

1998-2000 Report on Hate Crimes and Discrimination Against Arab Americans

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The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) is a civil rights organization committed to defending the rights of Arab Americans and promoting their heritage. ADC, which is non-partisan and non-sectarian, is the largest Arab-American grassroots organization in the United States. It was founded in 1980 by former U.S. Senator James G. Abourezk in response to stereotyping, defamation, and discrimination directed against Americans of Arab origin.

ADC serves its nationwide membership through direct advocacy in cases of defamation and through legal action in cases of discrimination.

The ADC Research Institute publishes information on issues of concern to Arab Americans; sponsors internships for college students; and provides educational materials on Arab history and culture as well as the ethnic experience of Arabs in America.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Report, from the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the largest Arab-American membership organization in the United States, traces hate crimes and discrimination against the Arab-American community from the beginning of 1998 to the end of 2000. It outlines the major challenges facing Arab Americans when dealing with other sectors of American society, including individuals, corporations, news and entertainment media, educational institutions, law enforcement and the government. In the pages of this Report, ADC tracks patterns of discrimination and bias against Americans because of their Arab ethnicity. The report is divided into three sections which deal with legal issues, discrimination in education, and media bias and defamation.

The legal section of this Report includes a number of case summaries documenting and describing the continuing problem of physical and psychological attacks on Americans of Arab heritage, many of which constitute hate crimes under the law. The Report demonstrates that Arab Americans remain vulnerable to vicious attacks from fellow citizens motivated by anti-Arab prejudice. It also shows that employment discrimination based on the same biases are all too common.

ADC's Report deals thoroughly with the problem of institutionalized discrimination against Arab Americans. It contains an extensive analysis of airline passenger profiling, a discriminatory system that has touched the lives of a vast number of Arab Americans since it was mandated by the FAA in 1996. The case summaries show both how abusive and pervasive airport profiling of Arab Americans has become. The report also outlines the history and major cases involving the use of secret evidence in deportations, an extraordinary violation of due process rights that has been used almost exclusively against persons of Arab ethnicity and/or Muslim religious affiliation during the period covered. It also explains the developing problem of indefinite detention for non-citizens found to be deportable but who cannot be deported for various reasons. The case studies of indefinite detention demonstrate the profound and disturbing injustice this conundrum can produce. The Report also examines the Supreme Court's 1999 ruling in *ADC v. Reno*, otherwise known as the LA8 case, in which immigrants' access to district courts was severely restricted and selective enforcement of immigration laws was upheld as constitutional.

The Report includes a survey of discrimination faced by Arab Americans in educational institutions, mainly public schools. Various forms of bias in education, particularly those relating to defamatory or erroneous textbooks and other aspects of the curriculum, remain all too common.

The media bias and defamation section of the Report outlines the extremely serious problem of negative stereotyping of Arabs and Arab Americans in the entertainment industry, most notably in films and on television. The Report critiques several films made during 1998-2000, and demonstrates that they are among the most venomous anti-Arab racist movies yet produced. It also closely examines anti-Arab bias and poor coverage in the news media. In case studies on the coverage of stories as diverse as events in Iraq, the Palestinian uprising, the crash of EgyptAir 990, a cigarette smuggling case in Charlotte, and the conflict in southern Lebanon, patterns of bias and prejudice in reporting are carefully examined. This Report also contains a review of defamatory anti-Arab statements by prominent Americans. It chronicles a pattern of efforts to prevent Arab Americans from fully participating in elections and government service.

ADC's *1998-2000 Report on Hate Crimes and Discrimination Against Arab Americans* is intended as a permanent record of this aspect of our community's experience in the past three years. It is an attempt to systematically survey the very serious problem of bias facing Arab Americans in many aspects of their lives. It is also intended as a contribution to the literature on intolerance in general. ADC hopes that this Report will help us develop a truly tolerant America, free of hatred, bias and prejudice.

I. LEGAL ISSUES

A) INTRODUCTION

Like many minority groups in the United States, Arab Americans often suffer discrimination and denial of their basic rights. In addition to dealing with discrimination and civil rights abuses at the hands of private entities and fellow citizens, Arab Americans have increasingly faced a set of discriminatory policies from the federal government, including the use of airport profiling and secret evidence in deportation cases. As a result, ADC's Legal Department on a daily basis deals with cases involving workplaces, service industries, and schools, as well as federal and state agencies. Discriminatory policies by government agencies reinforce anti-Arab attitudes and encourage bigotry against the Arab-American community. Such policies and practices reflect and reinforce rampant anti-Arab stereotypes in the mass media, as outlined in the Media Bias and Defamation section of this Report, contributing to a climate in which hate crimes and discrimination against Arab Americans are all too common.

ADC's Legal Department each week receives numerous phone calls, e-mail messages, and letters reporting discrimination in areas of employment, education, housing, police misconduct, immigration rights, and other concerns. The cases in this section are based on reported incidents received by the ADC Legal Department since the publication of the previous ADC Report on Hate Crimes and Discrimination Against Arab Americans in 1997, as well as a few additional sources. Thirty-five percent of the cases received from 1998-2000 were employment discrimination cases and another thirty-five percent were cases involving other forms of institutionalized discrimination, such as immigration and airline passenger profiling. Twenty-two percent of the reported cases received were hate crimes.

Many of those who contact our office are not familiar with the laws that safeguard their rights in the United States, particularly federal laws prohibiting discrimination based on national origin, race, religion, sex, and disability. One of the main missions of ADC is to provide legal advice and counseling to those who have reason to feel that they have been subjected to illegal discrimination, and to refer those with actionable cases to other attorneys. ADC's Legal Department is also mandated to track the pattern of discrimination and hate crimes directed against the Arab-American community, and that work is reflected in this section of the Report.

B) PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTACKS

Personal attacks of both the physical and psychological kind on Arabs and Arab Americans in the United States are part of the regular pattern of hate crimes that many in the community have been forced to endure.

Physical attacks, although less common than their psychological counterparts, include such criminal offenses as battery and vandalism. Often such attacks are categorized as felonies under criminal law. A majority of these crimes are covered under the laws of the various states as opposed to federal statutes. However, a very significant federal penalty for such crimes comes into play if a crime is deemed to be a "hate crime" committed with the intent of attacking someone based, in whole or in part, on their religion, race, ethnicity, and/or national origin. Although there are no official government statistics on such crimes committed specifically against Arab

Americans due to the lack of federal recognition of Arab Americans as a minority group, ADC routinely receives complaints of such attacks.

Psychological attacks, better known under criminal law as assault and/or threats with the intent to commit a crime, are the more common type of personal attacks faced by Arab Americans. These crimes often go unreported due to the perceived insignificance of their impact on the victim. Although not all derogatory comments made against the national origin and/or religion of an individual are included as crimes under the various criminal statutes, these offenses often stem from the widely held negative stereotypes of Arabs in American popular culture. It is important to note that a comment, no matter how derogatory, does not constitute a crime and is indeed protected as free speech under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution. The only manner in which a derogatory comment may be viewed as a crime is if the comment incorporates, either in words or in action, what is defined under criminal statutes as “hate speech.” Speech may be prosecuted as a crime under “hate speech” statutes if it directly incites physical violence, in any form, against its intended victim or the group to which the intended victim belongs. Legal standards for “hate speech” statutes and their enforcement vary significantly depending on the jurisdiction.

The victim of these attacks, whether physical or psychological, may pursue remedy in a civil action against the offender independently of any criminal charges. The following are some sample cases of both the physical and the psychological variety which ADC has addressed during the period covered in this Report.

1) Physical Cases (Battery/Vandalism)

December 1997 - Washington, DC: A Muslim crescent-and-star was displayed alongside the national Christmas tree and Jewish menorah on the Ellipse in front of the White House to signify the holy month of Ramadan. Shortly after its unveiling, the artist who built the 10-foot-tall wooden structure discovered the star torn from the crescent, painted with a red swastika, and thrown near a garbage can a few hundred feet away. The Moroccan-born artist, who was taking a friend to look at the Muslim symbol when he made the discovery, alerted the U.S. Park authorities who investigated the incident as a hate crime. In response to calls from Arab-American and Muslim groups to condemn the act of vandalism, President Clinton issued a statement denouncing the desecration as “the embodiment of intolerance that strikes at the heart of what it means to be an American.”

July 1998 - Los Angeles, CA: An Iraqi man called the Los Angeles Police after the mother of one of his two children went into a fit of rage at his house and wanted to take their child home with her before the agreed upon time in their shared custody schedule. The mother of their children also called the Los Angeles Police Department alleging that her daughter was taken without permission. When the police arrived, they performed a very cursory investigation of the situation and arrested the Iraqi father for “felony injury to the mother of their common child.” Immediately following his arrest, the Iraqi man suffered from a seizure and was administered ten milligrams of Valium by paramedics who were called to the scene. At the time he was sedated with the intravenous injection of Valium, the Iraqi man was beaten, assaulted, kicked, stunned with a Tazer gun, and was otherwise severely abused, both physically and emotionally, by five LAPD officers. The Iraqi man at no time resisted or acted belligerently toward the police and in fact was unable to do so because to his seizure and the intravenous Valium. Due to the seizures and the injuries from the beating, he was taken to a medical unit at

Twin Towers, and later to the Los Angeles Sheriff's Jail Ward at the Los Angeles County U.S.C. Medical Center. At those facilities, the Iraqi man was further subjected to police brutality and verbal harassment against his Arab ethnicity. Even though the Iraqi victim as well as a Sheriff deputy advised that a video and an audio tape were taken while the Iraqi man was in custody, the Sheriff's office refused to provide these items despite a court order.

February 1999 - Montgomery County, MD: David Leonard Rikon was charged with hate violence and malicious destruction of property for his part in harassing long-time ADC educational activist Samira Hussein and her family. The Husseins' ordeal began during the Gulf War. Throughout this period, the Hussein family reported five acts of vandalism to the police. Among these acts were: a rock thrown across the patio shattering a glass door; the doors to the family car being glued shut; and trash strewn all over the lawn. In September of 1997, a swastika and the word "pig" were etched on the hood of Hussein's car, the seats were slashed, and the tires punctured. Leonard Rikon, a neighbor of the Husseins, was found guilty and convicted of hate violence and malicious destruction of property on March 10, 1999.

May 1999 - Villa Park, IL: Representatives of the Islamic Foundation of Villa Park, one of the largest mosques in the country, reported that vandals threw a one-foot chunk of concrete shattering the mosque's tempered glass front door and the window next to it. A construction vehicle parked near the mosque was also vandalized. The custodian of the mosque reported that he observed a white van drive up and park outside the building sometime after midnight. The Villa Park Police confirmed the reports and notified the Chicago office of the FBI about the attack.

May 1999 - Aurora, CO: A 39-year-old man was arrested for allegedly planning to bomb the Islamic Center and "kill Iraqis," according to authorities. The man was arrested on May 12, 1999, following a car chase and a fight with police officers in his apartment. Authorities said that there were 30 gallons of gasoline in the car as well as other bomb components, four guns, two 22-inch machetes, and 850 rounds of ammunition. The man was investigated for possession of explosive devices, three counts of attempted vehicular assault, eluding the police, carrying concealed weapons and ethnic intimidation. Moreover, in separate attacks over 18 months, two immigrant men who prayed at the mosque were murdered. The police labeled the killings as "hate crimes."

October 1999 - Palos Park, IL: A 17-year-old man was arrested for attacking and yelling racist slurs at Arab, Black, and Hispanic students of Palos Park High School. The assault took place outside a coffee shop near the high school, where a group of teens chatted. The man confronted a 15-year-old girl who was in the group. He was charged with disorderly conduct, unlawful use of a weapon, and violation of a local hate crime statute.

March 2000 - Boulder, CO: An Iranian-American man was mistaken for an Arab and injured while rallying in support of the National Rifle Association (NRA) outside a Boulder arena. The Iranian American was waiting to hear a speech by the President of the NRA when the attack occurred. A group of anti-NRA protesters were also awaiting the speech. A member of the group, who reportedly labeled the victim a "filthy Arab," struck the man in the head. The attacker chased the victim until police interceded.

June 2000 - Memphis, TN: A shooting rampage at the Al-Noor Mosque in Memphis, Tennessee left one victim hospitalized and an entire community in shock. An Arab-American worshiper was shot in the leg while parking his truck prior to attending morning prayers by a man who lived next door to the mosque. After injur-

ing the worshiper, the gunman began to open fire on cars in the parking area and chased his victim toward the mosque. The victim entered the mosque but the gunman was locked out by worshipers. The enraged gunman then shot holes in the doors of the mosque. Worshipers at the mosque reported that the gunman lived next door and that he had frequently taunted worshipers during prayers with statements such as “go back where you came from.”

March 2001 - Reno, NY: Dr. Eltag Mirghani, a 48-year-old Arab-American physician from Sudan, and Mr. Muhammad Sanad, a 46-year-old Arab-American electrical engineer, were approached by two young white men in the parking lot of the Northern Nevada Muslim Community Center. The suspects approached the victims and, without speaking, struck Mr. Sanad with a baseball bat. Mr. Sanad suffered a broken arm as he tried to shield his head. After Sanad ran into the Mosque, Mirghani was repeatedly struck in the head with the bat. After what officials believe was about 30 seconds, the suspects dropped the bat and fled when mosque members and a nearby resident ran to help Mirghani, who lay on the curb bleeding.

Dr. Mirghani remained in a coma having suffered severe head trauma. He underwent two operations at Washoe Medical Center where he was listed in critical condition. Officials were able to recover a baseball bat believed to be the one used in the attack. The attack followed a rash of harassment aimed at the Mosque, including a report from children about a man who had pointed a gun at them while they played in the Mosque’s parking lot. All services at the Mosque were canceled while police continued their investigation. The incident is being investigated as a hate crime by the FBI, the Reno Police Department, and the Washoe County Sheriff’s Department.

March 2001 - Tucson, AZ: A Palestinian family, who had just moved in to a Tucson, Arizona, neighborhood, had their property vandalized when someone threw eggs all over their front yard. When the mother called the police, she was told that it was just “teenage stuff” and that it should not be taken seriously. Two weeks later, someone once again threw eggs all over the front yard. This time, the vandals left a box full of hate messages and a knife covered in ketchup. One of the messages called the daughter a “rock thrower” and a “bitch.” The police concluded that this was a hate crime and collected all the items as evidence. This event left the entire family in fear and the mother afraid of letting her children attend school the following week, fearing that they could be harmed.

2) Psychological Cases (Assault/Threats)

October 1997 - Livermore, CA: A staff writer for the TriValley Herald, a local newspaper which is part of the Alameda Newspaper Group (ANG) in Livermore, California received a threatening phone call in response to an editorial on Alex Odeh, ADC’s West Coast Director, who was assassinated in 1985. The caller stated that he had read the editorial letter, that “we don’t need any God-damned Nazi sons of bitches in this country” and warned the author of the editorial that he should “get out of town.”

June 1999 - Detroit, MI: An Arab-American woman, Ms. Olivia Shamma, filed a complaint with the Detroit Police Department after she was verbally harassed over the phone at her home in Detroit with ethnic slurs attacking her Arab background. The culprit turned out to be an employee of the Detroit Police Department. The caller ID machine in her home recorded the number and call, which was placed from a phone in the Detroit City Police Department. The employee was disciplined and the department took the necessary corrective measures.

August 1999 - Undisclosed Location, USA: A Palestinian man involved in arbitration to settle a lawsuit was subject to a racist and discriminatory line of questioning by the opposing lawyer. The lawyer questioned the Arab American's national origin and asked if all people of his country were "violent like him." The Palestinian answered that he was not a violent person and that his alleged violent nature had nothing to do with his national origin. However, the lawyer insisted on continuing the same line of questioning. There is a strong possibility that the judge may have been strongly influenced by this line of questioning in the case, and the arbitration judgement may not have been based solely on the merits of the case.

September 1999 - Los Angeles, CA: In the legal case *ADC v. ADL*, ADC sued and later accepted a settlement involving a permanent injunction against the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) from ever resuming illegal spying on Arab Americans and other groups. A class action lawsuit was brought on behalf of over 800 groups and individuals following disclosures by the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) that the Anti-Defamation League was spying against diverse groups including ADC, Greenpeace, the United Farm Worker's Union, Artists Against Apartheid, ACT UP, Action for Animals, the Asian Law Caucus of San Francisco and the American Indian Movement (AIM), as well as hundreds of individuals including elected officials. Among other issues, the ADL unlawfully gathered confidential law enforcement information. ADL's spying activities were funded with money funneled through a secret and illegal Los Angeles ADL bank account held under a false name. Along with Arab Americans, anti-apartheid activists combating white supremacy in South Africa were key targets of ADL's spying. The FBI confirmed that ADL investigated several Arab groups and that one such group was ADC. The terms of the settlement provided that ADL is permanently enjoined from engaging in any further illegal spying against Arab Americans and other targeted groups. ADL must also provide an annual statement to ADC's legal counsel for the four years following the settlement explaining steps ADL has taken to remain in compliance with the order.

May 2000 - Saint Paul, MN: An Arab-American couple published an editorial comment in the *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*. The editorial was written to express support for the newspaper's coverage of the Middle East, and outlined the couple's affiliation with the region. The Arab-American couple received a threatening letter which asserted: "We resent our civilized world being over run with niggers and Arab. [sic] Muslims threatening the world. Arabs call themselves white but they are niggers. You all must be wiped out one by one. I undertook to wipe you niggers Arabs out." The hate mail sent to the couple was not addressed, but was post-marked from Minneapolis.

May 2000 - Chicago, IL: An Arab-American shopper received a product catalog from America Online (AOL) containing an offensive and racist remark. The catalog contained the words "sand-niggers" printed under the shopper's Muslim name. The shopper and a friend, both AOL Netmarket members, were the recipients of the gift from the catalogue and both received order confirmations. They both found "sand niggers" printed under their names. After seeing the offensive remark, the Arab-American shopper filed a complaint with Chicago's Commission of Human Relations.

October 2000 - Syracuse, NY: An Arab man spoke at a rally concerning the Palestinian cause in Syracuse, New York. The next day, he received a threatening message at 6:04 am which stated: "Yeah, why don't you go back to Palestine where you belong, instead of criticizing what is going on. We don't need you here." The man who left the message did not leave his name or his phone number. A report with the police department was prompt-

ly filed. The Arab man had received a similar message a year and a half earlier.

December 2000 -Washington, DC: The President of the Arab-American Press Guild, Samir Twair, who writes for the *Washington Report on the Middle East*, turned on his computer to find the flag of Israel on the screen. When he scrolled down he found a threatening message saying, “Death to all Arabs.”

a) Hate Speech

ADC receives a constant stream of hostile and racist anti-Arab hate mail. To provide readers with a sense of the extent of this problem, we include in this Report a small selection of hate mail received by post at ADC’s national office in Washington, D.C. over a two month period. Between October 16 and December 16, 2000, ADC received 186 separate pieces of hate mail and over 250 hate email messages, not to mention numerous threatening phone calls. Below are a few examples of the hate mail received by post during that brief period.

October 2000: “You motherfucking dirty child killing rats. All you Arabs are fucking cowards. Your suicide bombers show exactly how fucking stupid you people really are. Go throw a rock at an old woman. I piss on all you and your families. DEATH!”

October 2000: “Dear Camel Jockey Terrorist, You deserve the full wrath of the Israeli Army and you shall soon have it. Your nothing but a bunch of lying dog weasels and could not possibly be trusted in any peace agreement. May all Arabs go jump in the sea.”

October 2000: “Stop the violence against the Israeli people. End the Palestinian occupation in Israel’s homeland! Death to all fucking Palestinians in Israel!!! For every Palestinian killed by an Israeli soldier, give him/her a medal of valor! Fuck you all Arabs! Israel rules!!! Arabs of the world must be executed and Israel will have its homeland living in peace!”

October 2000: “To the filth of Islam: I am not a Jew. I believe everyone of you stinking filthy puss lickers should be put to a painful death. First you should be fucked up the ass by VD infected pigs and then ground up for their food. You ignorant, fly food scum have been in your part of the world for thousands of years and you still find nothing better in the way you live or have the mental capacity to create anything of value. The newspaper article mentions 100 killed. Now do you really think that that is enough? Why don’t ALL of you stick a bomb up in your rectum and kill yourselves. ALL OF YOU USELESS FUCKING MAGGOTS OF YOUR SILLY STUPID RELIGION. FUCK YOU. GET OUT OF THIS COUNTRY!!!!”

November 2000: “How dare you? Aggression against the Palestinians! The Palestinians and Arabs have been killing innocent people for years. You’re a bunch of terrorists - Get the hell out of our country - you’re disgusting people. I hope you all die.”

November 2000: “You Arabs in USA are NOT true Americans - We’ll deport your asses and blow you all to Kingdom come! Israel and the United States of America will NEVER ever surrender to you Palestinian/Arab/Muslim/Islamic LIARS, Murderers, Lunatics and thieves! We’ll NUKE you and all your filthy, crappy, ‘mosques’ off the face of the earth! That’s ;what you all deserve! You Arab/Muslim scum don’t belong in Israel and you don’t belong in the United States! You don’t belong anywhere but HELL! Go to

HELL you DIRTY RAT, ARAFAT! Go to hell Bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, etc. Hezbollah, P.L.O., GO TO HELL, Hamass, Syria 'ALLAH'! SHOVE ALLAH up your ugly asses!"

November 2000: "FUCK YOU!! DIE LIKE THE PIGS YOU ARE!!"

November 2000: "Again, you fucking Arabs are at it against the peaceful Israelis! Death to all fucking Arabs and Palestinians of the world. Israel is the home of the Jewish people! Kill every fucking Palestinians that live illegally in Israeli land. Fuck you Palestinians! Die a painful death at the hands of Israel! Israel will prevail!!!"

November 2000: "Arab swine! Your time will come. ISRAEL will destroy you in the future. You will be out and gone."

November 2000: "I consider the Palestinians as the willful niggers of the Middle East. Nobody likes their behavior and you are expendable."

November 2000: "Only 170 killed? That's NOT enough! Why not ALL of you smelly cocksuckers?? Who gets on a bus with a bomb and sets it off? damn ignorant filthy Arabs. Allah must think your all nuts. FUCK ALLAH. FUCK MOHAMMAD. FUCK ARAFAT. FUCK CLINTON. FUCK YOU!!"

December 2000: "When the numbers are reversed and there are 100,000 Palestinians dead, things in Israel will be much better for both sides. I took my family to Israel this year to celebrate Easter in the Holy City. Everywhere we went, the Israelis treated us as honored guests and they were very polite and assisted us whenever we needed help or directions. When we went to the Arab quarter, we were SPIT ON and yelled at! Yankees go home—we don't want any f—ing Americans helping us. My wife and three children were horrified and scared to death that we were going to be killed by the many armed men who chased us back to the Israel side. As Christians, we will never support your people. They are an ignorant angry mob of filthy people. This is the lasting impression we got and will have forever. Your ads only help unite Americans against you. When we explained how we were treated to our church congregation, they were at a loss to explain the actions of your people. They apparently have no idea what they are fighting for. You need to educate you people in the ways of peaceful coexistence-not WAR. You can never win! In the eyes of GOD, you are all sinners and will burn in eternal hell."

December 2000: "271 - DEAD, 9966 - WOUNDED. GOOD! DEATH TO ARAB DOGS! HOPEFULLY MORE ARAB-MOSLEM DEAD! ISRAEL FOREVER 666."

December 2000: "MAY THE TOLL REACH 10,000,000 DEAD AND 10,000,000 WOUNDED."

December 2000: "You are all bunch of animals rats maybe less than that. You guys don't even deserve to be alive. You only like to blow up buses and kill people. I pray to Allah (written in Arabic) every day to destroy you as soon as possible with the help of Allah (written in Arabic) you all will die soon. Allah (in Arabic) will kill you. Insha'Allah (in Arabic) you all die soon. Allah (in Arabic) will kill all the ARABS."

C) EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

Employment discrimination on many grounds is illegal under state and federal laws. The primary federal law prohibiting discrimination is incorporated in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Federal law prohibits employment discrimination based on any of eight categories: race, religion, color, age, sex, disability, citizenship status and national origin. It is also illegal for an employer to penalize an employee for exercising his or her right to oppose and report any of these forms of discrimination. The fact that an employee has complained or filed a charge of discrimination, or has participated in a discrimination investigation or proceeding as a complainant or witness, cannot be held against the employee. The primary federal agency responsible for enforcing these laws is the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The EEOC enforces these laws on the federal level through its 50 district offices located nationwide. Many states and cities also have specialized agencies which duplicate the work of the EEOC and enforce federal, state, and local anti-discrimination laws. Other federal laws enforced by the EEOC include the Equal Pay Act, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Title I of the Americans with Disabilities Act, and the Civil Rights Act of 1991. State law and local ordinances may also prohibit discrimination based on marital status, occupation, sexual orientation, political opinion and personal appearance. ADC's Legal Department personnel are available to provide more details on the complaint process. The ADC Research Institute has also published a number of pamphlets and guides which explain your rights.

ADC receives an average of 25 complaints per week that allege employment discrimination. Most of ADC's employment discrimination complaints are based on national origin and religion. For example, one Arab employee was asked to change the name on his name tag from Mohammed to "Al" to increase sales. Ethnic slurs and other physical conduct relating to an individual's national origin also constitute harassment when it has the purpose or effect of creating a "hostile work environment" such as unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance. Muslim women who wear the *hijab* (a head scarf covering the hair) are particularly vulnerable to job discrimination because their religious practice makes them conspicuous. In recent years, the number of discrimination complaints by Muslim women who wear the *hijab* have increased dramatically. For example, women who decide to start wearing the *hijab* after being employed are often forced to choose between removing it and being dismissed. Therefore, it is important for all individuals to report incidents of harassment to the employer in a timely manner, requesting an employee manual and being aware of the employer's reporting procedures.

Approximately 35% of all legal complaints received by ADC annually relate to the hostile work environment employees experience during their work or the employer's lack of accommodation for religious practices. The following complaints reflect examples of national origin and religious harassment in the workplace.

1) Employment Discrimination Case Summaries

May 1998 - Lanham, MD: An Arab-American store employee was terminated from her job for not reducing prices at her register for merchandise that was on sale. She was reported by another employee. However, it was determined that the prices on these items were not to be reduced. Two other employees had been implicated in similar situations, yet neither of them was terminated. The employee who was terminated had a good work record and had been employed for more than two years. The company had a practice of selling mer-

chandise at a discount without receiving prior approval from management. The former employee filed an employment discrimination complaint with the Human Rights Commission based on national origin discrimination and unequal treatment. The Commission found probable cause that the termination was due to national origin.

September 1998 - Virginia: A Lebanese-American woman applied for a position with a major department store chain. She was immediately hired and asked to return for immediate training. The manager who hired the Arab-American woman mentioned that the store had a dress code policy, but that she could purchase her clothing from the store at a discount. Upon returning for training, she was asked to return home to change into clothing appropriate to the store dress code, which she did. When she returned, she immediately began training, and signed numerous documents covering the job description. During this time, the trainer asked her nationality, to which she replied that she is Lebanese. Then, the Lebanese woman was asked to meet with a manager who informed her that her services were no longer needed and who paid her for her time training. When she asked the manager the grounds for her termination, the manager responded that she had violated the store's dress code. When pressed further, the manager replied, "Let me put it this way, you would not be comfortable here." The case was subsequently settled.

October 1998 - Washington, DC: A complaint was filed with the EEOC against a Chicago-based international law firm for allegedly discriminating against a female employee who was Muslim. The employee wore a *hijab* (see page 17 for definition) on the job. The firm allegedly complained to the employee about the scarf and then dismissed her after learning that she would not remove the hijab. The firm stated that the incident was "an honest human mistake" made by an employer unfamiliar with Muslim religious practices. As a result of an EEOC investigation of the complaint, the employee was offered an apology and compensation for lost salary.

October 1998 - Phoenix, AZ: An Arab-American man experienced discrimination due to his ethnicity at his place of employment, the Arizona Department of Health Services. He was called a "terrorist," told to "go back to Lebanon," and co-workers referred to women in his department as belonging to "Hanna's Harem." He believes he was passed over for promotion because he is from Lebanon.

October 1998 - Detroit, MI: An Arab-American professor of international accounting at Wayne State University (WSU) was denied promotion and tenure several times, on the alleged basis that his publication record did not meet WSU's academic standard. Yet the professor's publication record placed him at the top of his field in each of the years he was denied. His academic accomplishments included receiving the Distinguished Paper Award from the Midwest Business Administration Association and the Distinguished Faculty Award from the WSU School of Business. He is the only faculty member to win this award and be denied tenure in the history of the School of Business Administration at WSU. Other non-Arab candidates were granted promotions and tenure at WSU's Business School despite the fact that their publication records were significantly weaker both before and after the professor's denial of tenure on those very grounds. Furthermore, the Acting Chairman of his department openly discriminated against the professor, so much it was a source of open discussion and comment. The same Chairman refused the Arab professor's repeated requests to allow Arab accountants on the Accounting Department Advisory Council. As a result of this discrimination, the professor took a position at Florida A & M University but has developed major health problems as a result of stress caused by the discrimination at WSU.

January 1999 - Washington, DC: An Egyptian-American Doctor of Dentistry joined the College of Dentistry at a well-known university as an associate professor in May 1981. Based on her publications, she was awarded tenure after two years, and in 1985 she was promoted to the rank of full professor. Despite her accomplishments, the professor was passed over for promotion twice, both times in favor of male doctors without the extensive research or publication record that she holds. At one point, the Dean went so far as to state that the male doctor was granted the promotion instead of her because “he is one of us, and she is a foreigner.” The professor was later diagnosed with Chronic Fatigue Syndrome. In January 1999, she was informed that she was to be moved from the Department of Clinical Dentistry to the Department of Endodontics. As a result of the transfer, her duties dropped precipitously. Her responsibilities went from teaching and researching with graduate students, to teaching sophomore undergraduate dental students.

February 1999 - Boston, MA: A professor at a university reported that he was denied tenure although all evaluations by the tenure committee showed overwhelming support for him. The professor first came up for tenure in 1995. Despite a twelve to three vote by a selection committee, he was denied tenure based on his “lack of scholarship.” In 1996, with two years of external review supporting his bid for tenure, the professor was denied for a second time. The EEOC issued a right to sue letter, based on national origin discrimination.

May 1999 - El Paso, TX: An Arab American suffered serious discrimination at the International Boundary and Water Commission where he had been employed since May 6, 1991. In 1995, he was promoted to Division Engineer of the Environmental Management Division and until May 25, 1999, he had an excellent employment record. This record began to deteriorate, however, after he complained to his supervisor that he was being subjected to harassment based on his national origin and religion. On May 24, 1999, the Division Engineer was told by a fellow employee that a member of his staff had made derogatory and discriminatory comments about his ethnicity and religion. The comments were made in the employer’s break room, with active participation of two other fellow-employees. On May 25, in reaction to this incident, and in accordance with the Commission’s Directives, the Division Engineer invited the employee into his office to conduct a counseling session. On June 11, he was issued a written reprimand for conducting the counseling session without a union representative being present. On June 17, he was demoted for 180 days to the position of Environmental Engineer. As a result of this incident, he suffered public humiliation and health problems.

May 1999 - Allentown, PA: An Arab-American employee at a department store in Allentown, Pennsylvania, was called a “camel jockey,” by her employer. She was later fired. The official reason given for her termination was theft. However, no formal charges for theft have been brought against her by her employer and the case remains one of apparent national origin discrimination.

July 1999 - Fort Worth, TX: An Arab-American aircraft maintenance employee for a large airline company was allegedly subjected to constant harassment by two of his supervisors in the workplace. He received a steady barrage of verbal abuse by his manager attacking his Arab heritage. The abuse took place in the presence of other employees. On several occasions, his supervisors cut hours from his paycheck for unaccounted minutes of tardiness even though there were witnesses who could substantiate that he had come to work on time. Meanwhile, tardiness of all other employees was generally overlooked. In July 1999, he was accused of sabotage. Eventually, the twenty-one-year employee was forced to surrender his badge and ID card. The former employee has been seeking redress by legal action against the employer. He was subsequently hired by another airline company and has performed very well.

July 1999 - Austin, TX: An Arab-American man was wrongfully terminated by his employer at a Community College in Austin, Texas. He filed lawsuits in state and federal courts alleging national origin discrimination. He was shocked when several days later he received intimidating, harassing, and threatening phone calls to his house from one of the staff attorneys in the law firm representing his employer.

September 1999 - Miami, FL: An Arab American with many years experience as an audit manager was employed at a Florida resort and club as a Revenue Audit Manager. The employee was given additional assignments, low work performance reviews, no promotional opportunities, and corrective discipline. When he complained about the discriminatory treatment, he was reprimanded. In August 1999, the employee was discharged without notice under the pretext that he had asked for a raise. Similarly situated co-workers had not been discharged for the same reason without appropriate notice and opportunity for improvement.

October 1999 - Undisclosed City, MA: An Arab American was contacted by the General Manager of a management company to consider a position with his company. Accordingly, he relocated his wife and family to begin a position with the management company. The individual took on significant responsibilities in his new position, won multiple awards, and was considered for a major promotion. Approximately six months into his term, the individual met with the owners of the company and his employment situation at the company began to change significantly. He was informed that he would no longer have a position after the end of the season, and was instructed to tell others that his termination of employment was based on mutual agreement. Despite several requests, neither the management nor the owners of the company would specify as to why his employment was terminated, raising serious concerns that this is a case of ethnic discrimination.

October 1999 - Washington, DC: An audit supervisor at the Department of Defense Education Activity (DODEA) received a Notice of Proposed Removal after 20 years of employment. Although the official reason given for his termination was abuse of supervisory authority, he believes that he was removed because of his Arab ethnicity. During a DODEA cabinet meeting, security officers had made a series of racist remarks directed at his religion and ethnic background. One person said that “Bahrain is considered as a highly terroristic country because the Muslims are trying to overthrow the government of Bahrain,” and many at the meeting referred to Islam as a “terroristic” religion. To her credit, the director of the DODEA sent him a letter officially apologizing for the remarks made at the meeting. After this incident, different forms of harassment and discrimination continued for some time. The man had filed his first complaint of religious discrimination with the EEOC on January 8, 1999, and a second complaint later that year based on retaliation due to his removal. After this action, he continued to be the target of derogatory comments that included sarcastic uses of the word *Allah* in addition to being called a Nazi. He was not given an annual performance rating, his request to attend a training course was denied, and he was overlooked for a senior position in favor of people with less experience.

November 1999 - Melbourne, FL: An Arab American in Melbourne, Florida applied for the position of driver at a Shuttle Company. After he submitted his application, he was told that the company would need additional documents to process his application. The company informed him that he would have to provide them with a police record concerning his personal background. One week later, the man called to check on his application. He was told that it was rejected due to a lack of “Florida experience,” which they said was a problem with their insurance company. They also refused to provide him with any information about the insurance company. When he was finally able to retrieve the information and contact the insurance company, the Arab

American found that the shuttle company submitted nothing in his name to the insurance company, and believes himself to be the victim of ethnic discrimination.

November 1999 - Undisclosed City, NJ: An Arab American man, hired as a Principal Scientist at a New Jersey research institute, was not promoted into positions where he met the qualifications. The promotions were offered to younger scientists. Additionally, the employee was called a “sheikh.” He was told by the director of his department that “People hate you around here, there may be a cultural thing with you.” Upon filing a confidential report at the Human Resources Department of the company, the employee was placed on a Performance Improvement Plan, but was subsequently terminated.

November 1999 - Fairfax, VA: A Moroccan server in Fairfax, Virginia was verbally degraded by co-workers using such terms as “bitch,” and ethnic slurs such as “camel jockey.” Additionally, co-workers delayed her food orders, told her that she should quit her job, and that Arab customers are “cheap.” Although the woman repeatedly approached her shift supervisor about these problems, he continuously ignored her. Finally, in November 1999, she informed her manager that she would not tolerate working in such an environment, to which he replied “Just go.” She filed a complaint with the Human Rights Commission of Fairfax County. Since then, the restaurant has issued an apology and requested that she return.

December 1999 - Vienna, Austria: A Moroccan Regional Security Officer at the American Embassy in Vienna, Austria was faced with a series of discriminatory actions, mainly “racially motivated taunting” by staff and employees. For example, a fellow employee used the German word “neger” and pretended to smell something bad when the Arab came into the room. On one occasion, this Arab was insulted and verbally abused in public by a co-worker. The employee was asked to perform tasks that were not in his job description. Despite the fact that he notified his employer, the harassment did not stop until the intervention of the EEOC and ADC. The man was later offered a settlement.

December 1999 - Arlington, VA: A former Arab-American employee reported that his security supervisor was especially hostile towards him because of his ethnicity and that he was not paid correctly for the time he worked. Moreover, when the employee requested a day off for a religious holiday the supervisor refused and threatened to fire him if he did not show up for work.

December 1999 - Oakland, MI: A jury awarded a sizable monetary remedy to Ahmad Abu-Aziz, a former United Airlines employee, in a case of extreme ethnic discrimination. At trial, Abu-Aziz’s attorney proved to the court that his client was the victim of harassment and was fired on the basis of false accusations of misconduct stemming from his complaints of discrimination. For four months, Abu-Aziz worked at Oakland International Airport cleaning airplane interiors during which time he complained of harassment to his superiors. Although the ridicule soon ended, he was terminated six weeks after his initial complaint due to accusations by his coworkers that he was stealing alcohol and drinking on the job. The United Airlines manager responsible for firing Abu-Aziz reportedly knew the accusations were false but used them as a justification for the dismissal. During the course of the trial, the court learned of the constant humiliation and harassment experienced by Abu-Aziz at United Airlines. When he first met his supervisor at United Airlines, the official allegedly made fun of Abu-Aziz’s name and singled him out for the largely undesired and dirty assignment of cleaning out all the airplane lavatories, not as is normally done with a brush, but with his bare hands. Furthermore, a flight attendant supposedly told him in front of his co-workers that he “looked like a terrorist.”

According to Abu-Aziz's attorney, "the jury award serves as a strong message to United that it can no longer discriminate against Arab Americans with impunity."

February 2000 - Undisclosed City, PA: A physician of Egyptian origin working in a Mentally Handicapped facility in Pennsylvania was faced with criminal charges by the hospital to have his medical privileges suspended. The physician was accused of not using local anesthesia to repair lacerations, despite the fact that there was no existing medical policy which required the repair of lacerations using local anesthesia. The Medical Board also made several attempts to have his license suspended, although other physicians did not adhere to the anesthesia policy and none were reported to the Medical Board. The physician believed that he had been subjected to unfair and unequal treatment on the grounds of ethnicity, which included the defamation of his name in the medical community. He filed a complaint with the EEOC.

May 2000 - Undisclosed City, MI: A registered nurse suffered employment discrimination due to her Arab origin when she applied for a position at a well-known hospital. The nurse has lived and worked in the U.S. for 25 years, and in that time received two college degrees. She also successfully completed a number of English courses. According to the nurse, she received rejection notification approximately a week later. When she called to inquire as to why she was not hired, she was told by the interviewer that she had a "language problem." The nurse was puzzled by the response. While she concedes that she has a slight accent, she speaks and writes English fluently. The nurse asserted that her accent has never affected her professional career. She feels that she was denied a position because of her national origin.

May 2000 - Undisclosed City, KS: An Arab American working as Director of Food and Nutrition Services in a Kansas hospital was terminated when he filed a harassment complaint against the hospital with the Kansas Human Rights Commission. The Arab American complained of repeated mocking, slurs, and disrespectful comments from co-workers based on his Arab origin. For example, on one occasion a co-worker directed a comment toward him while pointing to a meat dish in the cafeteria and asked if it was "camel meat." Notably, some of these comments came from the director of the Employee Support Services at the hospital. The Arab American complained repeatedly and unsuccessfully to the Human Resources Department and to the Employee Support Services. When he finally notified these offices that he was proceeding to file a complaint with the Kansas Human Rights Commission, he was promptly terminated.

November 2000 - Detroit, MI: A class action suit was brought by Middle-Eastern and Asian employees of Detroit Edison. The lawsuit was based on ethnic discrimination in hiring and promotion by Detroit Edison. After a year of negotiations, an out of court settlement was reached. The terms are confidential but the agreement provides for programs to enhance the recruitment and hiring of Asian and Middle-Eastern employees, increased advertising in Asian and Middle-Eastern media to enhance Edison's Ethnic Marketing activities, employee training and employee development programs.

February 2001 - Minneapolis, MN: An Egyptian cook at the North Memorial Medical Center was subjected to frequent harassment and discriminatory treatment due to his national origin. One of his supervisors told him not to come back to work at the Hospital because a new manager allegedly did not like dark foreign men and that "she would be after him." On another occasion, another supervisor stated that she was going to buy a dog and name it Mohammed which is the man's first name. When he inquired about a posted position for a cook at the Hospital, he was told that despite his qualifications some people did not want to work with him. Co-

workers also stated on more than one occasion that they would make the employee swim back to Egypt or send him back in a box. The Egyptian cook also states that he had to perform tasks which are outside his job description as a cook. These tasks include cleaning spice cupboards and storage rooms. He also claims that while other employees' schedules were accommodated to allow for educational programs, his was not.

D) INSTITUTIONALIZED DISCRIMINATION

Institutionalized discrimination includes racial or ethnic bias which occurs within a specific system, procedure or organization. Most instances of institutionalized discrimination faced by Arab Americans come from agencies of the federal government, such as FAA-mandated profiling of airline passengers and INS use of secret evidence and mandatory detention (indefinite detention) in deportation cases. These instances of official, institutionalized discrimination are among the most troubling that Arab Americans face.

1) Airline Passenger Profiling

After the crash of TWA Flight 800 in the 1996, which was subsequently determined to be a 'mechanical failure,' President Clinton appointed Vice-President Gore to chair a White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security. The Commission's recommendations included greater use of high-tech equipment and bomb-sniffing dogs, a fully modernized air traffic control system, a reduction in air accident rates, and a recommendation that the FAA mandate an automated passenger profiling system which later became known as CAPPS (Computer-Assisted Passenger Pre-Screening System). CAPPS became a joint development by the FAA and Northwest Airlines and went into effect in January 1998. Its use is mandatory in all US airports and by all US airlines operating overseas.

Profiling is a system that compares an individual with an officially compiled abstract of characteristics thought typical of someone who might be a threat to airline safety. If there is a significant correlation, the person will be subject to greater scrutiny.

The profiling software runs on an airline's reservation system and scores passengers based on a set of weighted criteria. Of the forty or so pieces of data, only a few are known. The rest are confidential. The known criteria include a passenger's starting point, destination, time of travel, method of payment, past criminal record, and whether the passenger's ticket is one-way or round trip. Testimony before a House Transportation Subcommittee revealed that for each criterion, a passenger receives a positive or negative value. If the total score is below a certain cutoff, that individual is selected for additional security which may include intense questioning and a physical item-by-item baggage search, often in a humiliating and very public context.

Although the FAA claims that profiling is in no way discriminatory, the disproportionate number of complaints made by Arab Americans indicates that profiling either targets Arab Americans or, at the very least, is having a disparate impact on them. At the same time, the FAA has not been able to point to a single instance in which profiling has led to the identification of any person posing an actual threat to airport or aircraft security.

In late 1999, and primarily in response to ADC efforts, the Department of Transportation decided to allocate \$1.5 million for a study to determine if the profiling system was disproportionately selecting Arabs and

Muslims for additional scrutiny. The study, which was initiated in 2000, involves multiple-step research and will eventually include a questionnaire distributed at six or seven major airports. The questionnaire will collect information on each subject's race, ethnicity, religion, sex, and citizenship. Statistics obtained from the questionnaire will be compared with similar information for passengers that were selected for additional scrutiny to determine any disparate impact of profiling.

In conjunction with many other civil rights organizations, ADC opposes profiling in general. It is our belief that profiling, even under the best circumstances, provides an opportunity for the prejudices and stereotypes held by law enforcement and other officials to be expressed through discriminatory application of profiles. At worst, they are simply a recipe for bigoted behavior. ADC supports all efforts in Congress and executive agencies to track, limit and eliminate all uses of profiling in American law enforcement.

ADC has received hundreds of complaints from Arab and Arab-American airline passengers of discrimination at airports. This Report contains only a small sample of the complaints we received about airline passenger harassment at airports in a period spanning from July 1998 to March 2001. Moreover, ADC believes that the cases it receives are a small portion of the total number because many, perhaps most, instances of this kind of discrimination go unreported. Complaints about airline profiling constitute 24% of the overall complaints that are reported to ADC legal staff annually. The sample case summaries below are listed in chronological order.

a) Airline Passenger Profiling Case Summaries

Delta Airlines

January 1998 - Frankfurt International Airport, Germany: A doctor with dual Lebanese and American citizenship was singled out by airport security in Frankfurt after arriving from Beirut via the Lebanese airline Middle East Airlines (MEA). When he approached the Delta counter, security—which had been stationed about five feet in front of the counter—asked the doctor how long he had been in Frankfurt. The doctor informed security that he was merely making a connecting flight and that he had come from Beirut on MEA. At that point, the security officer excused himself and returned shortly with two more security officers. The doctor was pulled to the side of the terminal, his passport was taken, and his luggage was passed through an x-ray machine. Then another security officer began to search through his luggage. At one point, security officers removed a battery from the doctor's camera and placed it in a separate bag. Even after the doctor showed them documentation of his membership in the International Society of Police Surgeons, security continued to interrogate him. He had to ask twice before his passport was returned to him. After the forty minute search, security escorted the passenger to the Delta counter and told him “not to get mad.” After the doctor informed security that he had never been so thoroughly scrutinized during his previous travels on Air France or KLM, a security officer told him that he would not have had so much difficulty if he had not flown MEA.

Delta Airlines

February 1998 - Rome International Airport, Italy: A Lebanese-born American citizen was in the Rome airport with the intention of traveling to New York. He was randomly approached by a Delta Airlines employee at the ticket counter and was asked questions as to his travel history. As soon as he said that he had been in Beirut, additional airline officers started showing up, joining the interrogation. The man was then taken to a private room where his personal items were searched, opened, or turned inside out. He was then escorted by three employees to the luggage inspection area. The traveler was finally taken back to the Delta terminal but

was forced to enter through a gate where another security check was performed. He was singled out and submitted to two hours of humiliation and embarrassment.

Northwest Airlines

June 1998 - Cleveland International Airport, OH: An Arab-American man was flying from Ohio to Syria when security agents told him to bring his bags to the search area at Cleveland airport. The man claimed that the check-in attendant called security when he saw the man's wife, who was wearing a *hijab*. Airport security then scanned three of his bags and wanted him to open all five of his bags to be searched piece by piece. After the search, a supervisor arrived and apologized for the treatment.

Delta Airlines

October 1998 - Zurich International Airport, Switzerland: An American citizen of Lebanese birth was traveling with his wife from Switzerland to Ohio when security personnel asked to interview the couple after they passed through two security checks. When a security agent noticed that the man's birthplace on his passport was Lebanon, the agent recalled the couple's bags from the aircraft for additional inspection. The agent said that this was a requirement of the FAA. The couple was asked to sit in a special security area and wait for their bags. They waited for over an hour.

British Airways

October 1998 - Charlotte Airport, NC: A Syrian woman came to the United States to visit her family. As she was presenting her paperwork at the Charlotte Airport prior to departure, the attendant decided to send her luggage to security to be searched both by x-ray and manually. Later, her son asked a British Airways manager why his mother had been selected for a search. The manager said it was because she was Syrian and that this was a US State Department requirement.

American Airlines

December 1998 - Dulles International Airport, VA: An Arab man entered the American Airlines terminal with his mother to go to Aruba via Miami for a medical conference. The representative from American Airlines approached the traveler and took his passport and plane ticket. He then asked him to wait, without giving any explanation. The traveler waited for fifteen minutes while other passengers were being processed. He asked to speak to the supervisor who explained to him that he would not have sufficient time to board his flight. The traveler noticed that other passengers standing in line behind him, some of whom were foreign nationals, continued to be processed and were allowed to board the flight. He was re-routed to a different airport and had to travel to Aruba via New York through San Juan. As a result, the Arab man missed the first day of his medical conference. Subsequently, during a phone interview, the American Airlines supervisor informed him that the reason for this incident was his national origin.

American Airlines

January 1999 - Barranquilla Airport, Colombia: A man who is a Saudi national and American permanent resident was returning to the United States with his wife and infant daughter when they were questioned by an American Airlines agent. After asking questions about their luggage, the security agent left to speak with his manager. When he returned, he informed the family that their luggage needed to be inspected. Then security informed the family that their luggage needed to be unpacked and they were subjected to a manual search of their luggage which occurred in front of other passengers. The search took two hours.

Tower Airlines

March 1999 - John F. Kennedy Airport (JFK), NY: An American citizen of Algerian origin was flying to Paris out of JFK when he was stopped by a Tower Air security agent who asked for his passport. The security agent became annoyed when the traveler was unable to provide him with a definite date of return because he was going to visit his seriously ill father. Then the agent directed the traveler towards a row of tables at the far end of an airport hallway. The security agent disappeared into an adjoining room and reappeared a few minutes later with three other security persons. Two of the guards then searched through the man's brief case and carry-on luggage. The guards opened bottles of medication and toiletries. They also passed around pictures of the man's family as well as court papers in the man's briefcase. When the traveler requested that they respect his privacy he was told to "sit down and shut up." In the end it took the traveler forty minutes to repack his belongings. While repacking, the first guard who pulled the man aside, spotted books that the traveler was carrying about Islam. The security officer asked the traveler if he was a Muslim, and when the traveler responded that he was, the security officer said, "Your religion is bogus and God doesn't exist. The prophet Mohammed was invented by Hollywood and the only reason that they didn't make a movie about him is because they couldn't find a good enough comedian." The officer continued, "Since you were born in Algeria, you like to kill people and could be a terrorist." He was then led into another room where he was asked to empty his pockets, and to remove his coat, jacket, and boots. None of the security guards provided the man with their names.

British Airways

April 1999 - Heathrow International Airport, London, United Kingdom: A man who is an Iraqi national and American permanent resident was flying from London to Detroit when he and his luggage were thoroughly searched. He was given a receipt for several items which were seized. However, all of his luggage was confiscated and not returned for several weeks. No explanation other than his national origin was ever provided.

America West Airlines

July 1999 - Chicago Midway Airport, IL: An Arab-American man traveling on business had answered all the routine questions at the ticket counter. When the ticket agent placed a tag on his bag, she claimed she smelled something unusual. The traveler then took his bag off the counter to inspect it. A curious bystander asked what was going on and if there was a bomb. The ticket agent then claimed that she heard the traveler say that he had a bomb in his bag. The police then came and asked him several questions relating to his name and address. They did not ask him to relate his version of the facts. He was arrested and the charges against him remained even after nothing was found in his bag and it was discovered that the smell of something burning originated from a trash can that was on fire outside the terminal.

United Airlines

July 1999 - Frankfurt International Airport, Germany: An Arab-American family was traveling from Lebanon to Washington via Frankfurt when they were asked several questions about carrying illegal weapons while trying to get their boarding passes. After having denied knowledge of any weapons, they were told to step aside. They were then led to an underground room where two employees searched all four pieces of luggage, including three carry-on pieces, claiming it was a "policy procedure." Despite this claim, there were no other passengers being searched. After expressing continued confusion, the family was told that if they wanted to complain they should take it up with the US government and the FAA. Finally, a supervisor admitted that they were being detained because they came from Lebanon. After all the passengers had boarded, security escorted the family to the waiting plane which departed an hour late. As a result, the family missed their con-

necting flight in Washington, where they were forced to spend the night.

American Airlines

July 1999 - Houston International Airport, TX: When a United States permanent resident from Syria was preparing to fly from Houston to Syria via Chicago, the check-in attendant informed the traveler that his luggage had to be searched because he had a Syrian passport. When the man protested and asked to speak to the manager, the manager took him aside and showed him a typed “federal regulation” he claimed mandated that all citizens of the countries listed must have their luggage searched when traveling to their home countries. ADC is unaware of the existence of any such regulation.

Delta Airlines

August 1999 - Zurich International Airport, Switzerland: An Arab-American man was flying from Cairo, through Zurich, to Atlanta. While in Zurich, he was singled out and asked questions by the ticket agent which went far beyond the routine questions asked to travelers. After the traveler refused to answer discriminatory questions, the supervisor threatened to seize his belongings and conduct a search of everything he had with him, including the luggage that was already on the airplane. He was later told that he was singled out because his name was “suspicious.”

American Airlines

September 1999 - Frankfurt International Airport, Germany: An American citizen of Algerian ancestry was checking in for a flight from Frankfurt to San Francisco when the person at the counter called for additional security. The American Airlines security agent asked the traveler about the reason for his trip and proof of his itinerary. After the traveler explained the details of his flight and hotel reservations made by his company’s travel agency, security asked for business cards which supported the passenger’s claim of working for that company. Because the traveler was unable to produce any business cards, security asked for meeting or agenda minutes. When the traveler inquired about the necessity of all this, the security officer said that the man’s travel pattern “looked suspect” and that he needed to be searched if he was going to be allowed to board the plane. The traveler was finally allowed on board after he opened his luggage and produced meeting minutes.

Delta Airlines

September 1999 - Brussels International Airport, Belgium: An elderly Arab-American couple on their way from Beirut to Atlanta were informed by a Delta Airlines agent at the Brussels airport that they would be subject to a “special procedure.” The couple was led to an inspection and search room where their luggage was unpacked piece by piece and inspected manually, including their dirty laundry. Security then placed their belongings in plastic containers which were run through an x-ray machine. No explanation was provided.

America West

November 1999 - Columbus Airport, OH: Two Saudi graduate students were singled out and subjected to intensive questioning during an America West flight from Phoenix to Washington, D.C. Upon landing for a stop in Columbus, the pilot ordered an emergency runway evacuation for the rest of the passengers while the students were handcuffed, held on the tarmac, questioned for several hours before finally being released. The two students were detained and interrogated because of “suspicious” behavior and questions they asked flight attendants. The “suspicious” behavior was speaking in Arabic, and asking questions such as “what time does the plane arrive” and “is the plane full?” When the plane landed in Columbus Airport, local police and FBI

agents were waiting. The men reported that the questions they were asked involved references to “Egypt Air 990,” “Saddam Hussein” and “Muamar Qaddafi.” The men filed a lawsuit against the airline.

American Airlines

April 2000 - Heathrow International Airport, London, United Kingdom: An Arab-American physician was traveling to Lebanon with his 15-year-old son when American Airlines (AA) personnel selected the two for additional security. They were asked to proceed to a back room where security passed electronic devices over their luggage. The man was told that he and his son had been chosen randomly in advance by AA’s computer. On their way home from Lebanon, AA employees at Heathrow airport in London once again selected the their luggage for further inspection—this time by hand. When asked why this was happening to them again, an AA employee informed them that they were chosen “by the computer.”

United Airlines

May 2000 - Frankfurt International Airport, Germany: An American citizen born in Egypt was returning to the United States from Egypt through Frankfurt when he was stopped and interrogated by a United Airlines security officer. The traveler was asked a series of questions including whom he saw in Egypt, who his relatives are in Egypt, on which airline he flew to Egypt, and how long he lived in the United States. This questioning took place in front of other passengers.

British Airways

July 2000 - Amman International Airport, Jordan: Coming from Yemen, on his way to Detroit, an Arab-American man was approached and abruptly grabbed by a British Airways (BA) agent while waiting in line at Amman International Airport. The agent told him that he could not board the plane because he did not check his luggage. Although the man only had a carry-on bag, the agent kept telling him that he could not board the plane unless he checked his luggage. After continuous harassment and rude questioning, BA employees finally told the traveler that “British Airways does not feel comfortable having you on board. The whole matter is that you are not trustworthy. We do not want you on board.” Consequently, the man was stranded in Jordan for three days. Not only did BA refuse to accommodate him on another flight, but they also refused to reimburse him for the ticket per his request. The man was forced to purchase a ticket from Royal Jordanian Airlines to return to the United States.

British Airways

December 2000 - Heathrow International Airport, London, United Kingdom: A passenger flight to Miami was delayed for more than seven hours when a crew member discovered cards written in Arabic in the rear toilet of the aircraft. The cards were later determined to feature a calendar written in Arabic. Due to the full search of the flight conducted by British Airways Security, the British Airways Boeing 747, with 329 passengers on board, missed its 12:35 pm take-off and instead departed at 8:15 pm.

2) Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS)

a) Secret Evidence

The government has long maintained that it has a right to use classified evidence in certain cases and proceedings. Following the passage of the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, the Justice

Department introduced a spate of deportations involving the use of *in camera, ex parte* (i.e. “secret”) presentation of classified evidence against non-citizens accused of being threats to national security. In these cases, the evidence and specific accusations are withheld from the defendants, their attorneys, and the public. The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act also provided courts with greatly expanded authority to deny bond to non-citizens facing criminal charges or deportation. The combination of secret evidence deportations and denial of bond has resulted in over two dozen persons, almost all of Arab ethnicity and/or Muslim religious affiliation, spending long periods in jail without charge or the ability to mount any form of effective defense. Moreover, each time the government lost a secret evidence case, it sought to keep the detainee in jail as long as possible and avoid a definitive ruling on the matter, while continuing to engage in the practice.

Since 1996, at least five federal district courts have ruled that secret evidence incarcerations are a violation of the due process rights of defendants guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Indeed, every court to address the constitutional question in more than ten years has found the use of secret evidence in immigration proceedings against a person admitted to the United States, or seeking admission as a lawful permanent resident, to be an unconstitutional violation of due process. Rulings in cases such as *Greene v. McElroy*, 360 U.S. at 474, 496 (1959); *Goss v. Lopez*, 419 U.S. 565, 580 (1975); *Abourezk v. Reagan*, 785 F.2d 1043, 1061 (D.C. Cir. 1986), *aff'd*, 484 U.S. 1 (1987); *Kinoy v. Mitchell*, 67 F.R.D. 1, 15 (S.D.N.Y. 1975); *American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee v. Reno*, (ADC v. Reno), 70 F.3d 1045, 1069-1075 (Cal. 1995); *Rafeedie v. INS*, 795 F. Supp. 13 (D.D.C. 1992); and *Kiareldeen v. Reno*, 71F. Supp.2d 402 (D.N.J. 1999) among many others establish that secret evidence is incompatible with due process rights. At the hearing on the proposed Secret Evidence Repeal Act in the House Judiciary Committee’s Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims in 2000, General Counsels of both the FBI and INS agreed that immigrants facing deportation do enjoy due process rights protected by the Fifth Amendment.

For the past two years, due to serious problems with both the nature of the often misleading or wrongly classified secret evidence and the obvious constitutional problems with the use of such evidence, the government has failed to win a single major ruling and has lost case after case. While ADC is aware of over 20 cases of secret evidence detention during the period from 1996-2000, at the time this Report goes to press it is our understanding that Mr. Harpal Singh Cheema is currently the only, and will hopefully be the last, person detained on the basis of secret evidence. Several deportation proceedings against persons who are not presently incarcerated involving evidence continue.

During the past 5 years, secret evidence has been used mainly against persons of Arab ethnicity and/or Muslim religious affiliation, creating one of the starkest examples of disparate impact on recent record. Such disparate impact must be regarded as a further indication that secret evidence is not consistent with constitutional guarantees and principles of fairness and substantial justice. Moreover, in many cases where once classified evidence was declassified, such as in the cases of Imad Hamad, Hany Kiareldeen, Nasser Ahmad, Mehdi Al-Zubaidy and the Iraqi 6, the classified evidence was shown to consist, not of sensitive intelligence, but rather of rumor, unsubstantiated allegations, stereotyping, and simple error. This demonstrates both the damage to justice posed by the use of secret evidence and the need to maintain an open, adversarial process in all legal proceedings, including deportation cases.

ADC has reported on various secret evidence cases in its 1996-1997 Report on Hate Crimes and Discrimination.

This publication includes updates on some of those same cases as well as new cases that have been brought to our attention.

Mazen Al-Najjar

1997 - 2000, Florida: Mazen Al-Najjar, a stateless Palestinian, was detained for over three years in Tampa, Florida without charge and on the basis of evidence withheld from him, his attorneys and the public. Al-Najjar came to the United States in 1981 as a student. A community activist, he was chief editor of an academic research journal published by the World and Islam Studies Enterprise (WISE), a think-tank affiliated with the University of South Florida. Al-Najjar was arrested by INS for overstaying his student visa and was accused by the government of being associated with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a designated “foreign terrorist organization.” He was denied release on bond on grounds that he was a national security risk. In May of 2000, a federal judge issued an order strongly critical of the government’s use of secret evidence against him and finding insufficient evidence to show that he was a threat to national security. In December 2000, Attorney General Janet Reno refused to release Al-Najjar despite a ruling by an Immigration Judge that he should be freed on \$8,000 bail. Al-Najjar was finally released later that month after protests from civil rights organization and several congressional leaders. The government is continuing in its efforts to deport Al-Najjar based on secret evidence, although he is no longer incarcerated.

Anwar Haddam

1996 - 2000, Virginia: Anwar Haddam, an Algerian parliamentarian and an active member of the Algerian Islamic Movement, was arrested by INS agents for a visa violation. He was subsequently jailed for four and a half years through secret evidence and denial of bond. Haddam fled Algeria in 1992 after a military takeover and an in-absentia death sentence against him, and applied for political asylum in the United States. The government continued to push for his deportation to Algeria despite two Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) decisions to grant Haddam political asylum. The second political asylum claim was won in November/December 2000. While the BIA decision allowed for his immediate release, his release was stayed for 45 days at the request of the INS, which was determined to keep him incarcerated. Haddam was finally released from jail in December 2000. However, the government is continuing in its efforts to deport Haddam based on secret evidence, although numerous judges have ruled that he should be granted political asylum.

Nasser Ahmed

1997 - 2000, New York: Nasser Ahmed, an Egyptian man, was detained by the INS for over three years based on secret evidence alleging an association with an unnamed “terrorist organization.” Ahmed had served as the court-appointed translator for Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman in the World Trade Center Trial. In April 1995, when Ahmed refused to help the FBI and INS to convict Rahman, Ahmed was arrested by the INS. He was released on bond shortly thereafter, but was arrested again by INS in April 1996. This time the INS introduced secret evidence in order to deny him bond and the political asylum he was seeking, and to deport him. In 1999, after three years of detention, much of it in solitary confinement, an immigration judge and the Board of Immigration Appeals both ruled that Ahmed should be released because the INS’s secret evidence had failed to show that he posed a threat to national security. Moreover, the immigration judge criticized the INS for using unsubstantiated evidence and insufficient information. On November 30, 1999, Nasser was finally released and granted political asylum.

Imad Hamad

1990 - 1999, Michigan: For years the INS attempted to deport Imad Hamad, a stateless Palestinian, who has resided in the United States since 1980, on the basis of secret evidence. As a student activist, Hamad had participated in a peaceful demonstration against Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon and took part in fund-raising activities for humanitarian purposes. The government tried to block Hamad's efforts to adjust his status to permanent residency by making claims of missing documents and lost files, while at the same time attempting to deport him. In October 1997, an immigration judge ruled that the secret evidence provided no reason to deny Hamad's adjustment of status to that of permanent resident. The government appealed to the Board of Immigration Appeals, which in February 1999 agreed with the immigration judge that the secret evidence against Hamad proved nothing. The government chose not to make further appeals. Hamad has since applied for US citizenship.

Hany Kiaraldeen

1998 - 1999, New Jersey: Hany Kiaraldeen, a Palestinian who came to the United States on a student visa in 1990, spent nineteen months in detention based on secret evidence. Kiaraldeen married an American citizen and subsequently applied for permanent residency. In March 1998, before ruling on his application for permanent resident status, the INS arrested Kiaraldeen for a technical visa violation. Removal proceedings were subsequently conducted between August 1998 and February 1999 before an immigration judge. The INS also presented secret evidence against him alleging that he was a member of a terrorist organization and a threat to national security. Pending the outcome of his deportation hearing, Kiaraldeen was kept in solitary confinement and denied bond. In August 1999 Kiaraldeen's attorneys filed a habeas petition in federal district court in New Jersey. On October 15, 1999 the BIA affirmed an immigration judge's decision to grant Kiaraldeen permanent legal status. The INS finally decided not to pursue further appeals and released Kiaraldeen. After the secret evidence was revealed, it was shown to have been based on rumors and unsubstantiated allegations.

Yahia Meddah

1996 - 1998, West Virginia: Yahia Meddah, a 26-year-old Algerian, immigrated to the United States in 1993 to escape persecution by the Armed Islamic Group (GA). The GA allegedly murdered members of Meddah's family for not cooperating with the organization. The GA sentenced Meddah to death and pledged to execute him upon his return to Algeria. After settling in West Virginia, Meddah married a US citizen. Following an altercation with family members in August 1996, he was sent to the hospital where INS agents detained him. Relying on secret evidence, an immigration judge denied Meddah's request for political asylum and bond. Meddah's attorneys appealed to the Board of Immigration Appeals, but in October 1998, Meddah escaped from a psychiatric hospital in Miami. His current whereabouts are unknown.

Iraqi 7

1997 - 2000, Guam: Dr. Ali Yassin Karim, an Iraqi medical doctor, and his brother were released after being jailed for years due to secret evidence. Both were evacuated in October 1996 from Northern Iraq by the US Government along with their families and other Iraqis following the collapse of a US-sponsored uprising in northern Iraq. However, shortly after their arrival in the United States, 7 individuals from the group were detained by the INS. In spite of the fact that they were brought here by the government, they were charged with entering the country without valid visas, and efforts were launched to deport them. In June 1999, five of the men accepted a plea-bargain wherein they agreed to be deported to any of 74 countries if and when they were accepted by any of those countries. No country has accepted any of them, and they are now living in Nebraska

under severe travel restrictions. Dr. Karim and his brother refused to plead to a deportable offense and continued to fight against the allegations made against them. In June 2000, an immigration judge completed a written decision granting Dr. Karim's request for asylum and they were finally freed in December 2000. One of the attorneys for the Iraq 7, former Director of Central Intelligence James Woolsey, testified before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism, and Government Information on October 8, 1998, explaining that "...the government's lack of competence and professionalism has been appalling. Government witnesses got confused about the difference between Iraq and Iran. Translation between English and Arabic during the interrogation was so bad that one man spent a year in prison because an interpreter flippantly invented an acronym and produced confusion about a Kurdish organization." Apparently government witnesses in secret *ex parte* proceedings had misidentified the Dutch airline KLM as a "Kurdish terrorist group." According to Mr. Woolsey: "It turned out that the INS had singled him out because he very suspiciously: (a) appeared to insist that he was part of a Dutch airline; (b) provided large amounts of information about himself; and (c) believed that some Kurds live in Baghdad." Mr. Woolsey further testified that "In *ex parte* testimony, belatedly declassified, more than one interrogator explicitly expressed bias [e.g., Arabs "lie an awful lot," "there is no guilt in the Arab world"] to the immigration court." Mr. Woolsey stated in his testimony that the INS did not corroborate rumors collected against his clients, but simply classified those rumors and used them against the Iraqis. He later characterized the government's behavior in the case as "despicable."

b) Indefinite Detention

The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act provides for the retroactive deportation of non-citizens for minor past offenses. Persons convicted of minor crimes many years ago, when such convictions were not grounds for deportation, but who had not become U.S. citizens, suddenly found themselves deportable. A number of such cases have led to highly unjust deportations, separating long-standing U.S. residents from their U.S. citizen spouses and children. The Act also provides for the mandatory detention of all non-citizens found to be deportable for either retroactive or recent convictions, but who have no state to which they can be deported for various reasons. This creates a condition of indefinite detention, in effect a potential life sentence, for no justifiable reason. This predicament affects persons from countries such as Cuba and some of the former Soviet republics, as well as immigrants from a number of Arab states such as Iraq and Lybia, as well as stateless Palestinians.

On June 28, 2001, the Supreme Court ruled that the federal government may not use indefinite detention. Justice Stephen Breyer, writing for the court majority, said the law does not permit indefinite detention, and added any such law "would raise serious constitutional questions." The majority decision held that the government failed to provide justification for "preventive detention" lasting "for years or even for life." The Court ruled that after a six-month period, once the immigrant provides good reason there is no significant likelihood of removal in the reasonably foreseeable future, the government must respond with evidence sufficient to rebut that showing or release them.

Hussein Hassan

1994 - 2000, Alabama: Hussein Hassan, a stateless Palestinian, came to the United States with his parents in 1973 as a legal permanent resident. He was born in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and traveled using Israeli travel documents. While residing in the United States, Hassan was convicted of a crime for which he served less than two years in prison, but which made his deportation mandatory under the new immigration law.

Because of his Palestinian origin, the INS was not able to deport Hussein back to Palestine or Israel. Indeed when the INS asked Israel to allow him to go back to the West Bank, Israel stated that since he is not an Israeli citizen or a Jew, he had no right to return. The Palestinian Authority was also unable to accept him because Israel still controls immigration even to the small antonymous areas in the Occupied Territories within the Palestinian Authority's control. After six long years in INS detention, Hussein was finally released on February 1, 2000. Upon his release, an excited and thrilled Hassan exclaimed, "I was shocked when told I am a free man. When I came out . . . I did not have too much tears left in my eyes, but my heart started to cry."

Mohammed Mahmoud

1996 - 2000, Oregon: Mohammed Mahmoud was held in INS detention for almost four years. He was born in Palestine and his family came to the United States as refugees following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Mahmoud was later convicted of a criminal offense and served prison time. After completing his sentence, he was transferred to INS custody on August 6, 1996. He was detained for four years until he was finally released on June 14, 2000.

Dhia Kalasho

1999 - 2000, Michigan: Dhia Kalasho, an Iraqi-born man, moved to the United States in 1969 and lived in Detroit, Michigan, where he worked in a family owned restaurant. He later became a permanent U.S. resident. Kalasho was convicted of a criminal offense and after completing his criminal sentence, he was transferred to INS custody. Kalasho was forced to languish in INS jails and detention centers for over three and a half years because he could not be deported to Iraq due to the termination of diplomatic relations between Iraq and the United States. Kalasho was eventually released on October 26, 2000.

Mohammad Bachir

1998 - 2001, Alabama: Mohammad Bachir, a stateless Palestinian, was held in INS detention for the past three and a half years. Bachir immigrated to the United States in 1981. In 1985 he married a US citizen, had a son and became a legal permanent resident. Bachir was later charged and convicted of parental kidnaping. He was arrested by immigration officials and ordered deported in 1996. Since Bachir is a stateless Palestinian, he was detained indefinitely by INS because he could not be deported. Consequently, Bachir faced a potential life sentence for being a stateless Palestinian. The INS had delayed Bachir's release for various reasons. At one point, the INS stated that they could not release him since he is "a terrorist." In December 2000, after INS officials assured him that they would release him before Christmas so that he could spend the holidays with his family, Bachir was again denied release. This time the INS claimed that he is a "danger to society." Bachir was finally released in April 2001 and was reunited with his family.

c) Other Forms of Immigration Discrimination

i) *ADC v. Reno* (The LA 8)

1987 - Present, California: This ongoing case, which has already had far reaching negative impact on immigrants' rights, stems from a long-standing attempt by the INS to deport 7 Palestinians and a Kenyan on the grounds that they were members or supporters of a Palestinian political party. Two of the LA 8 were legal permanent residents while the other 6 had minor technical visa violations. They were originally arrested by the FBI under the infamous McCarran-Walter Act on charges of advocating world communism, which at that time was a crime. These charges were dropped, but the LA 8 were then accused, under a different section of the Act,

of advocating the killing of government officials and the unlawful destruction of property. None of the charges could be sustained in any way, and the FBI turned the LA 8 over to the INS for deportation. The LA 8 won an injunction preventing the INS from going forward with the deportation process on the grounds of selective enforcement of the law, since it was agreed by all parties that they were being singled out for their pro-Palestinian political views. The government freely admitted that had the LA 8 been citizens, all the activities for which they were being deported would have been protected by the First Amendment.

ADC and the LA 8 won at every stage until the case reached the Supreme Court in the form of *Reno v. ADC* in October 1998. All the lower courts held that immigrants enjoy a constitutional right to free speech and cannot be subjected to a selective enforcement of the law. The Clinton administration sought to overturn the injunction preventing the INS from deporting the LA 8 by using the 1996 Immigration Act, which it interpreted as barring immigrants facing deportation from access to district courts. Given their unique combination of full discovery and constitutional jurisdiction, district courts are the best forum, and in many cases the only viable one for the assertion of constitutional rights. In effect, it may be the only way for immigrants to challenge the manner in which they are being treated in the course of an effort to deport them. The Supreme Court agreed to rule on the jurisdictional question, but not on the issues in the case. The Court agreed, by a vote of 8-1, that the 1996 law does indeed prevent immigrants facing deportation from going to district court, thereby invalidating the LA 8's injunction and opening the way for the INS to resume deportation proceedings against them.

But the Supreme Court went further, ruling by a vote of 5-4 that immigrants facing deportation can almost never raise a claim of selective enforcement. The Supreme Court authorized the government to use selective enforcement in deportation cases as it sees fit, ruling that "The Executive should not have to disclose its 'real' reasons for deeming nationals of a particular country a special threat - or indeed for simply wishing to antagonize a particular foreign country by focusing on that country's nationals..." Thus categories such as race, ethnicity, religion, political belief, etc., can now be easily construed as legitimate grounds for selective enforcement of the law in cases of deportation.

Much of the Court's language is couched in rhetoric about illegal immigrants, although two of the LA 8 were legal green card holders. Yet, the Court did not appear to distinguish in any way between the rights of the legal and the technically illegal immigrants among the LA 8, the ruling applying equally to all of the respondents. Hence, it would appear that, in cases of an unsubstantiated accusation of affiliation with a "terrorist organization" or other political crimes which can lead to deportation, there is no distinction between the rights of a legal or a technically illegal immigrant. As Professor Margaret M. Russell wrote in the *Los Angeles Times*, "resident aliens face an intolerable Catch-22: If they exercise their First Amendment rights, they may be deemed 'illegal' and a 'special threat.' If they seek to challenge INS determinations of their 'illegal' status, they will fail because the Supreme Court has decided that 'illegal aliens' have no right to challenge politically motivated deportations, and that 'illegal aliens' have no right to federal court review of such claims. Herein lies the threat to the liberties of all. If people who came here legally can be declared 'illegal' primarily because of the controversy of their political views and then denied the opportunity to appeal such a decision until it is too late to make a difference, what right to speak do we truly possess?" The ruling was denounced by the American Bar Association and numerous immigrants' rights and civil liberties groups.

In August 2000, the INS relaunched its attempts to deport two of the LA 8, Khader Hamide and Michel Shehadeh, both of whom were permanent legal residents at the time the case began. However, just as this

Report went to press, in a June 21, 2001 ruling, Immigration Judge Bruce J. Einhorn held that if the Justice Department wishes to proceed with the deportations of Hamide and Shehadeh, it must do so through the McCarran-Walter Act charges under which they were first arrested. Since these laws are no longer in effect, it is unclear how the government could proceed with further attempts to deport any of the LA 8.

ii) July 1999 - Boston, MA: A permanent resident of Arab origin was subjected to bias and unfair treatment following his naturalization interview. That day, he and his attorney waited for more than two hours to receive his confirmation paper. However, he was then informed that the INS lost one of his files and that he would have to return some other day. When the file was eventually found, his attorney was told that the INS District Director had his file, but that several US intelligence agencies were interested in his file, that his green card may be canceled, and that he may be deported. All attempts from his attorney to get information about his case with the INS have failed. He subsequently filed a lawsuit against the INS.

3) Denial of Service/Discriminatory Service

The following are sample case summaries of discrimination encountered by Arabs and Arab Americans when attempting to obtain service as paying customers or clients.

a) Denial of Service/Discriminatory Service Case Summaries

January 1998 - O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, IL: As an Arab man was boarding his plane, he was stopped by a flight attendant who gave the man's seat to another passenger. The man showed the flight attendant his boarding pass, indicating that he in fact did have the right seat. The flight attendant responded by saying "sit down and shut up." Another passenger overheard the flight attendant say, "you can't fly with that man, you know how they are, they're crazy."

July 1998 - Los Angeles, CA: An Arab-American mother of three teenagers was placing her children on a flight to Chicago at LAX airport. When the woman asked that the flight staff not serve her children pork because they are Muslims, the United Airlines attendant accused the woman of giving her "trouble" and left the counter to call a supervisor. The supervisor demanded that the children return their tickets and declared that the woman had no right to ask that no pork be served to her children. Yet another supervisor arrived and told the woman's children to shut their mouths as they began to cry. The children, all American citizens, were not allowed to board the plane and the flight departed with their luggage still on board.

February 1999 - Royal Oak, MI: Three off-duty police officers of Arab origin were denied entry to a nightclub in Royal Oak, Michigan while patrons of European descent were permitted to enter. The manager tried to explain his discriminatory action to the men by claiming that they were carrying invalid driver's licenses. When another employee standing at the door told the manager that the licenses were valid, the manager retorted, "I made the call, I don't want these fucking Arabs in here." In the past there have been many other reports about this nightclub's discriminatory practices against people of Arab origin. A law suit was filed by the three officers, and a Michigan jury awarded one of them ten thousand dollars and legal costs in a judgement against the club.

March 1999 - Falls Church, VA: An ADC member was denied entry into a coffeehouse in Virginia. The

owner of the coffee-house stopped the man before he entered, and asked if the ADC member came from the “Persian Gulf.” When the man responded affirmatively, he was denied access to the coffeehouse and told not to enter.

March 1999 - Hempstead, NY: An Arab-American man and his family were denied membership in their community country club because of their ethnicity. Historically, the New York club admitted about 90% of its residents and 100% of all homeowners with children. The father in the family, a respected member of the community, an employee of the local school board, and a church deacon, applied several times for membership in the club. The man’s applications were never reviewed by club officials nor were his inquiries about his applications ever answered. His children were not allowed to attend summer programs designed for children of the community nor was his family included in community decision-making. A small group of the family’s friends who were club members informed the family about anti-Arab remarks made frequently by other club members. The family chose to relocate after being alienated by club officials and members.

b) United States Customs Service

April 1999 - Detroit Metro Airport, MI: An Arab passenger arrived at Detroit Metro Airport from London on a British Airways flight. Earlier that day, he had taken a flight from Amman to London. A United States Customs Service agent asked the man for his passport and then proceeded to search everything in his luggage. The passenger was asked many questions about his job and personal matters. The Customs agent then discussed the man’s belongings with another agent and made many phone calls. The passenger was then informed that his documents and many of his belongings were being retained for investigation. After leaving the airport, the Arab passenger tried to locate his belongings for over three weeks. Finally when a Customs agent contacted him to inform him that his items would be returned, he was again bombarded with even more questions before the ordeal was over. No explanation was provided.

4) Other Forms of Discrimination

June 1998 - Phoenix, AZ: In September 1997, in a classic case of entrapment, 39 Arab-American small store owners were arrested by Phoenix police and charged with selling large quantities of legal cold medicine to undercover police agents. Although the cold medicine is a legal drug sold all over the United States, a law had recently been passed in Arizona which prohibited the sale of this drug in large quantities. After the law was passed, steps were taken to inform businesses in Arizona that the sale of this item was being monitored. During subsequent court proceedings, a law enforcement official admitted that he was told not to inform various small stores of the new law because some government agencies were “involved in an investigation and thought that it would inhibit and hurt their investigation.” In one instance, an agent told one of the Arab merchants that he needed the drug in order “to cook some dope.” This merchant, having lived in the United States for a long time, understood the expression while the other merchants did not. He immediately reported the incident to the police. Instead of informing him of the new law at that point, they told him not to worry since the drug in question was legal to sell. The case was later dismissed due to many irregularities.

January 1999 - Mississippi: On January 2, 1999, an Arab-American doctor and his wife encountered serious difficulties when trying to visit an indefinite detainee of Arab origin held in INS custody at the Hancock County

Jail in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. The first time the Arab-American couple attempted to visit the detainee, they were told that the detainee did not possess visitation rights because “he is a foreigner in Mississippi.” Two weeks later, the couple again attempted to visit the detainee. When they arrived at the prison, they were informed by the sergeant on duty that visiting hours were over even though they had arrived an hour before visiting hours ended. The sergeant then told them that visiting hours were at his discretion. Furthermore, when the couple attempted to leave a package containing a radio, thermal underwear and batteries for the detainee, the sergeant stated that he would not deliver the package. The doctor asked to speak to a supervisor and protested their discriminatory treatment. The sergeant then arrested the doctor for “disorderly conduct.” The doctor underwent a booking procedure and was incarcerated. While detained, the doctor was repeatedly harassed by being told to “shut up” and threatened that he could be kept in jail “for a very long time” because they had information about him regarding an arrest by INS officers. The doctor was ordered to appear in Hancock County Court on February 9, 1999 to face the charges brought against him. This case was investigated by the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division.

February 1999 - Undisclosed Location, USA: An Arab husband and wife were subjected to harassment and discriminatory treatment by INS officials during an interview concerning a waiver application for a joint petition to remove conditions on residence. During the interview the INS examiner repeatedly asked inappropriate questions and made some very offensive comments. Some of the comments concerned the wife, such as “what is your wife writing about being thin? She is fat and unattractive!” The INS examiner then asked whether the wife had been a virgin when they met. She also stated that Moroccans commonly arranged fraudulent marriages. During the interview, she frequently referred to the wife as an “infidel.”

March 1999 - Las Vegas, NV: An Arab passenger was flying on an ATA flight from Las Vegas to Milwaukee. When the Arab man asked what type of sausage was being served with the omelet as the breakfast meal, the flight attendant responded by telling her colleague, “It’s turkey from the captain’s turkey farm.” The flight attendant then skipped the Arab passenger and served those behind him. The Arab passenger asked to speak to the head attendant, however the flight attendant said she would speak to both the captain and the head attendant herself. Shortly after, the same flight attendant stood next to the Arab passenger’s seat and jokingly stated to one of her colleagues: “I am in trouble now” while laughing and pretending to be frightened. The Arab passenger once again requested to speak to the captain, the head attendant replied that it was impossible and a number of flight attendants reacted by laughing.

September 1999 - Richmond, VA: An Arab-American restaurant owner lost much of his newly remodeled restaurant to a fire. When the man filed the claim with his insurance company, he was referred to an independent fire investigator who questioned both him and his brother under oath. After several months, the restaurant owner was asked to submit proof of loss and supporting documents. Additional requests from the insurance company demanded further questioning under oath and more documentation. This subjected the owner to unfair delays and the owner’s landlord demanded that he either fix or vacate the property. Due to these extensive delays by the insurance company in processing and settling his claims, the Arab American subsequently lost his restaurant, and strongly feels that ethnic discrimination was an important factor in the treatment he received from the company.

November 1999 - Hamtramck, MI: During the November 1999 General Election in the city of Hamtramck, Michigan, Arab-American voters were stopped at the poll booths by members of an organization called

"Concerned Citizens for a Better Hamtramck" (CCBH). Created in 1997 shortly after the election of Mayor Gary Zych, the groups organized an unsuccessful recall effort against the Mayor on June 8, 1999. CCBH claimed that Mayor Zych and his supporters illegally registered new immigrants to the city as voters. On November 2, 1999, CCBH members intimidated and harassed people at the voting booth based on their perceived national origin. Arab-American voters were unfairly stopped and asked to prove their citizenship by taking a citizenship oath before they were allowed to vote even though they had voter's registration cards with them.

An investigation by the Department of Justice (DOJ) was initiated after the DOJ received complaints from Arab-American voters in Hamtramck that their citizenship had been challenged by private citizens during the November 1999 general election. A settlement agreement was reached on in August of 2000 between the city of Hamtramck and the DOJ, after the investigation proved that the city acted in violation of the Voting Rights Act aimed at Arab-American voters and other dark-skinned voters, such as Bengali Americans. Under the agreement, the city will revamp its election procedures to ensure that all voters are treated equally and that any form of harassment would cease. The city agreed to establish a training program to train election officials and private citizens regarding proper grounds for election challenges. Notices in English and Arabic will now be prepared to inform voters regarding new practices and bilingual workers will be hired on election days. Furthermore, federal election monitors will observe elections to ensure that voters are not being racially targeted.

II. EDUCATIONAL DISCRIMINATION

A) INTRODUCTION

Despite educators commitment to multiculturalism, Arab Americans frequently encounter anti-Arab discrimination in U.S. educational institutions. Sometimes this is due to ignorance or to the biased personal attitudes of individuals. In other cases, the acts of individuals are shaped by a pervasive atmosphere of discrimination within the local community. In some instances, bias is institutionalized and built into curricula, textbooks and school policies.

Nonetheless, school systems and the educational profession are among the institutional spheres which are most responsive to Arab American concerns and most open to change—once problems of bias are identified and challenged. The professional ethos of multiculturalism, like the Bill of Rights and civil rights laws, provides a strong institutional basis from which to combat anti-Arab discrimination.

When discrimination manifests itself in schools, it clearly has a damaging effect on Arab-American students. ADC hears reports of children who want to hide their Arab identity. They do not want to learn the Arabic language or for their parents to speak Arabic when non-Arab friends visit them in their homes. A hostile educational environment can create a sense of shame about their national origins. A gap opens up between what they learn at home about their family's background and what they learn in the classroom about the Middle East. Other children may "tease" Arab Americans, associating them with terrorism and incidents of political violence. This can create a defensiveness which makes the family's cultural adjustment to American society more difficult. Many children and parents feel the need to struggle for their rights and for the respect which they deserve.

Arab-American problems in educational institutions take many forms. Cases of physical violence are relatively rare but, when they occur, they can have a major impact on a local Arab-American community, as well as on the individual students and families involved.

More common are incidents of harassment, verbal abuse, the use of anti-Arab epithets, and the stereotyping of Arabs and Muslims by students, teachers, administrators or the community at large. Arab-American parents sometimes feel that teachers or administrators are unfair in resolving conflicts between Arab-American and other students. They cite instances of suspensions and expulsions in which Arab-American students are treated more harshly. Arab-American students complain that, in determining who is at fault, school authorities give greater credence to the version of incidents reported by non-Arab students. This perceived inequity adds to inter-ethnic tension and to the dissatisfaction of the community with the school system.

Ethnic frictions have been a serious problems in Detroit and Dearborn, Michigan, where the largest concentration of Arab Americans in the US is a highly visible ethnic community. As a growing immigrant community, Arab Americans have encountered friction and a number of points of conflict with more established communities, especially African Americans. Ethnic tensions in the neighborhoods have resulted in antagonisms in the schools, which sometimes take the form of physical attacks. Arab Americans have complained of favoritism

towards non-Arab students, arbitrary punishments, ignorance and insensitivity on the part of faculty, administrators, and school security personnel, and a failure to inform students about their procedural rights. Arab-American and African-American organizations have been actively cooperating and working together with school officials to resolve tensions and prevent further conflicts.

ADC receives many complaints from parents about curricula, textbooks and other materials used in their children's classes. Systematic textbook critiques by professional Middle East scholars have identified many errors of fact, emphasis, and interpretation. Even curricula which consciously aim at a "balanced" presentation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict may in fact be quite "Israel-centric." Many complaints are about what appears to be political bias, sometimes institutionalized bias, rooted in political favoritism to Israel on the part of educators or the materials they use. Such materials create confusion and uncertainty among Arab-American students, especially Palestinian-Americans, when their ethnic community is identified with acts of violence and terrorism. What they know of their own family and community fails to be reflected in the classroom, and these materials instill a false perception of the Arab world in the minds of non-Arab-American students. In addition, Muslim parents often find that schools celebrate Christmas and Hanukkah but do not give comparable attention to Ramadan. However, educational systems are becoming increasingly aware of Islam as an American religion and more sensitive to the needs of Muslim students.

One of the less visible forms of institutional discrimination occurs when well-intended multicultural educators unthinkingly utilize the official US system of racial and ethnic categories: White, African-American, Hispanic, Asian-Pacific, and Native American. Arab Americans and other Middle East Americans are officially classified as "white." They are thereby rendered culturally invisible and often excluded from multicultural programs. A CD-ROM on immigration to the U.S., for example, completely overlooked Arab Americans. Even the section on Detroit did not mention its large Arab-American immigrant population.

In recent years, as a result of the efforts of ADC and others, educational leaders have begun to be more consciously inclusive of Arab Americans. School systems are also beginning to be more sensitive to Muslim dietary concerns and to avoid scheduling student testing on Islamic holidays. Hopefully, the educational profession as a whole will continue grow in awareness and commitment to full inclusiveness.

Finally, Arab-American parents complain of school policies, which may not necessarily be discriminatory but are felt to be detrimental to the well being of the Arab-American community or run contrary to the educational goals which parents have for their children. Parents may see school policy as out of alignment with their desire to preserve their family's value system and pass on their cultural heritage to their children. They sometimes also believe that hidden attitudes of anti-Arab prejudice are a factor in shaping school policies and that the views of the Arab-American community are not given the same weight in policymaking as those of others.

B) A CASE STUDY—BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

As part of ADC's program of "Reaching the Teachers," the ADC Baltimore chapter has been working closely with Arab-American parents and community leaders and school officials to identify and correct problems in the local school systems. They have found educators to be quite responsive to their concerns.

ADC's analysis of a school district's 7th grade Middle East curriculum found it to have genuine intentions of providing a "balanced" presentation of the Israeli and Palestinian perspectives. It called for students to demonstrate "respect and support for the rights of both Palestinians and Israelis" and to understand the views of both peoples.

The lessons and exercises, however, were to a large extent "Israel-centric." The history of the Middle East was presented largely as the history of Israel and the Jewish people and lacked an overall account of the history of the region and its diverse peoples, religious traditions and nations. Palestinian views were to be studied only in order to understand why Israel became "so controversial and important." Far too much centrality was given to the establishment of the state of Israel – without giving comparable attention to the resultant dispossession of the Palestinian people. Palestinian history was treated as a subsection of Jewish history. There was no account of the violations of human rights and international law which characterize the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. There was a concern for "peace" but no equal concern for justice. The focus was on war and politics, and failed to humanize either Palestinians or Israelis.

"Israel-centric" curricula have predictable results when implemented in the classroom. Parents in Stevenson, Maryland, found a number of problems with their child's 7th grade classroom exercises. A lesson on the Middle East conflict presented an Israeli-oriented interpretation of modern history but nothing about the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza which would explain the emergence of the Palestinian Intifada. Terrorism was a topic but not human rights. There was a lesson in Hebrew, but none in Arabic. There was a speaker who had lived on an Israeli kibbutz, but no Palestinian speaker. The lesson on Jerusalem emphasized the importance of religious shrines to Jews and Christians, but was silent about their importance to Muslims. It also inaccurately presented conflicts in Jerusalem as religious in nature rather than political. Another lesson falsely equated the persecution of Jews in Europe and the Muslim world, and claimed that by 1948 Palestinians no longer outnumbered Jewish settlers in Palestine. One-third of a chronology of the "Arab-Israeli conflict" was anachronistically and inexplicably devoted to the period between 1000 BCE and the Ottoman Empire.

The Baltimore ADC chapter began to take steps to correct such problems by challenging the use of an offensive novel in the English curriculum. After meetings with a committee of parents and community leaders, school officials agreed to remove the book. The novel, *One More River* by Lynne Reid Banks, concerned a Jewish Canadian girl who moved to a kibbutz in Israel in 1967. The girl attempted to make friends and seek peace with a younger Jordanian boy across the river. However, the book presented a thoroughly negative and demeaning portrait of Arabs. The Jordanian boy's father beat him, so he beat his donkey. It was the Jewish girl's task to "civilize" him and teach him to be humane and enlightened. She won over the donkey by feeding it a bagel and won over the boy by feeding him chocolate. Presumably, Arab boys are unfamiliar with simple kindness and generosity. Even a donkey preferred a Westerner to an Arab. Arabs in the novel were presented as backward, ignorant, unenlightened, lacking in self-awareness, brutal, greedy, cowardly, and barbaric. The theme of yearning for peace across cultural and political barriers was completely undermined by assumptions of cultural superiority and inferiority. This novel was then used as a source for learning "historical facts" about the Arab-Israeli conflict. After some discussion with the school, an official committee decided to remove the book.

ADC then followed up by arranging for a teacher-training workshop for seventy teachers from the district presenting a detailed critique of the 7th grade curriculum to the Social Studies Department, and making recom-

mendations for changes.

C) EDUCATIONAL DISCRIMINATION CASE SUMMARIES

1) Physical Violence and Threats

November 1997 - Detroit, MI: A young Arab-American boy was confronted by a group of African-American boys from his high school who knocked him to the ground and left him unconscious. He was suspended for 20 days and threatened with expulsion even though he did not instigate the attack.

December 1997 - Dearborn, MI: A riot occurred at a local high school in which several Arab-American students were reportedly beaten, knocked down, kicked, bruised and taunted by other students, who shouted “die, you Arab bitch,” “Arabs, go home” and “down with the Arabs.” School officials disputed this version of the incident as “exaggerated.”

October 1998 - Detroit, MI: A female high school student attacked a 14 year-old Arab-American girl, tore off her headcovering, repeatedly slammed her head into the wall, and rendered her unconscious. The police arrested the student for assault. The student was given only a three-day suspension from school. The Arab-American girl was afraid to return to school.

October 1998 - Detroit, MI: A 14-year-old Yemeni-American boy was assaulted by a fellow student from his high school, who broke his jaw and hurled racial slurs attacking his Arab identity.

November 1998 - Detroit, MI: An Arab-American student was expelled from school, after he was allegedly hit and beaten by two of his teachers. A law suit against the school was filed.

March 1999 - Dearborn, MI: A 4th grader had needles stuck in his chest, causing serious injury and pain, and his jacket put in the toilet of the school restroom. He had been the target of numerous previous attacks. There was no proper punishment for the attackers.

March 1999 - Detroit, MI: An Arab-American student was attacked by a number of other students in an elementary school. The young boy sustained serious injuries and was taken to a medical clinic. Even though the school’s security officer was called to the scene, the students who attacked the boy were expelled for only three days. It was later determined that the same boy was subjected to three similar attacks by the same students for a month and a half. The school administration failed to take any serious action until after the last incident.

March 1999 - Detroit, MI: Six Arab-American girls were reportedly harassed by high school classmates for speaking Arabic. Some of the male students then tried to remove their *hijab* (see page 17 for definition). On the same day, a fight broke out among students on the school grounds and erupted into a clash involving 50 students. Eleven Arab-American students, but only one non-Arab, were suspended. The incident was the result of hostile feelings which had built up over the previous year. Arab Americans blamed the principal for an administrative style which led students to “mistrust and fear the school.” The incident became a major issue in the community as parents feared for the safety of their children.

February 2000 - Boston, MA: A Moroccan-American girl was sexually assaulted and beaten unconscious by classmates who thought that she was gay. City officials and youth workers called it an unprecedented anti-gay and anti-Arab hate crime.

April 2000 - Ann Arbor, MI: An ADC activist at the University of Michigan posted a Seattle Times article about the death toll among Iraqi civilians, resulting from UN sanctions on Iraq. Someone scrawled graffiti over the article, saying “Kill more.” The activist commented to the school newspaper, “Imagine if this was an article about the Holocaust...or the New York Police Department treatment of blacks, and it said ‘Kill more.’”

2) Harassment and Bias

1997 - Detroit, MI: A high school teacher reportedly made derogatory comments to an Arab- American student saying “You are an animal, you belong in a zoo.”

1997 - Detroit, MI: A female student was harassed in ROTC class because of her *hijab*.

February 1998 - Loudon County, VA: County officials approved a proposal to build a new campus for the Islamic Saudi Academy. Despite the victory, many local residents were in opposition to the school, distributing anti-Arab and anti-Muslim fliers entitled “Saudi Arabian Dictators Trying to Invade Asburn.” They warned against an invasion by “Muslim and Arab terrorists.” The flier also warned that the school would lead to “Thousands of Middle Eastern strangers roaming our streets while we work “ and stated that “Saudi style religion does not deserve American style Freedom of Religion protection since ‘Saudi Muslim’ religion is based on women being slaves.”

January 1998 - Fairfax County, VA: An ADC activist reported that younger Palestinian-American students insisted that “Jordan is the capital of Palestine.” They said this is what their public school teacher had taught them.

March 1998 - Cambridge, MA: A Palestinian-American boy reported that another student repeatedly harassed him saying “You’re Palestinian? You hate Jews! You’re racist! It’s people like you who are those suicide bombers!” He filed two complaints of harassment with the school.

April 1998 - Dearborn, MI: It was reported that an English teacher in a local high school came out yelling at some Arab-American girls who were fighting in the hallway. He allegedly shouted at the girls: “I’m sick of you damn A-rabs and your bullshit.” He then called one of the girls “dumb” and told her she “didn’t have a brain.” A few years before, the same teacher had been involved in a survey of student attitudes about Arabs which “terribly defamed Arabs”and caused an “uproar” in the Arab-American community.

July 1998 - Brooklyn, NY: An elementary teacher complained of five years of harassment by his colleagues, who made disparaging remarks about Arabs, called him a “dirty Egyptian,” and said that he “should go back where he came from. He doesn’t know how to teach in America.” They also accused him of anti-Semitism and after the World Trade Center bombing, commented that “This Arab will blow up the school.”

October 1998 - Grosse Pointe, MI: Parents protested the derogatory and disrespectful attitude of a middle school teacher when giving a slide presentation on the Middle East at parent-teacher night. He repeated stereotypes about Arabs as backward and the Arab world as a land of deserts. About Palestinians he stated that its citizens were “primitive,” that they “still live like Sindbad’s days,” and that “nothing has changed in all those years.” About an important historical site in Syria he stated, “It doesn’t take a genius to figure out that it is a desert. They don’t even have farmers because there are no green lands. There is no life there.” About the slide of a Yemeni who demonstrated “Arab hospitality” by giving him a tour he stated, “The primitive guy sitting on the floor, he has nothing to do. Most of them are that way. That’s why he took me around town.”

October 1998 - Detroit, MI: An Arab-American elementary teacher alleged that she was physically harassed and intimidated by a student. She says her principal sided with the student, verbally abused her, punched her in the arm, told her to “Shut up and leave the school,” and made offensive remarks such as “Why do you even come to this country?” Her position was later terminated by the principal.

February 1999 - Washington, DC: A teacher reported anti-Arab and anti-Muslim attitudes in several schools. One teacher was upset about Muslim girls wearing headcoverings saying, “I’m a Christian. Nobody cares about us. Nobody is wearing a head scarf in my class.” She forced an 11-year-old to remove her scarf and, during Ramadan, required fasting Muslim students to sit in the cafeteria watching others eat. Another teacher told a Muslim student, “All you Muslims are terrorists.” About English as a Second Language (ESL) students she said, “I don’t want them in my class. They’re stupid.” The targets of these attitudes were Arab-American and Asian-American students.

March 1999 - Dearborn, MI: An Arab-American educator described some of the problems Arab-American students face. Teachers accuse the Arab-American students of being “loud, rude, and disrespectful” in class. Such behavior becomes perceived as expressions of “Arab culture.”

Spring 1999 - Brooklyn, NY: An Arab-American girl described how a high school teacher “joked” with her soon after her family immigrated to the U.S. from one of the Gulf states. The teacher said that back home she probably “rode to school on the back of a camel.” The girl felt humiliated, hurt and diminished.

October 1999 - North Olmsted, OH: An Arab-American parent complained about the expulsion of his 14-year-old son after a confrontation with another boy. The other boy was not punished. The father filed a complaint with the US Department of Education. He reported that many other parents have complained about discriminatory treatment of Arab-American students, who are labeled as “troublemakers.” Other students called them “sandniggers” and “camel jockeys.” After a fight between Arab-American students and some players on the football team, only the Arab-American students were punished. When four Arab-American boys were sitting at a lunch table speaking Arabic, the school guard told them to speak English and then made them sit at separate tables. When an Arab-American boy entered a class, the teacher commented, “Oh no, another one!” Teachers stereotyped Arab-American girls, saying that they will never finish school because they lack intelligence and Arab culture will not allow them to complete their education and that “there is no need to teach them because they are just going to get married.” Arab-American parents wanted to take their children out of the school system.

October 1999 - Dearborn, MI: Yemeni-American girls wearing traditional Muslim dress at a middle school

were treated in a discriminatory way. The atmosphere was such that parents kept their children home from school or sent them to live with relatives so they could attend a different school.

January 2000 - Duxbury, MA: A parent reported that older girls had picked a fight with her daughter, who is in the 7th grade. They taunted her for being a Muslim. Despite the presence of witnesses, the school administration did not believe her daughter's story.

February 2000 - Fairfax County, VA: A parent reported that a teacher made unflattering comments about the toilet habits of Arabs.

March 2000 - South Pasadena, CA: A Palestinian-American parent complained about a teacher's repeated comments to his students, including their daughter, "don't be a philistine," meaning "don't be boorish and uncultured." Although the teacher was unaware that "filistin" is the Arabic word for Palestinian, the daughter could not help but feel hurt. While there was no intention to offend, the teacher was "not very apologetic" and compounded the problem when he commented about the grapeleaves dish which the girl brought to school for an International Foods Fair, "Oh, grapeleaves. How repulsive."

August 2000 - Sugarland, TX: A 7th grade teacher reportedly stated to two Palestinian-American brothers in his class that, "There are too many of you. How were you allowed to come to the United States in the first place, even though Americans do not like you and consider you terrorists?" Apparently, he made similarly offensive remarks to Pakistani, Chinese and African-American students. The boys were put on the defensive, and their parents felt that the teacher's comments harmed both the boys' self-esteem and their respect for that teacher. The father reported that the principal offered an apology of sorts but did not take any effective action to correct the problem.

October 2000 - Undisclosed Location: An Arab-American parent reported that a substitute librarian, a former U.S. soldier who trained with the Israeli army, was teaching current events to elementary students. His lesson was biased towards Israel and identified Palestinians with "Arab terrorists." The principal later excluded him from the school.

November 2000 - Undisclosed Location: When a Palestinian-American high school teacher wore a black ribbon in honor of Palestinians who had been killed, she was told to remove the ribbon. After she and others protested, the principal apologized and invited her to address the faculty about the Palestinian crisis.

November 2000 - West Bloomfield, MI: A public uproar developed when a group of Jewish students called Arab-American students derogatory names. Reportedly, comments included: "What is the only good thing about Arab Americans? 85 pounds of dead meat." They pointed their fingers as if they were shooting at the Arab Americans. They were suspended from school for several days.

December 2000 - California State University, Los Angeles, CA: A student complained that a professor made repeated remarks about Arabs which were inaccurate and demeaning. Comments attributed to him included: "Arabs and Muslims are barbaric." "Arabs and Muslims are hijackers, and if your airplane gets hijacked, just recite some verses from the Quran and you will be released by the terrorists." "Arabs have no understanding or appreciation for time and would argue with you indefinitely because they are lazy and have nothing else to do in life." "The stupid Saudis are planning to send some rocks to the Palestinians to help them with the uprising." "A lot of the scientific achievements that the Arabs claim to have achieved in history are false

and were stolen from the Indians.”

3) Textbooks, Curricula, and Educational Resources

September 1998: An issue of the *School Library Journal* published a review recommending *Flames of Revolt: The Story of the Irgun*, a video which apparently celebrates acts of terrorism committed by Jewish groups in Palestine. The review blandly described activities of the Jewish underground organization of the 1930s and 1940s as “military style missions.” It referred to the Irgun bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem and the British Embassy in Rome and the “Battle of Deir Yassin” (where over 100 unarmed Palestinian civilians were massacred) without once mentioning the word “terrorism.” In contrast, another review in the same issue took a video on the Arab-Israeli conflict to task because it was “overly sympathetic toward the Palestinian position and fails to examine the terrorist attacks that have shaped the current Israeli position.”

November 1998: The Merriam Webster on-line Thesaurus synonyms of “Street Arab” which included “vagabond, bum, derelict, drifter, hobo, tramp and vagrant.” The synonyms for “Arab” included “vagabond, drifter, hobo, vagrant, peddler, hawker, higgler, huckster” and other terms. These usages apparently reflect negative stereotypes of Arabs as nomads which were applied to homeless street children in European cities in the past.

September 1999: An article on *Time for Kids* included a map in which the West Bank and Gaza were included as part of “Israel.” The title of the article, “Peace in Israel,” showed similar bias.

October 1999 - Portland, OR: A teacher reported that, after a new teaching resource on Arab culture was purchased by the district, a school official sent the materials back to the warehouse so that they could not be used. The school official kept an Israeli flag on his desk.

October 1999 - Beirut, Lebanon: Lebanese educators made an official complaint to Premier School Agendas about their world map which lists Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

November 1999 - Undisclosed Location: An Arab-American student complained of educational toy, a trivia card game which asked “Which is the capital of Israel, Tel Aviv or Jerusalem?” The “correct” answer on the other side of the card was “Jerusalem.” After playing with it, her younger brother had come to believe that Jerusalem is indeed the capital of Israel. Israel claims sovereignty over Jerusalem, but this is disputed by almost all other countries, which keep their embassies in Tel Aviv. The UN Security Council has repeatedly denounced Israel’s claims that Jerusalem is its “eternal and undivided capital” and insisted, as in UNSCR 476 (1980), that Israel must withdraw from occupied East Jerusalem. The game for 11-12 year olds is available in most toy stores. She also complained of “The Children’s Encyclopedia,” a CD-ROM which has a voice prompt which says, “Jerusalem is the capital of Israel.” It also describes falafel and hummus, traditional Arab dishes, as the typical food of Israeli families.

November 1999 - Carrollton, TX: An ADC Board member’s son’s 6th grade Social Studies class was assigned a three page article on the Middle East in which he identified at least 20 instances of error, bias and imbalance. These included the presentation of the Middle East almost wholly in terms of war and conflict, pro-Israeli bias,

distortions about Islam, and negative generalizations about Palestinians and Iraqis.

December 1999 - Undisclosed Location: An Arab-American student complained of the dilemma about how to answer examination questions regarding Jerusalem. The world geography textbook published by Prentice Hall, which was used by her class, claimed that Jerusalem was the capital of Israel.

December 1999 - Montgomery County, MD: A parent complained that kindergarten students had a number of lessons on Hanukkah but none on Ramadan. The teacher responded to her with the comment, “What is Ramadan? It’s not an American religion. We’re doing local religions.”

January 2000 - Duxbury, MA: A parent reported that her daughter’s 9th grade English class studied the Bible, Chaucer, and two Holocaust novels, but there was nothing on the Quran or Arabic literature in the curriculum. In response to the mother, the teacher stated, “The Jewish voice is the voice of the Middle East.”

April, 2000 - Hamburg, NY: *One More River* was being used in the local high school. A parent reported that as her daughter “sat through that demeaning English class every day. Her grades suffered, her posture fell and her self-esteem fell, as her anger and discontent peaked.” After the class read the book, the daughter was called “Arabian whore” and “sand nigger” by other students. She got into a fight and punched a 6 foot 12th grade boy. She was applauded by other students but felt humiliated.

April 2000 - Nebraska: The state Social Studies/Histories Standards overemphasized conflict, theological differences, cultural differences, and religious, political and economic competition between Muslims and Christians in world history. Religious and cultural commonalities were neglected.

May 2000 - Montclair, NJ: School officials agreed to remove the novel *Broken Bridges* from the 6th grade reading list. Parents complained that this sequel to *One More River* also presented Arabs in a demeaning and negative manner and the book seemed to promote intolerance.

October 2000: Scholastic’s “Special Report: Crisis in the Middle East,” a online article about the Palestinian uprising purported to present a “balanced” approach by presenting the views of Palestinian and Israeli teens at the beginning and end of the article, then asking American students for their view of how to resolve the conflict and share the land. The body of the article, however, consisted of a background history of the conflict which provided no basis for determining whether Israeli policies were legitimate or whether the uprising to resist the occupation were justified. The discussion looked back to the establishment of Israel, further back to the origins of the Zionism movement, and yet further back to 2000 years of Jewish history. It did not look at 2000 years of Palestinian history. And more to the point, it included no information on the nature of the occupation, land confiscations, settlements, home demolitions, or human rights violations, nor did it measure the claims of Israel and the Palestinian Authority against recognized standards of international law, the Geneva Conventions or UN resolutions. The apparent balance in the article was a false symmetry which obscured the fundamental questions of justice, and the human and national rights of the Palestinians.

October 2000 - Time for Kids: A story on the Palestinian uprising contained numerous errors and instances of bias. There was no adequate explanation of the reasons for the uprising, which was described as Palestinian “rioters” and “demonstrators carrying guns” on an “angry rampage.” There was no description of the nature of

the Israeli occupation against which the uprising was directed. The article inaccurately claimed that “Now Palestinians control the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.” It claimed that Palestinians rose up because they “dislike” Sharon because he “speaks out” against a Palestinian state. There was no mention of Sharon’s history of massacres, settlement building and commitment to the denial of Palestinian rights. While most of the deaths were due to Israeli violence, the only specific incidents mentioned were the killing of two Israeli soldiers and the Israeli bombings in “revenge.” The historical background stated that the UN partition plan in 1947 gave land to “Muslim Palestinians,” as if there were no Christian Palestinians. When Israeli was created in 1948, Palestinians “felt they had to leave their homes.” There was no mention of Israeli acts of terrorism and the use of troops to drive people from their homes. It stated that during the first Intifada, 20,000 people were killed or injured “on both sides,” as if Israelis and Palestinians had both suffered equally.

November 2000 - Boston, MA: Parents complained about *World Cultures*, a textbook for younger children, and its chapter on governments in the Middle East, which was wholly negative. It focused only on conflicts, wars, militarism, terrorism and revolution. There was nothing which would enable students to understand the background of most of these conflicts. The descriptive language used – “revenge and violence,” “dangerously explosive,” “bloody civil war” – encouraged negative stereotypes. Israel was described only as “one of a few democracies” in the region, while the Palestinian issue was discussed only under the rubric of terrorism.

November 2000 - Boston, MA: Parents complained about an elementary textbook on *Muslim Holidays*. It included a large drawing of a bearded figure identified as the Prophet Muhammad, apparently in ignorance of the prohibition of such images in the Muslim tradition. It described Ashura only as a celebration of the story of Noah’s ark, ignoring the important Shia’ tradition of mourning the martyrdom of Muhammad’s grandson Hussein. It also omitted the many other aspects of the tradition celebrated on this day.

November 2000 - The Weekly Reader: A news publication used in middle schools, published an issue on the new Palestinian uprising. It stated that the Israelis had agreed to withdraw from “certain areas of Israel,” as if the West Bank and Gaza were part of Israel. It described the territory as that which “the Palestinians considered their homeland,” as if this was merely a subjective and questionable belief, rather than an objective reality. The article failed even to mention the Israeli military occupation, settlements, land confiscations and other violations of Palestinian rights, against which the uprising was directed. Readers were given no way of understanding why an uprising was occurring. The violence was explained as the reaction to Ariel Sharon’s visit to a site “sacred to both Israelis and Palestinians,” as if Sharon’s action were an act of religious devotion and the uprising was an inexplicable rejection of “peace.”

III. MEDIA BIAS AND DEFAMATION

A) INTRODUCTION

Arab Americans live in a society in which their friends, neighbors, co-workers and fellow citizens are fed constant stream of negativity about their ethnic heritage, culture and identity from the mass media. Lacking any other source of information on the subject, what most Americans believe about Arabs, Arab Americans, the Middle East and Islam is shaped by images from both the entertainment and news industries. Unfortunately, most of these representations are based on a pool of stereotypes, cliches, and deep-seated misunderstandings, the effects of which are to make images of Arabs in American popular culture highly negative and often outrightly defamatory.

Against this backdrop, the key industries of American mass culture, Hollywood and television, for decades have been bastions of anti-Arab stereotyping, and have consistently resisted positive or realistic representations of Arabs and Arab Americans. Negative representations in popular culture reinforce, and are reinforced by, biased and at times hostile journalism in the mainstream news media, academic polemics that urge a confrontational and aggressive approach to the U.S. role in the Middle East, and government programs and policies which are informed by anti-Arab bias and at times even involve the acting out of stereotypes received from popular culture. The result is a self-perpetuating vicious circle of negativity about Arabs, Arab Americans and Muslims, who have been all-too-successfully represented as “the enemy” in contemporary American culture. It is this perception that provides the basis for most of the hate crimes and discrimination Arab Americans are enduring.

The CEO of Northwest Airlines pointed out the way in which this mutually reinforcing interplay between discrimination and defamation operates when attending ADC’s National Convention in 1998. In response to complaints that airport profiling had led to discrimination against Arab and Arab-American travelers, he forcefully argued that even if airline agents were given directives not to discriminate based on ethnicity, their behavior would still be affected by what they see about Arabs in films and on television. ADC strongly believes that most of the discrimination Arab Americans face, as outlined in the legal section of this Report, is underwritten by the widespread anti-Arab defamation that permeates American culture, including the discourse and behavior of policy makers and law enforcement officials. As a result, media defamation, stereotyping and biased reporting is a major concern to ADC in its function as the leading Arab-American civil rights organization.

B) ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY

The history of Hollywood films and U.S. television programs projecting negative stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims (which are often wrongly treated as identical sets by the entertainment industry and, consequently, the public) has been more than adequately catalogued in the work of scholars such as Jack Shaheen, Edward Said, Michael Suleiman, and Yahya Kamalipour. These critics have charted the development of dominant entertainment industry stereotypes of Arab men from the romantic image of the barbaric but sensuous desert bedouin of the silent film era to the more unambiguously negative figures of corrupt oil sheikhs and terrorists in more

recent decades. Arab women hardly fare better, and are typically represented as submissive, hyper-sexualized but repressed, and exotic but dangerous. As Jay Stone put it: “When was the last time you saw an Arab character in a movie who was anything but one of the three B’s (billionaire, bomber, belly dancer)?” At present the dominant and most damaging stereotype is that of the crazed Arab terrorist, which has become a staple of the action film genre.

Many observers argue that the 1960 film, *Exodus*, a shamelessly distorted account of the founding of the State of Israel, was a turning point in Hollywood’s treatment of Arabs as a demonic and thoroughly evil people who typically commit unspeakable acts against the innocent. The image of the Arab as quintessential terrorist competed with the more dominant image of the corrupt and boorish oil sheikh in Hollywood movies during the 1970s, a calumny inspired by the 1973 oil embargo and deeply reminiscent of traditional anti-Semitic images of the Jewish banker or money-lender.

By the 1980s the image of the terrorist, increasingly cast as a fanatical Islamic militant, superceded all other stereotypes as the dominant Hollywood characterization of the Arab. This was the villain of choice in countless low-budget action films of the 1980s, many produced by Canon Films of the Israeli Golan and Globus production company. Films such as *Wanted Dead or Alive* (1987), *Iron Eagle* (1986), *Delta Force* (1986) and many others did their best to promote the ugliest stereotypes of the cruel but cowardly Arab terrorist as the essential and fundamental enemy of the West and Israel specifically, and decency and humanity in general. In the main these films were, however, characterized also by a distinctly low-budget, low-brow quality that partially helped to offset their defamatory content.

The 1990s saw a mainstreaming of these images into higher budget, higher profile films, a process which culminated in the blockbuster *True Lies* (20th Century Fox, 1994), a high-budget, high-profile vehicle for Arnold Schwarzenegger. While *True Lies* clearly indicated the arrival of the Arab-demonizing action flick at the top of the Hollywood pyramid, the film retains the cartoonish and preposterous qualities of its low-budget precursors. The same cannot be said of the most recent development in the genre, *The Siege* (20th Century Fox, 1998). Most of the earlier action films featuring crazed Arab terrorists, including *True Lies*, never asked to be taken seriously. *The Siege* contains the same defamatory images, but presents itself as “realistic,” serious and responsible.

In the past two decades, the Arab-American community has made a major effort to counter such defamation with public education and dialogue with the studios and networks. There is genuine reason for optimism. While the worst form of hostile representation continues, as *Rules of Engagement* (Paramount, 2000) clearly shows, in the past two years films featuring positive images of Arabs began to emerge from Hollywood. At the same time, the sensitivity of film and television critics to the problem of anti-Arab racism in popular culture continued to develop as *The Siege* was panned and *Rules* almost unanimously denounced for racism. Ultimately, it is this kind of public revulsion against racist images which most powerfully dissuades the entertainment industry from indulging in them, so the wider appreciation of the problem of Arab-bashing by Hollywood is a significant step in the right direction.

1) Film Case Studies

a) *Rules of Engagement*

Perhaps the most virulent anti-Arab film ever made in the United States, *Rules of Engagement* contains so many

negative portrayals of Arabs that it would be impossible to list and analyze all of them in a Report such as this. On the other hand, sympathetic or positive images of Arabs are easy to list: there are none. Among the most objectionable elements of the film are:

- The repeated portrayals of Arab children as hateful, vicious and murderous. These children are shown several times shooting guns at the film’s US Marine protagonists, pretending to shoot guns at them, and shouting hateful curses at them.
- The portrayal of Yemeni society as an anti-American mob just waiting to erupt at any second. The mere presence of an unidentified American in the streets of what is supposed to be Sana’a is enough to set off a fanatical anti-American mob. We are told that anti-American protests are held outside the US embassy every week. The mob which besieges the US embassy is driven by an undefined hatred of the United States—one can only imagine what they are angry about. Nonetheless, they attack the American embassy with a murderous rage, apparently intent on killing everyone inside. The images of Arabs in the film are only and solely stereotypical-veiled women, men in head scarves and all shouting fanatical, angry slogans and firing automatic weapons at a peaceful US embassy.
- Everyone in Yemen portrayed as complicit in the anti-American violence. The film makes it clear that the mob and the snipers are working hand-in-glove. The government provides no security, and then, in a blatant cover-up, moves in and clears away all the weapons that the demonstrators were using against the American embassy. Witnesses lie. The police lie. Doctors lie. Everyone in Yemen lies. Meanwhile, the streets are literally strewn with cassette tapes calling, again without any apparent reason, for “all good Muslims” to kill any and all Americans they can find. Yemen, it is asserted, is a “breeding ground” for terrorists.

These images are repeated time and again throughout the movie. And for most Americans who see it, *Rules of Engagement* will contain the most “information” about Yemen that they will ever receive in an hour and a half, perhaps even in an entire lifetime.

Adding insult to injury, the film’s director, William Friedkin, who had never so much as set foot in the country, used the opening of *Rules* in Europe as an opportunity to express the view that his film is an accurate depiction of Yemen and Yemeni society. These comments reveal an extreme antipathy towards Yemen in the mind of the director and strongly indicate that the defamation of Yemen in *Rules* was intentional, calculated and premeditated.

b) *The Siege*

The Siege depicts a savage terrorist campaign by Arab Americans in New York City, and the government’s response by rounding up all young Arab males in detention camps. In an instructive instance of the self-reinforcing relationship between discriminatory policies and defamatory representations, the inspiration for *The Siege* was one of the most troubling government documents to be uncovered in recent years—a Justice Department contingency plan for the mass arrest of thousands of Arabs in the United States, their detention in concentration camps in Florida and Louisiana, and their possible deportation (see *Hate Crimes and Discrimination Against Arab-Americans, 1990-91*. American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, 1991).

The Siege aims at maximum verisimilitude and does its best to seamlessly weave its own fictional world with

that of television news. The film begins with footage of the Khobar Tower bombing in Saudi Arabia and actualities of President Clinton denouncing it, and then ascribes the inspiration for the bombing to a fictional character in the film. From these realities the plot emerges, as if nothing more than a logical extension of real events. Through these and other techniques, including the use of the images and voices of well-known journalists and commentators such as Daniel Schorr of National Public Radio and Arianna Huffington opining on the fictional events depicted, playing themselves so to speak, the film makers do their best to blur the boundaries between actual events and their fictional movie.

The Siege is explicit, especially in its cinematic language, in portraying the presence of Arabs and Muslims in American cities as inherently threatening, a homogeneous mass among whom mad bombers lurk indistinguishably. Images of Arab culture in *The Siege* are almost always accompanied by ominous and “Middle Eastern-sounding” music, and are often shot with unsteady cameras at oblique angles and vertiginously edited to heighten the sensation of alienation, disorientation and danger. Furthermore, in *The Siege* a direct symbolic link is made between Islamic religious practices and terrorism. Images of a Muslim washing his hands before prayer, as hundreds of millions of Muslims do every day, precede the worst acts of terror in the film. The choice of such a basic act of Islamic piety to serve as the symbolic announcement of the presence of evil and the imminence of horrible violence betrays a determination to firmly reinforce fear of Muslims in the viewer’s mind.

Defenders of *The Siege* point to its harsh critique of martial law and militarism, and support for constitutional freedoms, and these ideas are clearly present in the film. Unfortunately, these socially constructive points are made at the expense of Arab Americans, who are depicted as posing the threat in the face of which civil liberties are upheld. Moreover, the pro-civil liberties elements of the film are muddled, confusing and confused. What is always more likely to stick in the minds of the viewers are the images of Arab and Islamic terrorism that dominate most of the movie, repeating the ugliest stereotypes of Arabs ad nauseam.

c) *The Mummy*

The Mummy (Universal, 1999), which was a top grossing film in the United States for several weeks in May 1999, contains extremely negative and hurtful stereotypes of Arabs, particularly through the character of “the jailer.” This Arab character, included to provide comic relief, is portrayed as dim-witted, womanizing, greedy and smelly. The analogy made in *The Mummy* between the behavior and characteristics of camels and Arabs is extremely offensive. When one of the actors refers to camels as smelly and disgusting, the Arab character is shown eating and spitting. The film makers try to illicit a cheap laugh by having one of the actors complain about “an awful stench” only to find out that the Arab character is standing nearby. *The Mummy* also gratuitously represents Arab men as womanizers, such as in the “camel sale” scene, when one character says of another, “All you have to do is give him your sisters and he’ll be happy.”

d) Positive or Balanced Films

While defamatory films of the very worst sort continue to be made by some major Hollywood studios, other films are, for the first time, making a serious and creditable effort to be fair and balanced in their portrayals of Arab characters. This marks a distinct improvement in the overall relationship between Hollywood and the Arab-American community and is in part the result of many years of public education and dialogue by ADC and others in the community with the motion picture industry.

Perhaps the most notable development of this kind was *The 13th Warrior* (Disney, 2000). It features one of the

first Arab heroes in a major Hollywood film, the character of Ahmed Ibn Fahdlan. This character is not only the principal protagonist, a hero and a positive figure, but is an Arab Muslim who is not defined purely by his ethnic or religious identity, having instead a strong individual personality.

Another praiseworthy film is *Three Kings* (Warner Brothers, 1999), set during the 1991 Gulf War, which involved a very creditable effort at fairness to Iraqis, Arab culture and Islam. It depicts the Iraqi people as fully human and diverse in good and bad qualities, and shows a great deal of respect for Islam as a religion. While the film advances a questionable political perspective, the film makers clearly made a sincere and sustained effort to be fair to Arabs, which marks a serious improvement over the typical Hollywood attitude. Another Warner Brothers film, *A Perfect Murder* (Warner Brothers, 1998), a remake of Alfred Hitchcock's 1954 classic *Dial M for Murder*, featured a very positive Arab-American character, a police investigator. Such positive, if relatively minor, characters are noteworthy because they are still all-too-rare.

In another indication that the American entertainment industry is perfectly capable of non-defamatory representations of Arabs, the two part *Arabian Nights* special which aired in August 2000 on Disney's ABC television network was remarkable for its lack of negative anti-Arab imagery and its humanization of Arab characters.

2) Television

As with many other aspects of television programming, representation of Arabs is generally derivative of Hollywood films, and has followed the same patterns. As a case in point, the CBS program *JAG: Judge Advocate General's Corps* has regularly featured some of the most disturbing stereotypes and defamatory representations of Arabs in contemporary television. But there are so many defamatory images of Arabs during any given television season on various programs that a complete listing is beyond the scope of a Report such as this. The examples provided below are not comprehensive and serve only as guides to the worst or most common types of defamation and misrepresentation produced on television in the past three years.

a) Drama

i) *Escape: Human Cargo*

In March 1998, Showtime began airing a made-for-TV movie, *Escape: Human Cargo* about an American businessman who gets out of Saudi Arabia in a crate. In an unrelenting stream of negative images, Arabs are shown as pathetic liars, ugly cheats, sinister seducers, inept hypocrites, inhuman thugs and misogynist brutes. *Entertainment Weekly* panned the movie as a "quagmire of Middle Eastern cliches." The movie was filmed largely in Israel, with Israelis playing the grotesque Arab characters, and is an adaptation of the book *Flight From Dhahran*, which purports to describe events which occurred in the late 1970's. The ugly stereotypes in the film are all the more offensive in that they are supposedly based on "fact."

ii) *Days of Our Lives*

In March 1998, the NBC soap opera *Days of Our Lives*, started airing but then dropped an offensive storyline, in which the character Susan is kidnapped and held captive in the desert harem of a cruel sultan. Susan, who is mentally challenged, is dressed in a belly-dancing outfit and told by the sultan's servant that she has to learn to belly-dance properly or be killed. Enter Maya, an Arab belly-dancer entrusted with the difficult task of teach-

ing Susan how to undulate gracefully to the sound of Arabic music playing in the background. Maya grows impatient with Susan's clumsiness and reminds her what awaits if she does not learn. The episode perpetuated stereotypes of Arabs as cruel, unscrupulous, backward, and abusive toward women.

iii) *Shadow Warriors 2: Assault on Death Mountain*

In June 1999 Turner Network Television (TNT) broadcast *Shadow Warriors 2: Assault on Death Mountain*. TNT described the plot as "Tough warrior Mike McBride [played by Terry 'Hulk' Hogan] and the team have only hours to halt a ruthless terrorist who threatens to launch a deadly virus over the U.S. in retaliation for the Gulf War." The film is packed with the most scurrilous stereotypes of Arabs as anti-American terrorists and glorifies the mass killing of large numbers of Arabs.

This marked the second time that TNT used "Hulk" Hogan as an American hero facing the most ugly stereotypes of Arabs and killing them in large numbers. In 1997, TNT broadcast a two part special called *Thunder in Paradise*, which also featured Hogan as a hero who confronts Arabs terrorists and kills a great many. *Shadow Warriors 2: Assault on Death Mountain* and *Thunder in Paradise* thus constituted a disturbing pattern of TNT and "Hulk" Hogan combining to promote fear and hatred of Arabs.

Following discussions with ADC, TNT accepted that the film is inappropriate and insensitive, and offered sincere apologies to ADC and the Arab-American community. TNT removed both *Shadow Warriors 2: Assault on Death Mountain* and *Thunder in Paradise* permanently from their video libraries. These films will never be shown again.

iv) *The West Wing*

In 2000, the first two episodes of the hit NBC series *The West Wing* included a storyline in which the Republic of Syria, for no apparent reason, shoots down an unarmed American jet killing over 50 Americans. The United States government responds by attacking four "military targets" in Syria, in the words of one of the characters, "crippling Syria's intelligence and surface-to-air capabilities."

This storyline constitutes a slander and calumny against the Syrian nation and the Syrian people, who have never been involved in any way in such an incident. By creating a fictional story that blames an actually existing nation, government and people for such a heinous crime, NBC slandered an entire nation in the most unfair manner possible. The President calls these fictional Syrian crimes "unwarranted, unprovoked and cold-blooded," but that might better describe the episode itself. Moreover, this slander against Syria deliberately promotes fear and hatred of Syria, Syrians and Arabs in general. The "retaliatory strike" taken by the United States against Syria, and the passionate arguments made by the heroic lead character of the series, the President portrayed by Martin Sheen, for a response that would mean "total disaster" for Syria, constitute direct incitement to violence against the Syrian people and nation. The clear thrust of the story is that Syria is a country that is capable of shooting down unarmed aircraft and which may well merit a military attack by the United States. There is serious discussion of actions that involve "carpet-bombing Damascus" and creating "thousands of [Syrian] civilian casualties."

b) Non-Fiction Programming

i) *America Celebrates Israel's 50th Birthday*

On April 15, 1998 CBS aired a two-hour prime time TV special entitled *To Life: America Celebrates Israel's*

50th Anniversary. The show made no mention whatever of the Palestinian people and completely ignored their 50-year experience of dispossession, exile and occupation. It portrayed Israel as a “small oasis” where the world’s three monotheistic religions cohabit peacefully—a distorted image given Israel’s abysmal human rights record toward Christians and Muslims, including restricting their access to holy sites in Jerusalem. It absurdly portrayed Israel’s founders as people who made the “desert bloom” in a “land without a people for a people without a land”—a shameful myth which President Bill Clinton himself emphasized in his statement highlighting the program. The program featured major Hollywood stars and other entertainment figures, including co-hosts Kevin Costner and Michael Douglas, as well as Arnold Schwarzenegger, Winona Ryder, Dustin Hoffmann, Stephen Spielberg, Stevie Wonder, Harry Connick, Jr., Fran Drescher, Sid Caesar and President Clinton.

ii) *The 50 Years War*

In January 1999 PBS stations around the country broadcast a badly flawed two part documentary on the Arab-Israeli conflict called *The 50 Years War: Israel and the Arabs*. The documentary begins with the 1948 conflict without explaining what had taken place in Palestine during the previous 50 years of Zionist colonialism and under the British mandate. Thus it fails to place the conflict in its proper context. Similarly, the documentary elides the manner in which the Palestinians came to be expelled from their land and prevented from returning. It does not discuss the systematic destruction of over 400 Palestinian villages by the Israeli authorities. In short, the film fails to explain the basic facts of the plight of the Palestinian people, which is the main cause of the ongoing conflict. By ignoring these basic elements of the conflict, the film does a serious disservice to the viewers. The film contains a number of other serious omissions which distort the history of the conflict and fail to clarify its causes and the obvious remedies which could help resolve it.

iii) *Diary of a Terrorist: Mikdad*

An HBO documentary first aired in January 1999 entitled *Diary of a Terrorist: Mikdad*, purports to document an incident in which a member of the Lebanese Shi’ite militia Hizbollah injured himself in the course of trying to construct a bomb which was intended for use in a planned attack in Jerusalem. This film involves astonishing omissions of context, including no mention of any of the numerous Israeli invasions of Lebanon, most notably in 1978, 1982, 1993 and 1996, or the decades of Israeli occupation of south Lebanon. Needless to say, there is also no mention of UN Security Council Resolution 425, which demanded an immediate, unconditional Israeli withdrawal from south Lebanon in 1978—a demand which was ignored and unenforced for over 20 years. The documentary encouraged its viewers to conclude that Hizbollah’s campaign against Israel was driven by its ideology, worldview or ties to Iran rather than an effort to end the Israeli occupation of Lebanon.

The manipulative fostering of this false impression is perhaps most egregiously accomplished by the astonishing disregard *Diary of a Terrorist: Mikdad* shows for the immediate context of the incident it purports to examine. *Diary of a Terrorist: Mikdad* claims that Mikdad’s failed bomb plot took place in Jerusalem on April 12, 1996. Viewers of the film would have no way of knowing that on April 12, 1996, Israel was engaged in one of its most brutal and notorious invasions of Lebanon. On April 9, 1996, an Israeli remote controlled bomb murdered a 14 year old Lebanese boy on a roadside in south Lebanon. Hizballah retaliated by shelling northern Israel, and Israel replied by bombing Lebanese villages. On April 11, Israel launched “Operation Grapes of Wrath” which targeted and displaced the civilian population of southern Lebanon as a means of easing pressure on the Israeli occupation. According to Amnesty International, in the few days following April 11, 300,000 Lebanese civilians were displaced by the Israeli invasion. The invasion culminated in the notorious Qana Massacre, in which over 100 Lebanese civilians were massacred when Israel deliberately bombed a UN observ-

er base in which the civilians were seeking refuge from the bombing of their villages. This was the immediate context for events involving the Israeli-Lebanese conflict in April 1996, but *Diary of a Terrorist: Mikdad* fails to mention any of it.

iv) Israel: The Birth of a Nation

On May 17, 1998 the History Channel aired a program entitled *Israel: The Birth of a Nation*. This program was biased and one-sided, and, among other serious errors, repeated the old canard that Palestinians fled Palestine in 1948 at the urging of Arab leaders.

c) Commercials

i) Racist Ads on Sunday Morning Shows

On Sunday morning, May 10, 1998, CBS' *Face the Nation* and ABC's *This Week* carried an outrageously racist advertisement sponsored by the Committee for a Secure Peace, a Zionist organization, which claimed that "While Israel is being pressured to give land to the PLO, Palestinian children are raised to be terrorists." The ad showed a clip of a little Palestinian girl speaking in front of a classroom full of children. She yells in Arabic that she will wear her "suicide dress" and march into Jerusalem with her "warrior clothes," as the teacher in the background says "bravo, bravo" and pats the child's back. The underlying message is that all Palestinians, including children, are nothing but terrorists.

ii) Boyd's Bears

On November 5, 2000, a guest on the QVC Network was selling "Boyd's Bears," a line of novelty teddy bears. The salesperson, working for the Boyd's Bears Company, was promoting the bears live on QVC, and managed to turn an ordinary sales pitch into a racist and offensive depiction of Arabs. Referring to the bear he was holding, adorned with a cowboy hat, the man said "without the cowboy hat, I look like a Middle Eastern terrorist, and with the cowboy hat, I still look like Middle Eastern terrorist with a cowboy hat. I should never be let on a plane like this unless they shave my beard." QVC apologized on air for the remarks.

iii) Yellow Pages Ad

A television advertisement starring John Lovitz and featuring a litany of the worst and crudest stereotypes traditionally associated with Arab culture in the American media, was aired around the country by the Yellow Pages Publishers Association in March, 2000. Following a complaint from ADC, the Yellow Pages Publishers Association responded by claiming that there is "nothing derogatory" about the ad, which was part of the *Man who Wrote the Yellow Pages* series.

C) BIASED NEWS COVERAGE AND HOSTILE COMMENTARY

1) Introduction

Coverage of issues relating to Arabs and Arab Americans in the US press is all too often shaped by the same stereotypes, negative assumptions, and misunderstandings that inform the approach of the entertainment industry. The result is a strong tendency towards biased coverage and unfair, at times hostile, commentary. In domestic coverage, stereotypes linking Arabs with terrorism are commonly reflected in news reporting. In these instances, to be fair, journalists and editors are in many instances simply following the lead of law enforce-

ment and other government officials. But the press has often failed to maintain a skeptical and independent stance, instead repeating and amplifying government claims about “Arab terrorism.” This pattern is strongly demonstrated in the case study which follows below about reporting on the Charlotte cigarette smuggling arrests in July, 2000, which also shows how such biased coverage can produce an atmosphere that negatively affects an entire community. Similar attitudes are also revealed in the case study of how officials and the media reacted to the crash of EgyptAir flight 990. These cases demonstrate that the attitudes and patterns of behavior which led to widespread assumptions that Arabs were responsible for the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995 continued in the period covered by this report, in spite of the media mea culpas and hand-wringing that followed the arrest of Timothy McVeigh. When reviewing the coverage of the EgyptAir tragedy, it is hard not to recall how the *New York Times* had reported in a front page story the day after the Oklahoma City bombing that there were, ominously, no less than three mosques in that city.

In foreign affairs reporting, the US media generally views the world through the same lens as the government, most notably the State Department. Reporters, whether based here or abroad, tend to rely excessively on US officials for information and guidance in international stories. Therefore the biases, aims and spin of the government tend to be reflected in press coverage. This is dramatically demonstrated in the case study on coverage of Iraq below. It accounts for the exceptionally low interest the press has shown in the devastating effects of sanctions on Iraq, which have taken the lives of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis over the past ten years. Under normal circumstances, what ought to have been, by any standards, a major story and the subject of intense coverage has generally been ignored, distorted, or relegated to occasional stories of passing interest. Reporting on Iraq has instead continued to focus on a set of issues defined by the State Department—weapons of mass destruction, the brutality of Saddam Hussein’s regime and the need to “contain” Iraq.

Even the language used in reporting can be directly shaped by the government. The respected British journalist Robert Fisk described to an audience at the Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine how when the Clinton Administration issued a directive to State Department staff to no longer refer to East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza Strip as “the Occupied Territories” but to call them, in the language of the Israeli government, “disputed,” it took only weeks for this change of rhetoric to be reflected in news reporting. After the outbreak of the Intifada in September 2000, to maintain a pro-Israel spin both government officials and journalists found it necessary to obscure the fact that these areas are under Israeli military occupation. President Clinton’s remarks at the Sharm El Sheikh summit in October 2000 referred to violence in “the Territories,” carefully avoiding any mention of the operative word “Occupied.” This evasion was mirrored in press coverage of the uprising: a study by the media watchdog group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) noted that “the three major networks’ evening news broadcasts—ABC’s World News Tonight, NBC Nightly News and the CBS Evening News—aired 99 stories mentioning the West Bank or the Gaza Strip from the outbreak of fighting on September 28 through November 2. But only four of these stories informed viewers that Israel occupies those lands.” There were numerous instances in which events in the Occupied Territories were referred to as taking place “in Israel.” Obviously, it is impossible to provide an accurate account of events involving a massive uprising against an occupying army if the very fact of occupation is omitted from reporting. Indeed, overall coverage of the Intifada reveals some of the worst excesses of biased coverage and hostile commentary seen in many years, as the case study in this section amply demonstrates.

Robert Fisk also explained that he now declines to use the word “terrorism” when reporting on events in the Middle East because in the western press the word has lost all its meaning and has become simply an ethnic

pejorative because it is only used to describe acts of violence by Arabs. Indeed, there is a moral economy, a template of expectations, in the American press that leads to serious and repeated errors of fact as demonstrated in the case studies below on “Iraq’s expulsion of UN weapons inspectors in 1998” and the inversion of the chronology regarding Israel’s attack on Lebanon on June 25, 1999. These examples show that reporting can display greater fealty to presumptions about the behavior of certain actors (Iraq “expels,” Hezbollah “attacks,” Israel “retaliates”) and their culpability than to the established facts.

Coverage of Israel’s behavior in the occupied Palestinian territories and south Lebanon has also demonstrated a widespread pattern whereby people with whom reporters can identify, who are seen as “western” or “like us,” are subjectified and humanized. In the Middle East this only includes Jewish Israelis. The coverage of Arabs in these conflicts is typical of the treatment the western media often accords non-western, third world peoples, whose humanity, interests and personal stories are regularly given short, if any, shrift. This is a reflection of a deep-seated attitude that some people are the subjects of history, while others are its objects. The case studies on Lebanon and the Intifada in this section outline how this attitude is reflected in reporting and its likely effects on the public. Such thinking can also be readily observed in the obsessive focusing by both US government and media on Israeli security concerns only, as if the Arab peoples living in, around and under the occupation of Israel have no legitimate security needs of their own.

Unfortunately, biased coverage of Arab-related issues, both foreign and domestic, is the norm rather than the exception. The examples provided here are a small sample of the poor reporting we have witnessed in 1998-2000, but they are instructive and indicative of overall patterns and attitudes. The same applies to hostile commentary in mainstream media, in which outright racism against Arabs and Islam is all too common and which is so widespread that it cannot possibly be comprehensively catalogued in a report such as this. However, the examples provided do demonstrate that a level of hostility and invective against Arabs which would not be tolerated if directed at most other groups is accepted as legitimate comment in the mainstream media.

a) Case Studies

i) Iraq

As noted above, the shocking silence of most of the American press regarding the suffering of the Iraqi people under the sanctions during the past ten years has been the principal feature of biased reporting on Iraq. In coming decades this silence is likely to be seen as a scandalous failing on the part of what ought to be an aggressively free press that allowed its attention to be manipulated to an excessive and shameful degree by a government pursuing its own agenda. The “real story” in Iraq, an extraordinary man-made humanitarian catastrophe, fell by the wayside because of this willingness to be manipulated by the US government and a fear that reporting the facts would “play into the hands of Saddam Hussein.” But it also must be seen as resulting from a fundamental lack of sympathy with the Iraqi people and genuine indifference to their suffering at the hands of our own government’s extremely cruel policy.

The mainstream media consistently ignored or downplayed experts and reports that focused on the effects of sanctions rather than issues dealing with the Iraqi government. The essay “The Media’s Deadly Spin on Iraq,” in *Iraq Under Siege* (South End Press, 2000) by Ali Abunimah and Rania Masri, tracked coverage of “the release of the 1999 Unicef report—the first comprehensive, countrywide survey since 1991 of child and maternal mortality in Iraq.” They found that “In the two months following the publication of this report, 810 items

in major newspapers included the word ‘Iraq,’ according to Nexis, but only seventeen of them mentioned ‘sanctions’ and ‘Unicef.’ The CBS and NBC television networks ignored the report completely. Perhaps more egregiously, on August 16, four days later after the release of the Unicef survey, ABC’s *World News Tonight with Peter Jennings* broadcast a report on life in Baghdad. The report completely ignored the Unicef findings, choosing instead to present a lighthearted account of the increased sale of wristwatches in Baghdad’s street markets. NPR’s main news magazines did not report on the Unicef findings until September 22, more than a month after their publication.”

When two officials in charge of the “oil-for-food” program and other UN humanitarian operations in Iraq, Denis Halliday and his successor Hans von Sponek, resigned in protest at the effects of sanctions on the civilian population, they were given very little attention in spite of massive efforts to present their views to the public through the media. In contrast, when former UN weapons inspector Scott Ritter resigned amid charges that Iraq remained a significant threat and that many weapons were still undiscovered, he became a fixture for months on network television and in the major newspapers. In a study for FAIR, Seth Ackerman noted that “In the four months between his resignation in August 1998 and the U.S. bombing of Iraq in December, Ritter—with his dramatic revelations about tracking down Saddam Hussein’s weapons of mass destruction—became a favorite source for [*New York Times* correspondent Barbara] Crossette, appearing in 11 of her articles. By contrast, although Halliday appeared in a few Crossette articles before he left his post, she has completely ignored him since he began speaking out against sanctions.” Once Ritter began to acknowledge that Iraq poses no real threat and that the sanctions are unconscionable, he disappeared from both network TV and papers such as the *Times*.

Even on the government-defined issues the media has consistently covered, a willingness to withhold or tailor the facts to promote the interests of the US government, rather than the interests of the public to the truth, has been evident. The extent to which the major news media sometimes sees itself as an extension of the government rather than a watchdog on foreign policy matters, especially with regard to the Middle East, was amply demonstrated by the deliberate suppression of crucial information on UN weapons inspectors in Iraq. Throughout 1998, a bitter dispute raged between Baghdad and Washington, with the United States insisting that Iraq was thwarting urgent weapons inspection work while the Iraqis claimed that the inspection teams had been infiltrated by and used as a cover for hostile US intelligence operations. The crisis came to a head in December, 1998, when the United States launched a major bombing campaign against Iraq on the grounds that Iraq had failed to cooperate fully with the inspectors. Iraqi claims about the inspectors being used as a cover for covert operations were roundly dismissed as paranoid and desperate fantasies, until January 6, 1999, when the *Washington Post* revealed in a front-page article that UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, had “obtained what he regards as convincing evidence that United Nations arms inspectors helped collect eavesdropping intelligence used in American efforts to undermine the Iraqi regime.”

The *Post*’s reporters also revealed that they were in a position to publish such information in October 1998, two months before the bombing, but withheld it from the public at the request of the government. In other words, the *Post* was in possession of convincing evidence that the claims of Iraq about the weapons inspectors were accurate and that the official explanation for the December bombings was based on a deception, but chose to mislead its readers and perpetuate the deception. The attitude that informs this cooperative relationship was summed up in 1988 when the *Post*’s publisher at the time Katharine Graham told a group of CIA officials “We live in a dirty and dangerous world. There are some things the general public does not need to know and shouldn’t. I believe democracy flourishes when the government can take legitimate steps to keep its secrets and when

the press can decide whether to print what it knows.” How the public is supposed to evaluate the performance of their government when the press deliberately withholds the truth from them has never been explained by the *Post*.

For the past two years, countless reports in the US media “reminded” the public that no inspections have taken place since Iraqi President Saddam Hussein “expelled the UN inspectors,” leading to the December 1998 “Desert Fox” bombing campaign. But Saddam Hussein’s oft-invoked expulsion of the arms inspectors never took place. It was Richard Butler, head of the UN weapons inspection program UNSCOM, who voluntarily withdrew the inspectors from Iraq, giving President Clinton a rationale for launching military strikes on Iraq.

Butler claimed in a report to the UN on December 15 that obstruction from the Iraqi regime had made it impossible for his inspectors to effectively carry out their work. But as the *Washington Post* reported at the time, “Clinton administration officials played a direct role in shaping Butler’s text...at secure facilities in the U.S. mission to the United Nations.” In fact, Butler’s report admitted that “the majority of the inspections of facilities and sites under the continuing monitoring system were carried out with Iraq’s cooperation,” but still concluded that the “commission is not able to conduct the substantive disarmament work mandated to it.” With this confused explanation, Butler ordered all his weapons inspectors out of Iraq on December 15, and the next day the United States began airstrikes. The bombing ended on December 19, the day the House voted to impeach the President.

With time, this history seems to have disappeared down a memory hole. The *Washington Post* misreported these facts—claiming that Iraq expelled the inspectors—at least four times in 1999, twice in major news stories and twice in opinion pieces by Fred Hiatt who is now the *Post’s* editorial page editor. In spite of the *Post* having to print three letters correcting the record in 1999 alone, it continues to make the same mistake. The *New York Times* has also repeatedly reported that “Baghdad expelled the inspectors.” When the paper repeated the error February 1, 2000, it ran a correction the next day, but none of the other instances were corrected. Numerous U.S. papers have made the same error on, including *USA Today*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Washington Times* and the *Buffalo News*.

Television has hardly performed better: When Tim Russert, host of NBC’s *Meet the Press* interviewed Democratic rivals Al Gore and Bill Bradley on foreign policy, he began with this claim: “One year ago Saddam Hussein threw out all the inspectors who could find his chemical or nuclear capability—one year.” CNN quoted Butler as describing how his team had been “thrown out” of Iraq. Magazines ranging from the scholarly *Foreign Affairs* to *Newsweek* made the same erroneous claim. *Newsweek* added the wrinkle that “last year... Moscow, Paris and Beijing virtually allied with Saddam Hussein to cast UN weapons inspectors out of Iraq” (In fact, all three had denounced Butler’s decision to withdraw the inspectors).

Perhaps more than any other source, AP spread the charge that Iraq expelled the inspectors to news organizations and the public far and wide. AP reported that “nearly a year [has passed] after President Saddam Hussein ordered an end to the program,” and referred to “Saddam Hussein’s expulsion of UN weapons inspectors.”

This fit of misreportage results from the fact that the actual course of events does not fit the moral economy of the standard US media worldview. Saddam Hussein and Iraqis are presumed to be wholly at fault for tensions with the West; therefore if weapons inspectors left Iraq, they must have been expelled by Saddam. Facts that do not conform to these deeply held beliefs simply fade away for many American journalists and editors. And,

of course, 1999 and 2000 anniversary reports in major American media of the 1998 bombings rarely if ever recalled the revelations that the US had been using UNSCOM as a cover for hostile espionage operations aimed at overthrowing the Iraqi government, even though the subsequent history of UNSCOM's collapse is unintelligible without this crucial fact. Instead they focused on supposed dangers resulting from two years without inspections.

As with the other errors, omissions and cases of biases discussed in this report, many journalists managed to get the basic facts right on the departure of UNSCOM from Iraq. AP itself reported that “the year-long crisis with Iraq began when UN weapons inspectors departed a day before US and British warplanes launched airstrikes to punish Baghdad for its failure to cooperate fully with their inspections.” The *New York Times* has played it safe by saying that Iraq “thwarted” rather than expelled UNSCOM. The *Minneapolis Star Tribune* correctly reported that “last December, chief UN weapons inspector Richard Butler withdrew his team on grounds that lack of Iraqi cooperation made it impossible for UNSCOM to complete its work. The United States and Britain followed up with a brief bombing campaign.” But with so many different reporters and news outlets getting the facts completely wrong, independently of one another and in the same fashion, it is hard to deny that history has to a disturbing extent been rewritten.

ii) The Crash of EgyptAir Flight 990

The tragic crash of EgyptAir Flight 990 in November, 1999, prompted wild speculation and rushes to judgment based on grotesque cultural misunderstanding and insidious stereotypes. Media coverage was dominated by speculation that a veteran Egyptian pilot with a spotless record and apparently everything to live for, decided to commit both suicide and mass murder because he reportedly uttered a reference to God in Arabic.

Combined with the lack of an obvious mechanical explanation for the bizarre and terrifying behavior of that aircraft, what the media reported as a “cryptic reference to Allah,” and which turned out to be a very common Arabic expression, was taken to indicate a sinister or demented state of mind. Worse, the media speculation was only following the highly irresponsible lead of crash investigators who released premature, incomplete and inaccurate information such as the “cryptic reference.” This invocation of God in Arabic, a language infused with religious references in everyday remarks, was taken by many commentators as indicative of a mind set of violence and dementia. Prayers became evidence of criminality. Steven Emerson told CTV “there are lots of reports out of Egypt today about what the pilot said, or what the relief pilot may have said: the Shahada, a prayer that someone says. It's a major tenet of Islam and sometimes it is said before you commit an act of terrorism.” Jon Carroll summed up this logic in the *San Francisco Chronicle*: “because Americans have this stereotype of Muslims as religious fanatics, any invocation of the deity is considered a sure sign of evil intent. I mean, we've seen all the movies where the guys in turbans mention Allah before they wield their scimitars. What else could it be?” In an effort to place the crash “in context,” *USA Today* “informed” its readers that “Cairo . . . is dominated by fundamentalists whose views are more in line with the likes of Iraqis and other U.S. foes.”

In the *New York Review of Books*, Elaine Scarry described the debacle of the “cryptic reference” and the manner in which irresponsible behavior by both officials and the press combined to create an orgy of defamatory speculation: “The NTSB's first public announcements about the recovered voice recorder (midday, Monday, November 15, 1999) described the conversations between the pilots as friendly, and reported that the crew had worked together cooperatively to try to undo the catastrophe. But by 5:00 pm on that same day, a different account began to emerge from the NTSB that dominated the press for many months and focused attention on

three or four separate sentences spoken by the pilot or copilot. The copilot, Gamil al-Batouti, according to an unnamed law official, had said, 'I've made my decision.' (It went almost without saying that 'my decision' was the decision to kill himself and 216 people on the plane, rather than a decision about a course of action to take when first sensing trouble on the plane). On November 19, 1999, NTSB Chairman Jim Hall announced to the public that the voice tape actually contained no sentence even remotely resembling the sentence 'I've made my decision'. Once that sentence was gone, there still remained a second sentence, a 'mysterious utterance' by the pilot who had 'uttered a prayer' or 'muttered a prayer' and done so 'in Arabic' or, as some newscasts reported, 'in Persian'. Little thought was given to the possibility that the pilot could have observed some problem with the plane and called on God to help him; the prayer was instead widely interpreted as voicing the intention to commit suicide and mass murder. Soon, however, the 'sinister' quality of the prayer began to erode, as did even its 'mysteriousness' or 'portentousness'."

Even when the "cryptic reference" lost its significance after being exposed as the most common of Arabic expressions, officials and reporters continued to search the flight transcripts for evidence of Batouti's guilt, which had already been established in the minds of many. Scarry writes that "The sentence 'Pull with me, pull with me,' spoken by the pilot to Gamil al-Batouti, has been widely interpreted as implying that Mr. Batouti was not cooperating with his fellow pilot and had to be urged into cooperation (according to this view, the pilot recognized that Mr. Batouti had intentionally plunged the plane toward the sea, but hoped to pull him out of his maniacal act by several brief imperatives). The words 'Pull...Pull...' were spoken five years earlier by a pilot to his copilot when their USAir flight 427 plunged toward the ground near Pittsburgh. The same sentences were then widely cited in the press without anyone inferring that the copilot was being uncooperative or suicidal."

In addition, numerous publications focused on accounts of sexual "misconduct" by Batouti as evidence that he may have been responsible for the crash, although the connection between the two is unclear. On August 21, 2000, *Newsweek* reported that "FBI documents also corroborate allegations of sexual misconduct by Batouti at a New York hotel. One informant told the Feds that Batouti offered a female employee \$100 to come to his room the night before the crash. The offer was refused." Once again, the media was following the lead of crash investigators, as in its release, the NTSB included FBI reports alleging that Batouti had been investigated by a New York hotel in relation to complaints that he had made unwanted sexual advances to hotel staff and guests. Much was also made of the allegation that two teenage girls had reported that a man "resembling Batouti" exposed himself to them from one of the hotel windows. These allegations, which do not have any direct bearing on the EgyptAir catastrophe, all seem designed to continue to point suspicion in the direction of the Arab pilot in the absence of anything more substantial. All of this speculation, moreover, appears to stem from the original mischaracterization and misunderstanding of the "cryptic reference to Allah," combined with the lack of any obvious mechanical explanation for the crash.

In her exhaustive study into the possible causes of the crash, Elaine Scarry concluded: "It is almost incomprehensible how this same Safety Board has come so close (at least as its statements are reflected in the media) to accusing the copilot of EgyptAir 990, Gamil al-Batouti, of willfully murdering 216 fellow travelers. The Safety Board officials acknowledged before Congress and before the public that they so far have insufficient evidence to hold Mr. Batouti responsible for the catastrophe; but to many onlookers (including this author) what they call insufficient evidence looks instead like no evidence at all."

At the very least it is safe to say that negative perceptions of Arabs, Islam and the Arabic language played a key role in shaping the speculation about the crash and in raising issues of “terrorism” where they would otherwise never have arisen. Clearly this is an instance in which popular stereotypes, official (mis)conduct and irresponsible reporting played off of each other in a deeply defamatory manner.

iii) The Conflict in South Lebanon

American press coverage of Israel’s occupation of south Lebanon and the struggle against the occupation by Lebanese resistance forces, most notably Hezbollah, was exceptionally biased in favor of Israel and against the Lebanese. A *60 Minutes II* report by Bob Simon, broadcast by CBS in March 2000, provides a fine example of such reporting. The focus of the piece is to emphasize the pain and suffering of the occupying Israeli army and its mercenary militia, the so-called South Lebanon Army (SLA). As a result, the story paints the most misleading possible picture of the human costs, consequences and moral issues involved in the Israeli occupation of Lebanon. The perspective of the victims of the 22 year ordeal of occupation—the people of Lebanon, especially in the south—is almost completely excluded. Indeed, there is no mention of the tens of thousands of Lebanese civilians killed by Israel during the occupation, no mention of the hundreds of thousands made homeless, no mention of the destroyed villages and cities, and no mention of the numerous ghastly massacres for which the Israelis have been responsible in Lebanon, including the massacres at Sabra and Shatila and at Qana. Nor is there any mention of Lebanese kidnaped and held hostage to this day in Israeli prisons, nor of the hundreds of Lebanese men, women and children held prisoner and tortured at the notorious El-Khiam detention and torture center run by the Israelis and their SLA employees. Instead it is the Israeli occupation troops who are portrayed as “hunkered down in Lebanon, prisoners in their own bases.” Incredibly, the only mention of the effect of the occupation on the people of south Lebanon is to a group of “90,000 [SLA-connected] people in the [occupied] zone [who] have remained loyal to Israel, and have benefitted from its occupation.”

The *60 Minutes II* is story driven by an extended analogy comparing Israel’s occupation of south Lebanon with the United States’ experience in Vietnam. The effect is to promote identification of American viewers with the Israelis and their “boys in the line of fire,” to subjectify and humanize the occupying army. These “boys” are identified, humanized and lauded by Simon, like “Aaron Barnea’s son Noam [who] was one of Israel’s best and brightest.” These Israeli “best and brightest boys,” according to *60 Minutes II*, face “Hezbollah fighters,” nameless, faceless “men” who “are not thought of as casualties” by their grieving relatives since “they are martyrs.” The clear implication is that Lebanese families whose members sacrifice themselves to resist foreign occupation have less feelings than Israeli families whose sons are sent to occupy neighboring countries. Israelis, we are told for good measure, are “becoming more and more like Americans,” and implicitly unlike the Lebanese who are supposedly unmoved by the loss of their children in war.

To focus on coverage of one instructive incident, almost all reporting on the devastating Israeli air raids on Lebanese civilians and infrastructure on June 25 1999, and retaliation by the Lebanese resistance against northern Israel, avoided the main issues, distorted the facts and focused almost exclusively on the suffering and anxiety of Israelis. CNN and the *New York Times* falsely reported that the massive Israeli air raid occurred after two Israelis were killed by Hezbollah rocket attacks and was launched because of those deaths. In fact the Israeli air raids came first and the Israelis died during the Hezbollah retaliation. In the template of American journalism, however, Israel “retaliates” whereas Arabs “attack Israel,” resulting in this not unusual but highly misleading error of chronological inversion.

The *New York Times* movingly recorded that for residents of northern Israel “bomb shelters ... have become like second homes,” but ignored the plight of the Lebanese, who had suffered no less than 93 Israeli air raids in the previous six months, resulting in at least 20 deaths. The *Washington Post* also focused at length on the Israelis, and provided moving accounts of the funeral of one of the two Israeli dead, but no similar account of mourning for the 7 Lebanese who died on the same day. No accounts of Lebanese suffering, anxiety and despair after 22 years of occupation and bombardment were provided. The name of not a single Lebanese civilian was mentioned in the report, which included the perspectives of no less than 10 Israelis. The *Los Angeles Times* similarly covered mourning only for the two dead Israelis, providing their names and personal details. No information was included about the Lebanese victims. CNN and NPR provided similarly one-sided coverage. The effect of such biased reporting is to render the Lebanese, who have been victims of Israel’s occupation, invasions, and air raids, nameless, faceless figures whose suffering is not to be taken seriously. It is a perfect example of how unfair journalism contributes to the dehumanizing of an entire people.

Most reports of the Israeli air raids failed to make any mention of Israel’s 22 year long occupation of southern Lebanon, and not a single one referred to UN Security Council Resolution 425 which in 1978 demanded immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. That UNSCR 425 was ignored with impunity for 22 years by Israel and disregarded by the US government provided no excuse for the press to dismiss the single most important fact about the conflict in Lebanon. In fact, 425 was almost totally missing from all American reporting on the conflict in Lebanon, until Israel’s final defeat in May 2000, when numerous stories repeated Israel’s spin that it had simply decided to implement 425.

iv) The 2000-2001 Palestinian Uprising

Coverage in the US media of the uprising in the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel that began in late September 2000 mirrored biases and errors in coverage of the war in Lebanon. But it went much further, revealing shocking levels of hostility to Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims from many American commentators and journalists.

Perhaps the most egregious expression of anti-Arab hatred in coverage of the uprising came from the online publication *Slate.com*, which is owned by Microsoft and edited by the well-known pundit Michael Kinsley. *Slate* columnist Scott Shuger called one of the Palestinians who had participated in the killing of two Israeli soldiers “a piece of shit posing as a human being” and other Palestinians as “the other turds.” Despite of the killing of hundreds of Palestinians, mostly unarmed civilians and many of them children, by Israeli occupation troops and settlers, no American journalist has called the Israelis who committed these atrocities “pieces of shit posing as human beings.” It seems certain that editors would have prevented their journals from being used as forums for any such sentiment.

The killing of the two Israeli soldiers by Palestinians in Ramallah prompted justifiable moral outrage in the press, but this same sense of outrage was absolutely lacking during previous days when one hundred Palestinians were gunned down. Terms such as “brutal,” “savage,” “barbaric,” “murder,” “lynching,” “terrorism” and others suddenly appeared for the first time in the coverage, loaded words never used in the coverage of the killing of Palestinian children. Moreover, many attacks by Israeli settlers on Palestinians, including several extremely gruesome murders, went largely unreported and completely unremarked on by the major media, including several killings that involved extensive torture. These too did not provoke either the outrage or the attention that the killing of the soldiers did, and were not presented as evidence of the “savagery” or “brutali-

ty” of the Israelis. The identity of the victims determined the level of interest and choice of language, not the nature of the act.

The intense coverage of the soldiers’ deaths included detailed family and personal histories, many stories about the reaction of their relatives, and a broad effort to humanize and personalize them. As for the Palestinian civilians killed by the Israeli military, even their names were rarely reported. The Israeli press commented on this double-standard, with the newspaper *Ha’aretz* noting in a headline that “Our Victims are Stories, Their Victims are Statistics.” The effect of this bias, which humanizes one people and reduces the other to “the dead” or nameless, faceless “rioters” killed by “security forces,” is to encourage identification with Israelis and dehumanize Palestinians.

Perhaps the one exception to this disregard for the stories behind Palestinian victims was the case of Mohammed Al-Durah, the 12 year old boy whose shooting by Israeli snipers horrified television viewers around the world. Even then, most American media reported that he had been “caught in the crossfire.” It was obvious to press the world over that the boy, his father and the ambulance driver who tried to rescue them were all deliberately shot by Israeli snipers. Talal Abu Rahma, the photographer who filmed the murder, stated under oath “I can confirm that the child was intentionally and in cold blood shot dead and his father injured by the Israeli army.” This obvious fact was not clearly reported in most American media, who were only too quick to accept official and clearly false Israeli rationalizations about a “crossfire.” Robert Fisk of the British daily *The Independent*, probably the most experienced western correspondent in the Middle East, wrote about coverage of the incident, “When I read the word ‘crossfire’, I always reach for my pen. In the Middle East it almost always means that the Israelis have killed an innocent person.” By using such misleading and sanitized terminology, often provided by Israeli military spokespersons, journalists fail both in accuracy and in their obligation to be skeptical and form independent judgements.

Much of the coverage and commentary was so skewed that readers could easily have gone away with the impression that Palestinians were occupying Israeli land and that hundreds of Israelis had been killed by Palestinians rather than the other way around. A number of op/eds actually described the protests by Palestinian civilians as an “aggression” against the Israeli occupiers. Very few commentaries mentioned or acknowledged that East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza are under belligerent Israeli military occupation, and that Israel is bound by international law to withdraw from them but refuses to do so.

The commentary and op/ed pages of many of the country’s major papers were filled with staff and guest editorials blaming the killing of Palestinian civilians by Israeli troops on the Palestinians themselves. For example, Edward Luttwak, Charles Krauthammer and the *Ft. Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel* all claimed that Palestinians were deliberately sending unarmed demonstrators out to be shot by Israeli troops in a cynical effort to win world sympathy. This was also strongly implied by the *New York Times*.

Dozens of commentaries claimed that Palestinian parents actually want their children to be killed in order to damage Israel’s reputation. This racist argument is based on a dehumanization of Palestinian parents and families, and a suggestion that Palestinians love their children and value life less than other people. It mirrors the “blame-the-parents” strategy adopted by southern segregationists who turned dogs and water cannons on children in Birmingham during the civil rights movement, by white South Africans after children were gunned

down during the anti-apartheid movement, and, ironically, by British forces who killed Jewish teenagers in Palestine during pro-Zionist disturbances in the late 1940s.

To provide just one example of this bizarre rhetoric, Stan K. Sujka, President of the Holocaust Center in Maitland, FL, argued in *The Orlando Sentinel* that “The hate germ, fed to children by their mothers and fathers, encourages kids to throw rocks and Molotov cocktails at Israeli soldiers. These children are fed hate by the same adults who chauffeur them to the riot areas. And when some inevitably die, the so-called parents feed the corpses of their children to the world’s public, making the disease more widespread.”

It seems to have occurred to few American commentators that governments around the world have controlled crowds without shooting scores of unarmed children and that, when confronting rock-throwing, violent Jewish demonstrators, the Israeli army never resorts to shooting them. No commentator opined that Israel was deliberately placing its soldiers at risk by refusing to end the occupation or placing settlers at risk by illegally settling them in occupied lands. When Israelis are killed this is not taken as evidence of cynical manipulation by the Israeli leadership, but of Palestinian “brutality” and worse.

Several well-known commentators presented the Palestinian protests against 33 years of Israeli occupation as evidence of irredeemable anti-Israeli hatred, and even genocidal tendencies. In the *Washington Post*, Michael Kelly wrote that “The Palestinians, it seemed, actually did not want peaceful coexistence; they wanted war, and they wanted the Jews dead or gone.” The *New York Post* said that the protests were “about ousting Jews from the Middle East. Every square inch. And every last Jew.” George Will argued that by negotiating with Palestinians, Israeli Prime Minister Barak “risks forfeiting his nation’s existence,” and, like several others, compared Arabs to Nazis. In the *New York Times*, Reuel Marc Gerecht called the protests “violent expressions of the age-old confrontation between Islam and the West.” Sidney Zion agreed that “It’s Islam against the world. Bill Clinton better ready up. All else is bull—t.” Cal Thomas urged Israel to go on the offensive “grabbing as much land as it can and never again letting go of it.”

Needless to say, there were no commentaries describing Israel as genocidal, comparing Israelis to the Nazis, blaming Israeli parents for cynically sacrificing their own children to make Palestinians look bad, or urging the Arabs to grab as much of Israel as they can and never let go of it. It is almost unthinkable that any major American paper would print such a perspective if submitted, but extreme anti-Arab expressions are welcomed across the spectrum as legitimate comments. Meanwhile, Arab-American and Palestinian attempts to join the conversation were often rebuffed and the press largely failed to use the Arab-American community as a resource for alternative viewpoints or as experts to correct the palpable and serious prevalent bias.

In stories and commentary about the Intifada patterns such as blaming the victim, ignoring history and international law, humanizing one set of victims while dehumanizing others, uncritically repeating official Israeli claims, and reporting on events in the occupied territories as if there were no occupation in place were on full, dismal display.

v) The Charlotte Cigarette Smuggling Case

The arrest of 18 people in North Carolina and one in Michigan on charges of cigarette smuggling in July 2000 provides an excellent example of how biased and sensational coverage of news stories involving Arab Americans can impact an entire community. The suspects were charged with illicitly transporting cigarettes

from North Carolina, where taxes are low, to Michigan, where taxes are high, and selling them at a profit. The authorities also publicly speculated that the defendants might have been transferring some of the proceeds of the alleged smuggling operation to the Lebanese political party Hizbollah, which could be a violation of untested elements of the 1996 Anti-Terrorism Act. As this Report went to press more than 11 months later, the indictment was amended charging only one suspect with alleged “material support” for Hizbollah, in the form of everyday items including cell phones, computer equipment, cameras, design software and binoculars. The sensational hype about “terrorism” from the government and press created a highly anti-Arab atmosphere in Charlotte, with aspersions implicitly cast against the whole of that city’s sizable Arab-American community.

The media, especially the local press in Charlotte, reported the dramatic capture of a ring of “international terrorists” and described Hizbollah in the most lurid and inaccurate terms. One local television station, WSOC Chanel 9, the local ABC affiliate, repeatedly misidentified Hizbollah as “a Palestinian separatist group,” and others described them as “the world’s most notorious killers” and “an international terrorism organization known for death and destruction around the world.” On July 21, the day of the arrests, WSOC reported “a major crackdown on international terrorists here in Charlotte.” One of its reporters told viewers that “rumors swirling around the courthouse about a possible connection between Charlotte people and terrorist groups in the Middle East turned out not to be rumors after all.” Anchors referred to Hizbollah as “one of the most infamous terrorist groups in the world.” The events were described as “a three and a half year investigation of cigarette smuggling and terrorism.” After the station showed a clip of prosecutors insisting that they did not suspect those arrested of plotting any violence, one of the reporters noted that “he’s being very, very careful not to associate these suspects with any acts of terrorism [pause]... *right now* [with heavy emphasis on the last phrase].” Disturbed reporters broadcast live outside the house of one of the suspects, breathlessly revealing that “the neighbors tell us that the people who live in this house never really fit in.” One neighbor, expressing a widespread reaction to the hype about “terrorism” told the station “something illegal going on doesn’t surprise me, but when you mention the word terrorism, I’m going: Lord have mercy!” The reporter concluded: “residents in this Charlotte neighborhood are left with just one thought - you never know who your neighbors are.”

US Rep. Sue Myrick (D-NC) was quoted as being “disturbed but not surprised that Hizbollah is operating here in our own backyard.” Senator John Edwards (D-NC) told viewers “this proves the need for continued peace efforts in the Middle East.” The man who first alerted authorities to the large numbers of cigarettes allegedly purchased regularly with cash by some of the suspects boasted “I believe that we have sent a message to some of the terrorist organizations around the world.” The WSOC reporter interviewing him then turned dramatically towards the huge cigarette outlet shop and declared grimly, “this place always has a good deal, whether you need the extra money for tobacco or terrorism!”

Some of the national media hardly performed better. On July 21, CNBC, in a story entitled “Federal Agents Discover Terrorist Enterprise in North Carolina Supporting Mideast Terrorist Organization by Selling Contraband Cigarettes,” reported that “Well, the one thing that sends a shudder down the spine of every elected official is the prospect of a terrorist act on US soil. Today, federal agents swooped down on a terrorist enterprise right in our very own backyard: Charlotte, North Carolina.” Daniel Pipes wrote in the *National Review* that “This case opens an important window on the small but worrisome subculture of Islamist immigrants who despise America even while living in it, who flout its laws and actively aid its enemies. The information from Charlotte prompts several reflections: First, it confirms the inaccuracy of Islamist whining about American bias against Muslims.” He called the affair not an alleged smuggling ring but an instance of “would-be terrorist vio-

lence,” claimed that “the Charlotte case again confirms that Islamist money is flowing from North America to the Middle East,” and demanded to know “How many more Charlotte-like webs are out there?”

The sizable Arab-American community in Charlotte was deeply shaken by local reports that seemed to cast a shadow of suspicion over the entire community and were appalled by the tone and tenor of the coverage, which was quickly beginning to result in negative comments from friends and coworkers. Members of the community appealed to ADC to intervene in an effort to tone down the inflated rhetoric and reflect the perspective of the community. While the local reporting improved dramatically after ADC called attention to the serious problems with the way in which the story was being covered, the Charlotte case would certainly seem to be another stark demonstration of the way in which anti-Arab stereotyping by media and law enforcement officials can combine to create an atmosphere of panic and hostility towards an entire community.

2) Hostile Commentary

A few examples indicate the range and virulence of hostile anti-Arab commentary in the American press:

- In August 1998, Mark Williams, a host on WGY radio in Albany, New York, made blatantly racist remarks against Arabs and Muslims. He urged fellow New Yorkers to burn Palestinian flags and burn effigies of monkeys, which he equated with Arabs. Over a year before this incident Mr. Williams also spewed anti-Arab hatred on the airwaves by saying that Palestinians were “animals” and suggested that Islam be outlawed. He also described Arabs as “tree- swinging savages.” Williams was eventually removed as a host on WGY.
- In January 1998, nationally syndicated columnist Cal Thomas made highly racist anti-Arab remarks on the C-Span program *Washington Journal*. In a discussion about a possible visit by Yasser Arafat to the Holocaust Museum, Thomas said: “He doesn’t need to go to the Holocaust Museum to find out what it’s all about. He knows what it’s all about and this is part of the difficulty in dealing with this region. It’s the idea that Yasir Arafat and people in the Middle East have the same moral structure as the rest of us and if we could just get them to the table, they are just like us. They have one head, two eyes, some of them even speak in English and because we’re reasonable and decent people and we can disagree across a table, everybody must be like that. Yasir Arafat is one of the most evil men on the world’s stage.”
- In October 2000, a *Washington Times* commentary headlined “In a Sea of Hatred” by R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr. condemned Arabs and Islam in the most bigoted terms: “Call me an ‘American know-nothing,’ but I concluded that history and politics had landed the Jews on a plot of ancient land where they were to live cheek by jowl with peoples who were warlike by nature and adherent to a religion that encourages bellicosity, or jihad, to use the official term.” He also wrote that one of Islam’s “cultural treasures” was a torture device called the “bug pit.”

a) Professional Arab Bashers

i) Steven Emerson

Blanket accusations of terrorism and extremism against Arabs and Arab Americans are propagated by a particularly insidious form of commentary which makes a fetish out of an alleged connection between Islam, traditional Arab culture and terrorism, and which is calculated to spread fear and hatred of Arabs and Islam. The

worst work of this kind has been done by Steven Emerson, who has argued that almost all major Arab and Muslim organizations in the United States are fronts for or supporters of “terrorist groups.” His 1994 television documentary, *Jihad in America*, which was widely broadcast by PBS, advanced the dubious and unsubstantiated thesis that there was an extensive fund-raising network in the United States for “Middle Eastern terrorists.” Consisting of little more than innuendo, guilt by association and unsubstantiated allegations, *Jihad in America* has come to be regarded as an embarrassing piece of fear-mongering by many professional journalists, akin in tone and substance to red-baiting screeds of the McCarthy era. But the atmosphere in the immediate aftermath of the World Trade Center bombing was such that *Jihad in America* won the prestigious Polk Award for Excellence in Journalism. In retrospect, respected journalists like Robert Freidman have accused Emerson of attempting to “create mass hysteria against American Arabs.”

Emerson declared in 1995 that Islam “sanctions genocide, planned genocide, as part of its religious doctrine.” He has been quick to point the finger incorrectly at Arabs for any number of tragedies and disasters, publicly blaming Arabs for the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City and for the crash of TWA Flight 800. Emerson, then a CBS News consultant, told the nation that the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing exhibited “a Middle Eastern trait” insofar as it “was done with the intent to inflict as many casualties as possible.”

In spite of his penchant for false accusation and wild statements, such as his 1994 claim that the aim of pro-Palestinian Muslims in the United States was the “mass murder of all Jews, Christians and moderate Muslims,” and his well-documented links with Israeli intelligence operatives and right-wing ideologues, Emerson is still called upon as a “terrorism expert” by some of the major American media, most notably the *Wall Street Journal* and CNBC’s television show *Rivera Live*. After the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, Emerson emerged from a period of relative isolation due to his outrageous false accusations against Arabs and Muslims with appearances on NPR, *Good Morning America*, *Rivera Live* and MSNBC’s *Interright* and wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* that the Clinton Administration had been “legitimizing self-declared ‘civil rights’ and ‘mainstream’ Islamic organizations that in fact operate as propaganda and political arms of Islamic fundamentalist movements.” Emerson continues to charge that most if not all major Arab-American and American-Muslim organizations are terrorist front groups. Emerson is also one of the most outspoken proponents of the use of secret evidence against Arab immigrants, and routinely is invited by some right-wing Members of Congress to testify in defense of the practice. One of his most recent activities was to instigate the fit of Arab-bashing in the New York Senate race between Hillary Clinton and Rick Lazio, as outlined in another section of this report (see page 73).

ii) Daniel Pipes

As Emerson’s work became increasingly discredited, much of the anti-Arab tone and substance of his work has been taken up by one of his former employers, Daniel Pipes, director of the Philadelphia-based pro-Israel “Middle East Forum.” Like Emerson, Pipes was quick to blame Arabs and Muslims for the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building. Pipes told *USA Today* the day after the bombing that “the West is under attack ... people need to understand that this is just the beginning. The fundamentalists are on the upsurge, and they make it very clear that they are targeting us. They are absolutely obsessed with us.”

By 2000, Pipes had established himself as a professional Arab-basher on a par with the more notorious Emerson. In the *New York Post*, Pipes dismissed the very identity of the Palestinian people by arguing that three of the most prominent Palestinians, Yasser Arafat, Edward Said and George Antonius were never Palestinians

at all, and that they “decided at various points in the 20th century—the 1920s, 1950s, 1970s—to become Palestinians.” Far from a national identity, Pipes concludes, “being Palestinian, in other words, is a good career move.” In the *Los Angeles Times*, Pipes claimed that most American Muslim organizations “aspire to make the United States a Muslim country, perhaps along the Iranian or Sudanese models.” Echoing Emerson’s dark conspiracy theories from *Jihad in America*, Pipes warns that “Some of this ilk even talk about overthrowing the U.S. government and replacing it with an Islamic one. Although it sounds bizarre, this attitude attracts serious and widespread support among Muslims, some of whom debate whether peaceful means are sufficient or whether violence is a necessary option.” Pipes also claims that the overwhelming majority of Muslims harbor intense anti-Jewish racism. In the right-wing magazine *Commentary*, for example, Pipes alleged that “At huge conventions closed to the press and public, in speeches and publications that tend to be couched in the historic Muslim languages rather than in English, nearly every Muslim organization in the United States—emphatically including those that carefully maintain a proper demeanor for public, English-language consumption—spews forth a blatant and vicious anti-Semitism, a barrage of bias, calumny, and conspiracy-mongering of a sort that has otherwise all but disappeared from American discourse.”

Pipes includes all major Arab-American and American Muslim organizations in his rubric of “Islamist extremists.” In 2000, Pipes twice referred in print to ADC, the mission statement of which declares is a strictly non-sectarian group, as an “Islamist” organization. In an article for the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Pipes characterized ADC and many mainstream American Muslim groups as “the Islamists—also known as fundamentalist Muslims,” “these extremists,” “hot-headed, conspiracy-minded Islamists,” and claimed that “whatever their differences, however, all Islamists have the same ambition, which is what they call the ‘Islamization of America.’” Ironically, Pipes, whose stock in trade is conspiracy theories about fabricated Palestinian identities and Islamic plots to overthrow the U.S. government, is the author of a book on the political functioning of conspiracy theories, *Conspiracy: How the Paranoid Style Flourishes, and Where It Comes From*.

b) Political Cartoons

In a cartoon produced for the *Los Angeles Times* in September 2000, political cartoonist Paul Conrad blamed the rise in oil prices on Arabs and Islam. Conrad drew a Muslim woman in black hijab breast feeding babies. The cartoon’s caption read: “Oil: The mother’s milk of international economics.”

In August 2000 the *Detroit Free Press* published an offensive cartoon, which was an edition of the series “Real Life Adventures,” entitled “Architectural Indigestions.” It pictures a couple reading a magazine. One says “ick. How could you have that much money and live in a house that nauseating?” to which the other replies “for really sickening, turn to ‘Arabian fantasy for busy Manhattan couple.’” The cartoonists and publisher of the Detroit Free Press apologized to the ADC and the Arab community.

On May 24, 2000, the day after the liberation of south Lebanon from 22 years of Israeli occupation, the *Los Angeles Times* ran an inexcusable cartoon by Michael Ramirez, which depicts a group of rats labeled “Hezbollah” feeding at a bowl marked with a Star of David and the words “S. Lebanon.” The caption reads “When the cat is away...” The only clear message that can be gleaned from this all-but-incomprehensible cartoon is its hostility to the Lebanese. There is more than a faint whiff of racism in this cartoon: vermin imagery is a familiar slander in western culture against people of Semitic origin, a traditional trope of European anti-

Jewish racism. Any cartoon depicting Jewish Israelis as rats would be instantly recognized as offensive and racist.

D) OTHER FORMS OF DEFAMATION

1) Racist Statements by Prominent Americans:

a) Rev. Franklin Graham

Franklin Graham, Chairman of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association and son of noted evangelist Billy Graham, made a series of extraordinarily racist remarks at a televised revival in Kentucky on Oct. 14. Franklin Graham, who is his father's designated successor as head of one of the largest evangelical associations in the United States, said "The Arabs will not be happy until every Jew is dead. They hate the state of Israel. They all hate the Jews. God gave that land to the Jews. The Arabs will never accept that. Why can't they live in peace?" These remarks were broadcast to a huge television audience.

b) Former Education Secretary William Bennett

In a speech on Oct. 14, former Secretary of Education William Bennett said "there is no moral equality between Israel and the Palestinians, one is a nation of violence and terrorism and the other is one of democracy and peace."

c) Senate Staffer James George Jatras

In 1999, a foreign policy staff analyst on the Senate Republican Policy Committee (RPC), James George Jatras, expressed an extraordinary level of anti-Islamic bigotry and hatred in an article called "The Muslim Advance and American Collaboration" published in the Feb. 1999 issue of *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*. The entire issue is filled with extreme anti-Islamic and anti-Arab hatred, and the illustration on the cover shows a stereotypical bearded Muslim with an AK-47 confronting a western businessman on a rope bridge over a ravine. Jatras' article was also published on a website called *The Christian Activist*. Senate RPC Chairman Sen. Larry Craig (R-ID) refused to take any action.

A small sample of the highly offensive and extremely inaccurate anti-Islamic statements, which, it must be remembered, were written by a man (Jatras) who has a role in shaping foreign policy, include: "In short, Islam is a self-evident outgrowth not of the Old and New Covenants but of the darkness of heathen Araby." "From its inception, first within Arabia and then against all unbelievers, Islam has been unthinkable without its mandate for violence, war, terror—in a word, jihad—itsself codified in Muhammad's Qur'an (notably Sura 9:29)." "It is hardly a surprise that business executives who would sell their grandmothers to Abdul Abulbul Amir for oil drilling rights would see the world as a reflection of their balance sheets."

In response to complaints about such hateful and harmful remarks by his RPC staffer, Sen. Craig said that "the exchange of opinions and ideas . . . that some might find disagreeable is an important part of the workings of free society." Craig said that Jatras was merely raising "complex questions of history and international events that are legitimate subjects for study and commentary" and that it did not suggest "hostility against any indi-

vidual or group of individuals.” Craig added that to dismiss Jatras “would not constitute the censuring of bigotry, but its practice.”

d) *Newsweek* Reporter Matt Cooper

In December 1998 Matthew Cooper, the Deputy Washington Bureau Chief for *Newsweek* magazine, won the “Washington’s Funniest Celebrity Contest,” sponsored by the Child Welfare League of America, with a routine mocking President Clinton that also included bigoted anti- Arab and anti-Iraqi jokes:

“(Imitating a reporter): Mr. President, how are we going to contain Saddam Hussein?”

“(Imitating President Clinton): You know, we’ve got to help and reach out to the Iraqi people so that they can help us all compete and win in the 21st century. You know, the Iraqi people have enormous skills. If I can just interject a personal note, there was a large Iraqi community back in Arkansas where I grew up. Actually, Hot Springs and Baghdad are sister cities. And I had an Iraqi neighbor growing up, Al-Ahk-Ahk-Akh-Bakh (makes choking sounds). And he would give you the towel off his head. They are a marvelous people and they have enormous skills. Not just in creating weapons of mass destruction, but in terms of baba ghanoush, humos, and of course, carpets. So we’ve got to find a way to reach out and include all of them.”

These remarks were greeted with howls of laughter from the audience. For this cruel and crude ethnic “humor,” Mr. Cooper was awarded the first place prize in the competition. Both Matt Cooper and the CWLA apologized for these offensive “jokes.”

e) Illinois State Representative Ron Lawfer

During a May 1998, debate concerning the development of alternative energy fuels in the Illinois House of Representatives, State Representative Ron Lawfer said the United States is “being held hostage by a bunch of camel jockeys.” He added that Arabs are “the ones who tried to hold us hostage then and are trying to do so now.”

f) Senator Conrad Burns

US Senator Conrad Burns (R-Mont.) told the Montana Equipment Dealers Association in a speech on February 17 1999, that the United States is dependent on foreign oil and called Mideast oil producers “ragheads.” After complaints, Burns apologized for “using a term pertaining to Arabs that I should not have used and which is widely considered offensive.” In 1994, Burns used an offensive racial term when he told a *Bozeman Chronicle* editor an anecdote about an old rancher who asked him how he could live in Washington with African Americans. Burns replied it was “a hell of a challenge.” Burns was reelected in November, 2000.

2) Attacks on Arab-American Public Officials/Appointees

A false and defamatory equation between politically active Arab Americans and terrorism is being used to keep Arab Americans from participating in the political and policy making processes. House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt’s decision in July, 1999, to remove Salam Al-Marayati’s nomination to serve on the National Commission on Terrorism was a typically disturbing example of the trend. Al-Marayati, Executive Director of

the Muslim Public Affairs Council and member of the Los Angeles Human Rights Commission, was appointed to the Commission because of his outstanding reputation as a civil rights leader, but was removed because of objections by pro-Israel groups that he was a “supporter of terrorism.” A new litmus test promoted by some pro-Israel groups and designed for blocking Arab-American appointments holds that Arab Americans must never have criticized policies of the Israeli government and that the pro-Israel lobby will be the judge of whether they pass this test. It smacks of a new form of anti-Arab McCarthyism. The pattern of this emerging litmus test is consistent: Arab-American appointees or government officials are falsely accused of being “supporters of terrorism,” quotations by them or their associates criticizing Israeli policies are presented as “evidence,” and their removal is demanded.

This pattern was repeated at least 3 times in the 3 months of May through July, 1999. Mr. Al-Marayati and the other Arab Americans subjected to this same treatment during this period, including his wife Dr. Leila Al-Marayati who serves on the U.S. Commission on Religious Freedom Abroad and former State Department official Joseph Zogby, have all been subjected to blatant character assassination. None of these individuals has ever even remotely condoned terrorism, but all have been critical of Israeli policies.

In October, 2000, the most vociferous of the pro-Israel groups opposed to Arab-American political inclusion, the Zionist Organization of American (ZOA), defamed another Arab American critical of Israel as a “veteran extremist” and a supporter of terrorist organizations, upon his appointment to a position in an American political institution. James Zogby, President of the Arab American Institute (AAI), and father of Joseph Zogby, was appointed Senior Advisor to Ethnic Americans for the Gore-Lieberman campaign. Professional Arab-basher Steven Emerson typified the attacks on Arab-American appointees by claiming that “Zogby has not only made comments that are incendiary but he has also made comments that are anti-Semitic. This represents a legitimation of this man’s views. This is a guy that’s openly supported the Hizbullah, openly condemned anti-terrorism efforts; he has condemned the Jewish lobby in ways that make [white supremacist politician] David Duke look mild, and this is an outrage.” Zogby was not removed from the Gore campaign.

3) Defamation During the 2000 Election and Other Campaigns

The same kind of discrimination extends to Arab Americans running for public office and attempts by Arab-American and Muslim groups to fully participate in the electoral process. The 2000 election saw a number of deeply troubling incidents of anti-Arab sentiment and bias.

a) Anti-Arab Racism During the New York Senate Race

Perhaps the most egregious instance of anti-Arab bias in the 2000 election was the Senate race in New York between First Lady Hillary Clinton and Republican Representative Rick Lazio. Both candidates were involved, Clinton in returning a major contribution from a Muslim organization and Lazio in slandering Arabs and Muslims in the most vitriolic terms. The controversy was stirred up by Steven Emerson in a *New York Daily News* story and a *Wall Street Journal* op/ed entitled “Hillary and Hamas,” in which he made the absurd charge that the mainstream American Muslim group, the American Muslim Alliance (AMA), which focuses mainly on voter registration and political participation, was a front for the Palestinian organization Hamas. Emerson preposterously described AMA as “an anti-Israeli group whose leaders have sanctioned terrorism, published anti-Semitic statements and repeatedly hosted conferences that were forums for denunciations of Jews and exhortations to wage jihad.” In his attacks, Emerson characterized the Clinton Administration’s limited out-

reach to the major Arab-American and American Muslim groups as “the president and first lady had hosted militant Islamic groups, which had, at the White House, proclaimed their support for terrorism.” As a result of Emerson’s wild accusations, Mrs. Clinton returned \$50,000 raised for her campaign at a fund-raiser she attended sponsored by the Alliance.

Clinton’s opponent, Rick Lazio, called the AMA donation “blood money.” His campaign seized on the flap to launch a telephone campaign attacking Mrs. Clinton as being associated with a group (AMA) which “openly brags about its support for a Mideast terrorism group, the same kind of terrorism that killed our sailors on the USS Cole.” *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen noted that “Lazio is suggesting not only that all Muslim money is tainted but also that there is some connection between the donor and the bodies taken off the USS Cole. This combination of bigotry and illogic is not, I know, supposed to shock us, politics being politics. But the use of dead sailors for crass political purposes is nothing less than an obscenity—political pornography of no redeeming social value.”

Eric Alterman in *The Nation* summed up the incident succinctly: “I got a call one day from a Republican Party functionary telling me that Hillary Clinton supported a Palestinian state and took money from groups that supported terrorist organizations ‘like the one that just blew up the USS Cole.’ I told the sorry sonofabitch that like Israel’s Prime Minister, I, too, support a Palestinian state. And, if there was any justice in the world, Hillary’s ‘terrorist’ friends would blow up Republican headquarters while we were still on the phone, so I could enjoy hearing the explosion. This heavy-handed bit of racist manipulation grew out of a story published, surprisingly, not in Rupert Murdoch’s *New York Post* but in the putatively responsible and nominally liberal *New York Daily News*, owned by Mortimer Zuckerman. It was inspired by the machinations of one Steven Emerson, a discredited ‘terrorism expert’ last heard trying to pin the Oklahoma City bombing on the Arabs by noting that ‘inflict[ing] as many casualties as possible...is a Middle Eastern trait’. Each actor played a dishonorable role in the tawdry drama: the *Daily News* invented the story. The Lazio campaign brazenly exploited it. Hillary Clinton’s campaign capitulated to it.”

b) Arab-American Senator Attacked as Supporter of Terrorism

In his bid for reelection from Michigan, Republican Senator Spencer Abraham, the only Arab American in the Senate, was consistently attacked by a fanatical anti-immigrant group, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), as someone who was working to facilitate terrorism. FAIR was founded in 1979 by a Michigan ophthalmologist named John Tanton who argued that unless America’s borders are sealed, the country would be overrun with people “defecating and creating garbage and looking for jobs.” FAIR’s attacks were ostensibly critical of Abraham’s pro-immigrant stance and support for H-1B visas, but in fact contained thinly disguised attacks on his Arab heritage.

In their campaign against him, FAIR produced a barrage of expensive and highly defamatory TV, radio, and newspaper ads linking Abraham to terrorism. One of the ads juxtaposed photographs of the Senator and Osama bin Laden with the caption, “Why is Senator Spencer Abraham trying to make it easier for terrorists like Osama bin Laden to export their war of terror to any city street in America?”

These ads came as Abraham was locked in a tight race for reelection against Democratic Rep. Debbie Stabenow. Stabenow remained silent about FAIR’s smear campaign until mid-April 2000, when national attention on these racist and extreme anti-immigrant attacks forced her to comment. Even then, all she could say

was that the ads may have been “extreme,” but that they raised a “legitimate policy debate.” In November, Stabenow narrowly won one of the closest Senate races and Abraham lost his seat, only to become Secretary of Energy in the new Bush Administration.

c) GOP Candidate Calls Palestinians “Lower than Pond-Scum”

Ric Keller, Republican nominee for the House of Representatives from central Florida said at a campaign event on Oct. 12, 2000, “I think Palestinians are lower than pond scum.” Keller was elected to the House in November, 2000.

d) Pro-Israel Group Demands Candidates Shun Arab Americans

The Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) attempted to stifle political debate in the 2000 election by demanding that Presidential candidates refuse to meet with ADC. The ZOA, which has a long history of trying to smear and suppress the views of all who disagree with it, issued a news release dated June 8, 1999, entitled “ZOA to Bush: Wrong to Meet with Groups that Sympathize with Terrorists.” The statement condemned Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush for meeting with a delegation from ADC Chapters in Texas. Bush refused to stop meeting formally with Arab-American groups.

In its usual tactic of lifting quotes out of context and distorting the issues, the ZOA attempted to falsely paint ADC as a supporter of “terrorism,” and describe what it calls “the true pro-terrorist nature of the ADC.” By distorting ADC’s positions and misrepresenting them as supportive of “terrorism,” the ZOA was yet again attempting to silence the Arab-American community and stifle debate on crucial policy issues. By demanding that “all candidates” refuse to meet with Arab Americans, the ZOA was trying to restrict the views which political leaders consider. According to the ZOA, only extreme pro-Israel opinions should guide Middle East policies, not a free and open debate.

The ZOA has a long history of using McCarthyite tactics to advance its extremist pro-Israel agenda. These tactics have extended far beyond attacks on the Arab-American community, and have been used against all who differ with ZOA’s extreme pro-Israel stance. ZOA’s successful attempt in 1998 to bully the Smithsonian Institution into excluding any hint of criticism of Israeli policies from its “Israel at 50” program, was aptly described by Anthony Lewis in the *New York Times* as “Jewish McCarthyism.” ZOA President Morton Klein has condemned Mike Wallace, Thomas Friedman, Strobe Talbot, Martin Indyck and Pete Seeger, to mention but a few, as “anti-Israel.”

e) Anti-Arab Bigotry in 1998 California Primary

Representative Ken Calvert, in a closely fought 1998 campaign for the Republican nomination for the 43rd Congressional District of California, focused a series of attacks on the ethnicity of his Arab-American opponent, Joseph Khoury. Calvert’s campaign manager publicly denounced Khoury for raising large amounts of campaign contributions from Arab-American donors. When a number of national Arab-American leaders demanded an apology for this bigotry, Calvert excused his campaign manager’s behavior saying that he had only sought to point out that Khoury’s support was coming from outside of the district. This tactic was reminiscent of Calvert’s 1994 attack on Khoury in the form of a mailer that included a cartoon of Khoury flying into the congressional district on a “flying carpet.”

The mailings sent by that campaign were augmented by an insidious telephone campaign that repeatedly called Republican voters in the 43rd District asking questions like, “Would it bother you more if your Congressman was caught with a prostitute or if he were receiving Arab money?” (In 1994, Calvert was caught by the police engaged in a sex act with a prostitute in an automobile).

Calvert’s campaign sent a mailing to all of the households in the district charging that their investigation of Khoury’s publicly filed list of campaign contributors “revealed an attempt to buy Riverside’s seat in the U.S. Congress.” The long list of names printed in the mailing only included the Arabic sounding names who had sent money to the Khoury campaign. A letter that was distributed by a Calvert supporter charged that Khoury “must seek foreign campaign contributions because he cannot win the support of his own people in his own home town.” The campaign, which focused almost entirely on trying to paint Khoury as a disloyal, foreign non-American, was successful and Calvert was reelected.

4) Billboards

In October 1998 billboards in various cities in California featured a picture of Osama Bin Laden with the headline “the sworn enemy.” The billboard was part of a campaign sponsored by a Los Angeles-based television station which “intends to take recognizable characters and situations that affect people’s lives because they are in the news.” The billboards promote the image of the Arab in general as the quintessential enemy of the United States.

5)Racist Graffiti on Bomb Dropped on Iraq

Some of the American bombs which were dropped on Iraq in December 1998 were “decorated” with anti-Arab racist slogans, including “Die, You Maggots,” “This is Gunna Hurt,” and “Hold Onto Yer Butt.” They also were defaced with slogans defamatory to Islam such as “Here’s a Ramadan present from Chad Rickenberg,” and parodies of the holiday spirit such as “To Saddam, Mery X-Mas.”

6) Defamatory Memo From PYA/Monarch

PYA/Monarch, a Sara Lee food service distributor, retracted and apologized an email sent in April 2000 by one of its employees to affiliates urging them to raise prices and “blame it on the ‘Evil Arab Oil Cartel’.” The email was sent by an employee on behalf of the company to restaurant owners encouraging them to increase their menu prices, citing rising fuel costs that will affect “all pricing, from the cost of manufacturing to the cost of delivery.” It suggested that “this is a great opportunity to raise your menu prices and blame it on the ‘Evil Arab Oil Cartel’.”

7) Urban Warrior: Department of Defense Training Exercise

Serious concern was raised by several aspects of the “Urban Warrior” exercises conducted by the military in Monterey and Oakland, California during March, 1999. The exercise involved simulations of urban warfare, with several mock foreign locations created for different scenarios. Among the most troubling aspects of the

exercises was the simulation of “ethnic groups” by trainees from the Defense Language Institute in the mock urban settings.

These actors portrayed stereotypical “Arabs” and “Koreans” in urban crowd situations, taunting the Marines, serving as distractions in the hunts for “terrorists” and begging for help in staged disasters. It is disturbing that the military would find it useful to promote stereotypes. This is likely to reinforce negative impressions of the ethnic groups and notions of who are “the enemy,” calling to mind nightmare scenarios from films such as *The Siege*, while adding nothing essential to training for urban conflict.

E) ADC RECOGNITIONS FOR ENHANCING TOLERANCE AND ESCALATING INTOLERANCE

One of the ways in which ADC counteracts defamation and encourages responsible representation is through awarding annual recognitions for enhancing tolerance and escalating intolerance, presented at each year’s ADC national convention.

1) ADC Recognitions for Enhancing Tolerance, 1998-2000

- Patrick Smith Kelly and Warner Brother Films for *A Perfect Murder* (1998)
- Rosalyn Weinman of NBCTV for dropping an offensive storyline from *Days of Our Lives* (1998)
- Adam Yauch of the Beastie Boys for denouncing anti-Arab racism (1999)
- Roger Ebert, syndicated film critic for dealing seriously with problems of anti-Arab stereotyping in Hollywood (1999)
- Laurie Goodstein of *The New York Times*, for her articles on the same subject (1999)
- Michael Crichton and Touchstone Pictures for *The 13th Warrior* (2000)
- Anthony Lane of *The New Yorker* for his review of *The Mummy* (2000)
- Charles Roven and Warner Brothers Films for *Three Kings* (2000)

2) ADC Recognitions for Escalating Intolerance, 1998-2000:

- ABC TV for *Soldier of Fortune* (1998)
- Edward Zwick and 20th Century Fox for *The Siege* (1999)
- Donald P. Bellisario and CBS TV for *JAG* (1999)
- Aaron Sorkin and NBC TV for *The West Wing* (2000)
- James Webb, Stephen Gaghan and Paramount Pictures for *Rules of Engagement* (2000)
- Stephen Summers and Universal Pictures for *The Mummy* (2000)
- Ted Mann and CBS TV for *Judging Amy* (2000)
- David Shore and CBS TV for *Family Law* (2000)

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2 Influence of Arab Stereotypes on Children By Jack Shaheen	\$1.00	_____	_____
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12 Khalil Gibran By Dr. William Shehadi	\$1.00	_____	_____
16 Unholy Alliance (chose English or Arabic) By Alan Dehmer	\$2.00	_____	_____
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20 The Children of the Stones By Johnathan Kuttab	\$3.00	_____	_____
21 The Uprising in Cartoons Compiled by Staff & Interns of ADC	\$3.00	_____	_____
22 American Public Opinion and the Question of Palestine By Fouad Moughrabi	\$3.00	_____	_____
23 The Image of Arabs in American Fiction By Suha T. Sabbagh	\$3.00	_____	_____
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25 Affirming Palestinian Statehood By Dr. Walid Khalidi	\$3.00	_____	_____

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27 The Other Gulf War Syndrome: Flaws in U.S. Media Coverage of the 1997-1998 Iraq Crisis By Ghada Khouri	\$3.00	_____	_____
28 Our Jerusalem: Separate and Joint By Dr. Walid Khalidi	\$5.00	_____	_____
30 The Palestinian Right of Return By Ali Abunimah and Hussein Ibish	\$5.00	_____	_____
 <u>SPECIAL REPORTS</u>	 <u>PRICE</u>	 <u>QUANTITY</u>	 <u>TOTAL</u>
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1998 ADC Activity Report	\$3.00	_____	_____
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1995 Report on Anti-Arab Hate Crimes	\$3.00	_____	_____
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ADC Activity Report (Available from 1986 to 1993)	\$1.50 (each)	_____	_____
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Items Available from ADC

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