

One Hundred and Fifty

Edited by
Nadia Maria El-Cheikh
Lina Choueiri
Bilal Orfali





| Table of Contents

Foreword	vii
Preface	viii
Introduction	
150 Years of Histories at the Syrian Protestant College and the American University of Beirut <i>Betty S. Anderson (Boston University)</i>	1
Part I: Early History	
01 New England Missionaries as Venues of Soft Power: Ungodly Puritans, 1820–1860 <i>Samir Khalaf (American University of Beirut)</i>	13
02 Converting the Druzes: The American Missionaries' Road Map to Nowhere <i>Samer Traboulsi (University of North Carolina, Asheville)</i>	25
03 The University and the City: How Looking at the City Changes the Story We Tell About the University <i>Aleksandra Kobiljski (CNRS, Paris)</i>	43
04 "That They May Have Life": Balancing Principles and Pragmatism in the Syrian Protestant College's Humanitarian Relief Projects during the Famine of World War I <i>A. Tylor Brand (American University of Sharjah)</i>	51
05 Women at AUB: The Beginnings, 1905–1947 (A Photo Essay) <i>Nadia Maria El Cheikh and Samar El Mikati (American University of Beirut)</i>	63
Part II: AUB, the USA, and the World	
06 Arab and Middle Eastern Studies at AUB: Between Local Concerns and Global Pressures <i>John L. Meloy (American University of Beirut)</i>	85
07 The Open Gate: Learning from AUB's Struggles over Academic Freedom <i>Patrick McGreevy (American University of Beirut)</i>	95
08 The Man in the Middle. Developmentalism and Cold War at AUB's Economic Research Institute in-between the US and the Middle East, 1952–1967 <i>Cyrus Schayegh (Princeton University)</i>	105
09 Surviving the Cold War at AUB: The Thomas Aquinas Affair of 1966 <i>Michael Provence (University of California, San Diego)</i>	121
10 The American University of Beirut: A Case for Studying Universities in International Politics <i>Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen (University of Tromsø-The Arctic University of Norway and Aalborg University, Denmark)</i>	133
Part III: Space	
11 "Another Amherst on the Site of Ancient Berytus": Early Impacts of New England on the Ras Beirut Landscape, 1870–1920 <i>Maria Bashshur Abunnasr (American University of Beirut)</i>	145
12 Gardens of Knowledge, Oasis for the Soul: A History of the AUB Campus Landscape <i>Jala Makhzoumi (American University of Beirut)</i>	171
13 From Foreign Soil to the 'Ard of Beirut: A History of the American University of Beirut and the Anglo-American Cemetery <i>Christine B. Lindner (Philadelphia University)</i>	189

14	AUB and Ras Beirut in the Twenty-first Century: Nostalgia, Gentrification, and Other Problems <i>Cynthia Myntti (American University of Beirut)</i>	201
Part IV: Academic/Scientific Contributions		
15	AUB's Role in the Promotion of the Arabic/Islamic Sciences and Their History <i>George Saliba (Columbia University)</i>	213
16	Archaeology at AUB: Past, Present, and Future <i>Hélène Sader (American University of Beirut)</i>	225
17	The AUB History Department, 1970–1971: An Appreciation <i>Matthew S. Gordon (Miami University)</i>	235
18	AUB's Contributions to Agricultural Development in the Middle East <i>Nuhad J. Dagher (American University of Beirut)</i>	243
Part V: Salient Personalities		
19	A Useful Life: Bulus Khaulī at SPC and AUB <i>Tony P. Naufal (American University of Beirut)</i>	259
20	Narrating the <i>Nahda</i> : The Syrian Protestant College, <i>al-Muqtataf</i> , and the Rise of Jurji Zaydan <i>Elizabeth M. Holt (Bard College)</i>	273
21	On Anis Frayha <i>Mario Kozah (American University of Beirut)</i>	281
22	Kamal Salibi: The Man and the Historian, 1929–2011 <i>Abdul Rahim Abu Husayn (American University of Beirut)</i>	287
23	Constantine Zurayk: Beginnings, 1931–1939 <i>Samir Seikaly (American University of Beirut)</i>	295
24	Mentors and Disciples: Faculty Politics at the American University of Beirut Post-WWII <i>Makram Rabah (Georgetown University)</i>	303
25	The Creative Scholar: The Life of Wadad Kadi <i>Aram A. Shahin (James Madison University)</i>	309
26	Art and Artists at AUB: “Art makes more sense than anything else” <i>Helga Seeden (American University of Beirut)</i>	317
Conclusion		
	Reflections on Writing AUB History in a Global Age <i>Aleksandra Kobiljski and Cyrus Schayegh (CNRS, Paris and Princeton University)</i>	329
Bibliography		
		337
Index		
		353

Introduction





150 Years of Histories at the Syrian Protestant College and the American University of Beirut

Betty S. Anderson

In his first Annual Report to the Board of Managers in July 1867, founder and president Reverend Daniel Bliss wrote of the inaugural class in the Literary Department at the Syrian Protestant College (SPC),

The College has been in session seven months during which time there has been no case of sickness requiring medical aid, no failure in good behaviour demanding more than a slight verbal reproof and the progress in study has been satisfactory. There have been connected with the College eighteen different pupils, fifteen of whom still continue their connection.¹

The following year, he reported that the inaugural class had dropped to eight by the sophomore year because four students had moved to the Medical Department that had just opened, three had to repeat their freshman year, and three left the College for personal reasons. As for the academic program of the remaining students,

During the present year the Sophomore class read critically and examined grammatically all the first and more than one half of the second volume of [Washington] Irving's Life of Mohammed and his successors. It has also studied English grammar, composition and declamations. Six of this class study French and have made corresponding progress in that language.

The whole class had completed Algebra, studied seven books of Euclid's Geometry, and has progressed in Natural Philosophy to the subject of Hydrostatics, besides having two recitations per week in profane & sacred history. Five of the class have recently commenced the study of Latin. The conduct of this class had been irreproachable, no member having given occasion, for even a private reprimand. The probability is that these young men will complete the four years course. They are men of promise and the majority begin to exhibit scholarly qualities.²

Of these eight, Daniel Bliss reported in his 1871 Annual Report, "On the 26th of July last the College graduated its first class numbering five. The young men's orations, three in Arabic, one in English and one in French were commendable productions, and were well received by the audience."³ He reported further that "These graduates found immediate employment and are now all teaching except one, who is studying medicine in the College."⁴

In 2014, the American University of Beirut (AUB) enrolled almost 7,000 undergraduate and more than 1,500 graduate students. Instead of just the two options that were available in 1867, AUB offers today over 120 undergraduate and graduate programs in seven faculties and schools.⁵ When the College opened, women could not enroll, but they now represent almost fifty percent of the student body, having first arrived as nursing students in 1905, as graduate students and undergraduates in the junior and senior classes in the 1920s, and added to the freshman and sophomore classes in 1952. The Engineering Department opened its doors to women in 1967, bringing down the last obstacle to women's equality on campus (see El Cheikh and Mikati in this volume).

These facts and figures, separated by almost 150 years of history, illustrate how different the current manifestation of AUB is compared to its beginnings as SPC in 1866. Not only were the numbers of students miniscule at the College's inauguration, but the curriculum imparted to those students was limited in terms of topics taught and pedagogical rigor followed. SPC had as a core goal the desire to teach the principles of Evangelical Protestantism along with the most modern of academic topics. In 1920, the newly named American University of Beirut formally abandoned the missionary goals of the founders and expanded the institution's offerings and enrollments to levels that Daniel Bliss could

only have dreamed of when he inaugurated his college in 1866. But amidst all of these changes, the University's leaders consistently articulated larger hopes for their students: in each era they sought to teach not only the academic subjects on offer, but to show the students how to be well-educated and well-rounded leaders in their communities. As President Peter Dorman declared in his inauguration speech in May 2009, "AUB thrives today in much different form than our missionary founders would have envisioned, but nonetheless – after all this time – it remains dedicated to the same ideal of producing enlightened and visionary leaders."⁶

In studying the institution from its 1866 beginnings to its sesquicentennial celebration, the authors in this volume have shown, more than anything else, the complexity of the University's legacy and the differing perspectives its denizens have acquired over the years. In telling their stories, these authors have proved that there is not just one history of this institution, but intertwined and parallel threads that collectively narrate the 150 years of an institution that has come to be a central space for its faculty, staff, and graduates as well as for governments across the region and around the globe. The SPC's and AUB's institutional histories provide a *longue durée* perspective on how the University's curricular, departmental, and missionary goals evolved from decade to decade, while also examining the interconnections of the University and its leadership with Beirut, Lebanon, the Middle East, and a changing American educational and governmental environment. Personal histories, on the other hand, can be as short as the four years that most students spend on campus or as long as the almost 75-year connection Professor Constantine Zurayk maintained with AUB. Many of the long-time American expatriates literally gave their lives to the institution and the American mission, and are buried today in the Anglo-American Cemetery in Beirut (see Lindner in this volume).

All these stories, however long or short their duration, have constructed the historical identity of SPC and AUB over the last 150 years. The institutional histories narrate the building of the framework that has allowed the University to supply services to its constantly changing citizenries; the personal histories illustrate how people found ways to fulfill their own goals while working with and studying alongside their fellow AUBites. In this introduction, I highlight the main threads of these different histories of SPC and AUB, focusing especially on early developments that came to frame the institution's project over the long-term; the authors who follow continue the history and complicate the stories still further.

SPC AND AUB HISTORIES

The Syrian Protestant College opened its doors to its first students on 3 December 1866, and Daniel Bliss reported in his diary that evening, "College opened – Read 3[rd] Chapt[er] of 1 Cor[inthians]."⁷ Given the legacy he and his colleagues imparted to Beirut, it is a remarkably modest description of the event. It also points to the religious underpinning of the whole project, as it was to the Bible that Bliss turned to commemorate this act. The milestones came quickly thereafter with the opening of the Medical Department in 1867 and the maneuverings over the next years to move out of a house rented from Butrus al-Bustani and onto land owned directly by the College. With the placing of the cornerstone for College Hall on November 28, 1871, Bliss and his colleagues began the construction of the campus as we know it today in Ras Beirut. As Bliss eloquently explained in his President's Report at the end of that year,

The erection of these substantial buildings upon a site at once so commanding and beautiful and at the same time so well adapted for health and convenience, has attracted increasing attention to our work – the objects of the College and the advantages it offers are being better understood and when we shall be fairly located in our new home, we may reasonably hope not only for a large accession of students, but for wider and more fruitful opportunities to make this Institution a blessing to this people.⁸

Over the decades that followed, Bliss and his successors gradually bought up land down to the sea and slowly enclosed the College inside a wall. In some cases, the faculty drew up the architectural plans themselves; in others, they commissioned renowned architects. The result was the gradual construction of majestic structures that advertised permanence and distinction for those who crossed on to the campus grounds. The early designs mimicked much that characterized American Protestant universities, but arose using local stone and landscaping materials, making them unique to the SPC and AUB space (see Abunnasr and Makhzoumi in this volume).

As such, the buildings represented both America and Beirut while simultaneously proving to any who crossed the campus threshold that the founders envisaged an establishment lasting long after their individual contributions had ended. The only retreat along this line came in 1991 when a car bomb destroyed College Hall, thereby obliterating the most central and defining architectural monument on campus. Undaunted, alumni donors from around the world provided the funds that allowed it to

re-emerge from the rubble nine years later, following the same external design of 1871, but with an interior layout twenty percent larger. This act reiterated the importance of architectural legacy for the identity of the University while also accommodating the more expansive needs of the campus and its administration. Most recently, AUB inaugurated the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs (IFI) building along the Green Oval on the upper campus. Its style is in stark contrast to the architectural norms established over the many years since 1871, indicating that legacy and longevity are tangible identifiers for the campus, but do not preclude the possibilities for innovation.

Within the walls and the classroom spaces, the curriculum offered to the students adapted pedagogical elements coming from American universities while also recognizing that the institution could not be divorced from its local Lebanese and Arab elements. The first prospectus written for the future College declared that it would be “conducted on strictly christian [sic] and evangelical principles”; in 1871, the course catalogue confirmed, “This college was established in order to provide Syria and its surrounding areas higher education in the mathematical and literary sciences and that it would be in their language,” Arabic.⁹ This foundational core arose from the fact that Bliss and his colleagues had come to Lebanon as missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and they saw education as a tool for converting denizens of the Levant (see Khalaf and Traboulsi in this volume). In making such a declaration, the opening of the College represented a formal rupture with the ABCFM since Rufus Anderson, the Corresponding Secretary of the mission, had severely curtailed funds for educational enterprises in the 1850s because he considered the direct preaching of the Gospel to be the best means for converting someone to Christianity. As a result, the SPC’s founders chose to open the College as an independent educational organization, but one considered for decades as a child of the mission because its founders and members of its local Board of Managers served for years as officers of the ABCFM.

In opening such a college, Daniel Bliss and his successors pledged to offer the most modern of academic subjects to their students, although this was an easier vow to make than a promise to be fulfilled because educational norms changed rapidly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and demands of the students often came into conflict with the goals set by the administration. In keeping with the curriculum established at Protestant universities in America in the 1860s, the students initially completed a fixed curriculum with only the smallest of opportunities for choosing elective courses. They were tested via daily and weekly oral declamation so they could prove that they had learned and memorized the information taught by their professors and lecturers. Little in the structure allowed for independent research or inquiry by the students; professors served as unquestioned authorities of the knowledge disseminated to their students. During the twelve years that followed the opening of the College in 1866, the only major change came in the Literary Department with the decision by the associated faculty to shift from Arabic to English as the language of instruction. As Daniel Bliss reported at the time, using English in such a way gave students access to a language “permeated with the spirit of progress in all departments of life”; in contrast, if students only learned in Arabic, they were “confined to books, saturated with errors in religion, morals[,] politics, medicine and social life.”¹⁰

As pressure built on the Medical Department to follow the lead of their colleagues in the Literary Department, Chemistry Professor Edwin Lewis gave a speech at graduation in 1882 that praised Charles Darwin and a number of other scientists. Most of the Medical Department faculty and a large number of its students supported the desire to bring new scientific theories and experiments to campus. In contrast, Daniel Bliss, George Post of the Medical Department, and the professors in the Literary Department saw in this new science a threat to the gatekeeping the professors had undertaken to guarantee that no knowledge presented on campus contradicted Evangelical Protestant principles. Bliss’s first written reaction to the speech was a short line in his diary on the day of Commencement, Wednesday, July 19, 1882, noting, “Dr Lewis address much out of taste. An apology for bible truth & an acceptance as science unproved theories.”¹¹ In a later letter to his sons, Howard and William, he disparaged Darwin by saying, “at Commencement Lewis gave an oration in which he praised up Chas. Darwin and gave the impression that he (L.) was a Darwinian and that man descended from the lower animals.”¹² The conflict between these two groups intensified throughout the fall semester to the point that Lewis chose to resign in November, the medical students began a long protest against the resignation, and all the Medical Department professors except George Post indicated that they would resign their posts over the issue.

During the 1882–1883 academic year, the protesting medical students wrote reasoned letters to the administration opposing Lewis’s resignation and the fact that the College was not providing them with sufficient training to take the Ottoman Imperial medical examination.¹³ In essence, they critiqued the College for breaking its contract with them: they had enrolled with the promise that a certain cadre of professors would be teaching them and that they would have access to the subjects that would appear

Betty S. Anderson

on their exam. From the students' perspective, SPC had failed in both regards. In their last letter about these topics, the students wrote, "Sirs, it never occurred to the minds in Syria or in the Syrian Protestant College that noble people like you who belong to the American land of freedom would issue judgments without considering the related evidence. You refused to listen to students whose acts did not convey any sign of rashness and who claimed their just rights."¹⁴ Over the next years, all but one of the Medical Department professors left campus and nineteen of the protesting students withdrew from the College.

In the end, Daniel Bliss and his allies won this battle and over the next years the Medical Department followed the Literary Department in moving toward the use of English as the language of instruction throughout the campus, a policy still practiced at AUB today (see Saliba in this volume). Furthermore, Daniel Bliss required that all new faculty members sign a Declaration of Principles promising that no knowledge disseminated in their campus classrooms would contradict evangelical views, effectively barring the new sciences from entering Main Gate.

This hallmark moment served as a turning point for the College's trajectory in the region. The SPC could henceforth open its doors to students outside the Arab world and the University has since built a reputation for its nationally diverse student body. But while opening the University to the world, this act limited access routes from the more immediate Arab and Beirut environments. From the first plans for the new college, Daniel Bliss and his colleagues had expressed hope that the College's administration and teaching would move toward Arab control of the administration as early as possible. Following the Darwin Crisis, the SPC's leadership eschewed such a plan and the result was a curriculum that hewed even more closely to American academic organizational structures than at any point in the College's existence. New American and European professors arrived in Beirut to replace those who had resigned, and because they had little to no knowledge of the Arab world, they could only impart an American-accredited curriculum. Even Arab history disappeared from the course catalogue until it re-emerged in 1914, and then only as an elective. The majority of professors who had become fluent in Arabic so they could teach their classes in the language were long-gone; Arab lecturers were prohibited from receiving faculty ranks equal to those of their American and European counterparts.

With these actions, Daniel Bliss and his colleagues made the walls around campus as impermeable as possible to events taking place in the region outside so that the American and evangelical curriculum could dominate. But by doing so, Bliss also rejected the new sciences and the new pedagogies emerging at American Protestant universities, including at his old alma mater, Amherst College, because they did not accord with his Declaration of Principles. As a result, for the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the College's leadership refused to accept that even the American curriculum had changed in order to incorporate such scientific inquiries as those put forward by Charles Darwin. This move toward the Declaration of Principles also placed SPC outside the vibrant discussions taking place in journals and schools throughout the region about the proper intersection between science and religion.¹⁵

This situation began to change when Howard Bliss replaced his father as president in 1902, eliminated the Declaration of Principles, and brought to campus the pedagogical advances he and his colleagues had studied at institutions such as Amherst in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Henceforth at SPC, students completed a fixed curriculum only in their freshman and sophomore years so they could be grounded in a broad range of academic subjects, but then moved on to major in specific fields of study in their junior and senior years. Instead of a Literary Department offering all the courses in social studies and the humanities, a religion department, a history department, and an Arabic language department formed in appreciation of the fact that scholars all over the world had come to recognize that these were separate disciplines with distinct scholarly approaches. Over the decades of the twentieth century many more departments and programs followed, including archaeology, agriculture, and the Center for Arab and Middle Eastern Studies (CAMES) (see Gordon, Meloy, Sader, and Dagher in this volume).

Just as importantly, with these changes came a new approach to teaching in the classroom; no longer did SPC professors ask their students to memorize lectures and texts as proof that they understood the data being presented to them. The new liberal education program imported from America called on students to be active participants in producing knowledge themselves, engaging in scientific experiments, and conducting research on their own. The classrooms became not just arenas for imparting knowledge, but for teaching students how to intelligently debate the theories and facts presented to them. Howard Bliss's tenure from 1902 to 1920 was a transition time for this pedagogy, and it ushered in the longer term commitment by AUB to enshrine the elements of this American liberal education system into the students' lives, from the Civilization Sequence (CS) program that began in 1950 and 1952 to the concept of free inquiry that came to permeate the classrooms.

These pedagogical changes came alongside a transformation in the religious program of the College, whereby Howard Bliss required that all students still attend obligatory Bible and church sessions as they had done since 1866, but shifted the means by which the professors preached Christianity. By the time Howard Bliss took the presidential helm, the pedagogy underpinning the new liberal education program had become an integral component of missionary work as well. In this system, professors encouraged students to debate and discuss religious ideas so they could find the commonalities between their faiths rather than determine the superiority of one. As Howard Bliss wrote in his last published article, "In all our classes, and especially in our Bible classes, there is a tradition of absolutely untrammelled inquiry; and woe to be the teacher who gives the impression that he is suppressing or fumbling question and answer, however blunt, embarrassing, or indiscreet the inquiry may seem to be."¹⁶ As for the atmosphere at the College, Bliss wrote,

The briefest sojourn on its lovely campus, among its two dozen noble buildings, with its superb views, eastward and northward, of opalescent Lebanon, and westward of the great blue sea; with a visit to its museums, its laboratories, its observatory, its library, its athletic fields, its hospitals, its Students' Building; interviews with its ninety teachers; contact with its thousand students of many races (Syrian, Turks, Tartar, Persian, Indian, Egyptian), and of many religions (Moslem, Druze, Jewish, Behai, and all the Christian sects), as they study, as they play, as they worship – a visit, I say, of this kind establishes the irrefutable conviction that here has been created a "psychological climate" from whose influence no student can escape.¹⁷

The SPC's legacy lay with its students, according to Bliss, who proclaimed, "And wherever this man goes, he makes it easier to foster education, to overturn tyranny, to soften fanaticism, to promote freedom in state and church."¹⁸ The College was not producing Protestants, but aimed to teach all of its students to live by their own religious precepts and to respect the differing opinions of others.

In the midst of these curricular and religious shifts on campus, the College also began the process of reconnecting with the world outside Main Gate. Under Howard Bliss's presidency, the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 reverberated throughout the Ottoman Empire, disseminating a message of freedom that shared its basic elements with the liberal education and liberal Protestantism of the SPC. Despite the apparent symmetry between these two projects, conflict brewed on campus, nonetheless, because Bliss and his colleagues stood by the conviction that Evangelical Protestantism remained the basal principle of SPC's *raison d'être*. As such, SPC's leadership continued its policy of enforcing the study of Christianity as a foundational element of the students' education.

These clashing definitions of freedom gave birth to the Muslim Controversy in spring 1909 when Muslim and Jewish students refused to obey the religious requirements of the College, defining liberal education as one where students could choose to study and worship as they wanted. As an example of the writings from this semester, an article in the Egyptian newspaper *Lewa* on January 24, 1909, reported that "A. of the Syrian College" said, "Now it is passing strange that our faculty have undertaken in forcing us to attend church and teaching us Christian doctrine in spite of us, in view of their pretense of religious liberty. It is contrary to reason and at variance with the regulation of all the schools of the world, among them those of America universally."¹⁹ In line with their predecessors in 1882, the students protesting in 1909 obediently followed all the rules except for those connected to religious study. The administration could not therefore accuse them of being rash or disrespectful. They hoped that their actions would garner them sufficient respect so that the administration would listen to their arguments. In their demands, they called on the administration to truly implement the precepts underpinning liberal education, in particular in allowing the students to make reasoned choices about their religious studies.

In response, Howard Bliss and the faculty excused the students from most religious requirements during the spring 1909 semester, but declared that if they chose to return in the fall they would have to abide by all the campus rules. Students would still be encouraged to debate and discuss the tenets of Christianity and Islam and Judaism and any other faith represented on campus, but for Bliss, Christianity would still be the foundation of SPC's identity. Bliss reiterated in many letters to David Stuart Dodge, the president of the Board of Trustees during his tenure, "It is our aim to permeate recitation room, dormitory and campus with the spirit of Christ" because only then would the students truly understand the holistic lessons to be learned from Christianity.²⁰ Most of the protesting students did return in the fall and, by so doing, agreed to fulfill the religious obligations designated by the administration.

However, as Howard Bliss predicted even as he reinstated the required religious elements in 1909, they did not last long. The tenets of liberal education had met up with a changing regional discussion about the role of religion in education; obligatory religious requirements were becoming obsolete. Within a few years, temporarily during World War I as mandated by the Ottoman government and permanently as of 1920, Christian religious study was no longer a requirement of students at AUB.

By the time Bayard Dodge took the reins of the University in 1923, Evangelical Protestantism had been replaced with a broad-based religious umbrella that focused on the teaching of moral conduct, honesty, and hard work rather than religious scripture. The new religious view was best defined by the motto of the West Hall Brotherhood under Laurens Seelye's tutelage in the 1920s: "the realm in which we share is vastly greater than that in which we differ."²¹ Through this new institution and its related activities, students and professors channeled their religious impetus into charitable work throughout local Lebanese communities in the 1920s and 1930s with such programs as the Ras Beirut Boys' School and the Village Welfare League (VWL). A contemporary analogy to these earlier programs is the current Ras Beirut Neighborhood Initiative that seeks to improve living conditions in the area so closely identified with AUB and its long history (see Myntti in this volume).

While these changes were taking place, during World War I, the SPC's administration found itself in the delicate position of being affiliated with a combatant in the war - the United States - while trying to function in an Ottoman Empire that was not at war officially with the US, but with all of its allies. While the College had to close for a few short days at the beginning of the war, it managed to reopen and conduct operations for the remainder of the conflict despite the geopolitical realities afflicting the College's home and adopted countries. Howard Bliss and the faculty worked strategically to keep the College open by extending aid to those suffering the famine of the war years in Lebanon and by working to present a neutral political front to Ottoman officials (see Brand in this volume).

The College came out of the war in dire financial straits, exacerbated by the fact that the change in name in 1920 to the American University of Beirut necessitated an infusion of funds for the transformation from a college to a university. From the first campaign in 1863, the SPC came into being and survived for decades with voluntary donations, in the early years supplied by families such as the Dodges and individual donors at churches. Daniel Bliss toured the northern American states in 1863 and raised about \$100,000 in the midst of the American Civil War. His diaries of that year are filled with exhaustive lists of the many churches and homes he visited on behalf of the new College he hoped to see built in Beirut as an outpost for American missionary work. In the end, with the American dollar devalued because of the war, he obtained the necessary start-up funds from donors in England who equally understood the value of his mission. From that day until the end of World War II, SPC and AUB functioned on donations coming from non-governmental entities, some from large organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, but many others from the small donors who had been so pivotal from the beginning. After the ravages of WWI, AUB worked with such institutions as Robert College and the Women's College in Istanbul to form the Near East College Association to raise money collectively for all the schools. With those funds, the University rebuilt its facilities and expanded to fulfill the new mission of AUB. This new configuration welcomed women undergraduate and graduate students, encouraged research by the faculty and students, improved the quality of the courses being offered, and expanded the topics taught in the classrooms - even allowing the theory of evolution to become a required element of study in the 1920s. The College truly became a university in the fullest definition of the term.

As part of the shift to a university, Acting President Edward Nickoley demanded of the Board of Trustees that the newly revamped University bring down the "color line" to Arab academic advancement.²² The Board followed this advice and, henceforth, Arab professors became full voting members in the Faculty Senate and could advance up the academic ranks through merit just as the American and European professors had always done. This change in policy ushered in professors such as Philip Hitti and Constantine Zurayk, who demanded that Arab history, culture, and literature become key elements of the curriculum, making the walls increasingly permeable to the events taking place across the region (see Seikaly in this volume). They were followed by Bulus Khauli, Anis Frayha, and Kamal Salibi, who spent extensive amounts of time affiliated with AUB. They mentored many students who passed through their classrooms while also writing some of the most important works on Arab history, literature, and nationalism (see Naufal, Holt, Kozah, and Abu Husayn in this volume). These professors infused the curriculum with Arab issues and achievements while simultaneously instilling in their students pride for their Arab heritage.

These students, in turn, used these ideas to protest on behalf of Arab causes throughout the twentieth century, with an especially active moment occurring after World War II when the international environment made the Middle East a central place in the Cold War brewing between the United States and the Soviet Union. An affiliated complication occurred when AUB received US government grants and aid for the first time in its history, coinciding with the ascension to the presidency of Stephen Penrose in 1948. On the positive side, US Point IV scholarships enabled many a student to study at AUB, and others continued their graduate education in the US with aid from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations and other such agencies. But with US global power accelerating in the post-war

period, students and faculty members also began to question the influence on decision-making at AUB that came along with that money. Before taking up his post at AUB, President Penrose had been a member of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), a precursor to the CIA, and in this volatile time, after the establishment of Israel in 1948, and with increasing American involvement in Middle Eastern politics in the 1950s, many students accused AUB of acting as an agent for imposing US policies on to the people of Lebanon and the region (see Schayegh, McGreevy, and Bertelsen in this volume). Between 1948 and 1955, groups of students repeatedly demonstrated against the establishment of Israel and the attempts by the US and Britain to bring Arab countries into pro-Western defense agreements like the Baghdad Pact.

While most of the protests in this era arose over these political events, students also used the opportunity to question the means by which the AUB administration defined the liberal education program. This new group of student activists expressed ideas not dissimilar to those of their predecessors in 1882 and 1909 when they called on the University's administration to allow the students to have a measure of authority over the curriculum and their religious freedom. For the post-WWII group, the conflict centered on the differing roles accorded them in terms of freedom of expression and freedom of action. The administration continued its support for freedom of expression as a core element of liberal education in the classroom, but penalized students for organizing political events on campus. The students declared that combining their educational and political lives on campus provided them with the skills necessary to be the Arab leaders AUB claimed to be producing. As an example, an editorial in *Outlook* in 1955, declared,

The words democracy, responsibility and freedom are common passwords or cliches [*sic*] on campus. We hear about them in lectures, in chapel talks and over the coffee tables at nearby cafes. Nevertheless, students have little chance of proving what they have so far learned . . .

It is the university's function to train us, its students and future spokesmen of our countries, to face the problems of everyday life. How can we do that when we are only here to attend lectures and take notes? How can we be the future liberators of our respective countries if we are not taught how to practice the basic important factors that lead to freedom from oppression?

Students should have the right to voice their own opinions in matters that concern them. They should be able to give the administration their own side of all their problems, for the way the faculty members and the way the students see these same affairs could differ greatly.

. . . We, the student body, are not puppets. We do not like to be drawn by strings which we have no right to control or even influence in any way. We think. That is why we are here. We have our own life to shape. That is what we have come to learn how to do. We have our own voice to express. That is what we hope to do.²³

By the late 1950s, student activism had by no means disappeared, as students protested on behalf of Algerian independence and the 1950 union of Egypt and Syria, but the number of such political activities diminished for a time. After the 1967 war, another era of student political activism erupted, fueled by the Arab loss in the war and by enthusiastic support for the Palestinian Fedayeen organizations fighting for independence for Palestine. At the same time, as in past eras, the students also demanded that they be given a measure of authority over their lives on campus. Starting in 1969, students held weekly "Speakers' Corner" sessions so they could express their opinions about the political events of the day; in both 1971 and 1974, students occupied buildings on campus in protest against the administrative decision to increase fees without any input from the Student Council.

To give some idea of the tenor of student demands in this era, an AUB "Strike Document" of November 30, 1971 summed up the critiques students lobbed against the AUB administration. "One of the fundamental values of human life is freedom – freedom to formulate convictions and moral principles; freedom to live by those convictions and principles; and of course, freedom from coercion [*sic*]."²⁴ The document ridiculed the rights that students actually held while on campus:

Last May, the majority of A.U.B. students discovered that their university allowed only certain "freedoms" to be expressed on campus namely:

1. freedom to be herded into irrelevant classes;
2. freedom to absorb information that would soon be forgotten, since it had no use in daily life;
3. freedom to agree to University rules and regulations, formed and enforced without the students [*sic*] prior knowledge.

In short, freedom to be silent.²⁵

In response to this critique, a number of students and professors established a "free university" on campus that taught students subjects ignored by the official catalogue, including "Revolutionary

Change,” “Che Guevara and the Third-World Revolution,” the “strategic needs of the Palestinian Revolution including everything from Hebrew to military strategy,” “Progressive and Marxist social thought to be offered in the Philosophy, Political Science, and Education Departments,” “Revolutionary Philosophy,” “Politics and Economics of Israel,” “History of Palestine,” “The Guitar – A Counterculture Workshop,” and “Analysis and Critique of AUB and the forms of Education Present.”²⁶

This era of student activism came to a close by 1975 when the Lebanese Civil War challenged the University as no other conflict had done over the many decades of its existence. At no time could SPC and AUB ignore the demands and dictates of the presiding government in Beirut – whether it was Ottoman, French, or Lebanese – as illustrated by the brief closure of the College at the beginning of WWI. In 1915, the Ottoman Governor General of Beirut and the Governor of Syria protested against the General Geography text used in classes on campus because it included, among other statements, the claim that “the Turkish government is the worst in Europe. The ruler, called the Sultan, is an absolute despot, who governs his people so badly that they are kept extremely ignorant and poor.”²⁷ In this instance, Professor William Hall, the Principal of the Preparatory School, had to leave the country as punishment for using the text on campus, but returned in 1919 after the College submitted a formal apology to the Ottoman government. In 1966, in a conflict between AUB and the independent Lebanese government, Professor John Spagnolo had to leave the country because of governmental opposition to the use of Thomas Aquinas’ writings in the Civilization Sequence Program (see Provence in this volume).

While certainly disadvantageous for the professors involved, these conflicts did not threaten the existence of SPC or AUB in any substantial ways. The governments demanded punishment for real and perceived transgressions, but did not require the dissolution of the institution. The Lebanese Civil War, however, presented complications unlike those of previous conflicts. Funding from the United States government dried up for a time, and in the breach the administration had to turn to the Lebanese government for aid. Many professors left the country; those who stayed struggled to teach not only their own subjects, but also the classes usually taught by the professors no longer in the country. Militia groups threatened professors, student enrollment dropped, and fighting broke out among all the warring parties throughout Ras Beirut. Forces in the civil war kidnapped at least eight members of the AUB community during the 1980s, and AUB President Malcolm Kerr was killed as he walked to his office in College Hall in 1984. When the war ended, AUB had to not only rebuild the destroyed College Hall, but also the curriculum, the faculty, the staff, and the trust and reputation that it had earned over the previous 120 years.

CONCLUSION

At the 150th anniversary of the institution, AUB can boast of the many accomplishments of its graduates and the thousands of faculty who have graced its classrooms. A telling piece of continuity is the rock-hard belief, reiterated in the 1990s, that rebuilding the University’s curricular programs after the end of the Civil War required that liberal education remain as the foundational element. For its efforts, AUB received accreditation by the Middle States Commission on Higher Education (MSCHE), reactivated the PhD degree that had been abolished during the Civil War, and increased enrollment and faculty hiring. Student activism has returned via the University Student Faculty Committee (USFC) and the many protests against fee increases and curriculum changes. The new buildings dotting campus are a testament to the respect alumni and other donors have regarding the high quality of the University’s programs. At the same time, the University, its staff, faculty, and students are still adapting to ever-changing conditions, and by doing so are constantly producing new histories. As a result, the sesquicentennial anniversary marks a moment of congratulations for the university’s illustrious legacy while also setting the stage for a new era in AUB’s history. The authors in this volume complicate and add on to the foundational history presented in this introduction; they illustrate how religious, educational, political, and personal stories have been integral and intertwined elements of an institution that has flourished in Beirut for 150 years.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Daniel Bliss to the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College, July 1867, *Annual Reports to the Board of Managers, Syrian Protestant College, 1866–1867–1901–1902*, 1. American University of Beirut/Library Archives. Hereafter AUB.
- ² Daniel Bliss to the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College, June 24, 1868, *Annual Reports to the Board of Managers, Syrian Protestant College, 1866–1867–1901–1902*, 2. AUB.
- ³ Daniel Bliss to the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College, June 27, 1871, *Annual Reports to the Board of Managers, Syrian Protestant College, 1866–1867–1901–1902*, 17. AUB.
- ⁴ Bliss, June 27, 1871, 17. AUB.
- ⁵ “Fact and Figures.” American University of Beirut. <http://www.aub.edu.lb/main/about/Pages/facts.aspx>, accessed July 16, 2014.
- ⁶ Peter F. Dorman, “Inauguration of Peter Dorman,” American University of Beirut, May 4, 2009, 5. http://staff.aub.edu.lb/~webinfo/public/inaug_dorman/dorman_speech.pdf, accessed September 26, 2009.
- ⁷ Daniel Bliss Diary 1866. Daniel Bliss Collection: AUB President 1866–1902, Box 12: Diaries and Autographs. AUB.
- ⁸ Daniel Bliss to the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College, June 27, 1872, *Annual Reports to the Board of Managers, Syrian Protestant College, 1866–1867–1901–1902*, 28. AUB.
- ⁹ Daniel Bliss, “Prospects and Program of the Syrian Protestant Collegiate Institute,” *A Few Reminiscences [connected with the beginnings of the Syrian Protestant College (now called the American University of Beirut)]*, 1861–1863. Series ABC76. Personal Papers. No date. Houghton Library/Harvard University. *Kitab al-madrasa al-kulliyah al-suriyah al-injiliyah*, 1871 [Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College 1871], 1. AUB.
- ¹⁰ Daniel Bliss to the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College, July 18, 1878, *Annual Reports to the Board of Managers, Syrian Protestant College, 1866–1867–1901–1902*, 44–45. AUB.
- ¹¹ Daniel Bliss Diary 1882. Daniel Bliss Collection: AUB President 1866–1902, Box 12: Diaries and Autographs. AUB.
- ¹² Daniel Bliss to Howard S. Bliss and William T. Bliss, February 28, 1883. Bliss Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 8: Outgoing Correspondence to Sons. Amherst College Archives and Special Collections.
- ¹³ See Shafik Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department and the First Student Protest in the Arab World in the Syrian Protestant College (Now the American University of Beirut)*, trans. Sally Kaya, ed. Helen Khal (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 2004).
- ¹⁴ Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882*, 66–67.
- ¹⁵ See Marwa Elshakry, “The Gospel of Science and American Evangelism in Late Ottoman Beirut,” *Past and Present* 196, no. 1 (August 2007): 173–214.
- ¹⁶ Howard Bliss, “Modern Missionary,” *The Atlantic Monthly* (May 1920), 673.
- ¹⁷ Bliss, “Modern Missionary,” 673.
- ¹⁸ Bliss, “Modern Missionary,” 673.
- ¹⁹ “The Beirut College and Islam,” *Lewa* (Egypt), January 24, 1909. Students 1900s, Box 1, File 15: Translation of articles appeared in various newspapers. AUB.
- ²⁰ Howard Bliss to David Stuart Dodge, May 26, 1905. Howard Bliss Collection: AUB President 1902–1920, Box 7, File 3: Correspondence from Howard Bliss to David Stuart Dodge, 1903–1904. AUB.
- ²¹ Stephen B. L. Penrose, Jr. *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut 1866–1941* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1970), 300.
- ²² Edward F. Nickoley to D.S. Dodge, August 1, 1920. Edward F. Nickoley Collection: Acting President 1920–1923, Box 2, File 2: Correspondence of Edward Nickoley to Howard Bliss and David S. Dodge. AUB.
- ²³ “We Want to Learn,” *Outlook*, vol. XII, no. 4 (November 19, 1955), 2. AUB.
- ²⁴ Nicely Student Council Action Committee, “An Appeal to the Silent Majority,” *Outlook*, vol. 28, no. 2 (November 30, 1971), 7. AUB.
- ²⁵ Nicely Student Council Action Committee, “An Appeal to the Silent Majority,” 7. AUB.
- ²⁶ “The Free University – What It Is,” *Outlook*, vol. 27, no. 7 (January 12, 1971), 6. The Free University Collective, “Sadeq Al-Azm’s Comeback: Free University Challenges AUB Educational Initiative,” *Outlook*, vol. 27, no. 8 (January 19, 1971), 9. AUB.
- ²⁷ Ralph S. Tarr and Frank M. McMurry, *Elementary Geography* (New York: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1907), 225; Howard Bliss, *Fiftieth Annual Report of the Syrian Protestant College, 1915–1916*, 15–16. AUB.

10

The American University of Beirut: A Case for Studying Universities in International Politics

Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen

INTRODUCTION: AUB AS A TRANSNATIONAL ACTOR WITH TRANSNATIONAL POWER

This chapter will consider the American University of Beirut (hereafter AUB) as a representative case study for examining the role of transnational universities in the field of international relations. From the perspective of international relations, one can discern important aspects of the University and its role in the relationship between the Middle East and the USA. This chapter will emphasize two such aspects of AUB: its role as a successful transnational actor and its transnational power. These two aspects are useful starting points for viewing the University as an actor in international politics, and can serve as a catalyst for further studies.

AUB is well known to students of the Middle East, in general, and students of the history of American societal relations with the Middle East since the 1860s, in particular. There exists a rich historical literature on AUB as an influential educational institution in the region and a bridge between Middle Eastern and American societies.¹ In recent years, with the War on Terror and intensified US engagement in the Middle East, there has been an increased policy interest in the soft power role of American education of Middle Easterners, both in the USA and in the region.² AUB plays a central part as one of the most prominent American universities in the Middle East, which former AUB President John Waterbury effectively captured when he noted that AUB graduates may “continue to resent US policies and criticize US leadership, but they want to import its institutional successes in governance, legal arrangements, and business organization.”³

This chapter argues that AUB and its fellow American overseas missionary-founded educational institutions and more recent American-associated universities in the Middle East have not received adequate attention from international relations scholarship. This omission is regrettable since universities can be important actors in international politics and should receive more attention as such, which they are just beginning to do.⁴

AUB, as a prominent and influential academic institution of the Middle East and a powerful conduit between Middle Eastern and American societies since the 1860s, presents a central case for studying the role of transnational universities in international relations. In this light, it is important to remember that AUB is not a unique case. American missionaries founded a number of institutions of higher education in the Middle East and Asia in the late 1800s and early 1900s. AUB is perhaps the best known today, but it is important to see AUB as one of several such cases. American missionary-founded universities in the Middle East and Asia have received considerable historical attention, but have not yet been compared across regions, and scholars in the field of international relations have not focused on this category of successful transnational actors. Since the 1990s, there has been a great expansion of private, transnational institutions of higher education in the Middle East and the Global South, driven by demand from large populations of young people wanting a Western-style education and the inability or unwillingness of states to satisfy this demand.⁵ AUB is a powerful regional role model for this process. A comparison between older and more recent institutions is also useful, but absent from the literature to date, which either examines the earlier cases in an historical light⁶ or the new institutions from an educational studies angle.⁷

Nye and Keohane, in their 1971 special issue of *International Organization* on transnational relations, presented a useful starting point for studying transnational actors, asserting that transnational actors are non-state actors engaged in “global interactions” of cross-border flows of information,

goods, money, and people.⁸ It is clear that many universities, in general, and AUB, in particular, are transnational actors that are deeply involved in such global interactions. Despite this, universities as transnational actors have been overlooked in international relations research. The strong transnational role of AUB and other similar institutions has been the basis of their soft power, and, therefore, should be examined as a basis for considering this power. Therefore, this chapter will outline the transnational relations of AUB in comparison with those of other similar American universities in the Middle East and China, as well as with the more recent American-associated private, transnational universities in the Middle East.

American missionaries established a number of universities in the Middle East in the late 1800s and early 1900s – Robert College in Istanbul (1863-1971), the Syrian Protestant College (1866; which became the American University of Beirut in 1920), the American University in Cairo (1919; hereafter AUC), and the Lebanese American University (with college roots back to 1924; hereafter LAU). American missionaries, at the same time, founded more than twenty institutions of higher education in China, Japan, and Korea – such as St. John’s University in Shanghai (1879), Yale-in-China in Changsha and Hunan (1901), and Yenching University in Beijing (1916). The American missionary-founded universities in China were nationalized during the Korean War, when the US government banned financial transfers to Mainland China.⁹ These early American missionary-founded universities will hereafter be referred to as “historical peers.”

AMERICAN HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY UNIVERSITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND CHINA AS TRANSNATIONAL ACTORS

Mapping of the historical and current transnational relations of AUB clearly shows that the University has, since its founding, been closely connected to private, public, and civil society sectors in America, Lebanon, and wider Middle Eastern society. Both the older American missionary-founded universities in the Middle East and China and the more recent private, transnational institutions of higher education can be seen as “information and resource bridges” between their American society of origin and their host society (see Figure 1).¹⁰

Information, ideas, and financial and human resources flow between societies through the university. The two-way direction of flow is important to note, as it is often overlooked when considering the (historically intended) flow of ideas from America to the host society. AUB and other such transnational universities connect with a range of academic, business, civil society, government, and other actors both in American society and in their host societies. These transnational relationships are key to understanding AUB and other such universities as transnational actors with transnational power.

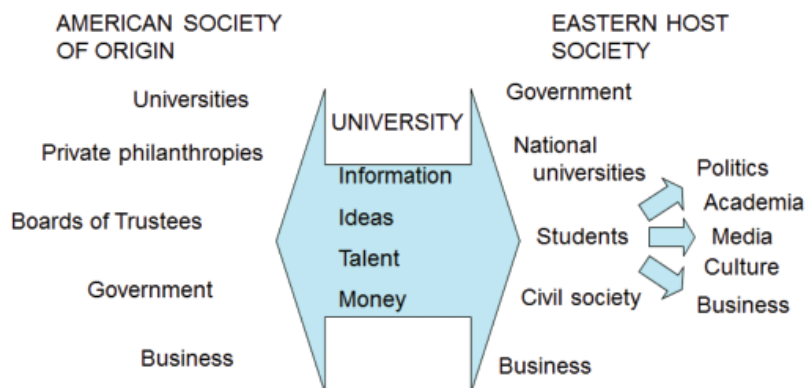


Fig. 1. The university as transnational actor (Reprinted with permission from “The University as a Transnational Actor with Transnational Power: American Missionary Universities in the Middle East and China,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 47, no. 3 (July 2014): 624–627, © American Political Science Association, published by Cambridge University Press)

The principal interlocutors in the host society, whether it be in the Middle East or Asia, are the students and their families. AUB has more than 58,059 alumni throughout Lebanese society, the region, the USA, and beyond.¹¹ An important legacy of some of the American missionary-founded universities in China is their alumni organizations, which have remained very active (together with some successor institutions in Taiwan).¹² Such alumni organizations are often well represented in politics, government, business, education, culture, the media, and other fields.

The historical missionary-founded universities equally have had a long relationship with their host states, which have, usually cautiously, accepted these institutions for their elite ties to American society and contributions to state-building and development. These universities have supplied and continue to supply key human capital for international and local businesses in their host societies and regions. However, there have been periods of tension. The Egyptian government considered nationalizing the American University in Cairo between the late 1950s and early 1970s, and sequestered the university during the Six Day War in 1967. When they were at war with Korea, neither the Peoples' Republic of China nor the USA tolerated the American missionary-founded universities in China as independent bicultural institutions.

The relations of AUB and its historical peers with their American society of origin have received less attention in the historical literature, but are – for the purposes of international relations research – at least as interesting. Comparing the relationships between these older missionary-founded universities and American society with those between more recently established universities and American society illustrates some of the interesting and important qualities of AUB and its historical peers.

We see clearly that AUB and its historical peers have had connections with leading American academic institutions. Throughout their histories, AUB and its historical peers have been able to recruit faculty and senior administrators from the foremost American universities. Illustrative examples are AUB presidents Malcolm Kerr (UCLA), John Waterbury (Princeton), and Peter Dorman (University of Chicago). The family histories of Kerr and Dorman, for instance, illustrate how academic human capital continues to move back and forth between AUB and American society. Similar stories can be told about the American missionary-founded universities in China. Missionary-founded universities have sent and continue to send graduates to top American universities for graduate study, at times laying the foundation for transnational careers between Eastern host societies and American society, as with Professor Philip Khuri Hitti at Princeton University.¹³

In contrast, we see more recent American-associated private universities in the Middle East that often have academic connections of varying quality and intensity with the USA. One sees the full range of educational caliber, from exceptionally well-funded branch campuses of prominent US universities (most prominently, Education City in Qatar and New York University in Abu Dhabi) to campuses of lower-ranked institutions (such as the New York Institute of Technology) to collaboration agreements of less-prominent US-based institutions with private institutions of higher education (such as, for instance, a number of private institutions of higher education in Oman). This comparison highlights the quality and intensity of the academic transnational relations of AUB and its historical peers both then and today.¹⁴

The same difference in quality and intensity of transnational relations is evident when comparing the boards of trustees of AUB and its historical peers with those of newcomer institutions. AUB and its historical peers, as private non-profit universities, have been and continue to be guided by their boards of trustees, usually based in New York. What stands out when looking at these boards is how AUB and its historical peers, since their establishment, have recruited American and, later, other social elites from academia, business, civil society, and government, worldwide, to their causes of education, research, development, and sometimes health care in the host society. The boards of trustees continue to raise substantial resources for these missions, and these boards clearly demonstrate how universities can bring together American and overseas elites. We do not see similar boards of trustees playing that role with the newer institutions.

AUB and its historical peers in the Middle East – AUB and LAU – continue to have relationships with the US government. All three lobby the US Congress for financial and political support. The US government temporarily supported AUB during World War II, and has significantly supported AUB and AUC ever since the 1950s, when the soft power and development aid value of these universities became clear. Presidents of American missionary-founded universities have become ambassadors to their host countries. Yenching University President John Leighton Stuart was the last US ambassador to Mainland China, and AUC President John Badeau represented the USA in Egypt in the early 1960s. The American missionary-founded universities in China did not survive into the 1950s to develop this same relationship with the US government and receive similar support. These relationships between the universities with missionary roots and the US government sets them apart from the newer private, transnational universities, which do not have such relationships with any of the branches of the US government.

As previously mentioned, AUB has for a long time had good relationships with American and other Western businesses, together with the other longstanding American universities in Beirut and Cairo. Their graduates have been and remain popular job candidates with American businesses for their cultural and linguistic skills combined with an American-style education, and American businesses

have supported AUB, as seen in the funding and recognition of the Bechtel Engineering Building. These long and deep relationships with leading American businesses distinguish the older universities with missionary roots from the newer private, transnational universities, whose industry relations are of varying intensity and quality.

THE SOFT POWER OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND CHINA

Policy attention is paid to the soft power of American higher education towards the Middle East (through both American universities in the Middle East and universities in the USA),¹⁵ including scholarly attention to foreign civilian and military students in the USA.¹⁶ The theoretical starting point for this inquiry is the work of Joseph Nye, who, while drawing on broader power debates in political science and international relations, formulated the concept of soft power. This concept captures desired behaviors by others that are caused by attraction or co-optation, rather than coercion or inducement. With this concept, Nye explains a significant part of the power of the USA. Furthermore, it is important to remember that other states, and especially non-state actors, can also hold soft power.¹⁷

When applying the concept of soft power, a couple of guidelines should be observed. First, it is important not to confuse soft power *resources* with soft power *outcomes* in terms of desired *behaviors*. There is an unfortunate tradition in debates on power to confuse resources with power: the one with the bigger economy, military, population, and so forth is considered more powerful. Here, the context of power is central. The Vietnam War, for example, reminds us that those who seem most powerful still may not be able to obtain the results they desire.¹⁸ Concerning soft power, there has been a tendency in the literature to focus on the resources of the state in terms of public diplomacy.¹⁹ Therefore, it is important to have a *behavior*-focused view of soft power: the ability to obtain a desired behavior by others through attraction and co-optation. It must be remembered that soft power is particularly dependent on the receiver.²⁰

It is equally important to recognize that states are not the only “players” with soft power; non-state actors can have soft power in their own rights. It is also important to keep in mind that non-state actors may be an important source of the soft power of state actors. Nye reminds us that Hollywood, Harvard, and Microsoft are all important sources of US soft power.²¹ Elsewhere, I have discussed the distinction between the *national* soft power of the state and the *university* soft power of, for instance, AUB. The interplay between university and national soft power is central for understanding the soft power of AUB and its role in US-Middle Eastern relations.²² Nye points to Arnold Wolfers’ distinction between “milieu” and “possession” goals as useful for looking at soft power, where “milieu” goals entail changing the environment for action, while “possession” goals are concrete policy outcomes. Soft power is often more successful at changing the environment (milieu goals) than achieving policy goals directly (possession goals).²³

Finally, it is important to pay attention to how we talk about soft power. Such wordings as “wielding” or “exercising” soft power “over” somebody are problematic in light of the importance of the context of power, in general, and the dependence of soft power on the receivers, in particular. Therefore, I propose to talk about “holding or having” soft power “with” somebody.²⁴ Research on the soft power of transnational universities – where AUB is a crucial case – indicates that such universities hold substantial soft power in their own right and contribute to the national soft power of their states of origin as well as of the host states.²⁵

Finally, Nye writes about the shift from zero-sum power *over* others (to coerce them to do something against their will) to positive-sum power *with* others to solve common transnational problems. This development from power *over* to power *with* is important for understanding a world where power is shifting from Western states to, in particular, Asian states and also increasingly from states to non-state actors. The chaotic transnational challenges of climate change, crime, pandemics, economic crises, and so forth are increasingly important.²⁶ The role of universities, in general, and of AUB, in particular, for cooperative power *with* other organizations may be the next step in research on the role of universities in international relations, which is touched upon at the conclusion of this chapter.

AUB, its historical peers, and the more recent transnational private universities represent central cases for addressing questions of the multidirectional and multifaceted power of transnational actors. AUB and its historical peers, in particular, but also some of the recent transnational private universities, have rich and intense relationships with a broad range of influential public, private, and civil society actors both in host societies and in America. Focusing on AUB and other transnational private universities is useful for discussing such important questions as: What power do transnational actors hold in relation to various state and non-state actors, and what is the basis for that power? How do a university’s relations with the state and public policy affect the power of transnational actors?

Do transnational actors contribute to state power? Can states pursue power through transnational actors?²⁷ These are questions that will be analyzed here with a focus on AUB and, to a lesser degree, its historical peers and the more recent American-associated universities in the Middle East.

The importance of a behavior-based approach to power has been previously mentioned. Here we will consider how AUB, its historical peers, and now also other transnational universities elicit desired behaviors from public, private, and civil society interlocutors both in their host societies and in American society. Such desired behavior, or university soft power, might include the acceptance of a university's mission of proselytizing (as presumably occurred in the past) or of providing a secular education (as occurred later), and other moral, financial, and political issues in support of the universities. The opposite of university soft power would be the rejection of the universities or attacks on them.²⁸

The main host society interlocutors of AUB and the other universities continue to be the *students and their families*. So what was originally the desired behavior from the students? Was it realized, and why or why not? AUB, together with its historical peers, was founded with a proselytizing aim, a soft power mission of attracting locals to American Protestantism and training local leaders to carry on that mission; however, that mission failed. Islam and local Christian sects in the Middle East rejected conversion, and proselytizing also proved unsuccessful in China. Middle Eastern youths protested the obligatory Bible classes and religious services at SPC/AUB until the Ottoman Empire put an end to them during World War I. In China, the Christian colleges often had to pay the full expenses of education, including travel costs, in order to attract local students.²⁹

Nevertheless, local youths did continue to attend these missionary-founded universities despite rejecting their proselytizing; so what was it that attracted these youths? The answer then and now is simple: educational quality resulting in improved opportunities in life, and respectful bicultural encounters. Visionary missionaries understood this attraction, and the Chinese Christian colleges came to understand that a major source of attraction was English-language education creating work opportunities in foreign trade and concessions. This understanding and the failed mission of conversion led to a transition on the part of the universities during the late 1800s and early 1900s to secular missions of academic excellence, which also paralleled the secularization of private Protestant colleges in the USA. A second important basis for university soft power was respectful bicultural encounters. The respect, admiration, and popularity AUB enjoyed and continues to enjoy in the Middle East are based on the University being perceived as an Arab-American institution – a more Arab than Lebanese institution with predominantly Arab students, faculty, and staff, which has contributed to pan-Arabism through such intellectuals as Constantine Zurayk. It was not a predatory American intrusion, but rather a great liberal university, respectful of Arab politics and culture, which contributed much to Arab state-building. Likewise, for instance, Yenching University in Beijing grew much in Chinese respect in the 1920s with its emphasis on Chinese culture, language, and studies, and in establishing the Harvard-Yenching Institute for Chinese studies with centers at both Harvard and Yenching.³⁰

The USA became an extremely influential power in the Middle East after World War II, although its support for Israel became a major liability for both the USA and American universities in the region. Students at AUB clearly rejected US Middle East policy, despite the fact that Palestinian students were attracted to AUB for its educational excellence and such values as academic freedom. Western foreign policy was equally a liability for the American missionary-founded universities in China even earlier because of unequal treaties with China and discrimination against China in the Versailles Treaty after World War I. The mistreatment of China by the West and by Japan led to much nationalist political activism on American campuses in China. In summary, for the American missionary-founded universities in both the Middle East and China, originally Protestant proselytizing and later American foreign policy were serious liabilities, while their attraction was and is still based on their quality of education and the improved opportunities in life. The recent American-associated private universities in the Middle East naturally have no associated Christian mission. Impressions from these universities suggest that there, too, US foreign policy is rejected, and the source of attraction is educational quality and job opportunities for young people in difficult labor markets.³¹

AUB and its historical peers have been cautiously accepted by their host states, while the more recently established American-associated private universities have been encouraged by their host states. The relationships between these universities and their host states (and with the US government, as discussed below) show the importance of state political will and decisions for the operation of these transnational actors.³² For one hundred and fifty years, SPC/AUB has operated under the Ottoman Empire, French mandate rule, and an independent Lebanon. The first serious test of acceptance of SPC/AUB by its host state was World War I, when the Ottoman Empire allowed SPC/AUB to continue operating (although ending its compulsory religious services) because of its

loyal service in supplying medical teams to the Ottoman army fighting in Palestine, as well as the US government's decision not to declare war on the Ottoman Empire.³³ Under the French Mandate and later, AUB degrees were not fully recognized by the state, in contrast to those from the Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth.³⁴ Since the Egyptian revolution in 1952, AUC has been able to operate within a stronger state than AUB in an independent Lebanon. The Egyptian state first seriously considered nationalizing AUC in 1958 with Law 160, intended to Arabize education. At that time, AUC's administration made it clear to President Nasser that it was up to him whether AUC would continue to exist or not since the application of Law 160 would mean its demise. Therefore, President Nasser exempted AUC from Law 160 in order to preserve the university as a bridge to the USA. During the Six Day War in 1967, the Egyptian government sequestered AUC under former Minister of Higher Education Dr. Hussein Said, who averted a mob attack on the AUC campuses by convincing the populace that AUC was under Egyptian control and belonged to Egypt, and that only educated Egyptians and Egypt would suffer from its being damaged. President Nasser was encouraged by his advisors and the media to nationalize AUC, and turned to Dr. Said for his opinion. Dr. Said advised President Nasser at length that AUC supplied Egypt with an alternative university system at no expense and provided educated graduates with valuable English skills.³⁵ On these two occasions, Dr. Said outlined many of the values that make AUC and its peers attractive to their host states in the Middle East and China: elite relations with the USA and contributions to human capital, socio-economic development, and health care.

This research on AUB, its historical peers in the Middle East and China, and recent transnational private universities in the Middle East has revealed a hitherto overlooked part of the transnational power of these universities, *reverse* university soft power.³⁶ AUB and its historical peers and, to varying degrees, the more recently established universities have built strong, rich transnational relations with private, public, and civil society actors in American society. AUB and its peers continue to attract *desired behaviors* from these American parties in the form of academic, financial, and political support. This is what we term *reverse* soft power: when a transnational actor established in a foreign host society for soft power purposes develops soft power in its society of origin. Reverse soft power on the part of the missionaries was unintended, but their bridge-building role became increasingly important over time. Reverse soft power with American private, public, and civil society actors is based on academic excellence as the soft power in the host society.

AUB and its peers in the Middle East and China built strong relations with leading American academic institutions based on their academic focus and excellence. These American missionary-founded universities attracted faculty and administrators and exported graduates for graduate studies, sometimes founding transnational careers. Human talent, and research and publication activities by overseas universities have influenced Middle East and China scholarship in the USA. Today, prominent branch campuses and local affiliated universities in the Middle East attract academic attention from prominent institutions in the US, often based on host state wealth from oil and gas resources. An important part of the reverse soft power of American missionary-founded universities in the USA continues to be through philanthropy, civil society, and boards of trustees. These universities were founded with philanthropic missionary support. Moreover, with secularization, they have attracted much coveted foundational philanthropic support from the Rockefeller, Ford, Carnegie, and other foundations, which demonstrates their reverse university soft power based on their ability to implement the educational, research, development, and health care goals of the foundations.

AUB AND AMERICAN-ASSOCIATED OVERSEAS UNIVERSITIES AND THE US GOVERNMENT

The soft power relationship with the US government is central for discussing the power of transnational actors and how they interact with the state and its power. We have seen how AUB and its historical peers have had and continue to have significant soft power in their host societies concerning milieu goals of informing host societies about American society, building elite networks, and attracting local elites to norms, skills, and values. AUB and its historical peers have attracted various members of their host societies to such American liberal arts norms as individualism, critical thinking, academic freedom, gender equality, and religious tolerance. These universities have familiarized future elites with American educational traditions, equipped them with professional English skills, and built connections to American academic, business, civil society, and government elites. The universities have not been able to create an acceptance of US China or Middle East policy, which was never a university or US government goal. It is clear how AUB and its historical peers – and to lesser extent, recently established universities – contribute to the soft power of American society in terms of making its education, culture, language, and institutions more attractive, as conveyed by John Waterbury's comment, cited at the beginning of this chapter. These contributions of AUB and its peers

in the Middle East and China to US national soft power must be emphasized. AUB and its historical peers were never an intentional expression or tool of US soft power, nor did the US government wield or exercise soft power through these institutions. US foreign policy, whether in China or later the Middle East, was a clear liability for these universities; their soft power existed *despite* US foreign policy.

Since the 1950s, the US government has supported AUB, AUC, and LAU for soft power and development policy reasons. It continues to believe that AUB and its peers have a unique position and reputation in the Middle East, which would be extremely difficult to replace if lost. AUB and its Middle Eastern peers continue to lobby the US Congress for financial support. This support is a reflection of their reverse soft power with the US government, where the executive branch sometimes chafes under congressional instructions to support these universities when it prefers flexibility to support local institutions for development aims. University reverse soft power with the US government and US educational soft power policy in the Middle East are intertwined and not contradictory. The academic quality of AUB, AUC, and LAU, which gives them reverse soft power in Washington, makes it possible for the USA to reach future elites and attract them to liberal norms.³⁷

CONCLUSION: AUB AND STUDYING UNIVERSITIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

AUB represents a prime example for the study of the role of universities in international politics, along with other American missionary-founded universities in the Middle East and China, and with the more recent American-associated private universities in the Middle East. Universities have been an overlooked group of actors in international politics, despite the fact that many universities have been and remain deeply involved in Nye and Keohane's "global interactions" of moving information, people, and money between societies. A careful study of the history of AUB, its historical peers, and the recently established American-associated universities shows that AUB, in particular, and its historical peers remain exceptional transnational actors, and "information and resource bridges" between Middle Eastern, Chinese, and American societies: conduits for information, ideas, talent, and financial resources moving in both directions. Looking at the American universities with missionary roots in the Middle East and China and the more recently established American-associated private universities in the Middle East reveals a pattern whereby the older universities tend to have stronger transnational relations with American academia, business, civil society, and government than many of the more recent universities.

The strong relations that have existed and continue to exist between these universities and their students and students' families and host societies and states, as well as with academia, business, civil society, and government in the USA, is also the basis of their soft power. AUB and its peers failed at their original proselytizing soft power goal. When they readjusted their missions to focus on secular academic excellence and bridge building, they proved very successful in attracting local and regional youths seeking educational excellence, improved life chances, and respectful bicultural encounters. The universities have contributed to Wolfers' "milieu" goals of attracting local future elites to the American liberal arts norms of critical thinking, individualism, academic freedom, gender equality, and religious tolerance, and have made American education, culture, and institutions more attractive to these elites. However, it is important to note that these universities have never contributed to a "possession" goal of acceptance of US China or Middle East policy, which was also never a US government goal. The universities continue to hold soft power in their own right, and they have contributed to the national soft power of the USA, although they have never been an extension of US soft power. The universities' soft power existed *despite* US foreign policy in China and later the Middle East. How AUB and its peers have attracted academic, financial, and political support from American private, public, and civil society actors illustrates the concept of *reverse* soft power, which has hitherto been overlooked.

Nye, in his writings on power, emphasizes the difference between zero-sum power *over* others as opposed to positive-sum power *with* others to solve complex transnational challenges.³⁸ Universities, by moving ideas, information, talent, and money between societies, may contribute to power *with* others by creating epistemic communities, knowledge, and cultures of cooperation. The next step in looking at universities in international politics could well be whether universities contribute to the power *with* others of societies around the world. Top global universities play a role in addressing important global challenges, but what is the distribution of such power between American society and other societies linked with these universities through brain drain or circulation, collaboration, or otherwise? Have AUB and its historical and modern peers contributed to the power of Middle Eastern and Chinese societies to address local or transnational challenges *with* American society? What has been the distribution of such power in those relationships? These could be important future questions concerning AUB and other 'transnational' universities in international politics.

¹ Ussama Makdisi, "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity," *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (1997): 680–713; Ussama Samir Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 262; Lawrence R. Murphy, *The American University in Cairo, 1919–1987* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1987), 288; Munir Antonios Bashshur, "The Role of Two Western Universities in the National Life of Lebanon and the Middle East: A Comparative Study of the American University of Beirut and the University of Saint-Joseph" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1964); Carleton S. Coon, jr., *Daniel Bliss and the Founding of the American University of Beirut* (Washington DC: Middle East Institute, 1989), 87; Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut; a Brief History of the University and the Lands which it Serves* (Beirut: Khayat's, 1958), 127; Faith M. Hanna, *An American Mission: The Role of the American University of Beirut* (Boston: Alphabet Press, 1979), 123; Nadim G. Khalaf, *The Economics of the American University of Beirut: A Study of a Private University in the Developing World* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1977), 99; John Murchison Munro, *A Mutual Concern: The Story of the American University of Beirut* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1977), 198; Stephen Beasley Linnard Penrose, *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut, 1866–1941* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1970), 347; Alisa Rubin Peled, *Adaptation, Ideals, Vision and Deals: The Rise of American Higher Education in the Arab World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Betty Signe Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 254.

² Joseph S. Nye, jr. and William A. Owens, "America's Information Edge," *Foreign Affairs* 75 (1996): 20–36; Joseph S. Nye, jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, 1st ed. (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 191; Condoleezza Rice, "Remarks at the U.S. University Presidents Summit on International Education Dinner. Washington DC," <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/58750.htm>, accessed 22 November 2006, now <http://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/58750.htm>; US White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2006); Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Smart Power in the Obama Administration: The Role of International Education and Exchange*. Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2009.

³ John Waterbury, "A President's Beirut Diary," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 8 September 2006.

⁴ Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen, "Private Foreign-Affiliated Universities, the State and Soft Power: The American University of Beirut and the American University in Cairo," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 3 (2012): 293–311; Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen, "American Missionary Universities in China and the Middle East and American Philanthropy: Interacting Soft Power of Transnational Actors," *Global Society* 28, no. 1 (Special Issue: American Philanthropy and the Hard, Smart and Soft Power of the United States) (2014): 113–127; Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen, "The University as a Transnational Actor with Transnational Power: American Missionary Universities in the Middle East and China," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47, no. 3 (July 2014): 624–627; Isaac Kamola and Neema Noori, "Higher Education and World Politics," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47, no. 3 (July 2014): 599–603; Isaac Kamola, "The African University as 'Global' University," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47, no. 3 (July 2014): 604–607; Neema Noori, "Does Academic Freedom Globalize? The Diffusion of the American Model of Education to the Middle East and Academic Freedom," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47, no. 3 (July 2014): 608–611; Martina Vukasovic, "Universities and Public Contestation during Social and Political Crises: Belgrade University in the 1990s," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47, no. 3 (July 2014): 616–619; Meng-Hsuan Chou, "The 'Republic of Research Administrators' in Europe: How to Get the Researchers Moving," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47, no. 3 (July 2014): 612–615; J. Salvador Peralta and Thiago Pezzuto Pacheco, "Resisting 'Progress': The New Left and Higher Education in Latin America," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47, no. 3 (July 2014): 620–623.

⁵ Philip G. Altbach and Daniel Levy, eds., *Private Higher Education: A Global Revolution* (Rotterdam and Taipei: Sense Publishers, 2005); Salma A. al-Lamki, "The Development of Private Higher Education in the Sultanate of Oman: Perception and Analysis," *International Journal of Private Education* 1 (2006): 54–77.

⁶ Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut; an Introduction to Beirut and the University* (Princeton, NJ: np, 1952), 117; Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut; a Brief History of the University and the Lands which it Serves*, 127; Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats – the American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890–1952* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958); Bashshur, "The Role of Two Western Universities in the National Life of Lebanon and the Middle East"; Jessie Gregory Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges 1859–1950* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1971); Philip West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916–1952* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976); Munro, *A Mutual Concern*, 198; Hanna, *An American Mission*, 123; Murphy, *The American University in Cairo, 1919–1987*, 288; Coon, *Daniel Bliss and the Founding of the American University of Beirut*, 87; Makdisi, "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible," 680–713; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 262; Peter Tze Ming Ng, Philip Yuen Sang Leung, Edward Yi Hua Xu, and Jing Huan Shi, *Changing Paradigms of Christian Higher Education in China, 1888–1950* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 237; Yihua Xu, "St. John's University, Shanghai, as an Evangelising Agency," *Studies in World Christianity* 12, no. 1 (2006): 23–49; Paul Daniel Waite and Peichi Tung Waite, "China's Christian Colleges and the Founding of the Harvard-Yenching Institute," in *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900–1950*, eds. Daniel H. Bays and Ellen Widmer (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 241–266; Dong Wang, "From Lingnan to Pomona: Charles K. Edmunds and His Chinese American Career," in *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900–1950*, 173–188; Ellen Widmer, "The Seven Sisters and China, 1900–1950," in *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900–1950*, 83–101; Edward Yihua Xu, "Liberal Arts Education in English and Campus Culture at St. John's University," in *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900–1950*, 107–124; Anderson, *The American University of Beirut*, 254.

⁷ Salma A. al-Lamki, "The Development of Private Higher Education in the Sultanate of Oman: 54–77; Jason E. Lane, *International Branch Campuses, Free Zones, and Quality Assurance: Policy Issues for Dubai and the UAE* (Dubai: Dubai School of Government, 2010); Philip G. Altbach and Daniel Levy, eds., *Private Higher Education*; Philip G. Altbach, ed., *Private Prometheus: Private Higher Education and Development in the 21st Century*, Contributions to the Study of Education vol. 77 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 237; Imad Muhammad al-Atiqi, Asad Abdelaziz al-Rashed, and Farida Muhammad Ali, "The Contribution of Private Universities in Higher Education Equity in Kuwait," in *Towards an Arab Higher Education Space: International Challenges and Societal Responsibilities*, Proceedings of the Arab Regional Conference on Higher Education, Cairo, 31 May–2 June, 2009 (Beirut: United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2010); Michael Barber, Mona Mourshed, and Fenton Whelan, "Improving Education in the Gulf," *The McKinsey Quarterly*, Special edition: Reappraising the Gulf States (2007): 39–47; Christopher Davidson and Peter Mackenzie Smith, eds., *Higher Education in the Gulf States: Shaping Economies, Politics and Cultures* (London: al-Saqi Books in association with The London Middle East Institute at SOAS, 2008), 192; Kathryn Kleypas and James McDougall, eds., *The American-Style University at Large: Transplants, Outposts, and the Globalization of Higher Education* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2012), 326; John Willoughby, *Let a Thousand Models Bloom: Forging Alliances with Western Universities and the Making of the New Higher Educational System in the Gulf* (Washington, DC: American University, 2008); World Bank, *The Road Not Travelled: Education Reform in the Middle East* (Washington DC, 2008).

- ⁸ Joseph S. Nye, jr. and Robert O. Keohane, "Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction," *International Organization* 25, no. 3 (summer 1971; special edition): 329–349, reprinted as *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971): xi–xvi.
- ⁹ Jessie Gregory Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges 1859–1950*; West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916–1952*.
- ¹⁰ Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen, *American- and French-Affiliated Universities in the Middle East as "Information and Resource Bridges" to the West* (Cambridge, MA: The Dubai Initiative, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School of Government, 2009); Bertelsen, *Private Foreign-Affiliated Universities, the State and Soft Power: The American University of Beirut and the American University in Cairo*, 293–311; Bertelsen, *American Missionary Universities in China and the Middle East and American Philanthropy*, 113–127.
- ¹¹ American University of Beirut, "Facts and Figures," <http://www.aub.edu.lb/main/about/Pages/facts.aspx>, accessed 26 July 2014.
- ¹² St. John's University (Shanghai) Alumni Association, "St. John's University (Shanghai) Alumni Association Global Service Net," <http://www.sjuaa.org/index.htm>, accessed 31 May 2010.
- ¹³ John R. Starkey, "A Talk with Philip Hitti," *Saudi Aramco World*, July/August, 1971, 23.
- ¹⁴ Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen, "The Effect of Public and Private Decisions on University Governance on the Transnational Relations of American-Associated Universities in the Middle East," *Revue Des Mondes Musulmans Et De La Méditerranée* 131, no. 1 (2012): 45–62.
- ¹⁵ Nye and Owens, *America's Information Edge*, 20–36; Nye, *Soft Power*, 191; Rice, *Remarks at the U.S. University Presidents Summit on International Education Dinner*. Washington DC; US White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*; Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Smart Power in the Obama Administration: The Role of International Education and Exchange*.
- ¹⁶ Elmo C. Wilson and Frank Bonilla, "Evaluating Exchange of Persons Programs," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (1955): 20–30; Jeanne Watson and Ronald Lippitt, "Cross-Cultural Experience as a Source of Attitude Change," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2, no. 1, Studies on Attitudes and Communication (March, 1958): 61–66, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/172845>, accessed 23 December 2015; Claire Sellitz, June R. Christ, Joan Havel, and Stuart W. Cook, *Attitudes and Social Relations of Foreign Students in the United States* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), 434; Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 249; Philip G. Altbach and Patti McGill Peterson, "Higher Education as a Projection of America's Soft Power," in *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and National Assets of Japan and the United States*, eds. Yasushi Watanabe and David L. McConnell (Armonk, NY; London: M.E. Sharpe, 2008), 37–53; Carol Atkinson, "Does Soft Power Matter? A Comparative Analysis of Student Exchange Programs 1980–2006," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 6, no. 1 (2010): 1–22.
- ¹⁷ Nye, *Soft Power*, 191.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*; David Baldwin, "Power Analysis and World Politics: New Trends Versus Old Tendencies," *World Politics* 31, no. 2 (1979): 161–194.
- ¹⁹ Examples are, for instance, Carnes Lord, *Losing Hearts and Minds? Public Diplomacy and Strategic Influence in the Age of Terror* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006), 139; William A. Rugh, *American Encounters with Arabs: The "Soft Power" of U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Middle East* (Westport, CT: Praeger International Security, 2006), 211.
- ²⁰ Nye, *Soft Power*, 191.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² Bertelsen, *Private Foreign-Affiliated Universities, the State and Soft Power: The American University of Beirut and the American University in Cairo*, 293–311; Bertelsen, *American Missionary Universities in China and the Middle East and American Philanthropy*, 113–127.
- ²³ Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962); Nye, *Soft Power*, 191; See also Jan Melissen, "The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice," in *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, ed. Jan Melissen (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 3–27.
- ²⁴ Bertelsen, *Private Foreign-Affiliated Universities, the State and Soft Power*, 293–311; Bertelsen, *American Missionary Universities in China and the Middle East and American Philanthropy*, 113–127.
- ²⁵ Bertelsen, *Private Foreign-Affiliated Universities, the State and Soft Power*, 293–311; Bertelsen, *American Missionary Universities in China and the Middle East and American Philanthropy*, 113–127; Bertelsen, *The University as a Transnational Actor with Transnational Power*, 624–627.
- ²⁶ Joseph S. Nye, jr., *The Future of Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011), 300.
- ²⁷ Bertelsen, *Private Foreign-Affiliated Universities, the State and Soft Power*, 293–311.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ Philip G. Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges 1859–1950*; West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916–1952*; Murphy, *The American University in Cairo, 1919–1987*, 288; Makdisi, "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible," 680–713; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 262.
- ³⁰ Murphy, *The American University in Cairo, 1919–1987*, 288; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 262; Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges 1859–1950*; West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916–1952*; Munro, *A Mutual Concern*, 198; Makdisi, "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible," 680–713; Anderson, *The American University of Beirut*, 254.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² Bertelsen, *Private Foreign-Affiliated Universities, the State and Soft Power: The American University of Beirut and the American University in Cairo*, 293–311; Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen, "The Political Context for Transnational Actor Soft Power: Classical American Overseas Missionary Universities and the State," in *China and the World: Theatres of soft power*, edited by Naren Chitty and Luo Qing (Beijing: Communication University of China Press, 2015).
- ³³ Dodge, *The American University of Beirut; a Brief History of the University and the Lands which it Serves*, 127; Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 347; Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 262.
- ³⁴ Bashshur, "The Role of Two Western Universities in the National Life of Lebanon and the Middle East."
- ³⁵ Murphy, *The American University in Cairo, 1919–1987*, 288.

Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen

³⁶ Bertelsen, *Private Foreign-Affiliated Universities, the State and Soft Power: The American University of Beirut and the American University in Cairo*, 293–311; Bertelsen, *American Missionary Universities in China and the Middle East and American Philanthropy*, 113–127; Bertelsen, “The University as a Transnational Actor with Transnational Power,” 624–627.

³⁷ Bertelsen, *Private Foreign-Affiliated Universities, the State and Soft Power: The American University of Beirut and the American University in Cairo*, 293–311.

³⁸ Nye, *The Future of Power*, 300.

Conclusion





Reflections on Writing AUB History in a Global Age

Aleksandra Kobiljski and Cyrus Schayegh

The purpose of this concluding chapter is to further reflect on the 150th anniversary of the American University of Beirut (AUB). We do not propose a lordly *How to (Better) Write AUB History* manual, but wish to highlight how what we already know about AUB may allow us to see this fascinating institution in new ways.

The chapter has two parts. The first, by Aleksandra Kobiljski, deals mainly with the pre-World War II era, while the second, by Cyrus Schayegh, essentially treats the post-World War II period.¹ Both parts revolve around and are joined by two questions: what is *One Hundred and Fifty* a history of, and what were broader spatial contexts in which AUB has operated as a convergence point? The chapter ends with a joint conclusion.

GENESIS AND THE EARLY AUB: A COLLEGE IN AND OF BEIRUT

It is difficult to overestimate the scholarly importance of an institution in the Middle East whose archives survived two world wars, the dissolution of an empire, colonization, decolonization, a civil war, an occupation, and much more in-between. In that sense, it has a precious institutional memory. In a metaphorical as well as a practical sense, the University and its students were *there* – actors, not just observers – at the birth of the Iraqi, Lebanese, and Syrian states, to name a few. Yet the question is not rhetorical and, perhaps because of institutional longevity, the answer is not obvious, as a close reading of this volume reveals.

As A. Tylor Brand shows in his contribution, the relief efforts of the AUB community during World War I were not part of the College's mandate, but were inextricably connected to it. The *College* did not engage in aid work, but *members* of the College community – students, teachers, staff members, and their families – were deeply involved. If the relief work was not the doing of the College *stricto sensu*, are these efforts then, part of AUB history? If so much of its constituency was involved in various relief projects, devoting their time and energies, how can it not be part of it? What does the officially non-existent, but de facto considerable implication of the College in World War I relief work say about the nature of the institution under study?

George Saliba's contribution to this volume is another example of how important it is to question what makes a history of a university. He reminds us that AUB's engagement with Arabic and Islamic sciences both *predates* the birth of the University and maps poorly onto the official history of AUB. For example, Cornelius Van Dyck was instrumental in fostering Arabic scientific culture through his science textbook writing in Arabic, a work that started two decades before AUB came into existence and Van Dyck joined its faculty. In the second half of the twentieth century, Edward Stuart Kennedy became a key figure in the chain of events that changed scholarly understanding of the relationship between Islamic and European science, but most of it, technically, did not happen on campus. Saliba reminds us that the famous "1970 seminar" took place within AUB walls, but was completely informal and a matter of contingency. At the time, it was practically invisible to the AUB administrators and would have remained so to the historians were it not for Saliba's precious testimony in this volume. Saliba's two examples – Van Dyck and Kennedy – raise another important question: If the history of the institution's engagement with a particular discipline predates the institution itself, what are the implications for the delimitation of the object of study? If campus is a point of convergence neither orchestrated nor even visible to the administration itself, how does one place it in that institution's history?

By making these questions evident, both Brand and Saliba put their fingers on a gray zone of the institutional margin and historical serendipity. That their two contributions found their way to the volume is not due to courtesy or editorial laxity in policing the border between “the main” and “the auxiliary” story. Rather, it is an invitation to rethink the relationship between the two. If episodes and initiatives of historical importance take shape unplanned, informally, and through a temporary convergence of actors and resources, do they simply add flavor to an institutional history, or do they change the very definition of the institution in question? Further examples abound in this volume, leading us to see AUB not simply as an educational institution bound by the campus walls and framed by the city that hosts it, but as a one of the points where different and far-flung intellectual universes come together.

With regard to the early history of AUB and using Saliba’s metaphor, the importance of what was initially or ostensibly marginal can hardly be underestimated. As Samir Khalaf aptly reminds us, much of what came to be seen as the accomplishments of nineteenth-century Protestant envoys to Ottoman Syria were largely unintended consequences and accidents of history. ABCFM commissioners were not sent or paid to start opening common schools across Mount Lebanon. And yet, since the 1830s, this is what many of them endeavored to do against Boston’s advice or under its radar. Hence, the constant talk of schools in missionary reports and correspondence was in large part a function of having to constantly justify spending time and money on teaching reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic; the brethren in New England were expecting them to plant native churches and move on. It is difficult to overemphasize the extent to which those ostensibly auxiliary missionary activities became an important part of the personal project and identity of some of the American missionaries involved with the early AUB. Teaching, it turns out, came to be their most lasting legacy in the region.² The establishment of AUB is one such example of an auxiliary outgrowing the main mission. The idea of establishing a college was considered as evil by Rufus Anderson, immediate supervisor of all overseas missionaries – including Bliss, Van Dyck, and Thomson. Hence, rather than smoothing over what now seems as embarrassing episodes and tensions between different visions of what constituted appropriate missionary work and of which AUB early history is made, it is potentially more fruitful to consider those tensions more closely as it would be likely to yield precious historical understanding of the process by which, in a space of two decades, AUB (and, to an extent, Robert College) went from an inappropriate idea for a missionary, – requiring Bliss (and Cyrus Hamlin) to leave the mission in order to pursue it – to becoming the showcase of Christian work in the Middle East. The nuancing of the story of what exactly was missionary and American in the genesis of AUB can also contribute to restoring non-missionary actors and voices to this story.

The second question concerns the idea of AUB as a point of convergence and contestation the unraveling of which continually redefines the campus and the University. A number of papers in this volume speak to the different ways various networks came together on campus and had a bearing on AUB’s articulation of its own identity in an ever-shifting geo-political context. Most of the contributions in this volume dealing with the convergence of global networks pertain to the post-World War II period. Yet from its very inception, AUB’s history was marked by its entry into various global networks. How quickly global influences can trump local exigencies is obvious from the speed with which the idea of an Arab president of the AUB was dropped in 1861 while the plan was still in its early months. In addition, the metropolitan networks were not the only global networks of reform ideas in the nineteenth-century. As Kobiljski has shown elsewhere, a new kind of college to educate youth for modern times was a need felt acutely from Tokyo to Beirut.³

In this volume, Kobiljski contributes an example from the 1860s; after being vetted by the Anglo-American philanthropic circles, the original idea of an Arab president for the AUB was quickly dropped while the original fundraising target was increased five-fold, going from a missionary request of \$20,000 in 1862 to \$100,000 prescribed by the donors the following year. Another shift, discreet and longer in the making, was to abandon a uniform hiring and promotion policy for Arab and American faculty. This seed of departure from the initial, more egalitarian, if paternalistic, vision of AUB first became visible in 1867 around the appointment of Dr. John (Juhanna) Wortabet. In that specific case, local exigencies overpowered pressure from the global networks. The objections to the appointment of an Armenian as a full professor “came from beyond the sea” and were countered by the likes of William M. Thomson – long-time missionary and author of the nineteenth-century American bestseller *The Land and the Book*. He practically threatened those who objected when he said: “If the appointment of native professors is to be impossible simply because they are native, I must decline to have anything more to do with the college.”⁴ Seen as part of that history, along with the departures of Faris Nimr and Ya‘qub Sarruf, about which much more has been written since the 1880s, these incidents can hardly be considered lone episodes, but rather represent the final acts of molding of the College according to the funders’ ideas at the expense of local exigencies under way since the 1860s.

Abunnasr contributes an excellent example of the way in which AUB was physically (and mentally) cast and recast by interested parties from New England. In one of his letters to SPC President Daniel Bliss, Amherst's President William Tyler labeled the construction work on the Ras Beirut campus as the emergence of "another Amherst on the site of Ancient Berytus." While, to Daniel Bliss, this was a compliment paid by a former teacher and a friend, on at least three levels the remark begs historical analysis.

First, despite carrying the title of president, Bliss had far from Tyler's prerogatives in running AUB. In his own memoir, he describes that, in the late 1860s and 1870s, the College was run by a handful of faculty, and decisions were made in weekly meetings in which everyone had an equal vote.⁵ Hence, simply put, early AUB was not Bliss's ship to run or model on Amherst.

Second, none of the founding documents or petitions mentions Amherst or any other college as a model or blueprint. As evident from the description of the proposed curriculum, the initial vision of AUB's founding fathers did not map comfortably on the liberal arts college model. Nor is this unexpected, considering that, with the exception of Bliss, none of the men involved with AUB's founding had an Amherst connection. There was no unique US college model as a reference among the founding fathers, and the institutions from which they came were so different that even the notion of a composite model has limited analytical utility. William M. Thomson graduated from Miami University in Ohio, Henry H. Jessup graduated from Yale, Cornelius Van Dyck graduated from Jefferson Medical College, and George E. Post from the College of the City of New York.

Third, the new AUB campus at Ras Beirut was not actually built on the site of ancient Berytus, as Abunnasr points out. And this ostensibly minor error hides the fact that Tyler missed the point entirely: the college was being built in an attempt to leave the city; not to be a part of it. As Kobiljski has shown elsewhere, rather than attempting to reclaim the city, College Hall was built in Ras Beirut, a far-flung suburb at the time, as an act of *flight* from the city of Beirut.⁶ Despite all this, Tyler's metaphor remains a powerful, if not historically accurate, overseas projection on AUB; a nineteenth-century precursor of many other projections with which AUB would be involved in the twentieth century.

The materiality of missionary microcosm is perhaps the most obvious way the early AUB campus became a point of contact and negotiations between different networks. Abunnasr demonstrates the efforts made to legitimize the college by building out-of-scale and monumentally, while trying to construct a New England-like cocoon. Careful attention to the ostensibly tedious construction work on campus reveals a formidable spectrum of tensions: the missionaries' love-hate relationship with the city of Beirut, their will to dominate the situation and their surroundings, and their dire dependence on local help and cooperation every step of the way. Yet further research is needed to understand the nature of this cooperation in all its complexity, working with scattered and obscure references across different and disparate sources. It is precisely elements of the kind of research found in this volume that represent a refreshing direction for the history of early AUB (the SPC). Going beyond the reasons for which actors like Gharzouzi or Bustani were not given their due in missionary writing, it is for the next generation of early AUB historians to labor towards restoring local and hitherto marginalized actors to the formative years of the college.⁷

THE POST-WORLD WAR II PERIOD

The following, second part of this chapter deals primarily with the post-World War II period, which is the focus of many contributions to this volume. Shedding light on a range of aspects of AUB's history, these contributions also provide many insightful stories and fascinating bits of information. Building on them and on recent contributions to the transnational history of knowledge and education,⁸ the rest of this chapter takes another look at AUB's history in light of three transnational contexts of that history. As will be seen, all three are known to the informed reader. As a matter of fact, if there is anything novel at all in what follows, it is how I have tried to conceptualize those contexts.

Let me start with a word on a context about which I know very little and hence am unqualified to talk about at any length (and which has not been addressed directly in the contributions): the Lebanese diaspora. All I dare say is that the sheer number of Lebanese AUB graduates living outside Lebanon who continue to visit their alma mater, to donate money, to be active in its alumni organization, and, crucially, otherwise to stay in contact with each other, suggests links between their and AUB's stories. Perhaps, AUB could be conceptualized as one of a handful of *fixed* institutions that lend some cohesion to a global diaspora whose very *mobility* inspired the saying "Would there be a road to the moon you would see a Lebanese ascending it."⁹ Vice versa, the acquaintances fed by that mobility may be seen as part of the nature of AUB, if we think of it as a *far-flung* social universe rather than "only" as a *fixed* educational institution.¹⁰

Of the other two contexts, one is a variety of networks of knowledge, money, political power, and sociability: networks that, while global, had US and European gravitation points. The other context is a range of networks of applied knowledge, political-cultural ideas and practices, and sociability that linked AUB to the Middle East, and mainly to its Asian parts. (From now on, for simplicity's sake, I will call *global* transnational networks "global," and *regional* transnational networks "regional.") Even leaving aside the AUB-diaspora relationship, AUB was and is a very complex institution. It was, firstly, linked not to one, but to multiple global networks, and, secondly, was a key meeting point and arena of contestation between those networks and multiple regional networks. Sure, some networks were more powerful than others. But none was dominant to the point of simply eclipsing the others. In fact, and as we will see further below, the early post-war decades, which were the period of decolonization, witnessed increased contestation about questions of knowledge/education and of politics.

Let me turn, then, to global networks of knowledge and education with US and European gravitation points of which AUB was a part. I start with a general, non-AUB related, note on their genesis. The global networks that developed from the nineteenth century and during the twentieth differed from "the cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment" of the eighteenth century.¹¹ "The concept of scholarly and scientific knowledge that prevailed during much of the twentieth century was inextricably linked to ... nineteenth-century forms - *university* and *discipline* -, and those forms in turn were dependent on the *nation-state* as the main organizer of scientific institutions."¹² Modern global knowledge and education networks were mainly built by academics and universities that belonged to specific nation-states and that were steeped in their specific knowledge traditions and interests. As a result, a "dialectic" was unfolding between "the national" and "the global." Nation-state universities and academics - the most powerful ones in the USA and Europe, but also others elsewhere in the world, e.g., in Japan or in South American countries - built global networks not simply to transcend and forget the nation-state. Rather, they did so in order to buttress their position within their own countries, and/or in order to help "perfect [their] national system" vis-à-vis global knowledge competition, and/or "to internationally push through [their] own [national] standards." Behind these moves were "considerations of national prestige, that is, in the colonial context, the objective of cementing power by consolidating cultural hegemony."¹³

On the one hand, the Syrian Protestant College (SPC)/AUB fits into this picture. After all, it was in some ways linked to the USA: to a nation-state, which also was a partly formal, but mainly informal empire. AUB's linkage to the US nation-state-*cum*-empire can be seen in many ways. It was institutionally chartered by Presbyterian Americans in the state of New York in 1863. It was for a long time overwhelmingly funded by private US money. Until today, many of its non-Arab faculty have been US citizens; and back in 1866, it was opened in Beirut and, until the mid-twentieth century, run by US missionaries who had come to the Middle East with deeply national concerns and considerations, as Maria Bashshur Abunnasr has shown here and Ussama Makdisi elsewhere.¹⁴ It was part of a number of US schools opened in the late-nineteenth-century Middle East, including Robert College in Istanbul in 1863. Like its sibling schools, it competed with non-US, non-Presbyterian schools that were affiliated with other Western nation-state-empires; in Beirut, one its competitors was the French Jesuit Université de Saint Joseph, opened in 1875.¹⁵ Such educational presence and accompanying competition was important not the least because the nineteenth-century United States was much less of a formal, political-territorial empire than, for example, France or Britain. Moreover, in the interwar period, education continued to be an arena in which American actors could, and wished to, mark global presence.¹⁶ And after World War II - when US universities became central to global knowledge production and when air travel became much cheaper and easier¹⁷ - AUB's *nation-state* link to the USA showed also in that AUB professors now commonly visited and taught at US (more than at any other nation-state's) universities, as John Meloy and Cyrus Schayegh remark.

On the other hand, AUB's linkage to the US nation-state-*cum*-empire was anything but straightforward. At its most basic, this is because AUB is not situated in the USA, i.e., not on nation-state territory, but overseas. (Not in Europe, though: hence, AUB differs from US institutions like the Johns Hopkins University SAIS Center in Bologna, Italy, or the American University of Paris, which were founded in 1955 and 1962, respectively, as a part of the US superpower's presence in post-war Europe.) As a result of AUB's position overseas, the nature of its place in global networks of knowledge and education differs from that of other (normal nation-state) universities, be they in the USA, Europe, or the global South. It has been woven into global networks not simply from a (US) nation-state base, but also through at least three additional ways.

First, the fact that US missionaries worked in different parts of the world, including East Asia, mattered (particularly during SPC/AUB's early decades). While the US base was powerful, it did not call all the shots. As Aleksandra Kobiljski has convincingly demonstrated here and elsewhere, experiences in one part of the world outside the USA - e.g., in the Middle East - influenced the US

base and operations in other parts of the world – e.g., Japan. Second, while many academic visitors to and teachers at AUB were Americans, AUB has also been tied into other, especially various European nation-state, networks of knowledge. (Historically, this may have had something to do with the fact that US universities became really dominant only after World War II.)¹⁸ The magazine *al-Kulliyah* lists many examples of European visitors. And H el ene Sader’s contribution to this volume indicates how in departments like archaeology, non-US research networks and styles – here, German and British – mattered.¹⁹ Third and last, as Nuhad Dagher’s contribution on agriculture makes clear, from World War II on, AUB graduates have made significant contributions to the region, not the least through their work for new international development agencies like FAO and UNDP, which have occupied an important place in the expanding universe of transnational expertise.²⁰

Being situated in the Middle East, of course, has deeply shaped AUB.²¹ Kobiljski has shown how competition with *nahdawi* institutions influenced AUB from its earliest days. An example was AUB’s choice of Arabic as language of instruction up until the 1880s. Consider, also, Mansur Jurdak’s “pride in our Arabism” that influenced his take on Islamic science, as George Saliba points out; and of the fourteen conferences in Arabic on contemporary Arab affairs featuring “the intellectual elite of the Arab world” that the Arab Studies Group organized from 1951 to 1967, as Meloy shows.²²

Meloy’s case excellently illustrates the networks of applied knowledge, political-cultural ideas and practices, and sociability that linked AUB, especially, to the Asian parts of the Middle East. As Kamal Salibi put it (in a Beirut-centric way), as related by Makram Rabah: “Can you imagine a modern Arab world without Lebanon? Can you visualize Lebanon without Beirut? And can you conceive of a Beirut without Ras Beirut and a Ras Beirut without AUB?” Of these regional networks, there are examples galore in this volume in addition to the cases mentioned by Meloy and Saliba. Sader notes that AUB-led excavations took place not only in Lebanon, but in Syria, too. Dagher shows how AUB-trained agricultural specialists worked in a number of Arab countries, and particularly in the Gulf. Dagher and Schayegh note the spread, especially in the Asian Middle East, of AUB alumni chapters. And one might argue that in the decades following the nakba, AUB functioned as the institution that de facto, though of course not officially, came closest to being the university of the stateless Palestinians.²³

Two things are noteworthy about all these cases. First, there was no such thing as one single regional context for AUB operations. For example, different University departments, such as Agriculture or Archaeology, worked in different places. Presumably, this was because they operated under different constraints. Why, for instance, did AUB archaeologists work in Syria, but not, say, Iraq? The answer may have something to do with the independent politics of archaeology in post-Mandate Baghdad.²⁴ Second, the cases of Meloy and Saliba, each in its own way, indicate how the region “talked back.” To be less dramatic: for the advocates of all sorts of nationalist causes – pan-Arab, Palestinian, as well as Lebanese, as Rabah and Abdul Rahim Abu Husayn show – AUB was prime real estate. While AUB certainly was not the only Beirut arena for nationalist causes, it did play a significant role.

Why? Because, as noted earlier, AUB was a particularly dense meeting point and arena of contestation between multiple global networks and regional (Middle East) networks. More than that, in the early post-war decades – when Third World decolonization met the Cold War and student activism – questions of knowledge/education and politics became more contested, and state and non-state activism intensified at AUB. This was the case because AUB was highly accessible *from both* the USA and other parts of the globe, as well as from the Middle East. Hence, it also guaranteed easy access *to both* sides and great visibility *on both* sides. Such access and visibility were critical to Cold War state actors, as well as to decolonization-era non-state actors.²⁵ Moreover, AUB was autonomous from the Lebanese state and its organs, including its security forces; and although called “American” and well-networked to the US government, it was independent of Washington DC. Together, these two factors doubly facilitated state and non-state activism.

One set of actors were, as noted, (especially Arab and Palestinian) nationalists. Under the conditions of anti-imperialist decolonization, whether successful or failed, as in the Palestinian case, AUB became an arena for anti-colonial nationalist activism, which was aided by the very weak presence of the Lebanese state on campus. An exception, though not related to nationalist activism, is recounted by Michael Provence. In short, by the late 1960s, AUB was dubbed *Guerilla U*, as Betty Anderson has noted and Rabah shows here and elsewhere.²⁶

Another set of actors were Americans. As Meloy and Schayegh indicate, following World War II the US government and “Big” US foundations like Ford and Rockefeller increased funding of AUB education and research programs for overlapping though not identical reasons. For all those actors, AUB’s deep and wide regional networks and reputation made it the perfect place from which to develop technical-economic expertise for the region and to which to bring US government-funded students from across the region, a point addressed in Rasmus Gjedss  Bertelsen’s contribution. Also, and almost

paradoxically, for the US government, an aiding factor was AUB's legal-institutional independence from Washington DC. This was an advantage in the charged climate of the Cold War, when any sort of formal, old-imperialist-style control was problematic for a superpower's Third World image.²⁷

At the same time, this very independence gave agency to AUB's leadership. Schayegh's contribution suggests that both AUB professors and high AUB officials recognized AUB's worth to the US government and to US foundations, and that they used that knowledge to maximize fund-raising. This might have been important particularly because the University was expanding and because of the rising challenge posed by new state universities throughout the recently decolonized Middle East.

Last, but not least, it stands to reason that after World War II yet other sets of actors – specialists in new international agencies for instance, or student activists other than the afore-mentioned Arabs, Palestinians, and Lebanese – helped to extend and reshape the transnational and regional knowledge and social networks in which AUB played some role. Tracing such networks would be particularly interesting because it would extend our focus on AUB's US and Middle Eastern aspects.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, we would like to identify certain historiographic gaps and to make four conceptual points. As is obvious from the table of contents, important swaths of AUB's institutional history have yet to be explored. Perhaps most acutely missing are studies of the interwar period. It is remarkable how little we actually know about AUB's relationship to the Mandate authorities and to St. Joseph University. Studies of institutional efforts to introduce physical education on campus during this period are still awaiting study, as is AUB's short-lived School of Music. Continued attention to the gendered nature of the work and life on campus would benefit from more attention to the entanglement of New England and Mediterranean social conservatism on campus. Similarly, attention to al-'Urwa's political activism has overshadowed the efflorescence of dozens of student societies during Bayard Dodge's presidency that were no less active or important to student life.

Our first conceptual point concerns Beirut. Fundamentally, the facets of AUB's story that we sketched out above – its three sets of networks: diaspora, global, and regional – were transnational manifestations of the phenomenal rise of Beirut from the mid-nineteenth century. As is well known, Beirut became a global trade and knowledge entrepôt, a regional economic and cultural gravitation point, an administrative center (and, from 1918–1920, a capital of its own country), and the transit point for hundreds of thousands of migrants, to boot.²⁸ Put differently, it turned into the most important transit space, meeting point, and arena of contest between people, goods, and ideas from ever-wider swathes of the Asian Middle East and the rest of the globe. For sure, AUB matters greatly to Beirut and is an integral part of it. But, as important – indeed more important, – AUB would not exist if Beirut had not become a global-regional (-diaspora) success story. In fact, as Kobiljski suggests, the very foundation of AUB is inextricably linked to the urban efflorescence that transformed a coastal town into a major port city and commercial hub between the 1860s and 1960s.

Second, it was precisely because AUB was woven into transnational networks and not simply (perhaps not even mainly) part of a (US) nation-state-*cum*-empire base that made it so attractive to political-cultural and knowledge actors during the Cold War and decolonization. Even in the age of nation-states – and perhaps *particularly* during it – institutions that were not (clearly) nation-state-centered filled a crucial function: whether in knowledge creation, in political-cultural activism, or in building social networks, they functioned as important meeting points.

Third, as a result, what ultimately characterizes AUB is not so much (simply) its missionary/US roots and networks, say, or its position in the Middle East. Rather, it is the multiple, stacked nature of the different transnational networks to which it belongs. Moreover, it does not have the same position in all networks. In some – most important, the regional ones – it can boast some centrality. In others – e.g., the global missionary ones – it was one node amongst others (e.g., in China). And in yet other ones – global knowledge and education networks that grew out of national interactions – it was and is quite peripheral.

Last, in view of the above, the unspoken working assumption that there is *one* AUB – i.e., that AUB is a singular thing – falls short of reality. The form and function of people at AUB in sociopolitical networks, say, could be quite different from those in knowledge networks. And even in the latter, some University departments were tied into different networks, some more US-centric than others, for instance. In sum, taken as a whole, this volume hints at the analytical utility of viewing and studying AUB not as “a thing,” but as an arena of contestations and competitions. Converging and conflicting networks have forcefully shaped AUB history since its inception.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Cyrus Schayegh would like to thank Emmanuel Szurek for comments on this text.
- ² Auxiliary work becoming *the* legacy of missionary labors is not particular to the context of Ottoman Lebanon or even the Middle East. For an example related to medical work, see Heather Sharkey, "An Egyptian in China: Ahmed Fahmy and the Making of World Christianities," *Church History* 78, no. 2 (2009): 309–326. See also Barbara Reeves-Elington's work on the informal work of women and domesticity as the core of missionary work: Barbara Reeves-Elington, *Domestic Frontiers: Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013). For the repercussions and legacy of such work in the social and political sphere, see Beth Baron, *The Orphan Scandal: Christian Missionaries and the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014). For examples beyond the Middle East, see for instance Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857–1927* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).
- ³ For an insightful lay of the land of American philanthropic networks, see Kathleen D. McCarthy, *American Creed: Philanthropy and the Rise of Civil Society, 1700–1865* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- ⁴ Henry Jessup, *Fifty-three Years in Syria*, vol. 1 (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1910), 303.
- ⁵ Daniel Bliss, *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss*, edited by Fredrick Bliss (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1920), 189.
- ⁶ Aleksandra Kobiljski, "Learning to be Modern: American Missionary Colleges in Beirut and Kyoto 1860–1920," (PhD diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2010), chapter 4.
- ⁷ For recent examples of the transformation of historical understanding through close attention to local actors, see Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Gregory Clancey, *Earthquake Nation: The Cultural Politics of Japanese Seismicity, 1868–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).
- ⁸ In particular, Christophe Charle, Jürgen Schriewer, and Peter Wagner, eds., *Transnational Intellectual Networks. Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2004), esp. idem, "Editors' Preface," 9–14, Wagner, "Introduction to Part I," 17–25, Schriewer, "Introduction to Part III," 333–343, and idem, "Multiple Internationalities," 473–533; Eckhardt Fuchs, "Bildungsgeschichte als internationale und Globalgeschichte: Einführende Bemerkungen," in *Bildung International* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2006), 7–25; idem, "Transnational Perspectives in Historical Educational Research," *Comparativ* 22 (2012): 7–14; Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer, eds., *Transnationale Bildungsräume* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2013), esp. idem, "Transnational Bildungsräume," 7–20, and Sylvia Kesper-Biermann, "Kommunikation, Austausch, Transfer. Bildungsräume im 19. Jahrhundert," 21–42; Jürgen Schriewer and Marcelo Caruso, "Globale Diffusionsdynamik und kontextspezifische Aneignung: Konzepte und Ansätze historischer Internationalisierungsforschung," *Comparativ* 15 (2005): 7–30; Julia Hauser, Christine Lindner, and Esther Möller, ed., *Entangled Education. Foreign, National, and Local Schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon (19th–20th Centuries)* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2014). Last, the patterns I saw in the contributions to these volume obviously reflect my own thoughts: a study on why, in what we may call Greater Syria, inter-urban and regional socio-spatial networks grew tighter from about 1850, and hence after 1918 shaped the economies, culture, and even administrations of the new states, Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon, and Syria, while in turn being reshaped – "transnationalized," we might say – by those states. In that study, one aspect is Beirut's global connectedness, which turned that port city into the economic and cultural gravitation point of Greater Syria and, from the 1940s to the 1970s, of the Mashriq and much of the Arabian Peninsula too.
- ⁹ Quoted from Hannā Hardān Khuri, *al-Akhabār al-Shahiyya 'an al-'Iyāl al-Marj' ayuniyya wa-l-Timiyya* (Beirut: Zamān, 1955), 94.
- ¹⁰ The alumni magazine *al-Kulliyah* features countless notes about AUBites – often Lebanese, but of course also non-Lebanese – coming on visits, as well as about AUB chapters abroad. For a note on fundraising, e.g., see "The Educational Committee of the AUB in Pittsburg," *al-Kulliyah* 12, no. 6 (April 1926): 170–71.
- ¹¹ Wagner, "Introduction to Part I," 20.
- ¹² Charle et al., "Editors' Preface," 10. See also Wagner, "Introduction to Part I," 20.
- ¹³ Möller and Wischmeyer, "Transnationale Bildungsräume," 7, 8, 8. An example is Christophe Charle, "The Intellectual Networks of Two Leading Universities: Paris and Berlin, 1890–1930," in Charle et al., *Transnational Intellectual Networks*, 401–450. Already in the nineteenth century, US universities were also governed by market principles (unlike the two largest continental European university systems, those of Germany and France); see Pedro Krottsch, "Higher Education," in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, ed. Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009), 482.
- ¹⁴ Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), esp. ch.1. See also Sam Haselby, *The Origins of American Religious Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). I thank Aleksandra Kobiljski for this latter reference.
- ¹⁵ As Kobiljski argues in her chapter to this edited volume, the other main competitor was the Wataniyya School. Larger view: Christophe Charle, "Enseignement supérieur et expansion internationale (1870–1930). Des instituts pour un nouvel empire?" in *Pour une histoire des sciences sociales*, ed. Johan Heilbron, Remi Lenoir, and Gisèle Sapiro (Paris, Fayard, 2004), 323–47.
- ¹⁶ E.g., Sara Pursley, "'Education for Real Life': Pragmatist Pedagogies and American Interwar Expansion in Iraq," in *Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*, eds. Cyrus Schayegh and Andrew Arsan (London: Routledge, 2015); see also Brooke Blower, "From Isolationism to Neutrality: A New Framework for Understanding American Political Culture, 1919–1941," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 2 (2014): 345–76.
- ¹⁷ Compare, from the US perspective, Jenifer Van Vleck, *Empire of the Air. Aviation and the American Ascendancy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).
- ¹⁸ For interwar roots of that dominance, see Krottsch, "Higher Education," 483.
- ¹⁹ It would be interesting to ask how academics at AUB positioned themselves in transnational competitions between different national research styles.
- ²⁰ See, e.g., Amy Staples, *The Birth of Development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, and World Health Organization Changed the World, 1945–1965* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2006).

²¹ For how local conditions reshaped missionary work, see also Makdisi, *Artillery*, 9–10. Related, see Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991) on colonized South Africans' appropriation of "white" Christianity; and see J. P. Daughton, *An Empire Divided. Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) for the contestations underlying colonial cooperation between the secular French state and Catholic missionaries.

²² A separate note that is only tangentially related to AUB's transnational profile: until 1918, Ottoman imperial control of Beirut at times mattered. Tylor Brand illustrates this regarding administration and partly even education during World War I.

²³ This situation was rooted in the late Ottoman period as well as in the Mandate period, when neither Britain nor Palestinians built an Arab university in Palestine and, hence, many Palestinians studied at AUB.

²⁴ Magnus Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), ch. 5.

²⁵ Think of the reach and well-advertised nature of the post-war US "Point IV" Third World development program, for instance, and of spectacular Palestinian plane hijackings in the 1970s. Incidentally, Leila Khaled, who was involved in two hijackings in 1969 and 1970, and who "repeatedly stated that the aim of the hijackings was to gain international recognition of the plight of Palestinians," studied at AUB in 1962–1963 and was publicly active on campus. See <http://www.answers.com/topic/leila-khaled>, accessed September 15, 2014. Also, as Matthew Gordon notes, she gave "an appearance, on October 29, 1970, at the [AUB] Speaker's Corner."

²⁶ See Betty Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), esp. chs. 5 and 6; Makram Rabah, *A Campus at War: Student Politics at the American University of Beirut, 1967–1975* (Beirut: Dar Nelson, 2009).

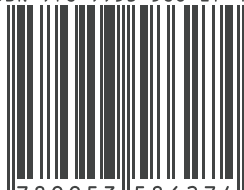
²⁷ This is an insight by Osama Khalil.

²⁸ Leila Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-century Beirut* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: the Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Samir Kassir, *Beirut* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).



www.aub.edu.lb

ISBN 978-9953-586-27-4



9 789953 586274 >