

American Aid to Israel:

A Patron-Client Relationship

S. Mahmoud*

I Introduction--Historical Background

The relationship between Israel and the United States is unique. The effect and amount of American support to Israel, politically and economically, is immeasurable and unmatched; though there is no formal alliance that binds them together, except for a commitment for the "survival of Israel". Hence, the United States has often made Israel's "needs and wants" the basis for her actions and policies in the Middle East regardless of America's vast interests, moral principles and the officially declared position of the American government in regard to the establishment of settlements on occupied Arab land.

The argument is often made that the creation of Israel on May 15th, 1948 came as repayment for the suffering of the Jews in World War II, when "6 million" Jews were killed at the hands of Nazi Germany. However, this was not the major factor which contributed to the creation of the new Jewish state if one is to take into consideration the fact that the Balfour Declaration, which gave the Jews the right to establish a homeland in Palestine, was issued in 1917, thirteen years before the coming of Hitler to power in Germany¹. The Balfour Declaration was issued without regard to the demands which were made by the Palestinian people for their freedom and independence. England confronted such demands with harsh measures against the Palestinian people, and the attitudes of Great Britain, at the time, clearly suggested its role in the transfer of Palestine into the hands of the Jews.²

II Changes on the International Scene After World War II: Shift in the Position of Imperialist Forces

The era between the two world wars witnessed basic changes on the international scene. These changes were a result of the following: first, the intensive struggle of the oppressed and colonized people resulted in the independence of a large number of small states and second, there was shift in the status and role of big powers, such as Great Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the United States came to replace the old imperial powers, such as France in South East Asia, and Great Britain in the Middle East.

*Enrolled in the Ph.D. program at the New School for Social Research, New York.

The old imperialist powers reacted to the demands of the oppressed people in two basic manners: refusal to consent to liberation, self-determination, and independence, and refusal to grant the colonized nations complete political independence. In general, the old imperial powers reacted against the demands of the oppressed people by setting up superficial political independence by means of "puppet governments", i.e., the government of King Abdullah in Trans-Jordan and the creation of a sectarian political system in Lebanon. In addition, they harshly suppressed the uprising of the colonized people as in the case of the people in Palestine during the 1930's.

The establishment of "puppet governments" enabled the great powers to continue their dominance over the new nations in the following manners:

1. Economic and military aid.
2. Training and commanding the armed forces.
3. Training the Civil Service System (The Bureaucracy).
4. Complete control over the trade operations--the trade of the new nation states was completely linked to the economy of the mother country.

The above mentioned factors enabled the old imperial countries (the Motherland) to control the policy-making of the new nation states. Thus, the "puppet governments" were subservient to the imperial powers, and served their interests, largely at the expense of the "national interest" and aspirations of the colonized people--in this case the Arab masses.

In joining ranks to exploit and suppress the masses, the "old" imperial powers gave way to the "new" ones on account of military and economic strength. But, the "new" imperial powers would carry out the same old functions, as in the case of the role of the United States in the Middle East, although ".... under a new guise and by means of revised procedures."³

The role that the United States has played, and is still playing in the Middle East (after the decline in influence of the "old" imperial powers), presents the best example of the relationship between the "old" and the "new" imperialist powers.

The American imperialist policy in the Middle East was crowned by the Eisenhower Doctrine which advocated the filling of the "vacuum" in the Middle East and "containing" communism in the World.⁴ Therefore, the motives of the American involvement in the Middle East in general, and the Palestine dilemma, in particular, were imperialist in nature.

This paper is an attempt to study and analyze the effect of American

aid on the position of Israel vis-a-vis the Palestine Question.

III General Situation Prior to the Creation of Israel in 1948

The era between 1922-1948 witnessed an intensive and increasing Palestinian struggle against the British Mandate Authority.

During that era, England used a pacifying approach to please both Palestinian Arab and Jews. On one hand, they implemented an open door policy to allow new Jewish settlers to settle and acquire property in Palestine (the Jewish population had more than quadrupled from 1917-1948 due to immigration), but on the other hand, they issued three white papers to restrict the influx of Jewish settlers. The Palestinian reaction to the British double-standard policy in Palestine came in the form of intensive demonstrations and open rebellion. During 1936-39, "A virtual state of war continued for three years; even exiling Arab leaders to the Seychelles did not halt it."⁵

In the early 1940's, the situation in Palestine tilted clearly in favor of the Zionist Movement as England was ready to terminate its mandate over Palestine after creating the necessary conditions for the establishment of a Jewish State. The Zionist Movement also secured a favourable shift in the position of President Roosevelt and later of President Truman, despite the opposition of the State Department.⁶

In 1942, the World Zionist Movement declared the Biltmore Programme, in which the term "the establishment of a state in Palestine" was used, to describe the Zionists "new" intentions instead of a home in Palestine.⁷

Recognizing that the center of power in World politics has shifted from the "old" powers to the "new" power, the United States the Zionist movement has shifted its center and activities from London to Washington. "The full force of Political Zionism had come to be concentrated in the U.S. since Britain had proved intractable. It was evident that only the militant leadership of American Zionism could weight the scales in favor of the Zionist move."⁸

In 1944, a new development occurred when the Republican and Democratic parties adopted the demands of the Zionist Movement in their platforms. "Under the impact of the Zionist Biltmore Declaration, the Democratic plank spoke of 'a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth' in Palestine. The Republicans used the phraseology 'a free and democratic commonwealth,' but Governor Thomas Dewey in the campaign had unmistakably indicated that such a commonwealth was to be a Jewish one."⁹

The sudden death of President Roosevelt in 1945 left the Zionist Movement with an easy challenge, as the new president, Truman, was less sophisticated in international affairs and "was troubled by the plight of the Jewish people in Europe."¹⁰ The Zionist Movement, regardless of the change, was ready to deal with the new President, to lead him to accept the Zionist demands.¹¹

Despite the opposition to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine expressed by the State Department, Truman maneuvered to fill the "vacuum" resulting from the British withdrawal and the termination of the Mandate over Palestine. President Truman became convinced by the Zionist argument of the necessity of a Jewish state in Palestine. "American pressure on Britain immediately after the end of the Second World War was crucial in compelling her to bring the whole Palestine Question before the U.N. in 1947. '..... American support was decisive in winning the decision of the organization in favor of partitioning Palestine between a Jewish and an Arab state.'"¹² This conviction was a clear example of President Truman's desire to gain the support of the Zionist groups in America in his attempt to gain re-election for the second term. In response to pressure from the Secretaries of State and Defense on him to reconsider his stand on the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, President Truman argued that, "I'm sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism. I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents."¹³

In 1947, the United Nations issued resolution 181, which called for the establishment of a Jewish state on approximately 60% of the total area of Palestine. This decision was made without the consent of, or consultation with, the people of Palestine and, thus, the U.N. resolution is considered to be the only label of legitimacy the Jewish state has. The partition plan which was adopted by the U.N. marked a clear victory for the forces of the "old" and "new" imperialism in their new joint venture in the region. As soon as the "independence" of the Jewish state was proclaimed, the imperialist powers (England, France and the United States) came to the aid of their client, Israel.

IV American Aid to Israel, 1949-1977*

Foreign aid played an important role in the survival of the Jewish state. France, Great Britain, and the United States adequately carried out their responsibilities toward that state. Without the direct support of these nations, Israel would not have been in a position to carry out its expansionist policy to any degree in the Middle East.

Since the purpose of this paper is to study the effect of America aid on

*See enclosed official documents in Charts 1 and 2

Israel's position vis-a-vis the Arabs, the roles of France and Great Britain will only be dealt with briefly. However, it is important to bear in mind the importance of their roles, especially during the Suez War in 1956.

From its very inception, Israel was solely dependent on Great Britain and France for its supply of military equipment. She was also dependent on the financial support of the United States to maintain a viable economy. "Economically speaking, Israel is a highly artificial state. Despite phenomenal achievements and monetary investment on a relatively considerable scale, Israel is farther from earning her own living than any other contemporary state. She cannot continue indefinitely to plan for the future on the basis of adequate support from public and private sources in the United States and elsewhere abroad."¹⁴

A. Direct Aid: Governmental Assistance to Israel 1947-1977

American aid to Israel is channeled through various means, but two are of importance for the purpose of this study. First of all, direct aid offered by the United States Government and, secondly, indirect aid emanating from two sources: (1) aid from Zionist American institutions and organizations, and (2) aid from American citizens who participate in campaigns for donation and from the selling of Israel bonds.*

Up to 1967, Israel's armed forces were mainly equipped with French and British-made equipment, which was supplied either on credit or on long-term loans at low interest terms.

Therefore, the role of the United States' prior to 1967 came to concentrate on assistance of an economic nature. The American government designed, through negotiations with Israel, a plan for direct economic aid. The negotiations took place within a few days of the establishment of the Jewish State. These negotiations resulted in granting Israel a \$100 million loan for development projects which were industrial in nature, and President Truman announced his approval in a letter dated November 29, 1948, to Weisman, President of the World Zionist Movement. Another loan of this nature was granted to Israel in 1950, and it amounted to \$50 million. At this point, it is interesting to note that the overall direct American aid to Israel in the period between 1948-1952, known as the Marshall Plan period, had been as low as \$86.5 million. The nature of this aid varied and it can be broken down into the following: 63.7 million granted in aid, \$22.7 million granted in the form of food for peace, \$0.1 million granted in other forms, and a separate loan from the American Export-Import Bank totaling \$35.0 million. However, in the period between 1953-1961, the Mutual Security Act period, the figure rose to over

*See Charts 1: Amount of Direct and Indirect Aid to Israel.

\$508.0 million, mainly in economic assistance (\$507.1 million), and the military assistance in this period reached \$0.9 million. In addition, the United States provided Israel with a loan totaling \$57.5 million from the American Export-Import Bank. The total amount of grants during this period was \$258.8 million and the total amount of loans was \$306.7 million.

During the period between 1962-1974, the United States was involved with a third phase in its foreign aid programme. This phase came to be known later as the Foreign Assistance Act which is based on clear principles and provides a comprehensive frame of reference, stating that:

The Congress of the United States reaffirms the policy of the United States to achieve international peace and security through the United Nations so that armed forces shall not be used except for individual or collective self-defense. The Congress hereby finds that the efforts of the United States and other friendly countries to promote peace and security continue to require measures of support based upon the principles of effective self-help and mutual aid. It is the purpose of this part to authorize measures in the common defense against internal and external aggression, including the furnishing of military assistance, it remains the policy of the United States to continue to exert maximum efforts to achieve universal control of weapons of mass destruction and universal regulation and reduction of armaments, including armed forces, under adequate safeguards to protect complying countries against violation and invasion.¹⁵

Furthermore, the act specified that "defense articles and services" shall be provided solely for internal security, legitimate self-defense, and participation in arrangements designed to maintain or restore international peace and security

The act also put restrictions on aid to countries which do not "conform" to the "purposes" and "principles" of the Charter of the United Nations or which are involved "in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally organized human rights, including torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; prolonged detention without charges; or other flagrant denials of the right to life, liberty, and the security of the person."¹⁶ Israel's treatment of Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories proved otherwise.

An amended Foreign Assistance Act of 1971 added additional qualifications on the terms of military aid to foreign countries, stating that:

Decisions to furnish military assistance under this part shall take into account whether such assistance will:

(1) contribute to an arms race;

- (2) increase the possibility of outbreak escalation of conflict;
- (3) prejudice the development of bilateral multilateral arms control arrangements.¹⁷

During the first period of implementation of the Foreign Assistance Act, 1949-1978, the amount of aid designated to Israel increased to a new record figure of \$12,816.5 million. The economic assistance during this period totaled \$2142.1 million, of which \$1660.3 million was in loans and \$481.8 million was in grants. The amount allocated for military aid during this period totaled \$10,674.4 million, of which \$4832.3 million was in loans and \$5482.1 million was in grants. Israel also received \$524.2 million in loans from the Export-Import Bank. The significant increase achieved in this period was in the area of military assistance which reached \$9582.2 million during the period between 1974-78, of which \$3787.7 million was in loans and \$5364.5 million was in grants. This significant increase in military aid to Israel, from \$137.3 million in total during the period between 1949-67 to \$9992.2 million during the period between 1968-78 has come at a time when Israel is continuing its "illegal" occupation of Arab land occupied in 1967. The greatest increase in the era came in 1974 and immediately after the October War of 1973, as the amount allocated to Israel in 1974 totaled \$2634.1 million. The main motive behind this significant increase was to enable Israel to defuse the Arab attempt in 1973 to regain their occupied territories. It is also worth noting that American aid to Israel started increasing during the Republican administration of President Nixon.* President Nixon's Secretary of State Kissinger formulated a new policy in relation to the Middle East. This policy advocated the "maintaining" of a military balance between Israel on one side and all Arab states on the other, as a prerequisite for eliminating all possibilities of war. Thus, in order to achieve such a formula, the total amount provided to Israel increased significantly.

In the year 1975, Israel continued to receive a very large amount of American aid (\$756.7 million), but it was relatively small in comparison to the previous year. That is, military assistance in that year amounted to \$524.5 million, of which \$100.0 million was in loans and \$424.5 million was in grants. Also, the amount of loans from the American Export-Import Bank declined to \$35.7 million. This sharp decline in American aid to Israel could be attributed to the following:

1. Attempts for normalization and negotiations between Israel from one side and Syria and Egypt from the other, which resulted in the signing of agreements on Sinai and the Golan Heights.
2. No immediate threat to Israel and to the balance of power in the area which was tilted in favor of Israel through the massive support supplied to her during the previous two years.

*See Diagram 2.

3. A decline in the Arab fighting capabilities, especially after Sadat severed relations with the Soviet Union.

However, the fiscal year of 1976 produced a significant change on all levels. Also, the Middle East was going through various changes; the PLO was recognized as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by the United Nations General Assembly, the breakout of the civil war in Lebanon occurred, and Israel became directly involved on the side of the Fascist pro-Western factions. These changes required prompt action by the United States to confront the new situations and to prevent a dramatic change, i.e., a victory of the progressive take-over in Lebanon. This fear inspired the American Government, which is crippled by Congress, to take a direct role in the Lebanese crisis, to increase Israel's share of the pie. In return, Israel's role was to intervene and arm the pro-Western factions to prevent a change in the status quo on the Lebanese scene. Thus, the American administration of President Ford, in 1976, provided Israel with \$2339.9 million, of which \$990.2 million was in the form of loans and \$1268.6 million was in grants, and Israel was also provided with a loan of \$81.1 million from the American Export-Import Bank. The total amount designated for military purposes amounted to \$2200.0 million, of which \$975.0 million was in loans and \$1225.0 million was in grants. The economic assistance in the year 1976 totaled \$139.9 million.

In the fiscal year of 1977*, Israel was awarded \$2073.7 million, of which \$878.3 million was in loans and \$1185.9 million was in grants. The amount allocated for economic assistance reached \$63.7 million, of which \$17.8 million was in loans and \$45.9 million was in grants. \$2010.0 million was given for military aid, of which \$870.0 million was in loans and \$1140.0 million was in grants, and a loan of \$9.5 million was given from the American Export-Import Bank. In 1978, Israel received \$1837.0 million in aid, of which \$767.0 million was in loans and \$1070.0 million was in grants. The military share of assistance during this fiscal year amounted to \$1785.0 million, of which \$1025.0 million was in grants and \$760.0 million was in loans. The economic aid to Israel during the FY-78 amounted to \$52.0 million, of which \$45.0 million was in grants and \$7.0 million was in loans.

The overall amount given to Israel during the period between 1965-1978 was \$11,847.7 million, of which \$6098.2 million was in loans and \$5749.5 million was in grants. The overall amount given to Israel between 1949-1978 was \$12,815.5 million, of which \$6698.2 million was in loans and \$6117.3 million was in grants.

In 1974, Congress enacted Public Law 91-441 which waived, in principle, all American military assistance and other grants to Israel

*Includes the amount of aid received during the Transitional Quarter of 1976 (TQ).

starting from 1974. Thus, the amount waived by such an act during the period from 1974-1978 amounted to \$10889.1 million, of which \$5364.5 million was in military grants and \$286.9 million was in economic grants.*

The available information indicated that the amount of Israeli repayment on its loans previously mentioned totaled \$1355.1 million.

The other channel through which Israel is receiving a considerable amount of aid from the United States is through an indirect channel, which means through the contributions of American Zionist organizations and individuals.

B. Indirect Aid: The Aid of Zionist Organizations and Individuals.

One of the major instruments in providing American aid and vital solidarity to Israel is the Zionist establishment in the United States. This establishment consists of various Zionist groups, such as the United Jewish Appeal (UJA), the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA), the U.S. Office of the International Zionist Executive, which is known as the Jewish Agency for Israel, and many others.

These agencies are understood to represent a multi-billion dollar business. They draw a membership of 750,000 out of 6 million Jews. In most cases, these agencies are registered with the Justice Department under the requirements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

The total amount of donations channeled to Israel after its creation in 1948 has reached \$10.754 billion. This total is the sum of the donations of private institutions (\$4.298 billion) and the donations of private individuals (\$3.299). This total also includes the sale of Israeli Bonds in America (\$3.157).¹⁸

The donations of private institutions and individuals, and the sale of Israel bonds are essential to sustain the Jewish State and prevent its ailing economy from collapsing. This has never been more true than now, as the Zionist state is running out of foreign exchange, which is necessary to enable Israel to purchase military supplies from abroad and to meet the increasing expense of maintaining a huge personnel in the armed forces, and to combat the increasing challenge of the Palestinian commandos and the Palestinian inhabitants inside Palestine who are challenging the "legitimacy" of the Zionist grasp over Palestine. The donations are also an important factor in enabling the State to carry out its plans for building settlements on the Arab occupied lands.

*See Chart 3.

In regard to the figures on American aid to Israel during FY-1979, I was unable to trace the right amount due to the lack/unability to obtain the proper official accounts on the subject.

Since 1967 Israel has followed a "buying time" diplomacy in settling these territories, aiming at converting its grasp over them into a de facto and, through the use of force, later into a de Jure.

So, in order for the government to carry out its plans, it needs all the money it can obtain from abroad. Thus, the contributions of Zionist groups and individuals in the United States are very vital to achieve the aims of the Jewish State.

In return for their contributions/donations, the Zionist agencies were given tremendous power through an agreement signed with the Israeli Government in 1954. This agreement, known as the "Covenant", defines the functions of the Jewish Agency in the following areas: immigration, agriculture investment, cultural activities, and finance. The nature of such activities is a type of governmental function. However, in Israel, the Jewish Agency assumes such responsibilities and operates as a state-within-a-state by acting as the international branch of the Israel government with a broad spectrum of domestic activities.

The agreement between Israel and the Jewish Agency also calls for "taxing the Disapora". This campaign of taxing Jews around the world is considered in the United States to be similar to that of the Red Cross and is conducted under the United Jewish Appeal (UJA). Thus, the money collected in America is considered charitable and tax-deductible.

The law of "taxing the Disapora" came into being because the American Jews chose not to respond to the "call of aliyah", which means the "ingathering" to Israel. They have the "collective duty" to "assist the state of Israel" in its major concerns, such as colonization, economic development, and national security.²⁰ The prosperous American Jewish Community chose not to respond to the call of "ingathering" in the promised land, but they responded generously to the military and economic needs of the Jewish State.

Another important function of the Jewish Agency is to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine. Until the 1967 War, the Israeli government covered about fifty percent of the cost of the Agency's programme to attract new settlers, but after 1967, the Agency took over 2/3 of the total cost of their programme. The Jewish Agency operates an independent annual budget which is approximately \$500 million. The U.S., during the period between 1972-78, contributed \$117.5 million for the same purpose.

This governmental marriage between the Israeli Government and the Jewish Agency and other Zionist American organizations raises the question of the legality of such a marriage, especially since these

organizations are involved in political activities, settling immigrants, building settlements, etc., which violates the nature of their contracts with the American government. That is, the basis on which such organizations were granted tax-deductible status by the American authorities depended on their pledge to engage in humanitarian and charitable activities.

C. The Political Impact of the "Patron-Client" Relationship

The previously mentioned figures reflect, to a great extent, the true patterns of the "Patron-Client" relationship which ties the two countries (The Jewish State and America) together. Both forces maintain separate interests and motives, but they share in common one ultimate goal which is the suppression of the Arab masses and the continued exploitation of their resources.

American motives in the Middle East can be explained by the following objectives:

1. To preserve the Jewish State through the establishment of a balance of power between Israel and the Arab states.
2. To confront Arab progressive forces, through maintaining a strong Israel which will be able to deal with whenever confrontation is necessary.
3. To protect American interest in the region, especially in the Arab oil-producing states. This would also include the protection of its clients in the region through the involvement of Israel, i.e., the assistance given to King Hussein in 1970 in his drive against the Palestinians.
4. To curb Soviet influence in the region through the creation of a form of alliance between a strong Israel and reactionary Arabs, i.e., Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Oman, and Sudan.

On the other hand, Zionist objectives in the area can be summarized as follows:

1. Ingathering of all Jews into the Promised land.
2. Confiscation of Arab land and the establishment of Jewish settlements on it.
3. The establishment of a pure Jewish state in the region (Greater Israel).
4. Eventual control of the Arab's vast resources and cheap labor.

Thus, the role and motives of the United States indicate a strong desire to control the Arab World through the maintenance of a strong Israel. Furthermore, the role and motives of Israel suggest that its real desire is to

expand at the expense of the Arab people through the use of American support.

The massive American support, direct and indirect, enables Israel to carry out such roles and motives with no exception. Without American aid, Israel would be in no position to maintain its military grasp over Arab territories, to build settlements, to expand militarily, and to attract new immigrants.

Looking back at the American objectives in the Middle East, the United States succeeded in preserving a strong Israel, but she failed in her efforts to deradicalize the Arab World, to protect American interests, and to curb Russian influence in the region.

Therefore, the main winner of this "Patron-Client" relationship is Israel. The United States is footing the bill for Israel to achieve her objectives at the expense of American interests in the area, i.e., the nationalization of American oil companies. America is not only gaining the animosity of the Arab masses in practicing such imperialist policies, it is also costing her in domestic terms, a yearly expenditure of over \$10 for every individual in America. What the United States gives to Israel in one year could come close to solving the desperate financial problems of America's floundering cities*, or it could pay for the following proposed programmes: student and institutional support in higher education, health research and health training projects, and urban renewal.²¹

American aid (direct and indirect) to Israel during the period between 1949-1978 amounted to \$23,569.5 million. Assuming that the average number of Jewish inhabitants in Israel during this period was 2.5 million, the total amount received by each individual would come to \$9,427.8. On the other hand, assuming that the average population of the United States was 210 million during the same period, each individual would be paying a total amount of \$112.2. For the last four years, 1974-1977, direct American aid to Israel consecutively amounted to 29%, 7%, 22%, and 18% of the total Israeli GNP.²²

The above simple calculations indicate the significance and the extent on which the Jewish state depends on the United States for aid. Without American aid, the Jewish state will be forced to cut back around 25% of her programmes.

V Conclusion

American policy toward the Palestine Question is imperialistic in nature. Since the creation of Israel, America has acted as a partner of the Jewish state.

*For more information, see N.Y.C. Municipal Annual Report, November 17, 1978.

Prior to 1967, America heavily financed Israel and helped her to build her industrial base on the land which was seized by force from the Palestinians in 1948. In 1967 and thereafter, the United States supplied Israel with both economic and military aid which enabled her to absorb the newly occupied Arab territories and to humiliate the Arab masses. The American military equipment furnished to Israel exceeded the required amount to keep the balance of power in the region. Instead, Israel took a very early lead over individual Arab states. In addition, Israel often violated the intended nature of the Foreign Assistance Act,²³ that is, by being "defensive", and she used her American acquired force to bomb civilians and to expand at the expense of other nations, such as Lebanon. Israel's American acquired force also enabled her to stand against the resolutions of all the international forums which call for the return of the uprooted Palestinians to their properties and to exercise their right of self-determination.

The donations/contributions made available to Israel by the Zionist groups of America and through direct American aid during the period between 1949-78 totaled \$23,569.5 million. This enabled Israel to create new settlements on the Arab occupied land which is contrary to the official position of the United States Government, which considers such an act illegal.* Also, these donations/contributions and direct American aid, which totaled \$117.5 million, aided Israel in ingathering the Jews into Palestine through financing 2/3 of the expense of such activities. Any immigrant coming to the Jewish State, in actuality, takes the place of a Palestinian Arab. Furthermore, stripping a Jew of his nationality and finding a way to carry him to settle in Palestine cannot be considered a humanitarian act. Rather, it is a political design which requires territorial expansion and the use of constant force, and in no way can be considered a humanitarian one.

Thus, American aid to Israel is the backbone for Israel's actions in the region. It is not based on moral principles or humanitarian considerations. Instead, Israel's actions and American aid serve as an inseparable instrument to suppress the Arab masses and to suppress any development toward the achievement of a progressive change in the region.

In general, one could argue that the gain of the United States from its imperialistic policy in the region is minimal. But, the cost in terms of relations with the Arab masses and in domestic terms is so great.

*American direct aid to Israel for the purpose of Housing Development during the period between 1972-78 totaled \$175.0 million.

Chart 1
American Aid to Israel in Millions of Dollars

	FY 72	FY 73	FY 74	FY 75	FY 76	TQ 76	FY 77	FY 78	Total FY 49 - FY 78
Security Supporting Assistance	50.0	50.0	50.0	324.5	700.0	75.0	735.0	785.0	2,769.5
Foreign Military Sales Credit	300.0	300.0	2,482.7	300.0	1,500.0	200.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	7,905.0
AID Housing Guarantee	50.0	-	25.0	25.0	25.0	-	25.0	25.0	175.0
Immigrant Assistance	2.0	49.0	36.5	40.0	15.0	-	15.0	20.0	177.5
Total Assistance:	475.8	483.0	2,634.1	756.7	2,339.9	285.8	1,787.9	1,837.0+	12,815.5
(Grants)	58.0	104.3	1,589.9	487.0	1,243.6	151.3	1,009.6	1,080.0+	6,117.3
(Loans)	417.8	378.7	1,044.2	269.7	1,096.3	134.5	778.3	757.0+	6,698.2

American Aid to Israel in Millions of Dollars

A. Direct Aid*	FY 49-64	FY 65	FY 66	FY 67	FY 68	FY 69	FY 70	FY 71
Security Supporting Assistance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Foreign Military Sales Credit	27.4	12.9	90.0	7.0	25.0	85.0	30.0	545.0
AID Housing Guarantee	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Immigrant Assistance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Assistance:	1,005.4	65.1	126.8	23.7	106.5	160.3	93.6	634.3
(Grants)	367.8	0.5	0.9	1.6	6.5	0.6	12.9	2.8
(Loans)	637.5	64.6	125.9	22.1	100.0	159.7	80.7	631.5

— 361 —

*Source: U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants, March 1978

B. Indirect Aid ★

Year	Source		Amount
1948-1975	Private Institutions	\$	3,363.0
1976		\$	470.0
1977		\$	465.0
	Total	\$	4,298.0
1948-1975	Private Individuals	\$	2,301.0
1976		\$	538.0
1977		\$	460.0
	Total	\$	3,299.0
1948-1975	Israeli Bonds	\$	2,611.0
1976		\$	264.0
1977		\$	282.0
	Total	\$	3,517.0

Overall Total \$ 10,754.0

Total of American Aid (Direct and Indirect): \$ 23,569.5

***Source: Alfred Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection* (New York: Dodd and Mead Co., 1978), p. 763.**

Chart 2
AMERICAN AID TO ISRAEL DURING THE NIXON
ADMINISTRATION
1968-1975

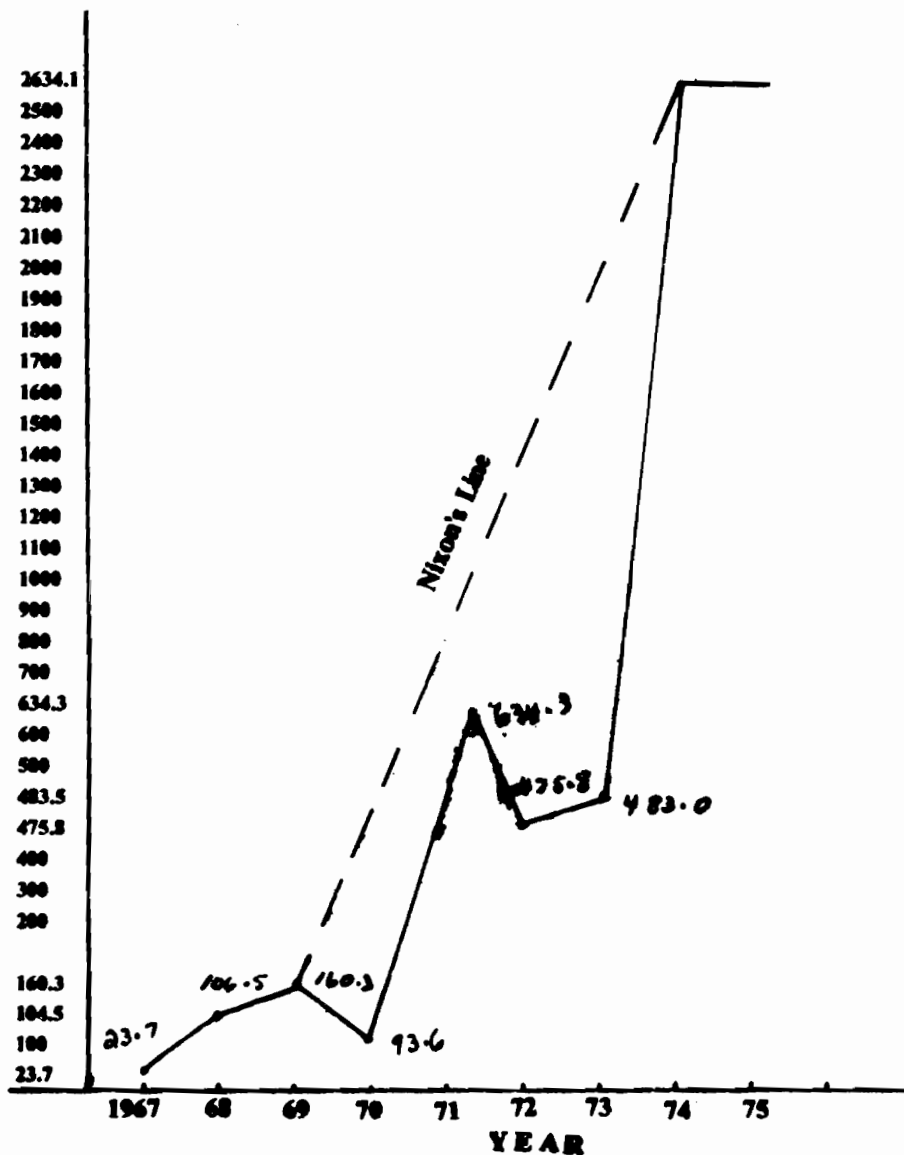


Chart 3
Amount of Aid waived to Israel in Millions of Dollars

Year	Total of Grants
1974	\$ 3047.6
1975	\$ 712.0
1976	\$ 2243.6
Transitional Quarter	\$ 276.3
1977	\$ 1779.6
1978	\$ 1830.0
Total	\$ 10889.1

Overall Total of original Grants during the period between 1949-78 reached \$ 6,117.3 million.

Source: U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants, March 1978.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Leonard Stein, *The Balfour Declaration* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1961), p. 548.

"His Majesty's Government views with the favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, its being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the right and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

² W.F. Abboushi, "The Road to Rebellion," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. VI, No. 3 (Spring 1977), p. 33.

³ Assa'd Abdul-Rahman, *U.S. and West German Aid to Israel* (Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 1966), p. 6.

⁴ Noble Frankland, ed., *Document on International Affairs, 1957* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 233.

⁵ Alfred Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection* (New York: Dodd and Mead Co., 1978), p. 33.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 42.

⁷J.C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record: 1914-1956* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1958), Vol.II, p. 235.

⁸Richard Stevens, *American Zionism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Pageart Press, 1962), p. viii.

⁹Lilienthal, p. 38.

¹⁰Stevens, p. 127.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹²Nadar Sufran, *The United States and Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 3.

¹³William Eddy, *FDR Meets Ibn Sand* (New York: American Friends of the Middle East, 1954), p. 36

¹⁴*The Falk Project for Economic Research in Israel: A Ten Year Report* (Jerusalem: F.P.E.R.I., 1963), pp. 50-51.

¹⁵Public Law 87-195, Part II, Sec. 501.

¹⁶Public Law 87-195, Part II, Sec. 502B.

¹⁷Public Law 92-226, Part II, Sec. 511.

¹⁸Lilienthal, p. 763.

¹⁹Elmer Berger, *An Analysis of the Zionist Jewish Agency Structure* (New York: American Council for Judaism, 1963), p. 34

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 24.

²¹See the budget of NEW and HUD for February 1979.

²²For more information on Economic Development in Israel, see: *American-Israel Economic Horizons*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2-4 (New York: American Israel Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 1978), p. 52.

²³For more information, see: Public Law 87-195, Part II, Sec. 501 and Sec. 502B.



المساعدات الاميركية لاسرائيل

د . سمير محمود

يدحض الكاتب في هذا البحث الادعاء السائد في الغرب بالربط بين قيام اسرائيل ومعاناة اليهود في ظل النظام النازي، وكانت هذه مقدمة للتدليل على سخف التبرير «الانساني» لاحتضان الولايات المتحدة لاهداف الصهيونية. ثم يستعرض الوضع الدولي بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية. كذلك الوضع العام للحركة الصهيونية في فلسطين والولايات المتحدة قبل قيام دولة اسرائيل.

واهم ماتوصل اليه الكاتب ضمن اطار «الفحوى السياسي» للمساعدات هي منح الصفة القانونية شبه الحكومية للوكالة اليهودية العاملة في اميركا عن طريق توقيع اتفاقيات بينها وبين الحكومة الاسرائيلية واطلاق يدها في تنظيم شئون الهجرة والزراعة وتوظيف رؤوس الأموال في اسرائيل مقابل الاعانات والهيئات التي تقدمها. وقد توصل في النهاية الى ان ما تريده الولايات المتحدة من دعمها الكامل لاسرائيل لايعنى بالضرورة تحقيقا لما تريد، فالرابع الوحيد هو اسرائيل على حساب المصالح الاميركية.