

[191] Johnson, P. (1980, May 27). [Letter to Naseer Aruri, Samih Farsoun, Elaine Hagopian, Abdeen Jabara and Mujid Kazami]. Eastern Michigan University Archives (Black Caucus Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[192] Johnson, P. (1980, June 20). [Letter to Joseph Lowery]. Eastern Michigan University Archives (Black Caucus Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[193] Johnson, P. (1980, June 6). [Letter to Jack O'Dell]. Eastern Michigan University Archives (Black Caucus Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[194] Kazimi, M. (1980, January 15). [Letter to Jack O'Dell]. Eastern Michigan University Archives (Black American Project, Box 68, Folder 14), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

incident as indicative of the prevalent racist motives in the U.S. The AAUG also expressed

their support to the Black community and reemphasized their solidarity with them against any

kind of racism. Furthermore, the Association stated its position according to its 1980

resolution to fight racism in the U.S. and in any other place in the world while clarifying that

one of the main goals of the organization was to defend both civil liberties and human rights

in the Middle East and in the U.S.[195]

The annual General Assembly resolutions of the AAUG all mirrored and emphasized

its intersectional solidarity. For example, in the Association's preface to its annual General

Assembly resolutions, it noted that:

> From its inception, the AAUG has been concerned with providing a better
> understanding in North America of Arab world issues and analyzing the historical and
> international origins and consequences of these issues. Such analyses have
> implications far beyond the Arab world and as such, address issues which face the
> peoples of the Third World and various minorities in developed societies. At its
> annual General Assemblies, the Association regularly adopts resolutions related to
> Arab world issues, to Third world people, to minorities seeking a humane and
> equitable existence, and in addition, to the protection of the rights of Arab
> Americans.[196]

In Resolution 12 of 1979, the AAUG commended the courageous stand of

Congressman Walter Fauntroy, Reverend Joseph E. Lowery, Reverend Jesse Jackson, and

other Black American leaders. The AAUG appreciated their solidarity, their calls for an

objective and fair U.S. policy in the Middle East, and their willingness to meet and negotiate

with PLO leaders. In Resolution 13 of the same year, the AAUG called upon all Arab

Americans to unite and work with Black Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics to

attain social, economic, and political justice.[197] In Resolution 19 of 1978, the AAUG called

upon all American citizens to support the anti-discrimination laws that would protect the

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[195] Nakhleh, K. (1981, April 15). [Letter to Reverend Jesse Jackson]. Eastern Michigan University Archives.
(Jesse Jackson Presidential Campaign, Box 68, Folder 7), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United
States.
[196] A.A.U.G. (1979). *About the AAUG* [Preface], page 1. Eastern Michigan University Archives (Black Caucus
Project 1984, Box 68, Folder 8), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[197] Ibid. 1

oppressed minorities in the United States. Most importantly, the Association called for support for the legitimate rights of Native Americans who had been oppressed and suffering for a long time from injustices and humiliations in their own homeland. Lastly, it condemned the increased discrimination practiced against Arab Americans and stated its commitment to challenge those trends along with other human rights and civil groups.[198] In Resolution 7 of 1977, the AAUG supported the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe in their fight against the oppressive regimes of both John Vorster and Ian Smith. After the Portuguese coup in 1974, John Vorster dealt with this situation by trying to entrench the white racial dominance and apartheid order with a new manipulative language that would legitimate the positions of the white interest groups, and this was intended to be applied in Namibia (Miller, 2015). Additionally, it called for international support and recognition of their struggle and of the struggle of the South African people against the South African apartheid regime. Most importantly, the AAUG emphasized the Arab states' support for and solidarity with those oppressed peoples. In Resolution 9 of the same year, the Association also stated its solidarity with Jewish Americans against an Illinois court's decision that allowed the American Nazi party to march through Skokie. Additionally, the Association emphasized its denunciation of anti-Semitism and any type of racism in any part of the world.[199] Lastly, in Resolution 8 of 1975, the AAUG condemned the U.S.'s military and economic support of Israel, described the negative outcomes of that aid on the health and social services of U.S. citizens, and specifically demonstrated the negative effects that left millions of Black Americans unemployed. In Resolution 8 of the same year, the Association also called for women's equality in the Arab world and emphasized the importance of achieving equal social, political, and economic rights for Arab women.[200]

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[198] Ibid. 2
[199] Ibid. 3
[200] Ibid 4

In 1972, the US federal government launched Operation Boulder, which was a series of investigations and surveillance of Arab Americans. The federal government illegally harassed and monitored Arab Americans and specifically focused on those who were engaged in political and civil rights activities. For example, many of AAUG members and leaders, such as Cherif Bassiouni and Abdeen Jabara, were targeted by Operation Boulder. Jabara and Bassiouni protested the whole process by sending telegrams to federal government officials and demonstrating how the Operation undermined civil liberties (Pennock, 2017). Operation Boulder ended in 1975 and this was one of the major achievements of the Association in defending the rights and dignity of Arab Americans (Jabara, 2007).

The AAUG managed to also create and maintain friendly relations with other newly formed Arab North American organizations. For instance, in 1984, the Association made connections with the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) by providing it with books and other resources beneficial to both of them to use and share for their common cause.[201] In 1989, for example, the Association shared with the ADC an article by Omni Magazine which it protested because the article included racist imagery and interpretations of Arabs.[202] Although the AAUG in the 1980s was facing shortages and issues in both funding and budgets, it tried its best to support other Arab American organizations to reach their goals and aims of equality and justice. For example, in 1983, since the Association understood how important and beneficial the delegations to the Arab world had become, it co-sponsored a delegation of two members of the Arab American Media Society to the West Bank.[203] The AAUG took the opportunity of being recognized as an educational organization by sharing

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[201] Ziadeh, S. (1985, April 19). [Letter to Paul Darby]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[202] Zeady, F. (1989, March 15). [Letter to Sherry Joyce]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (ADC, Box 44, Folder 17), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[203] Jahshan, K. (1983, April 29). [Letter to Jamal Nassar]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Arab American Media Society, Box 45, Folder 15), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

with other organizations, and promoting and developing its material that met the educational

needs and interests of both the Arab American and the American communities. For example,

in 1978, the Association shared with the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA)

many of its publications and projects that it considered would be beneficial and valuable for

their common cause.[204]

The AAUG's relations and interconnectedness with other organizations was not

limited to organizations in the United States. The Association was also in solidarity and in

contact with other Arab organizations in Canada; it invited them to its annual conventions,

gave funds to them, and received funds from them to achieve their mutual interests

together.[205] Hence, there were a lot of cooperative actions between the AAUG and other Arab

Canadian organizations. This was seen in a letter between Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, the

Associate Director of the Association in 1971, and Marie-Claude Landry, the President of the

Federation of Arab-Canadian Societies. Abu-Lughod expressed in this letter the aim of the

AAUG for more cooperative actions, such as jointly sponsoring publications and sharing

speakers.[206]

Although the AAUG was neither a professional nor a political organization, it strived

to influence and change U.S. foreign policy on the Middle East, especially on both the

Arab/Israeli conflict and the Palestinian case (Suleiman, 2007). For example, in a 1969 New

York Times advertisement, it urged President Nixon's government to support the

Palestinians, and in the same year members of the organization met with the Secretary of

State (Pennock, 2017). The Association worked on attaining their cause by meeting members

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[204] Zeady, F. (1978, July 7). [Letter to Sandra C. Sabbagh]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (National Association of Arab Americans, Box 43, Folder 19), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[205] Mouammar, K. (1973, October 3). [Letter to Ibrahim Abu-Lughod]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Canadian Arab Federation, Box 90, Folder 1), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[206] Abu-Lughod, I. (1971, 7 June). [Letter to Marie-Claude]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Canadian Arab Federation, Box 90, Folder 1), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

of the State Department and the White House. In 1977, some members of the Association met with President Jimmy Carter for 90 minutes (Suleiman, 2007).

Despite AAUG's significant revolutionary achievements — such as its unique transnational and domestic solidarity with other marginalized groups or its efficacy in boosting the confidence of Arab Americans that had waned in a time when those with Arab origins were degraded and humiliated — the AAUG was exposed to several international and domestic challenges that led to its fragmentation and weakening.

The AAUG (Weaknesses and Reasons for Decline):

Since the beginning of Pan-Arabism and the primary principles that became the foundation for the Arab League, the Palestinian question had always been the overarching issue on which the Arabs exhibited their common political stance and their solidarity. This was the most important issue unifying the members of the AAUG as well. Not surprisingly since it was the main issue that led to the fragmentation and fall of Pan-Arabism among Arab states, it also led to disunity and fragmentation among the members of the Association (Alnasrawi, 2007).

Suleiman mentions one of the main weaknesses of the Association:

The focus on Middle East issues, especially on Palestine, which started out as a unifying issue of interest to almost all sectors of the Arab American community, became a divisive issue as a result of a number of developments, especially in the Arab world. Thus, as specific Arab states focused on their own state interests, the diversity of views as to how to resolve the Palestine issue began to divide the Arab community in America. In particular, the 1978 Camp David Accords and the 1979 Egyptian-Israel Peace Treaty were strongly criticized by Palestinian officials and by the AAUG (Suleiman, 2007, 83).

Hence, as shown in the previous chapter, the reasons for the fall of Pan-Arabism among the Arab states were the same reasons for the decline in unity, solidarity, and strength of the Association, which primarily adopted and followed the values of Pan-Arabism since its establishment in 1967 (Suleiman, 2007). As mentioned by Baha Abu-Laban, "the dominant

Arab nationalistic ideology gave way to narrower state interests and ideologies" (Abu-Laban, 2007, 51). After the Camp David Accords, many Egyptian Americans in the Association either became less active in it or left it (Suleiman, 2007). For example, Randa Kayyali mentioned that Cherif Bassiouni, an Egyptian member and the third president of the Association, left the Association in the late 1970s due to his support for the 1978 Camp David Accords which was a decision that rendered him "unpopular" among his colleagues and other members (Kayyali, 2018). This was mainly as those who supported the Accords at the time were considered as traitors by recognizing Israel as a state at a time where most of the Arab states were not recognizing it (Salameh et. al, 2012).

Following this, the atmosphere in the Association to with respect to various Arab issues or conflicts followed the same example of "self-interest" adopted in the Arab world at the time. For instance, as mentioned by Naseer Aruri, one of the members of the Association, during the Lebanese Civil War in 1982, which caused controversies especially between the Palestinians and Lebanese, many Lebanese Americans left the organization (Aruri, 2007). This was mainly as many of the Lebanese population blamed the presence of the Palestinian external forces for the outbreak of the hostilities in Lebanon by Israel's military intervention (Sunay, 2020). As demonstrated by Michael Suleiman who is one of the prominent members of the Association in his retrospective, the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait led to the departure of many Kuwaiti and Iraqi Americans from the Association (Suleiman, 2007). The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait had a hugely negative effect on the AAUG by preventing it from receiving any financial support from that part of the world. Essentially, the AAUG lost its funding for condemning the U.S. intervention in Kuwait, which the Gulf states supported (Hatem, 2001). The Gulf states supported the U.S.'s intervention in order to prevent the expansion of the Iraqi aggression in the region (Hawkins et. al, 2006). Furthermore, Aruri stated that the Oslo Agreement brokered between Israel and the PLO in 1993 led to many

disagreements among members of the AAUG which also led to the departure of many members of the Association, especially Palestinian Americans (Aruri, 2007). Oslo was considered as an act of betrayal by many Palestinians and Arabs who were against normalization with Israel and the two-state solution (Albzour et. al, 2019). The blind loyalty of the Association's members to their home countries overcame the valued principles of integration, solidarity, and unity that had prevailed in the organization at its establishment and in its earlier years (Alnasrawi, 2007). The reference here to nationalistic identification that had not existed before but became more prevalent despite the non-sectarian character of the Association closely mirrored the particularism that existed with the fall of Pan-Arabism in the Arab world at the time.

Unfortunately, after witnessing a golden age in the 1960s and 1970s which was molded and shaped by the politics of Arab unity, anti-imperialism, human rights, civil liberties, and Third World liberation, many members of the AAUG chose to follow the path of fragmentation and self-interest based on the politics and events of their home countries (Aruri, 2007). They failed to abide by the consensus to which they paid lip service, just as the Arab states failed to abide by the valued principle of consensus espoused by the Arab League. As the Arab states witnessed chaos and conflicts after the fragmentation of the Arab League, the AAUG also witnessed chaos and weakening on an operational level.

The fragmentation of the Association foretold its doom by both the departure of many prominent members who supported the organization financially, and by the withdrawal of many external sources due to the various political disagreements at the time. All of this caused the Association to experience a severe internal financial crisis (Hatem, 2001). Thus, as conflicts, wars, and disagreements affected the political and economic conditions in the Arab world, these were also reflected in the Association, which was unable to maintain many of its activities (Alnasrawi, 2007).

As stated by Janice Terry, the reasons behind the unsustainability of Arab organizations and the sustainability of Israeli organizations are that the "Zionist organizations also have deep divisions over policy but present a united front publicly and work hard to retain their membership" (Terry, 2007, 4). Internal differences may exist in any organization or in any place, but ultimately it is all about perseverance and persistence in fighting to maintain unity and responsibility its main cause or causes. Cherif Bassiouni described this situation of disintegration by saying that "the greatest weakness in the Arab social makeup is its inability to organize, work with discipline, pursue long-term goals and overcome acute individualism" (Bassiouni, 2007, 32). Bahshur also referenced the internal disunity and breakdown of the Association after a period of growth, success, and unity as some of its members were unable to rise above the parochialism, factionalism, and ideological schism that identified their societies of origin, and made them focus more on what divided them than on what united them (Bahshur, 2007). Unfortunately, this was a phenomenon witnessed both in the Arab world and in the Association.

The youth trips mentioned above were recognized as an important achievement of the Association as they cultivated a well-informed Arab American community in the face of the challenges that Arabs faced in the U.S. (and Canada). However, those trips were not sustainable long-term, due to the lack of funding that the organization faced in the 1980s from the issues and conflicts that had risen in the Middle East, the withdrawal of funding by other conflicting groups, and the departure of some of the prominent fundraising members of the Association who joined other organizations. The cancellation of youth trips was also due to funding cuts by other organizations which formerly provided regular funding. For example, the American Middle East Peace Research Institute had funded the Association's youth trips until 1983. However, in 1984, it refused to provide any further funding without

claiming any reason for the change.[207] Hence, the Association's budgetary difficulties that were staring to be felt in 1984 led the AAUG National Office to slash allocations for the 1984 trip to Jordan and the West Bank by 50%.[208]

Israeli pressure on U.S. domestic and foreign policies also weakened the efforts of Arab Americans by deeming them harmful to American interests and security. The efforts by Arab American organizations to have their voices heard were construed as extremist and not in harmony with the American ethos by the larger society (Suleiman, 2007). This was because the organization, and its academic members, did not have easy access to foreign policy institutions and think tanks so it was unable to have its views heard from a dominant platform; it was also unable to influence the elites who determined U.S. foreign affairs (Kayyali, 2018).

Even though the AAUG was formally dissolved as an organization in 2007, it left a lasting legacy in many respects. The AAUG was the first Arab American organization to collect new, high quality research evidence about the Arab world and Arab Americans in the most critical times (Abu-Laban, 2007). In a very short period, the journal *Arab Studies Quarterly* became, and still is, the leading periodical in the field of Middle East Studies (Faris, 2007). The AAUG inspired all successive Arab American organizations like ADC, NAAA, and many others (Terry, 2007). It had been uniquely successful in implanting the Palestinian cause in the consciousness of many Leftist movements as well as influencing Third World intellectuals (Khan, 2018). Hence, it left a great intellectual and moral legacy for future generations who could work on preventing the weaknesses that the AAUG faced and build from its foundations.

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[207] Zeady, F. (1984, August 24). [Letter to Clifford A. Wright]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Youth Delegations, Box 68, Folder 3), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.
[208] Khoury, N. (1985, 26 February). [Letter to Adnan Badran]. Eastern Michigan University Archives. (Youth Section 1984-1987, Box 68, Folder 5), 955 W Circle Drive, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, United States.

The change of politics in the Arab world from governments that followed Pan-Arabism to those concerned only with self-interest led the region from peace and stability to conflict and instability. This was reflected in the instabilities and fragmentations in the movements and organizations in the diaspora, as their members were influenced by the politics in their homelands. Most importantly, along with international factors that affected the unity of the movements (as in the case of the AAUG) were domestic pressures, such as America's bias towards the Israeli agenda in its local and foreign policies; together, these played a huge role in weakening the AAUG. Those pressures and influences were especially evident in the Arab boycott of Israel during the heyday of Pan-Arabism, and then witnessed its fall thereafter.

However, since AAUG was a foundational inspiration to many successive organizations in North America because of its unique principles, this luckily had been proven to be continued and maintained by a new generation of civil society movements that will be discussed in the following section.

The Resistance of the Civil Society Movements:

Although there were several acts of cultural normalization between the Egyptian state and Israel, for example the exchange of intellectual and cultural delegations, many Egyptian intellectuals boycotted the book fairs in the 1980s that were attended by Israeli delegations (Harlow, 1986). It is unfortunately true that Pan-Arabism faded away with the rise of newly self-interested authoritarian Arab leaders who followed their interests and complied with U.S. pressures; however, it is fortunate that the Palestinian cause was vibrant in the hearts of the Arab public who created vocal civil society movements to protest their authoritarian governments and their processes of normalization with Israel (El Kurd, 2022).

Since Egypt's signing of the Camp David Accords in 1978, there had been a rise in non-state, anti-normalization campaigns and movements in Egypt. For example, the

Committee to Defend the National Culture in 1979 was created by Egyptian intellectuals who called for anti-normalization and for a boycott of Israel (Sadeldeen, 2016).

Egyptian mobilizations against normalization began with President Sadat's peace treaty in the late 1970s and continued up to the overthrow of President Mubarak in 2011. The Palestinian cause had always been included with major mobilizations for domestic change, and it had always been considered an Egyptian issue with the Egyptian public as well as a threat to Egypt's security and dignity. Numerous Egyptian writers, filmmakers, academics, artists, and journalists in the 1970s-80s embraced the cultural boycott as they considered cultural normalization as the most fatal route to reshaping people's consciousness. In the 1990s, many organizations were established for the boycott and anti-normalization movement, such as the Popular Movement for Resisting Zionism and Boycotting Israel, the Arab Committee in Support of the Islamic Resistance in Lebanon and Palestine, and the Arab Committee for the Resistance of Normalization in the Fields of Agriculture and Water. During the Second Intifada, the General Egyptian Committee for the Boycott of American and Zionist Goods and Companies was established. Since then, groups on college campuses and multiple other movements were created, such as *Kifaya* ("Enough"), Revolutionary Youth Coalition (RYC) and 6 April Youth Movements. Those new movements embraced Palestinian activism and were the main contributors to the Egyptian Revolution in 2011. Their slogans revolved around Mubarak's oppression and corruption, and his perceived status as America's and Israel's stooge (Abou-El-Fadl, 2012).

Each Arab state that signed a peace initiative with Israel had a similar reaction from non-state actors such as the Resisting Normalization Committee in Palestine in 1993 and the Anti-Normalization Committee in Jordan in 1994 (Sadeldeen, 2016). After the Wadi Arabah Agreement in Jordan in 1994 there were mass protests in Jordan against both the regime's

domestic politics and the normalization with Israel. These were met by violent crackdowns (Kurd, 2022).

Pro-Palestine activism in the Arab states since then has been conducted in a way to oppose both the politics of highly repressive Arab regimes and the violations of their responsibility to the Palestinian cause, which was seen in their normalization of relations with Israel. This was witnessed throughout the Arab Spring. In the words of a Syrian activist describing the Syrian uprising, "even then, I knew that, when we were chanting for freedom for Palestine, we were also calling for our own freedom" (Kurd, 2022, 1233). Qatar Youth Opposed to Normalization (QAYON) in Qatar is also a prominent example of a civil society movement that aimed to influence regime change in the MENA region as well as spread anti-normalization demands. QAYON was established in 2010 by both Qataris and Palestinians in Qatar (Kurd, 2022).

During the First Intifada in 1987 there were many calls by civil society on the Palestinian Rights Committee in the UN (CEIRPP) to impose boycotts on Israel. Even after the First Intifada, when the Arab states loosened their boycotts in the 1990s, there were intensified calls for boycotts by civil society campaigns (Sadeldeen, 2016). The calls from civil society movements were not only from the Arab world — there were transnational calls from all over the world and many of them were witnessed in the CEIRPP's sixth international civil society conference on Palestine, which included the Naim Khader Foundation from Belgium, the European Coordinating Committees (ECCP), the Palestine Solidarity Campaign from the UK, the Palestine Solidarity Committee from South Africa, the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees, and the Agricultural Relief PARC (Sadeldeen, 2016, 70).

Hence, during the First and Second Intifadas, anti-normalization and boycott initiatives came from both civil society movements within the Arab world, and

transnationally from all over the world. This was witnessed by the NGO Forum declaration at the Durban Conference in 2001 that included a:

> "[c]all for the launch of an international anti-Israeli Apartheid movement as implemented against South African Apartheid through a global solidarity campaign network of international civil society, UN bodies and agencies, business communities and to end the conspiracy of silence among states, particularly the European Union and the United States" (Sadeldeen, 2016, 193).

Durban's declaration was an expression of the views of thousands of civil society movements around the world which aimed to challenge all forms of racism, including antisemitism (Barghouti, 2006). Many of those boycott initiatives against Israeli products were applied transnationally after 2001, especially in the Global North's UK, Sweden, Canada, and Norway (Sadeldeen, 2016). In the U.S., there were also calls to boycott Israeli companies from American campuses which were followed by the creation of the Palestine Solidarity Movement. Furthermore, many of the mainstream churches in the U.S. and Europe joined trade unions, academic associations, and solidarity organizations calling for a boycott of Israel by 2004 (Barghouti, 2006).

In 2005, the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) call had been launched by more than 170 Palestinian civil society organizations. BDS had three main objectives. First, it called on Israel to cease its occupation of Arab lands and dismantle the Separation Wall. Second, it called for the recognition of the full equality of Arab Palestinian citizens. Third, it called for the right of return of the Palestinians to their own properties and homes as specified in UN resolution 194 (McMahon, 2014).

The terms "boycott," "divestment," and "sanctions" are the tactics to be used to challenge the Zionist political project. Boycotts entail withholding support from the apartheid system in Israel, institutions of Israeli sport, and educational institutions that participate in violations of Palestinian human rights, as well as from any Israeli and foreign systems that do the same. Divestment campaigns call on banks, local governments, churches, pensions funds,

and colleges to sell their holdings in the State of Israel and all Israeli and foreign businesses

that support Israeli apartheid. Lastly, by ending military trade and free trade agreements,

banning businesses with illegal Israeli settlements, and suspending Israel's membership in

international organizations like the UN and FIFA, sanctions campaigns would pressure

governments to uphold their legal obligations to end Israeli apartheid and refrain from aiding,

assisting or maintaining it (BDS Movement, n.d.).

Since sanctions need state level engagement, this aspect has not received the

achievable goals that boycotts and divestment have (Munayyer, 2016). This is especially due

to the fact that, as shown in the discussion of normalization, most Arab states which used to

uphold sanctions abandoned their positions to maintain relations with the United States

(McMahon, 2014). However, on the positive side, as mentioned by Yousef Munayyer:

> The BDS movement was started by Palestinian civil society actors and is being
> carried forward today by global civil society. While civil society's role in
> international affairs is often thought to be minor, it is playing a leading role in this
> movement and has forced state-level actors to respond. The reason for this is because
> the state and interstate-level actors have failed to properly address the Israeli-
> Palestinian issue. The vacuum this has created has been filled by energetic civil
> society actors who are empowered by individuals and communities that have grown
> tired of the failures of the state system (Munayyer, 2016, 286).

Divestment has been one of the strongest and most successful tactics internationally

(McMahon, 2014). Boycotts, whether cultural, academic, or consumer, have also reached

very achievable goals (Munayyer, 2016).

The BDS call in 2005 was met with strong support and endorsement from several

European solidarity groups, such as the Netherlands Palestine Committee, anti-war activists

in Europe and the UK, the Palestine Flemish Committee, the British Committee for the

Universities of Palestine (BRICUP), and many others. BDS also was followed by a wave of

boycott campaigns such as Intal in Belgium and others from all over Europe and North

America (Sadeldeen, 2016). Most importantly, by its transnational campaigns and efforts,

BDS has been successful in gaining attention from high-ranking officials in the U.S., such as

elected officials, the Secretary of State, and even the Presidents of the United States (Munnayer, 2016). This has been countered by anti-boycott committees established by Israeli cabinets, and even the Knesset, which criminalized any calls for boycotting Israel. This shows the movement's growth and recognition in the international arena (McMahon, 2014).

One of the weaknesses of the Arab League's boycott was the League's statist and hierarchical character, which limited extending its impact and influence beyond the Arab world. For example, this weakness had been witnessed in the member states' shifting commitments that were caused by the neoliberal globalization and pressures by third countries such as the United States. Hence, this led the League to face an unstable and unrigid base of solidarity and resistance, which led to the inability of its members to effectively resist the global structures of racism and colonialism. Thus, the limitation of the League to its statist element made it unable to have a transnational influence as that of the BDS movement. On the other hand, both BDS' non-hierarchical character and overarching concept of global civil society enabled it to gain more solid, stable and diverse amount of global support (Bakan and Abu-Laban, 2009). Along with its strong support and endorsement from several European solidarity groups, BDS' call had been also supported and endorsed by a great number of Jewish prominent individuals and organizations. Examples of Jewish organizations and groups supporting BDS are like American Jews for a Just Peace (AJJP), International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network (IJAN) and Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) (Ananth, 2013). Other Israeli organizations and groups which endorsed the BDS call include Boycott from Within, Alternative Information Center (AIC), the Israeli Committee Against House Demolition (ICAHD) and Who Profits from the Occupation? (Barghouti, 2011). Furthermore, several pro-BDS feminists are Israeli-Jewish. For example, Simona Sharoni and Ronit Lentin; both are prominent feminist Jewish-Israeli scholars in Gender studies who supported and endorsed BDS movement (Sharoni et. al, 2015).

There were only a few voices that opposed the recent normalizations, such as the full normalization of the UAE with Israel under the Abraham Accords in 2020. Those voices were found in organizations linked to the Arab League, several political movements, professional unions, and civil society movements. However, those few voices still count, because the rise of civil society movements all over the world (as witnessed in the case of BDS and movements that followed), are still hopeful seeds that might one day flourish into fruits of hope and change (Frisch, 2020).

As shown in the discussion above, many of the great anti-colonialist and anti-racist aspects of the AAUG are now being re-practiced by the new generation of the civil society movements. The AAUG also left an intellectual legacy that is still felt till today in intellectual institutions. A major example of this, is the Middle East Studies Association (MESA). MESA is considered one of the prominent non-profit academic associations dealing with the politics, history and culture of the Arab world through scholarly publications. MESA over time was influenced by the ideas and perspectives advanced by scholars associated with AAUG . For instance, Edward Said had been an honorary fellow of MESA (Khalidi, 2003). Another major example, is AAUG's journal, the journal *Arab Studies Quarterly* that was founded by Edward Said and Ibrahim Abu-Lughod. *Arab Studies Quarterly* is also still the leading periodical in the field of Middle East Studies (Faris, 2007).

Conclusion:

Throughout this chapter, it was shown that the process of "othering" by embedding negative stereotypes had been a phenomenon with several minority groups throughout history emboldening the superiority and dominance of the stereotyper through the degradation of the other party. As shown in this Chapter, Arabs had been facing the most degrading stereotypes by the Occident since the beginning of colonialism. This justified the superiority and domination of the colonial powers and its intensification in the Arab/Israeli conflict for the

justification of the Israeli aggression on "terrorism." As mentioned by Jack Shaheen, "stereotypes do not die off on their own"; there should be mobilization and resistance to the oppressive structures of racism and imperialism (Shaheen, 2003, 190). As explained by Payam Akhavan in a talk entitled "The Oneness of Humankind: What Is It and Why Should We Care?", the oneness and solidarity of humankind can easily be laughed at and thought to be an absurd idea; however, it is an inescapable reality. The idea of the interdependence of humankind is not naïve because our essence and identity as humans is linked to our relations with others and to our responsibility to fight injustice and alleviate the suffering of humankind (Akhavan, 2018). They are necessary motives for our existence and survival, as mentioned by Fiona Robinson (Robinson, 2011). This was shown in the discussion of the anti-racist and anti-imperialist organizations, the greatness of solidarity and responsibility had been evidenced by these groups. They demonstrated the fact that the identity of all human beings is connected with their capacity for empathy for the suffering of others.

The AAUG was established as a non-sectarian, secular, Pan-Arab, anti-racist, and anti-colonialist Association that not only embraced the principles of care, responsibility, and solidarity that were embedded in Pan-Arabism and applied them to Arab states at the time, but also embraced those principles of responsibility and care and applied them to other marginalized movements around the world. The 1960s and 1970s both witnessed the heyday of Pan-Arabism and civil rights. This helped the Association to embrace the noble principles of both phenomena, and was shown by its keenness to deal with the issues of the Arab world and its domestic implications in North America and to establish solidarity with other marginalized movements for the protection of human dignity around the globe.

Chaos and instability were outcomes of the selfishness and fragmentation of the Arab states after a period of brotherly relations, unity, and solidarity and were unfortunately reflected and adopted by the members of the organizations who were influenced by the

politics of their home countries. Thus, conflict and disunity in the Middle East combined with international factors and challenges to affect the solidarity of the AAUG. Many members who left the Association or other groups which disbanded ceased funding the AAUG, which affected the functioning of the organization. Besides the international factors that disabled the performance of the Association, the biases in U.S. domestic and foreign policy toward Israel acted as a domestic challenge on the organization because of the harassment experienced by its members, their inability to be part of domestic politics due to their perception as extremists, and their degradation and alienation by the Orientalist framework in which they were positioned.

As stated by Malcolm X, "A man who stands for nothing will fall for anything." (Manning Marable and Garret Felber, 2013, 35). This was the case with the Arab states — when they didn't stand for their cause, they fell prey to chaos, conflict, and fragmentation, and this is where the necessity of human relationality by Fiona Robinson should be grasped for the prevention of human suffering (Robinson, 2011). Luckily, the noble principles of unity, solidarity, care, and responsibility that were once embedded in organizations such as the AAUG have been inherited by new generations of civil society movements. There were mistakes made, but there have also been many great lessons from which to learn. The AAUG was a foundational inspiration to many successive organizations in North America because of its unique principles which will hopefully be reapplied and maintained by a new generation of civil society movements such as BDS and movements that followed.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Racial stereotyping helped justify European colonialism, and it was one of the enduring legacies of European colonialism. Colonialism had been legitimated by the imposition of racial classifications, which justified the subordination of the "lesser races" in the racial hierarchy who were the colonized (or "Others/Orient" in Edward Said's language), to the "higher races" who were the colonizers (or "Occident") (Said, 1978). The racial differences were compounded by negative racial stereotypes which facilitated the establishment of legally sanctioned regimes of control and discipline by the colonizers, as witnessed, for example, by the Mandate system (Mahmud, 1998). This had not only been seen in the colonies, but also in the settler-colonial regimes of Canada and the United States. Such categorization of human kind into a racial hierarchy was used to justify and legalize an oppressive regime over a specific peoples, and was a method of control. For instance, in the U.S., this had been witnessed by the exclusion, degradation, and elimination of Native Americans (Greer, 2019). Racial stereotypes of Black Americans also justified the systematic racism that Black Americans had experienced from the days of American slavery until today (Washington, 2006). In Canada, racist stereotypes about Indigenous people also justified the oppressive governance system that was imposed on them (Thomas and Green, 2007). Even today, racist attitudes and behaviors are still justified and accepted because of racial stereotyping. The normalization and entrenchment of racialized stereotypes about Arabs and Arab Americans (as barbaric, violents and terrorists, etc.) continue to lead to harassment and racial profiling in workplaces, airports and other areas (Jadallah and el-Khoury, 2010).

Hence, the outcomes and effects of racial stereotyping did not cease with the end of the colonial era. They still exist and affect several groups today, such as Arabs and Arab Americans. As shown throughout my thesis, the Arab/Israeli conflict led to an increase in negative stereotyping of Arabs. With the intensification of negative Arab stereotypes in

American society through each Arab/Israeli conflict, the longevity of this process of stereotyping led to an entrenchment of anti-Arab sentiment in the U.S. and in other Western countries. Both Arabs and those of Arab origin became Public Enemy No.1 (Shaheen, 2003). They were no longer perceived as normal human beings with normal human lives like the rest of the community, which led to their dehumanization and their exclusion from society. The process of dehumanization of the Arabs and of other marginalized groups throughout history by the embedding of the racialized colonial division of humanity led to the waning of the concept of common human relationality and vulnerability of human beings, which negatively affected the care and responsibility that should exist among humans and that is crucial for the survival of all humankind. Dehumanization not only leads to oppression and suppression of the target groups—it also leads to their non-existence as human being, and hence to the deprivation of their basic rights as human beings. Even before the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, Palestinians had been treated as non-existent in their own lands, which eased the process of normalizing the characterization of them as being terrorists and a global threat, which deprived them of their minimal rights as human beings and alienated their voices (Zreik, 2004). In the U.S., this had negatively affected Arabs and Arab Americans by alienating them from society, which was shown in their exclusion from politics, the muting of their wills and voices, their harassment (whether by the government or the public), and by the deprivation of their basic civil rights. The discourse of dehumanization and the normalization of "us vs them" led to the creation of a hierarchy of grievability. The hierarchy of grievability lead to some dead being seen as valuable and worthy of grief while others are not. As Judith Butler explained, this had been the case of Western and non-Western lives (Butler, 2006). This condition is traced back to a process that started with racism, led to dehumanization, and concluded with a racial hierarchy with only some at the top who count as humans (Western) and others on the bottom who do not count as humans (non-Westerns). The outcome of this

was the fall of the principles of unity and solidarity of Third Worldism and the eradication of

the facts of the common vulnerability of all humans and that all people deserve to count as

valued "humans" who have a responsibility toward each other regardless of their

backgrounds. Butler beautifully explains this common relationality, vulnerability, and

interdependency:

> For if I am confounded by you, then you are already of me, and I am nowhere without
> you. I cannot muster the "we" except by finding the way in which I am tied to "you,"
> by trying to translate but finding that my own language must break up and yield if I
> am to know you. You are what I gain through this disorientation and loss. This is how
> the human comes into being, again and again, as that which we have yet to know.
> (Butler, 2006, 49)

I utilize the Third World Political thought throughout my thesis, because it

emphasizes the necessity of a collective unity and solidarity for resisting the colonial

relations of oppression, imperialism and racism (Bose, 2017). Third Worldists believe that

political change can be propelled through the participation of the global masses against the

imperialist forms of oppression. In this context, the idea of the collectivity of the masses

started when the leaders and institutions of the colonized and newly decolonized states

decided to establish transnational political institutions that would free them from the colonial

systems of oppression. Thus, Third Worldism became the political force used for global

decolonization. The collective subjectivity of Third Worldism then grew to include the

resistance and revolt against the modern power structures, which led the idea of collectivity

to move beyond nation-states and continents. Hence, it turned to have the inclusivity of

aiming the immanent sovereignty of the colonized people, that was demonstrated by Fanon to

be including the anti-colonial movements in Asia, Africa and the Americas (Bose, 2019).

This was shown in the rise of the New Leftists in the West, who had different struggles but

interconnected their struggles with the struggles of the liberation movements in the Third

World. Hence, during the golden age of Third Worldism in the 1970s, there was a vibrant

atmosphere of transnational political solidarity and consensus (Haugbolle and Olsen, 2023).

Nevertheless, due to the changing character of the world and the rise of conflicts and contradictions in the 1980s, this led to the eventual end of Third Worldism.

Since conflicts and chaos spread after the fall of the unity and solidarity that was advocated by Third Worldism and Pan-Arabism, this pushed my eagerness to draw in Robinson's emphasis on humans' interdependence for the prevention of suffering. Human solidarity is defined by Lawrence Wilde as "a condition of universal respect for humans qua humans, irrespective of our differences" (Wilde, 2004, 162). Human solidarity carries with it the concepts of cooperation, sympathy, and altruism and humans should constantly remind themselves that these are essential for their survival and peace. Essentially, it is a reminder that love, care, responsibility and respect are crucial aspects for human existence (Wilde, 2004). Human solidarity is the unity of all humanity through empathy by the feeling and relationality of the suffering of the fellow other despite their background or identity as was shown in revolutionary internationalism (Scholz, 2015). Unity and solidarity of humans through empathy and through the comprehension and normalization of the common relationality and vulnerability of humans is a powerful weapon that would end global injustices and oppression. Through understanding our common relationality and vulnerability, we will realize that injustice and oppression will affect not only those who are perceived to be vulnerable, but all humanity. The greatest example of this is the climate crisis which, if it is not challenged by human care, responsibility, and cooperation, will result in the suffering of all humanity (Tschakert, 2022).

Throughout history, disunity, fragmentation, and cleavages have not led to anything except conflicts, instabilities, and hatred (Zurbach, 2013). This had been witnessed from the early history of the ancient Greeks to today's Russia-Ukraine war which has propelled the world into an economic crisis that might end with global human suffering and famine (Yastiv et al., 2023).

168

The unity of humankind is not a utopian fantasy; humankind only needs to get out of its particularistic and individualistic bubble. Getting out of this bubble would help all humans to understand how oneness is an existential necessity for human survival (Akhavan, 2018). Proof of the possibility of unity and oneness was its presence among several social movements, individuals, and organizations from the 1960s to the 1970s as shown throughout the chapters of this thesis. This era also proved the catastrophic consequences of rejecting these concepts and instead moving towards individualistic and particularistic interests, whether by states or organizations. In the case of states, this was shown by the Arab states leaving behind the valuable principles of pan-Arabism and adopting instead their individualistic and particularistic interests, which led the whole region to a status of conflict and instability after an era of brotherly relations and unity. In the case of organizations, this was demonstrated by the example of the AAUG and how its members were influenced by the fragmentary politics of their home countries, which shifted the focus of the Association from unity, solidarity, and integration to disunity, particularism, and internal conflict.

Chapter Two demonstrated the concepts of unity and solidarity of Third Worldism in the striving of the Arab movements and intellectuals to unify their struggle for independence from the colonial powers, a struggle that had been assisted by their adoption of the principles of pan-Arabism which highlighted the necessity of their unity and solidarity to reach independence. It could also be traced through the establishment of the Arab League which demonstrated the mutual responsibility of the member states for the Palestinian cause and for all the anti-colonial struggles at the time. This had been witnessed by the aim of all member states for both the independence of Palestine and the Arab territories as well as their focus on and their care for the nationalist causes and struggles of non-Arabs.

The collectivity of Third Worldism amongst the Arabs existed since the rise of the nationalist movements against colonial powers in the first half of the 20th century. This had

been witnessed in, for example, the Arab Revolt (1936-1939); as shown in Chapter Two, this included the support of both the Arab states and the Arab nationalist movements for the Arabs of Palestine against the British Mandate of Palestine as well as against the violent acts of the Jewish Haganah organization.

In Chapter Two, the unity and solidarity of Third Worldism were also reflected in Gamal Abdel Nasser's policies during his term. Nasser's policies and ideology emphasized the importance of not only unifying the Arabic world's struggles but also unifying Arab and African struggles. Nasser's anti-colonialist and third world ideology joined the Africans, Arabs, and Asians together and underlined their solidarity. This was shown in his support to the Black movements in the U.S. and was also reflected in his support and sponsorship of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference (1957).

Lastly, Third Worldism in Chapter Two was demonstrated by both the solidarity and unity that were shown and adopted by the post-colonial movements, whether in the Arab world or overseas. Most of these were based on cross-national alliances that called for solidarity against imperialism.

In Chapter Three, the concepts of unity and solidarity of Third Worldism were shown in the pan-Arab principles, which had been adopted as a primary feature of the Arab League and that were primarily aimed at Palestinian self-determination, but importantly were extended to defending the suffering of other non-Arab groups living under colonial or settler-colonial regimes.

Until the late 1970s, the Arab boycott of Israel showed the true implication of the concepts of unity and solidarity of Third Worldism that the Arab states shared. For several decades, Arab states risked their economies and withstood U.S. pressures for the sake of the valued principles of consensus that they held since the establishment of the Arab League. Furthermore, they did this for the sake of the Palestinian cause, which they adopted as their

own cause over their individualistic and particularistic interests before the fall of Third Worldism in the 1980s.

In Chapter Four, Third Worldism's solidarity was shown in the fighting against racial discrimination of Arabs in the Arab world and in the diaspora, the League fought against the racial discrimination of the people of South Africa and the Mizrahi Jews ("Oriental Jews") in Israel. It was also demonstrated by the atmosphere of unity, solidarity, and responsibility that existed among the anti-racist and anti-imperialist organizations and movements in the U.S. and Canada from the 1960s to the early 1980s. Furthermore, it was shown in relationality of the suffering of Black Americans to the suffering of Arabs and Palestinians. In addition, it was demonstrated in the unity and solidarity of some of Jewish and Israeli groups and scholars, who expressed in their solidarity with and standing up for Palestinians against the Israeli oppression.

Also, in Chapter Four, Third Worldism's unity and solidarity were also traced in the AAUG's solidarity and unity with other marginalized groups, whether in North America or around the globe. It was also shown in the care and responsibility of its members to the issues of their home countries by their adoption of the principles of pan-Arabism, which led them to focus not only on the issues and struggles they faced as American citizens of Arab ancestry. Their solidarity and unity with other groups was stated as a stance in their preamble, and was also shown in their annual General Assembly resolutions, annual conferences, and in their participation in the rallies and protests of the those who were suffering.

Lastly, in Chapter Four, unity and solidarity were reflected in the early civil society movements by the people of the Arab world after their states' normalization and loosening of the boycotts against Israel. This showed the permanence and persistence of the care and responsibility of the Arab population towards the Palestinians despite the newly adopted, individualistic, and particularistic directions of their leaders that existed after the decline of

Third Worldism. Furthermore, the atmosphere of solidarity and unity against the world's injustices and oppression was strongly shown by the wave of cross-national civil society movements which included members and participants not only from the Arab world but from all over the world. These movements included BDS, the Netherlands Palestine Committee, anti-war activists in Europe and the UK, the Palestine Flemish Committee, the British Committee for the Universities of Palestine (BRICUP) and many others described in Chapter Four. The emergent civil society movements—which had a transnational spirit and included groups from Europe, North America, Africa, and the Arab world—showed and are still showing that there are hopeful seeds that might one day flourish into fruits of hope and change with the principles of unity, solidarity and responsibility they held and are still holding.

In this research, I argued that the AAUG's weakening and demise was gradually influenced first by the fall of pan-Arabism in the Arab world, which was caused by a series of events in the region as shown throughout the chapters. Many of the Association's prominent members, and other organizations that were financially supporting the Association, were influenced by fragmented politics of their home countries that led them to cease funding the AAUG, and hence affected the functioning of the organization. Second, it was caused by the U.S.'s pro-Israel domestic and foreign policies which had intensified in Israel's favor through each Arab/Israeli conflict or event.

The impact of the pro-Israel lobby and its influence on the legislative and executive branches caused U.S. politics to be pro-Israel during each major event by the exclusion of Arab voices. The pro-Israeli influence also extended into literature and the media, whether in movies, radio, or newspapers. The vilifying of Arabs in imagery from major events, such as in 1967, 1973, the First Intifada (1987), the Second Intifada (2000) and even on 9/11 fed into pro-Israel positions. The lobby's influence rooted in the special relationship in the U.S. with

Israel was also noted. This special relationship had planted the idea that Israel and the U.S. had common interests and shared a common enemy, which was the Arab enemy (Shlapentokh, 2013). This led to the harassment and targeting of Arabs in the diaspora, especially activists. Furthermore, it imposed pressures and was threatening to those who supported the Arab cause as was the case with Black activists, and this led to fears of reprisals for those who were in solidarity with the Arabs. These consequences included cuts to the funding of their organizations, as in the case of the SCLC, or their inability to participate in politics, as in the case of Andrew Young. Andrew Young's resignation is an important case to be tackled as it didn't only reflect the unjust targeting of those who stood for the Palestinian cause in the U.S. politics, but in the eyes of the AAUG it also reflected the victimization of those who stood against apartheid and racial inequality. Hence, Young's situation was a portrayal of the unjust U.S. foreign policy towards the majority of the Third World Countries, which showed the disqualification of it as an even-handed actor in the issues of these countries. These were all factors that acted as a domestic challenge to the Association by barring its access to foreign policy institutions and think tanks so it was unable to both have its views heard from a dominant platform and influence the elites who determined U.S. foreign affairs.

Since the founding of the Arab League, the Arab states prioritized the principle of consensus, which made Arab leaders feel that every Arab state's struggle was their own struggle, or emphasized support for struggles outside the region which implanted a sense of responsibility and care in the region. The Camp David Accords in 1978 led to the breaking of trust and brotherly relations that had existed in the region for a long time. Since 1978, Camp David acted as a shock to all the Arab leaders, and politics in the Arab world changed from being focused on consensus, solidarity, and Pan-Arabism (*qawmiyyah*) to being focused on the states' particularistic patriotism (*wataniyyah*). The new atmosphere of disunity in the

region led not only to the region experiencing fragmentation, but also to inter-Arab state conflicts and inter-state conflicts between Arab and non-Arab states that endangered the whole region. The region since then has continuously experienced a series of conflicts and events, the effects of which are still seen today (e.g. conflicts such as the Lebanese Civil War, the First and Second Gulf Wars, the Somalian Civil War, the Sudanese Civil War, the First and Second Intifadas, terrorism in the region, the U.S. invasion of Iraq and others). There were also several controversial events that occurred because of states' normalization and loosening of their boycotts of Israel, such as the Oslo Accords (1993), the Jordanian-Israeli Peace Treaty (1994), the Gulf states' lifting of boycotts in the 1990s, and most recently the Abraham Accords (2020). Each of these conflicts and events acted as a reason for the decline in unity, solidarity, and strength of Arabs in the diaspora who were following and adopting the principles of Pan-Arabism. For instance, the atmosphere in the AAUG toward every Arab issue or conflict followed the same example of self-interest adopted in the Arab world at the time. The blind loyalty of some of the Association's members to their home countries overcame the valued principles of integration, solidarity, and unity that had prevailed in the organization since its establishment. As the Arab states witnessed chaos and conflicts after the fragmentation of the Arab League, the AAUG also witnessed chaos and weakening on an operational level.

Hence, as per the discussion above, Arabs and Arabs in the diaspora have faced many challenges in the last few decades, whether in the Arab world or overseas. After the disintegration and fall of pan-Arabism, the Arab world faced many conflicts and fragmentations that positioned the region in the hands of self-interested, autocratic leaders and turned the region into both a war zone and a zone where proxy-wars took place. However, a large segment of the populations of these regions still held the principles of pan-Arabism and held hope for change. This had been shown in the civil society movements of

174

the Arab populations which opposed both the politics of highly repressive Arab regimes and the violations of their leaders' responsibility to the Palestinian cause. This was also witnessed in the Arab Spring by the demonstrators who called for their freedom and the freedom of Palestine (Kurd, 2022). Arabs in the diaspora remain subject to harassment and face barriers to participating in politics along with other citizens. Racist and Orientalist stereotypes and misrepresentations of Arabs still exist in Western media. Stereotypes and clichés about Arabs being terrorists, savages, oversexed etc. still predominate in mass culture which entrenches persistent anti-Arab sentiment (Ali, 2017). Even today, Arabs and Arabs in the diaspora are still treated as the "Other" in a dehumanizing manner. This had been shown in various statements by Western news media during the Russian-Ukrainian war. For example, BFMTV in France stated that, "We're not talking here about Syrians fleeing the bombing of the Syrian regime backed by Putin. We're talking about Europeans leaving in cars that look like ours to save their lives" (Bayoumi, 2022, March 22). As demonstrated by Butler, most of the statements use and reflect racist and inhumane depictions of Middle Eastern people as people who are immune to suffering and undeserving of our sympathy or grief. After the devastating earthquake that struck Turkey and Syria on February 7, 2023, the lack of media coverage and rescue efforts to Syria from the Western countries led Omar Foda, a Visiting Professor at Towson University, to tweet that "People living in the Middle East are not some special species that becomes more immune to tragedy the more they experience it. They are humans who are suffering at levels that are almost inconceivable. To believe otherwise is to justify your cold indifference" (Foda, 2020, 7 February). Foda's tweet summed up the dehumanizing position that Arabs and Arabs in the diaspora are still subjected to from the lens of Western media. Nevertheless, Arab American organizations like the ADC, NAAA, and many others that were inspired by and followed the steps of the AAUG persist in seeking justice and calling attention to the distorted imageries and unjust treatment of Arabs and those with Arab

origins in the U.S. Most importantly, the light at the end of the tunnel is seen in the rise of transnational civil society movements from all over the world.

Resistance from civil society movements such as BDS has been met with strong support and earned the endorsement of various civil society groups from all over the world. Moreover, movements and organizations such as Jewish Voices for Peace and others are considered hopeful and inspiring for a world with more equality and justice. They are a reflection of a rebirth of the unity and solidarity that had previously existed in the AAUG and other organizations and movements established in the 1960s and 1970s.

The new wave of civil society movements have shown the noble principles of unity, solidarity, and responsibility that were once embedded in organizations such as the AAUG. As stated by Robinson, "Beyond the claim that humans are "social beings," the relational ontology of care ethics claims that relations of interdependence and dependence are a fundamental feature of our existence" (Robinson, 2011, 4). The fact of the relationality of humans emphasizes the importance of fulfilling the responsibilities that we hold towards each other. As shown in my research through the peak of Third Worldism, those responsibilities had been fulfilled in the solidarity of diverse individuals, groups, movements, and organizations such as the AAUG against the injustices and inequalities that existed because of racism and colonialism. The unjust pressures and inequalities that the AAUG was exposed to and challenged with the decline of Third Worldism and with the rise of conflicts still persist today. Although the AAUG was a foundational inspiration to many successive organizations in North America and around the world, the mistakes it made and the challenges it faced led to its dissolution. Hence, the new generation of civil society movements should learn lessons from those mistakes. Unity and solidarity are the key to real change and success. Although my research answered several important questions related to the weakening and fall of the AAUG, there remain further questions that may be even more

intriguing. For example, will the unity and solidarity of civil society movements without the states' role or action be powerful enough to challenge the pressures imposed by the Israeli lobby on Arabs and Arabs in the diaspora? Also, will their unity and solidarity without the states' role or action be powerful enough to challenge the hateful stereotypes that have degraded and alienated Arabs in the diaspora and justified the inequalities of various groups through time? As demonstrated by Jack Shaheen in "Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People": "If we are ever to illuminate our common humanity, our nation's leaders must challenge all hateful stereotypes. Teachers need to move forward and incorporate, at long last, discussions of Arab caricatures in schools, colleges, military, and government classrooms" (Shaheen, 2003, 190). This shows how mobilization and persistence, with the states' role as well as the civilian population's role, are essential factors for fighting injustice. Hence, with the solidarity of new transnational civil society mobilizations, learning from the mistakes of the past could be a significant and hopeful sign for unity against racism and oppression. Since the new generation of civil society movements is mainly based on cross-national alliances and continues to gather more supporters, hopefully in time this might have a positive impact by shifting opinion and polices on a state level towards more equality and justice.

The significance of this research and its findings to the study of politics lies in unveiling the systemic structures of racism, colonialism, inequalities and injustices in the world's fabric, and in highlighting the fatal consequences that the world might get exposed to if people chose the path to particularism and selfishness over solidarity and unity. Covering the establishment and rise of the AAUG, which was proved during its golden age and early years to be an Association that provoked human solidarity and non-sectarian politics for the sake of attaining social justice and equality, showed the essentiality of human solidarity for peace and human existence. Looking deeper into both the domestic and international factors

that led to the decline of the Association, showed the devastating outcomes of the unjust U.S. domestic policies and practices on the ethnic minority groups, which deprived them from their basic rights. The implications of the Orientalist racial stereotyping of the Arabs in the U.S. and of the bias pro-Israel U.S. domestic policies on the Arabs and those from Arab heritage background are unfortunately still experienced till today. The negative outcomes of the uneven-handed and pro-Israel U.S. foreign policy in the Arab world, as well as the particularistic and individualistic politics of the autocratic Arab leaders that acted as an international factors in the decline and fragmentation of the AAUG are also still being experienced till today in the ongoing chaos, conflicts and fragmentation that took over the region. Hence, raising awareness of this topic and its findings would help people who have been suppressed and alienated unjustly in their own communities to be aware of the sources of their oppression and would encourage them to collectively along with other groups who are facing similar experiences, or who are even facing another kinds of suppressions to stand up together against the systematic dimensions of racism, alienation, inequality and other factors of oppression.

The brotherly atmosphere of solidarity of the cross-national social movements of diverse backgrounds and beliefs during the civil rights era that was reflected in the AAUG's golden age, is the legacy left to the current generation of civil society movements. Following the steps of the noble principles and goals of the previous generation of organizations and civil society movements while preventing their mistakes that existed in their disunity and fragmentation, the new generation of cross-national civil society movements could carry on with the journey and be the hopeful seeds that would flourish in the face of inequalities and injustices that have been embedded in the world's structure.

The future avenues of research that could be pursued lie in the unanswered aspect of my research, which is examining the ways and courses of action that ought to be taken to

influence the states' policies and practices towards more equality, justice, care and responsibility. The Arab world witnessed in 2010 the Arab Spring, the uprisings by the hopeful youths were witnessed in standing up against their autocratic leaders and in calling for "bread, freedom and social justice". Although that was a hopeful and great step towards change, still the states which witnessed the uprisings had been reoccupied by tyrannical and corrupt figures. Nevertheless, since hope never dies, with hope, persistence and unity what had been ruined could be rebuilt.

Furthermore, what wasn't anticipated in the findings of my study is the rise of not only the Jewish support and solidarity to the Palestinians' rights which had been already a rising phenomenon amongst some American Jews for a while, but also the rise of some of the Israeli citizens, groups and movements' support and solidarity to the Palestinians' rights. This is certainly an area of study that should be more deeply visited and researched.

Although there is so much negativity about the social media, it was proven to be the main weapon used in the face of tyranny during the Arab Spring. For example, 2011 Egyptian revolution was essentially launched through *Twitter*. Social media is the new digital revolution where youths from all over the world have been posting on their social media accounts as on *Facebook*, *Instagram*, *Tiktok* and other social network platforms stories and posts about different causes. Hence, it acts as an open arena that raises awareness, and most importantly it is a peaceful weapon for cross-national social movements to keep building more connections beyond their states' borders. Thus, that makes it a crucial area of study which its influence and impact on unity, solidarity and justice should be dug in more.

Throughout my research, the significance of following the concept of oneness of humanity and the significance of grasping the idea of our identity as human beings to be connected with our capacity for empathy for the suffering of others had been demonstrated in the discussions of the social movements from the period of decolonization till the rise of the

new generation of civil society movements. Saadi Shiraz, a 13th century Iranian poet, beautifully put the importance of human oneness into a poem called *Bani Adam*, which translates in English as Sons of Adam. It reads:

> "Human beings are members of a whole In creation of one essence and soul If one member is afflicted with pain Other members uneasy will remain If you have no sympathy for human pain The name of human you cannot retain" (Bahai' Blog, 2018 Feb 26, 4:49).

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