ISRAELI TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA

A Thesis

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by

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FOREWARD

I became interested in the problems of underdeveloped nations and territories in the course, *Africa and the Western World in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, given by Professor Lowell Ragatz, and pursued the subject further in *The Middle East Since 1914*, taught by Professor Sydney Fisher. At the latter's suggestion, I began searching for materials on Israel's technical assistance to Africa and became much engrossed in it.

When one reads widely on this subject, several questions come to mind. Why, for example, did Israel, a small, newly independent nation, offer assistance to the new nations and territories of Africa? On the other hand, why did such African nations accept this aid so readily? What were the reactions of the Arab nations? Of the West? Of the Sino-Soviet Bloc? Of underdeveloped nations in general? Of Israel? What will be Israel's future in "Black Africa"? Data will be presented and conclusions drawn in answer to each of these questions.

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CHAPTER I

The Historical Background

In order properly to understand present Israeli assistance to the newly-independent African states, it is necessary to trace the historical development of the Jewish and African nations and to sketch some of the major problems encountered by each. This background will afford perspective for our analysis of motives and effects.

The original concept of Jewish nationalism was centered around the worship of Yahweh or Jehovah. According to tradition, Abram, the Jewish patriarch, made a covenant to serve only Jehovah and, in return, his Supreme Being promised to establish a nation of Abram's descendants who would inhabit Palestine, the land "flowing with milk and honey."

In order to avoid a drought in Canaan, Abram's grandson, Jacob, moved his family to Egypt, where they lived in Goshen, apart from the local inhabitants. During most of the next six hundred years, they served as slaves in Egypt until Moses, the great lawgiver, persuaded the Hebrews to leave the scene of their sufferings and move to the "Promised Land."

In the year 1200 B.C., some eight centuries after Abram's death, he led the newly created Hebrew "nation" from Egypt. Moses was the first of a long series of strong politico-religious leaders who skillfully used crises and persecutions to weld the various tribes into a federation.

Nearly two hundred years after Moses' death, the Jews, patterning themselves after their neighbors, transformed their theocratic government into a monarchy. After the death of Solomon, their third able king, in 933 B.C., the tribes were divided into the Kingdom of Israel, which fell to the Assyrians in 721 B.C., and the Kingdom of Judah, which finally succumbed to Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans in 586 B.C.
During its decline, the monarchy suffered from a long line of inept rulers and the ensuing decentralization of power. In this weakened condition, the Jews were unable to defend their homeland against invaders from neighboring states, and many were taken captive, while others were dispersed to foreign countries, where they established settlements which came to be known as the Diaspora.¹

During the Babylonian Captivity (586 B.C.-538 B.C.) and the period immediately following, the Hebrew prophets maintained a sense of identification with the past by stressing a return to the laws of Yahweh, as codified by Moses, and a hope for the future by predicting the birth of a divine liberator, the Messiah, who would establish a second Jewish kingdom in Palestine. Isaiah the First predicted this second Exodus as follows:

The Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea. And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.²

From 586 B.C. to the birth of Christ, the Chaldeans, Persians, Greeks, Egyptians and Romans successively ruled the Holy Land. The Hebrews, therefore, eagerly awaited the Messiah. During the ministry of Christ, many felt that the promised Redeemer had come, only to be disappointed when He proved to be interested primarily in soul salvation rather than the defence of Jewish nationalism.

The "Promised Land" was a part of the Byzantine Empire until the seventh century, when it fell before the Arabs. Although Europeans spent thousands of lives and vast sums of money in attempting to regain the Holy Land, it continued to be a part of the Arab Caliphate until the
sixteenth century, when it was conquered by the Ottoman Turks, under whose administration it remained until the close of the First World War (1918).

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Jewish nationalism underwent a drastic change: the advocation of political action to obtain a national home replaced the search for a Messiah. In 1862, Moses Hess (1812-1875), the German-Jewish author of Rome and Jerusalem, wrote:

> When political conditions in the Orient shape themselves so as to permit the organization of a beginning of the restoration of a Jewish State, this beginning will express itself in the founding of Jewish colonies in the land of their ancestors, to which enterprise France will undoubtedly lend a hand.³

From this statement, it is apparent that some Jews were replacing the concept of a Messiah with the belief that the Homeland could be won only through political channels. Hess predicted that France would give assistance to a colonization project in Palestine because the idea was in accord with the democratic philosophy of the French Revolution.

In 1882, after having witnessed the pogroms in Russia,¹ Leo Pinsker (1812-1891), the Russian-Jewish author of Auto-Emancipation, set forth a blueprint for Jewish nationalism exemplified in the following excerpts:

> The Jews are not a living nation; they are everywhere aliens; therefore they are despised. The civil and political emancipation of the Jews is not sufficient to raise them in the estimation of the peoples. The proper, the only remedy, would be the creation of a Jewish nationality, of a people living upon its own soil, the auto-emancipation of the Jews; their emancipation as a nation among nations by the acquisition of a home of their own.⁵

In this work, Pinsker did not suggest Palestine as a possibility, but seemed, rather, to favor the purchase of territory from the United States.⁶
In 1891, Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), a Viennese journalist, was assigned to Paris where, in 1895, he became greatly concerned with the Dreyfus Affair. He represented the complete break with Jewish traditionalism and, in 1896, in his *The Jewish State*, made the first statement of the modern Zionist program:

> We are one people—our enemies have made us one without our consent. ... Distress binds us together. ... Yes, we are strong enough to form a State, and indeed, a model State. We possess all human and material resources for the purpose.7

Herzl further predicted that:

> The world will be freed by our liberty, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness. And whatever we attempt there to accomplish for our own welfare, will react powerfully and beneficially for the good of humanity.8

He suggested Argentina and Palestine as possible locations for a National Home but felt that the Society of Jews, a Zionist agency, should decide which area would be better.9

At the First World Zionist Congress, meeting in Basle, Switzerland, in August 1897, the modern Zionist objective of establishing a Palestinian Homeland for Jews was formulated.10 On September 3, 1897, five days after the adoption of the Basle resolution concerning a Jewish state in Palestine, Herzl made the following entry in his diary:

> Were I to sum up the Basel [sic] Congress in a word ... it would be this: At Basel I founded the Jewish State. If I said this out loud today, I would certainly be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, and certainly in fifty, everyone will know it.11

Herzl, however, did not live to see his dream come true. Zionism, which had been born in Europe, failed to receive official support from any occidental nation until November 1917, primarily because several of the Allies, notably tsarist Russia, were strongly anti-Semitic. By the autumn of 1917, not only had the old Romanov regime in Russia been
overthrown, but the Allied Powers were in danger of losing the war. Roumania had been crushed; the Russian army was demoralized; the French were unable to launch a major offensive; the Italians had sustained one of the worst defeats of the war at Caporetto; the British navy had been weakened by the relentless attacks of German submarines; and the Americans were not yet able to send troops into the field. As a propaganda device aimed at winning Jewish support for Britain's war effort, and as a result of a dramatic appeal by Chaim Weizmann (1874-1952), a young Polish lecturer in bio-chemistry at Manchester University, Manchester, Arthur Balfour (1848-1930), Britain's Foreign Minister, made the following commitment in a letter of November 2, 1917, to Lord Rothschild, who had long given both moral and financial support to the Zionist organization:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine...

It took twenty years for Herzl's seed of nationalism to germinate and another thirty years to mature, but his prediction was correct.

On the basis of a poll in geographical Syria in 1919, the King-Crane Commission, a committee appointed by the Allies meeting at Versailles to study the former Ottoman holdings in the Middle East, recommended to the Peace Conference that the United States be named the Mandatory Power there. Since the Americans had not the slightest inclination to accept such a responsibility, the Commission suggested Great Britain as the logical alternate because General Allenby had occupied the area in 1917 and had administrative work there well in hand by the end of the war.
The powers, meeting at San Remo in 1920, took cognizance of the King-Crane Report and mandated this territory to Britain with the understanding that the latter would "be responsible for putting into effect the Declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917 . . . in favor of a National Home for the Jewish people, subject to the conditions in the Declaration itself."16

In carrying out this responsibility, Sir Herbert Samuel, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and first High Commissioner in Palestine, established liberal immigration laws for Jews. The numbers entering Palestine as immigrants in 1922, 1927, 1932 and 1937 were 8,128, 3,583, 11,289 and 12,475 respectively.17 Many more were, however, smuggled in from Europe, where they had led no easy life. Some feared the anti-Semitic sentiment rampant in Eastern Europe, particularly in Hitler's Germany, while others were unemployed, hungry and had little to lose by moving to the "Promised Land."

The Palestine Arabs were never reconciled to the idea of a Jewish State in Palestine and viewed the ever-mounting number of settlers arriving there as a threat to their political autonomy and economy.18 Arab leaders, furthermore, looked upon the Balfour Declaration, the San Remo agreement and the liberal immigration laws instituted in the mandate as a betrayal of an earlier trust. During the period July 1915 to March 1916, Sherif Hussein of Mecca exchanged a promise to lend military assistance against the Germans in the Middle East for the assurance by Henry McMahon, Britain's High Commissioner at Cairo, that Great Britain would support Arab independence in certain areas. Although the term Palestine was actually never mentioned, the Arabs assumed that the latter was included within their territory because it was inhabited almost entirely by Arabs.19 A fatal enmity based upon political and economic realities,
rather than religious differences, consequently developed between Arab and Jew.

Indeed, August 1929, marked the beginning of Arab riots in Jerusalem from where attacks spread to other parts of the country. British troops finally quelled the violence, but not before 133 Jews and 116 Arabs had been killed.\(^{20}\) In hopes of minimizing such conflicts, the British Government in October 1930, issued the Passfield White Paper which prohibited all unskilled workers from entering the country and suspended Jewish land purchases from Arabs. The ensuing reaction was immediate and world-wide: Chaim Weizmann resigned as chairman of the Jewish Agency which he had organized one year earlier to promote Zionist objectives in Palestine.\(^{21}\) Although this new governmental policy was not repealed, Ramsey MacDonald, in a letter dated 13 February 1931, soothed hurt feelings by explaining that the quota was based upon absorptive capacity and was, therefore, a purely economic consideration.\(^{22}\) Needless to say, the quota was not enforced.

In 1934 and 1935, 40,000 and 62,000 immigrants, respectively, entered Palestine legally.\(^{23}\) The result was further rioting the following year. In May 1936, the British Government appointed the Palestine Royal Commission to investigate the sources of discontent between the two groups. The Commission's Report, published in July 1937, suggested that Palestine be partitioned between the Jews and Arabs.\(^{24}\)

As an interim measure aimed at appeasing both antagonists, the British Government, on 17 May 1939, issued the Ramsey MacDonald White Paper which declared that the Balfour Declaration did not contemplate converting the whole of Palestine into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be established within Palestine.\(^ {25}\) Although it
established a quota of but ten thousand Jewish immigrants per annum over a period of the next five years, some two thousand fewer than the actual number of legal arrivals in 1937, it somewhat eased the problem of Jewish refugees from Hitler and Stalin's anti-Semitic campaigns by admitting up to 25,000 such homeless individuals as soon as the High Commissioner had been satisfied that adequate provision for their maintenance was assured. After the expiration of the five-year period, no further Jewish immigration was to be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine were prepared to acquiesce in it. The High Commissioner in Palestine was given power to prohibit or regulate the transfer of land from Arabs to Jews. This provision was made primarily because government officials commissioned to study the problem of absorptive capacity demonstrated that, owing to the natural increase in Arab population and to the sale of their lands to Jews, the former were unable to maintain their existing living standards. Britain, furthermore, envisaged an independent Palestine governed jointly by Arabs, Christians and Jews.

Shortly after the opening of the Second World War, twenty-five thousand members of Haganah, a volunteer Jewish defense corps, formed a Jewish brigade in the British army. Private donors from the allied countries made large contributions to support Jewish communities in the Homeland in appreciation of this military assistance. Thanks to such overseas aid, the Jewish segment of Palestine was enabled to launch industrialization. For the most part, however, the resultant new textile and chemical industries depended upon international trade as a source of raw materials and a market for their manufactured goods, a dominant fact in the area's history.

The neighboring Arab nations were aware of the Jews' vulnerability on that score and, on December 2, 1945, initiated a boycott of Zionist
goods and products. Their accompanying resolution, marking the first collective action taken against the growing nationalism in the Jewish sectors of Palestine, declared that "Jewish products and manufactured (goods) in Palestine shall be (considered) undesirable in the Arab countries..."29

The British Government, under the direction of Winston Churchill (1874- ), were increasingly eager to withdraw from an untenable position and sought a termination of the mandate. At length, on November 29, 1947, after months of terrorism and border clashes, the United Nations General Assembly approved its abrogation and partition of the territory into the international city of Jerusalem, an Arab state and a Jewish one. This measure set October 1, 1948, as the deadline for the establishment of the new nations.30

Unable to make adequate headway in negotiating a settlement, the British High Commissioner abruptly left Jerusalem on May 14, 1948; the State of Israel was immediately proclaimed; and the Palestine War opened on the fifteenth. Egyptian, Lebanese, Jordanian and Syrian forces joined the Palestine Arabs and, for a time, this coalition moved almost at will against the Jewish troops. The initial advantage was, however, soon overcome because the Jewish army had at its disposal military supplies previously purchased from the United States, France and Czechoslovakia and rapidly organized to use them.31

Upon the insistence of the United Nations Security Council,32 Israel signed armistice agreements with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordon and Syria in February, March, April and July 1949, respectively.33 She has, however, technically continued at war with them until the present time. This period of truce has been marked by numerous outbreaks, the best known of which
was the Sinai War of 1956.

From the beginning of the Palestine conflict (1948), Israel's ideal geo-political location at the crossroads of three continents has been negated by the Egyptian blockade which prohibited all Israeli ships and all foreign vessels carrying Zionist goods from entering the Suez Canal. In a document dated September 1, 1951, the Security Council declared that the Egyptian blockade denied to many non-aligned nations raw materials and other supplies necessary for their reconstruction and that it represented "unjustified interference with the rights of nations to navigate the seas and to trade freely with one another..."34 The Council, furthermore, called upon Egypt to halt its interference with international trade in the Canal, but that country refused. Finally, on October 29, 1956, Israeli troops invaded the Sinai Peninsula in an attempt to overthrow the Nasser regime in Egypt and to break the Arab blockade.35 Although Israel was frustrated in such attempts, she did manage to gain an outlet to the South and East via Eilat, Israel's southernmost port on the Gulf of Aqaba.

There were two reasons why the Egyptian blockade seriously affected Israel's economy: underdevelopment and increased population due to immigration. At its inception, Israel was an economically backward agrarian nation primarily because it lacked mineral resources and investment capital, and because the British had displayed little interest in the territory's industrialization. Following its emergence in 1948, Israel was largely sustained by generous aid from Great Britain, France and the United States.

In the proclamation establishing the new nation, the government had announced that the State of Israel would "be open to Jewish immigration and the ingathering of the exiles."36 The Ben-Gurion Government had
reiterated that policy in July 1950, and its implementation, coupled with a mounting birth rate (thirty-two per thousand in 1953), soon precipitated a serious population problem, as well as a social one. By 1958, the country's population had reached the two million mark and was soaring rapidly. To sustain this ever-increasing number, Israel had been obliged to import food, but the economic blockade disrupted her supply lines and prevented her obtaining many necessary foodstuffs and raw materials.

Jewish immigrants from Europe, Africa, the United States and different parts of Asia, furthermore, presented a serious problem of assimilation. How could these people from such widely-diversified cultures be molded into a nation? How did the Asiatic farmer, the West African peddler, the New York clothing merchant and the French banker work together to build a new nation? To solve this problem, the Ben-Gurion Government immediately increased the number of kibbutzim, communal villages owned and operated by the government, and moshavim, cooperative villages maintained and directed by the people themselves. In the former, the villagers were employed by the State, while, in the latter, they worked for themselves and the village. Both communities provided medical services, marketing facilities, schools, machines, farmland and even light industry for the townsfolk. Since, in both types of villages, the worker learned to contribute his fair share, each played an important role in the assimilation of the immigrants. Such small centers were often founded in semiarid regions to assist in reclaiming and defending marginal lands on Israel's boundaries.37

In addition to opening these settlements, the Israeli Government also met the challenges of an infant nation by encouraging foreign aid and investment. The West contributed gifts, loans, technicians and
student exchange programs. All these led to a rapid expansion of Israel's economy. The result was that, although still a debtor nation in 1957, this small state was in a position to offer technical assistance to the first of the newly-independent nations South of the Sahara--Ghana. Since the beginning of this new governmental policy, Israel has offered aid programs to each new African and Asian state as it has emerged and to underdeveloped countries in Latin America as well.

Africa, unlike Palestine, was an unknown entity to Westerners until the late eighteenth century. Prior to that time, few white men, with the exception of the Arab traders who sought slaves, ivory and gold, ventured into the uncharted interior. Not until the late fifteenth century did Bartholomeu Diaz, a Portuguese explorer, round the southern tip of Africa in search of a route to the East Indies, naming it "Cape of Storms." After Vasco de Gama's successful journey to the East Indies twelve years later, the name was changed to "Cape of Good Hope," for the obvious psychological effect.

During the ensuing one hundred and fifty years, Europeans were too busy at home and in the New World to turn attention to Africa. It was not until 1652 that Dutch settlers arrived and established a colony at the Cape to serve as a victualling station for passing sailors enroute to or from the East. The English, French, Spanish and Portuguese also established port cities along the Western Coast of Africa to serve as trading posts and stations for ships bound for the East. Arab traders, as well as heat and disease, kept the Europeans confined almost entirely to the coast until the nineteenth century.

In 1770, James Bruce (1730-1794), a well-educated Scotchman, reached Gondar, then the capital of Ethiopia, and eventually discovered
the source of the Blue Nile.\textsuperscript{38} Twenty-five years later, a fellow
Scotchman, Mungo Park (1771-1806), ascended the Gambia River, crossed
Senegal and followed the course of the Niger River until captured by an
Arab trader that same year. After a four-month imprisonment, he escaped
and made his way slowly back to the coast, and finally to England. There,
he wrote the incredible best-seller, \textit{Travels in the Interior of Africa}
(1799). On his second expedition up the Niger in 1805, he was lost with-
out a trace after writing a letter to his wife saying he was returning to
England.\textsuperscript{39} Similar journeys were made by Clapperton, Lander, Denham and
others, but the most celebrated travelers were David Livingstone (1813-
1873) and Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904). The former was sent to
Bechuanaland by the London Missionary Society. In 1856, he returned to Great
Britain and resigned from missionary service, but one year later left again
for Africa, this time as a British Consul to survey the lake region north
of the Zambesi River. In 1865, when he was reported lost, James Gordon
Bennett of the \textit{New York Herald} commissioned Henry Stanley, his special
correspondent in Egypt, to find Livingstone.

Near Lake Tanganyika, Stanley finally made contact with the great
missionary-explorer, who gave the former his diary, reports and letters.
He wrote \textit{How I Found Livingstone in Africa} (1872) before embarking a second
time for Africa to take up where Livingstone had left off. After having
explored the Congo, he left for England where he published \textit{Through the Dark
Continent} (2 vols., 1878). It is from these travelers and missionaries
that Europeans first became aware of the mammoth continent. Each visitor's
account of the rich land and mineral resources to be found there was more
glowing than his predecessors'.
Thus, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Europe became conscious of the great potential wealth hidden in the dark forests and savannas of Africa. Perhaps the primary cause of the new nineteenth century interest in Africa was the Industrial Revolution, which not only created an enormous amount of surplus capital in Europe, but also eliminated many men's jobs. If this "Age of Peace and Prosperity" did not cause the ensuing expansion, it certainly created an economic and social atmosphere conducive to such ventures. By the 1860's, European nations, particularly Britain and France, had industrialized to such an extent that the home market was not large enough to absorb the products of the Machine Age. Where could England sell her surplus textiles? In France? Certainly not, because the French had raised a tariff wall against foreign goods to protect their own industries. The same was true in the United States and most other advancing countries. Almost intuitively, various Old World Powers turned to developing African spheres of influence and protectorates where goods could be unloaded. Even more important, these manufactured articles could be exchanged for raw materials such as copper, cotton, rubber and diamonds. For this reason, Europeans invested much of their newly acquired capital in the African territories to exploit the latter's resources. White administrators were sent there to oversee the extractive industries. Since the laborers were very badly paid or, in some cases, were slaves, much in the way of resources was taken from the territories while little wealth was plowed back into the local economy. In general, the "mother country" drew vast benefits from the raw materials extracted from Africa, but the native's lot was frequently worsened in providing such products. Ultimately, most of the European Great Powers had spheres of influence where they could market their products or obtain raw materials.
at little cost. This arrangement came to be known as economic imperialism.

Furthermore, colonies became a status symbol during the 1870's. The Germans and Italians were chagrined at being forced to take leftover sections of the large continent. By the turn of the century, Britain had acquired, as either colonies or protectorates, areas later developing into: Sierra Leone, the Gambia, Gold Coast and Nigeria in West Africa; British East Africa, part of Somaliland and Uganda in the East; and Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland in South Central Africa. France held territories which today are known as Algeria and Tunis in North Africa; Mauritania, Upper Volta, Sudan, Niger, Guinea, Ivory Coast and Dahomey in West Africa; Gabon, the Middle Congo, Ubangi, Chari and Chad in Tropical Africa; and French Somaliland and Madagascar in East Africa. The rich Congo in Central Africa became the personal property of Leopold II, the Belgian King, before being turned over to the Belgian government. Spain came to hold Moroccan cities, Rio de Oro, Ifni, Spanish Guinea and Fernando Po. Portugal’s possessions included Portuguese Guinea, Angola, São Tomé and Principe on the West African mainland and just off the coast; and Mozambique in East Africa. The Germans and Italians entered the race late, but the former acquired Togoland, Kameroun, South-West Africa and German East Africa, while the latter received only the lands between Assab and Massawa (Eritrea) and the Horn of Africa (Italian Somaliland).

These dependencies were often the battlegrounds of the imperialists who were always on the alert for new lands to conquer. Among such conflicts were the Fashoda Crisis of 1898, the Moroccan Question (1898-1914) and the Boer War (1899-1902).
Unlike Palestine, Africa had no thread of traditionalism or history to give continuity to any nationalist movement. Thus, Pan-Africanism or modern African nationalism was based upon the "throw-out-the-foreigner" concept, rather than upon the principle of "returning-to-a-glorious-past." The word "nation" is a social scientists' term of convenience for classifying diverse groups according to some political, economic, cultural or racial similarity or geographical proximity. In fact, although one speaks of the Hausa, Zulu and Bantu nations, such political groupings were really loose confederations of locally autonomous tribes. This points to a key problem in contemporary Pan-African movements, that of leadership. Each ardent young nationalist believes he has the answer to all of the continent's problems and that he speaks for all Africans.

Negro leaders were, however, united on one issue--breaking the bonds of economic imperialism in Africa. As in the case of Zionism, the groundwork for independence was laid in the Western World--this time in the United States and Jamaica. In 1787, about four hundred Negroes, an English chaplin and sixty white prostitutes embarked from Great Britain for West Africa. They arrived in Sierra Leone, where only some two hundred survived the summer. In 1789, a neighboring chief burned the settlement and massacred many of its residents as a reprisal against an attack by an English captain.

In 1791, the colony was reorganized by the newly-formed Sierra Leone Company under the leadership of Zachary Macauley, a British abolitionist and Governor of Sierra Leone (1793-1799). The stated purpose of the colony was to provide a new African home for Negroes emancipated in colonial America. In 1792, more than one thousand such individuals, who had been freed by the British Government in return for support during the
American Revolution and sent to Nova Scotia, settled in and around Freetown. In 1800, the West African "Maroons," who had earlier been deported to Nova Scotia to end their continuous revolts for independence, were transported to Sierra Leone. Liberia, also, became the home of freed slaves from the United States. Thus, the "Back to Africa" movement had its origins in the Western anti-slavery movements of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

It was not until 1895 that African literary nationalism was born. In that year, Joseph Booth, a British Baptist missionary to Nyasaland, wrote a passionate appeal for Negro self-determination entitled *Africa for the African*. In 1896, his plans for liberating the continent were rejected by an African Committee meeting in Natal but they were later incorporated into the demands of educated Negroes in the Diaspora.

Early in the new century, Dr. William E. Burghardt Du Bois, a Negro of mixed ancestry, emerged as the literary leader of Pan-Africanism. He attended the first Pan-African Congress in London in 1900 and there he made his now-famous prediction that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line--the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea."

In his autobiography, *Dusk of Dawn*, Dr. Du Bois gave an insight into the reasons for this awakening of race consciousness and its relationship to the Pan-African movement. He wrote:

As I face Africa I ask myself: what is it between us that constitutes a tie that I can feel better than I can explain? . . . The real essence of this kinship is its social heritage of slavery; the discrimination and insult; and this heritage binds together not simply the children of Africa, but extends through yellow Asia.

17
Du Bois led the Pan-African movement until the 1930's when Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), the rabid Jamaican leader of American Negroes and founder of an African independence movement, achieved prominence as a Negro nationalist. Both these men were of New World, not African, origin.

Even as late as the Fifth Pan-African Congress held in New York in 1927, no mention was made of African independence.

The catalyst which speeded the reaction to colonialism and economic imperialism was the Second World War. During the 1930's, many young Africans attended British and American colleges and universities and learned of Woodrow Wilson's self-determination program and of Garvey's, Du Bois' and others' work. One of the most noted examples was Kwame Nkrumah who, in 1935, came to the United States from the Gold Coast and attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania before leaving for the London School of Economics in 1945. He wrote later that the book which served to fire his enthusiasm was The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey.46

Also, in 1945, after an interim of eighteen years, the Sixth Pan-African Congress was convened at Manchester, England. By the close of the Second World War, African nationalism had an entirely different complexion. Du Bois was one of only a few Americans and West Indian Negroes present at Manchester. Seats vacated by Western Negroes who had either died, lost interest or were busily engaged in the war effort were now filled by Africans such as Nkrumah; J. Annan, E. A. Ayikumi and Edwin du Plan from the Gold Coast; H. O. Davies, Magnus Williams and S. L. Akintola from Nigeria; Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya; Wallace Johnson from Sierra Leone; and Dr. Raphael Armattoe from Togo.47

The tone of post-war African nationalism was set in the following resolution passed at Manchester:

18
We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the
right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts
and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand
for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further
than it is possible in this One World for groups and peoples to
rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federa-
tion.\[48\]

These young men who were soon to become world figures had, for
the most part, been educated in the Western tradition of freedom.
Furthermore, they were profoundly influenced by the recent victory over
the Nazi military machine in the struggle for personal liberties and
world democracy. It was not surprising, therefore, that these African
leaders, assembled at Manchester, issued such a ringing pronouncement.

Soon after their declaration, African nationalism, with its
concept of race consciousness and identification with other non-white
areas, was ready to be transplanted full-grown to fertile soil by Africa's
own young intellectuals.

During the late 1940's and early 1950's, Pan-Africanism gained
momentum. The Gold Coast was the only African dependency represented at
the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in 1955, the fore-runner of the
Afro-Asian Solidarity Conferences of today, but the resolution affirming
the equality of all races and of all nations became the watchword of
African nationalism.

In April 1958, representatives from Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, the
Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia and Ghana met at the first Conference of Independent
African States in Accra. They declared that, since the "existence of
colonialism in any shape or form is a threat to the security and independ-
dence of the African States and to world peace, . . . a definite date
should be set for the attainment of independence. . . .\[49\] Thus, both Arab
and Negro declared war on colonialism and the Africans were, for a time
at least, united on one major issue: eviction of the white man.

African nationalism had, thus, come to a head. In 1950, only Ethiopia, Liberia, Egypt and the Union of South Africa were independent states. By 1956, four more nations had emerged. In 1960, there were already twenty-eight self-governing possessions. With the birth of Zambia in October 1964, thirty-seven former dependencies have reached that goal. Africa can no longer be called the "Dark Continent"; it has become the "Awakening Giant."

During the period of colonial rule before the First World War, European imperialists were primarily interested in exploiting the continent's rich soil and mineral resources and in converting the natives to Christianity. Since most of the Europeans who owned plantations and mines in African territories were white supremacists, they gave the subject peoples no administrative training--the common situation in dependencies largely peopled by aliens of another race.

J. H. Huizinga, the brilliant Dutch journalist who spent eight months in Africa during 1948 as Special Correspondent for the Manchester Guardian, has presented an excellent paper based upon the thesis that lack of technical knowledge has created an almost insoluble problem in Africa. He describes the situation in this manner:

When one meets members of the West African urban elite one is only too glad to agree with Sir Philip Mitchell that the Africans have proved themselves quick to learn and that they are certainly not lacking in natural ability. But how large is the elite? I have no figures at my disposal, but that it is still pitifully small--which may well be the fault of the Europeans--is surely evident from the fact that even in such an advanced colony as the Gold Coast . . . Africanization of the middle and higher ranks of the civil services has hardly begun.

In this same article, Huizinga pointed out, although few scholars would agree, that the Dutch had trained the Indonesians for 300 years and that
the British had educated the Indians for two centuries before granting them self-government. Now, after but fifty or sixty years' control, the white man was ready to lay down his burden in Africa.

Upon attaining independence, each new state thus faced the gigantic task of training its nationals to step into key government positions vacated by the whites. This has proved to be a real problem because, although many Negroes had attended foreign universities, few had any technical or administrative training, nearly all having been educated in the more genteel, prestige-according liberal arts. African leaders recognized this deficiency and eagerly looked for possible short cuts to their citizens' gaining technical training.

The second major problem encountered by the African nations was that of assimilating their many tribes into some kind of cultural, economic and political unity. Until an extensive post-war urbanization movement began breaking such bonds, the tribe had been the basic unit of African life. This situation was due largely to the fact that the colonial powers had evinced little interest in extending control over the tribes so long as they met their fiscal obligations. The central government in each of the emergent nations consequently encountered serious difficulties with tribal groups seeking to retain their traditional freedom of action.

Late nineteenth century imperialists were intent primarily upon staking out claims to new lands and not upon developing them. The Mandatory Powers of the League of Nations and the Protectorate and Trusteeship Powers of the United Nations had little time to industrialize their territories. Each new nation was, therefore, faced by the problem of "lifting itself by its bootstraps." That is, in order to develop a local market, the overall economic level had to be raised. Since the prerequisite for
a high standard of living was industry, calling for entrepreneurial capital which the native peoples lacked, these new nations were forced to seek foreign investors. Without overseas capital placement, there could be no effective industrialization. Since such money brings memories of economic imperialism, no satisfactory solution for the dilemma attending the lack of developmental funds has yet been found.

In this situation, Israel has attempted to provide an alternative to assistance from the old colonial powers. Because, she is one of the lesser states with little in the way of available resources, her aid has of necessity been limited. For this reason, the most successful aspect of Israel's African assistance has been the technical aid offered starting in 1957 and continued to date. From January 1959 to June 1963, over 2,200 students from forty African political entities studied in Israel. During that same time, 637 agricultural, labor, administrative and industrial experts from Israel served in twenty-eight African countries.53

An analysis of Israel's motives for offering aid and of Africa's reasons for accepting it, together with the results of this policy for Israel and Africa and attendant reactions throughout the rest of the world, constitutes a fascinating research project.

In undertaking research in the field, the student encounters two limitations: the subjectivity of his source materials and the lack of historical perspective. Each author has his personal axe to grind; therefore, for any single event, there are always as many interpretations as there are observers. The cautious student must perforce ascertain the facts by a careful analysis and reconstruction of each situation encountered.
Since most of Africa lay within European colonial empires until 1960, relations between Israel, a new state, and that continent were extremely limited up to the present decade. With Israel's African ties so recent, the occidental historian lacks the benefit of a long time span in which to note trends and developments.

The reader should remember these limitations in perusing this survey analyzing the motives behind, the reactions to, and the results of Israel's technical assistance program to Africa.
REFERENCES

1. Joseph J. Williams, Hebrewisms of West Africa (New York, 1930), p. 16. It is interesting to note that many culture traits similar to the Jews' were found in West Africa, particularly among the Ashanti. The best example is the Ashanti belief in Nyankopon, the Supreme Being.

2. Isaiah XI: 11-12 (King James Version).


4. A Jewish girl was linked with the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. Anti-Semitism had long been rampant in the country but the pogroms were initiated in 1882 as a reaction to the murder of the Tsar.


8. Ibid., p. 157.

9. Ibid., p. 93.


12. Great Britain, Palestine Royal Commission Report (London, 1937), p. 23. David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, said, "The Zionist leaders gave us definite promise that... they would do their best to rally Jewish sentiment and support throughout the world to the Allied cause. They kept their word..." Also, see the Esco Foundation's Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies (2 vols., New Haven, 1947), Vol. I, p. 115.


15. Khalil, The Arab States and the Arab League, Document 225, pp. 490-492. (A complete text of the Recommendations of the King-Crane Commission on Syria and Palestine, August 28, 1919)


18"British Statement of Policy, May, 1939; CMD. 6019," in Book of Documents Submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations, Document 12, pp. 100-111. Between 1922 and 1939, 300,000 Jews entered Palestine, making the Jewish population 450,000 or one-third of the total. This document is commonly called the White Paper of 1939 by Ramsey MacDonald, p. 103.

19Esco Foundation's, Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies, Vol. I, p. 69. There were eight notes but the one dated October 24, 1915, was the "key" letter. In this, McMahon accepted Hussein's proposal with minor boundary revisions.


22"Official Letter from Prime Minister MacDonald to Dr. Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, February 13, 1931," in Ibid., Document 10, p. 95.


24Great Britain, Palestine Royal Commission Report (London, July 1937), p. 380. This Report, the work of Peel, Rumbold, Hammond, Carter, Morris and Coupland, was presented after talking with more than one hundred witnesses in Palestine and Great Britain.

25Khalil, The Arab States and the Arab League, Document 228, p. 500.


28David Ben-Gurion, Israel: Years of Challenge (New York, 1963), pp. 16-17.

29Khalil, The Arab States and the Arab League, Document 75, p. 161. (The words in parentheses were added by the editor.)
In footnote 1, on page 533, Khalil listed the thirty-three nations voting for partition, the thirteen voting against, and the ten who abstained. It is interesting to note that both the United States and the Soviet Union voted in favor of partition while the United Kingdom abstained. As one might expect, the Arab Bloc plus Cuba, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India and Greece voted against partition.

Ben-Gurion, Israel, p. 22.

Khalil, The Arab States and the Arab League, Document 266, pp. 584-585.

For a complete text of these armistice agreements, see Ibid., Documents 267, 268, 269, and 271, pp. 585-594, 595-599, 599-607 and 607-615.

Ben-Gurion, Document 284, p. 630.

This document was a letter from David Ben-Gurion to Premier Bulganin of the Soviet Union dated November 8, 1956. It read:

Egypt's ruler organized . . . an economic boycott of Israel. He established a blockade against our freedom of the navigation in the Suez Canal and the Strait of Elath, and for five years he violated a decision of the Security Council concerning the freedom of passage of Israel's ships in the Suez Canal...Therefore the action that we carried out at the end of October was necessitated by self-defense and was not an action dictated by foreign wishes as you were told [by Egypt]. . . .

In his recently published book, Israel: Years of Challenge, p. 120, David Ben-Gurion maintained that the blockade of the canal was not a motive for the Sinai campaign and that Israel's troops were never ordered to cross the canal but only to free Eilat and the Straits. This tends to conflict with the implications in his earlier correspondence.

Ben-Gurion, Israel, p. 93.


Tbid., p. 85.

Ibid., pp. 32-37. This work gives an excellent description of the first settlement in Sierra Leone, especially those initiated by Jamaican Maroons who had been deported first to Nova Scotia and later to that African territory.


Diaspora is used here to mean the countries throughout the world where Negroes of African descent had gone to live. It literally means "the lands of dispersion."

Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism, p. 25.


Legum, Pan-Africanism, p. 31.


"Ninety Countries Send Students to Israel," in Israel Digest of Press and Events in Israel and the Middle East, June 21, 1963, p. 6.
CHAPTER II

A Mission of Goodwill

It is bound to demand something in return for the cooperation and goodwill it brings to African peoples and governments. This great thing is friendship.¹

Prior to discussing the various aspects of technical assistance, it is necessary to set certain criteria for determining the difference between developed and underdeveloped nations and between technical assistance and capital investment. Such terms are relative, and must therefore be clearly defined before they become useful in this analysis.

Underdevelopment refers not to the cultural achievements of a country but to its material and economic prosperity. In the Western World, the term has come to be associated with a low standard of living as measured by annual incomes, infant mortality rates, life expectancies, number of inhabitants per physician, number of bathtubs per thousand homes and other such assessable comparisons. Of the twenty-three political divisions of Africa included in the 1956 study by the Technical Assistance Clearing House,² all except the Union of South Africa were classified as "underdeveloped," and the latter was listed among the "partially developed countries."

Today, one-tenth of the world's population enjoy three-fifths of its gross income, while fifty-seven percent of the people have less than ten percent of the total sum at their disposal.³ This latter group has a life expectancy ranging from twenty-seven to forty years and subsists on an average daily diet of only 700 calories above the sheer starvation level, or 750 calories below that of the more highly developed one-third. An individual in an underdeveloped country finds himself caught in a
vicious circle. His primitive agricultural methods yield only six bushels of wheat per acre compared to forty in the "rich" countries. Although he is often ill, there is only one physician per 20,000 persons as against one for 1,000 persons in the more advanced nations. He cannot read, because there are few schools and teachers. ⁴

Yet, Dr. F. T. Sai, Ghana's representative to the Technical Assistance Conference at Geneva, Switzerland, in February 1963, declared:

These differences are not due to national laziness or apathy, they are not due to contentment with their poor lot on the one hand as opposed to initiative and hard work on the other. These are differences which have been brought about by cruel climatic and physical conditions and have been accentuated by the tremendous advance of science and technology.⁵

These and similar statements point up the appalling need of underdeveloped areas in general, and of most of Africa in particular. The desire for a better way of life is there, but the technical knowhow necessary to attain it is lacking.

Dr. Sai pointed out this need in the following oft-quoted statement:

It has emerged quite clearly that the problem of education and training is the biggest single hindrance to progress in many of the countries we have been discussing—that there is a need to tackle this on a scale never before envisaged at an international level. Even where general education has made strides, scientific and technological education and training have so lagged behind as to slow down the best programmes of development.⁶

This almost complete absence of technical training has led in recent years to the establishment of assistance programs aimed at closing the gap between "wealthy" and "poor."

Such technical aid may be classified into three general groups: the exchange of students, the sending of experts to the developing countries for "on-the-spot" training courses and the establishment of
short seminars which treat both the theoretical and practical aspects of specific problems. These programs have been financed through private as well as government organizations but, in both cases, the donor worked cooperatively with the government of the emergent nation.

The International Labour Office has described such bilateral and multilateral agreements as follows:

It [technical aid] takes essentially the form of assistance in the assessment of human and other resources and in the promotion of their more efficient utilization and development. In the former sense it is closely linked with economic development planning; it is also a form of pre-investment, aimed at preparing the ground for comprehensive development programmes by such means as resource surveys and applied research.7

Major plans were adopted and administrations were formed to develop the human and natural resources of needy territories in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe as early as the late 1940's. However, this type of aid was not begun in earnest until immediately after the Korean War.

Up to July 1962, Israel enjoyed assistance from experts sent by the United States, France and the United Nations. Although limited by size, capital and resources, this partially-developed nation soon began offering aid to Africa and other underdeveloped areas. Such cooperation included itinerant specialists and technicians, seminars and student exchange programs. Both private organizations and the government have sent skilled men to establish training courses in agricultural and industrial development, government administration, labor-management cooperation and community health problems. Various Israeli groups, such as Histadrut, a labor organization, Zim, a shipping line, and Solel Boneh, a construction company, have sponsored study conferences in which African agricultural and industrial teachers were given the
opportunity to visit moshavim, refrigerator factories and shipyards in actual operation. Zim and Solel Boneh have established joint companies with the developing nation as a partner to construct airfields and government buildings, to build and operate merchant ships and to train people of the newly developing nations to take over administrative duties.

The State of Israel, in cooperation with African nations, Israeli organizations, the World Health Organization and various foreign groups such as the AFL-CIO, has sponsored special training programs for African students at Israeli colleges and universities. These courses of study ranged from poultry science to medicine.

As early as August 7, 1957, a commission from Ghana, headed by K. Botsio, the Minister of Trade, visited Israel for the purpose of requesting technical assistance. Moshe Dayan, then the Israeli Army's Chief of Staff, returned this call in September 1957. Shortly thereafter, Israel sent pilots to Ghana with the understanding that they would leave as soon as the Ghanaians were able to step into the aerial service's administrative posts. In October 1960, however, the British replaced the Israelis primarily because a Briton was appointed as head of the training school to replace the Indian who had resigned from this post.8

On September 10, 1957, Israel and Ghana jointly announced the signing of a pact whereby the Zim Shipping Line of Israel would provide forty percent of the capital for a new Ghanaian merchant fleet, the Black Star Line. The Zim Corporation agreed to manage the new merchant marine until 1962, at which time it would sell its capital investment to the Ghanaian government. In October 1960, two years earlier than expected, the Black Star Line purchased Zim's block of stock in the joint
corporation, but the former requested that the Israelis remain in the top administrative positions for seven years and the latter acceded.  

In 1963, K. A. Morson, a Ghanaian, replaced Zim's Wertheimer as General Manager of the Black Star Line but, in February 1964, Ghana announced that Israeli experts would be retained as managing agents until a sufficient number of qualified nationals were ready to fill these positions.  

Israel's Government, also, lent a helping hand when, in November 1957, it sent several experienced seamen to establish the Nautical Academy in Accra, Ghana. The more than thirty young Ghanaian trainees formed the nucleus of a national merchant marine corps. However, as late as February 1964, there was only one Ghanaian captain for the entire fleet.  

In spite of the lack of Ghanaian seamen, the Black Star Line now runs four regular cargo routes: to Europe, the United Kingdom, North America and the Mediterranean-Adriatic countries. With the launching of the Sakumo Lagoon, a five hundred ton freighter, earlier this year, the line has thirteen ships in operation and five more under construction. Although only seven years old, Black Star is already the largest organization of its kind in Africa, with a total of 120,000 tons, and its profits are steadily mounting.  

In May 1958, Mordecai Boren, senior engineer of the Solel Boneh Construction Company of Histadrut, founded the National Construction Company of Ghana. In an arrangement similar to the Zim-Black Star one, Solel Boneh officials agreed to trainGhanaians to manage the company and, at the end of five years, to sell its share to the national government. This cooperative enterprise was so successful that, by 1960, it
had constructed two university buildings, several hospitals and houses at the Volta River Project and had gained a five million dollar contract to build runways for the new Accra International Airport. At that time, three years ahead of schedule, Ghana purchased Solel Boneh's interest in the corporation. As in the case of the shipping line, the National Construction Company retained Israeli experts in key positions until qualified personnel would be ready to take the reins.14

While Zim and Solel Boneh were making themselves expendable, four Israeli government experts were sent to Ghana during January 1960 to plan the development of permanent collective and cooperative villages which would protect, as well as cultivate, the new state's ill-defined semiarid borders. These villages, which were small parcels of land near the boundaries with French Togoland, the Ivory Coast and the Voltaic Republic, were opened to voluntary settlement by boys aged 16 to 24 and girls aged 16 to 20 who would produce their own food, build their own dwellings, make their own clothes and maintain their own vehicles.15 Such groupings are comparable to Israel's Gadna, a paramilitary youth organization which teaches discipline and military defense, as well as occupational skills. By October 1960, Ghana had expanded these plans to include thirty additional state farms, similar to kibbutzim, to which unemployed workers were sent. Once again, Ghanaian officials sought Israel's advice concerning the types of crops to be raised on this dry, infertile land. It was hoped that within four years, such farms would virtually eliminate the necessity for importing $56 million of foodstuffs. It was believed that, if they were successfully run on a scientific, mechanized basis, industries would spring up nearby to alleviate the economic and social problems of unemployment and urban overcrowding.16 Although these aspirations have not
been realized as quickly as the Ghanaians had hoped, state farms are apparently here to stay.

The assistance program has, indeed, spread rapidly—Ghana has been by no means the only beneficiary of Israeli private company and government technicians. By 1961, various faculty members of the Technion, Technical Training Institute of Israel, were teaching soil mechanics in Ghana, civil engineering in Liberia and town planning in Nigeria.17 Between 1959 and 1963, some six hundred Israeli industrial, agricultural, health and administrative experts were serving in twenty-eight African countries, among them being Liberia, Kenya, Tanganyika, the Congo (formerly French), the Congo (formerly Belgian), Mali, the Ivory Coast, Gambia, Dahomey and Upper Volta.18 In addition to the Technion program which was sponsored by the government, Solel Boneh signed contracts similar to the Ghana one with Liberia, Nigeria, Kenya, the Ivory Coast and other developing countries. Since the Jewish companies have been willing to accept whatever roles the native governments desired and raised no objections to withdrawing after their tasks had been completed, such joint enterprises have proved highly successful and beneficial to both participants.

During the period 1958-1963, 1,078 Israeli experts rendered assistance abroad in the following capacities: 171 medical technicians or doctors served in 19 countries; 245 agricultural personnel were employed in 35 countries; 130 members of youth leadership organizations were stationed in 23 countries; 102 teachers were working in 11 countries; 105 industrial, engineering and construction experts were sent to 19 countries; 66 home and business managers were visitors in 13 countries; and 259 other specialists were living in 39 countries.19
One of the most serious health problems in Africa today is eye defects. In 1959, Professor I. C. Michaelson, Head of the Department of Ophthalmology at the Hebrew University-Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem, went to Liberia at the request of the nationalist government to study the problem there. He established a plan whereby Israeli doctors would set up a clinic in Monrovia while Liberians were trained in this work in Israel. The work was gradually extended to include roving clinics which were sent into the bush. During the first eighteen months, 13,000 patients were treated at the parent center and its offspring clinics in the outlying areas. By January 1961, 18,000 persons from all over West Africa had visited the clinic. Dr. Eliyahu Neumann, then the Israeli Surgeon Specialist on duty in Monrovia, said that his staff performed at least forty operations per month and that sight had been restored to some two hundred patients. Since 1961, Israeli medical experts have established a children's clinic in Upper Volta, a dental one in Gambia, a tuberculosis center in the Congo (Brazzaville) and a mental health project in Liberia. To complement these on-the-spot clinics, the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School has provided facilities in Jerusalem for African students who will eventually return to their native lands and there establish similar training programs.

During the Jewish year 5725 (1964-1965), on-the-spot (OTS) courses are being taught in all countries requesting the same in English, French or Spanish. Among such current classes are Industrial Management (OTS 1/1) for top-level manufacturing and service personnel and Cost Accounting in Industry and Services (OTS 1/4) for potential industrial or special service accountants. Other offerings include eminently practical ones for foremen engaged in road construction, for operators of heavy
mechanical equipment, for persons with experience in the building trades and for others in administration, cooperation, municipal management and education.22

The course in building construction (OTS 2/2) is divided into two sections, A and B. During the first six weeks (A), the group gains both theoretical and practical knowledge of the fabrication industry. During the final four weeks (B), students are trained in organizing and managing skilled labor. Specific subjects covered by the first section include a study of the structure and its elements, interpretation of building plans and drawings and building materials and finishes.23

A second aspect of Israel's technical assistance was the seminar program established in 1960 by the Israeli Labor Organization (Histadrut) with the cooperation of the AFL-CIO. This study session, entitled the Afro-Asian Institute for Labor Studies and Cooperation in Israel, sought to provide a forum for the meeting of trade unionists and members of cooperatives from different parts of the world. The course was originally designed for sixty participants, but was later increased to seventy when twice that number of applications was received. Since instruction was given only in English and French, enrollment was limited to those proving themselves proficient in one or the other of them. Scholarships covering tuition, board and lodging were offered to all the students by Histadrut or the AFL-CIO. The participants, or their sponsoring organizations, were responsible for the cost of travel to and from Israel and for pocket money during the six-month course. Instructors were borrowed from leading academic institutions in Israel, notably the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Many guest lecturers from other countries, including Asian and African nations, were also invited to participate.
The syllabus of subjects covered included Agricultural Cooperation, Economic and Social Policy, the Sociology of Trade Unions, Economic Development in Industry and Agriculture and Israel: Land, People and History.24

Since its inauguration in 1960, the Institute has graduated 740 students from fifty-seven lands. Among them have been teachers, lecturers, civil servants, trade union officials and social welfare personnel. When one three-month seminar studying problems of labor and cooperation concluded earlier this year, fifty-seven students from twenty developing countries returned to their respective countries to assume key positions. A new group of French-speaking students arrived last July to open the ninth such institute.25

The fore-runner of the still-active Labor Institute was a seminar studying cooperatives, held in 1958-1959 at the Workers' College in Tel Aviv under the auspices of the Israeli Labor Organization in cooperation with the Hebrew University, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Labor. Of the sixty students attending, nearly forty came from Nigeria, Ghana, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Chad, the Ivory Coast and Kenya, and the remainder from Asian countries. The students were divided into two groups—English- and French-speaking. Since no qualified French-language lecturer could be found, both courses were given in English, but the French-speaking group had an interpreter. Each section spent a week studying the operation of either a state or cooperative farm and a month inspecting similar enterprises. All the participants, except the lady who lived in a hotel, resided in the Workers' College dormitories. Although the students or their sponsoring organizations were responsible for the expenses of the journeys to and from the Institute, all costs in Israel were met by the organizers.26
By 1960, ten such ten-week meetings had been held in Tel Aviv. Of the sixty students enrolled for the Institute convening September 5, 1960, thirty-seven were from the former Belgian Congo, the former French Congo, Gabon, the Central African Republic, the Malagasy Republic, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Nigeria, Mali, the Ivory Coast, Togo and Kameroun. Thus, between 1958 and 1960, some 350 Africans had received first-hand knowledge of Israeli cooperatives.

Only this year, Israel's Ministry for Foreign Affairs added a new aspect to the various institutes sponsored by the labor organization. In cooperation with the University of Monrovia, a four-week Seminar on Developments in Building Technology and Practice was held in February 1964. This was undertaken to keep skilled Liberian craftsmen abreast of modern techniques and innovations in the construction industry. The seminar was divided into two concurrent study programs: Building Construction Management and Practice and Present Trends and Problems in Building Structures. The former, conducted by C. Baltsan, a consulting engineer, included the following subjects among its many discussions: Industrial Steel Structures, Thermal Cracks in Buildings and Water Towers, Tanks and Grain Silos.27

The third type of technical assistance offered by Israel to emergent nations includes college-level courses sponsored by the Hebrew University, the Technion and other institutions of advanced learning, and special short-term ones established in Israel especially for Afro-Asian students. The latter include Poultry Husbandry, a four-month topic taught in both French and English and limited to students holding certificates from agricultural institutions or having had adequate experience in farm management; Irrigation Techniques, a three-month one conducted in
English and restricted to students with adequate preparation; Use of Fertilizers; and Agricultural Cooperation. Similar study programs, ranging in length from two and one-half months to three years, are offered in Education and Vocational Training. Many areas are open in cooperation and labor, administration and community development. Several practical courses in nursing, mid-wifery and public health are available to qualified women.28

Historically, Africa has suffered from a serious lack of adequate health facilities and physicians. Missionaries from the United States and Europe were often the only "doctors" for hundreds of miles around. Therefore, in addition to special short-term courses and on-the-spot training groups in various new nations, in November 1961, the Hadassah Medical School at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem inaugurated a six-year program leading to the Doctor of Medicine (M.D.) Degree for seventeen African students who, upon completing their education, will return to their native countries to serve as instructors in similar programs. Classes are conducted both in French and English to accommodate students with different cultural backgrounds.29 This program, now in its third year, is open to twenty students from Afro-Asian nations. During the first two scholastic years, the curriculum embraces pre-medical courses, the social sciences and Hebrew which prepares them for admission to and integration with the Hadassah Medical School. All these prospective doctors are of exceptionally high calibre and are recipients of tuition scholarships granted by the World Health Organization. In addition, the State of Israel allots each participant monthly cash stipends and allowances for books.30
The second college-level program designed to meet a longstanding need of emergent nations is one in agricultural engineering initiated during the 1963-1964 scholastic year. This four-year curriculum, established to complement the sending of faculty members to African colleges, embraces four options: Water, Soil, Farm Structure and Farm Power and Machinery. During the first two years, students in all four areas learn the fundamentals of mathematics, physics, chemistry, technical drawing and biology. Then, in the final two years, each pursues his own special interest. The inclusive cost to each student is ₪6,000 per academic year, but the State of Israel offers a number of partial and full scholarships to deserving students upon the recommendation of their governments.31

In addition, Israel has offered training in special service fields such as fisheries at the School for Fishing and Navigation in Mevo'ot Yam;32 community development at the International Training Centre on Mt. Carmel for about thirty English-speaking students who have had at least ten years of formal education, teaching experience and/or extension work and good health attested by a medical certificate;33 and soil fertility and fertilizer use at Natanya, attended by twenty-three students from nine countries.34

On November 2, 1964, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem initiated a course in Food and Applied Nutrition. The program is divided into five parts: one week given over to orientation, a ten-week period at Hadassah Medical School to acquaint students with skills required by people working in nutrition, two months in specialization, two weeks for field work and a ten-day summation session for all participants. These activities have been restricted to some thirty candidates from English-speaking nations, each having completed either twelve years of formal education or ten years
of schooling plus two or three years of practical experience.\textsuperscript{35}

The most recent addition to Israel's long agenda of special services courses offered at the college-level is one opening on May 2, 1965, and continuing until July 30 of that year--The Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. This offering is being organized with the cooperation of the United Nations, the Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Hebrew University. Professor Israel S. Drapkin, Director of the Institute of Criminology at the Hebrew University, will be in charge of the program. Prerequisites for candidacy include the following: participants must be twenty-five to forty years old; must hold a university degree in Law, Education, Sociology, Medicine, Psychology or some other discipline specifically related to the course; must be employed as correctional officers or hold related positions; and must have excellent command of English. More than two hundred lectures will cover some nine topics, among them being Theoretical Criminology, clinical Criminology, Juvenile Delinquency and Comparative Penology. During the ninety-day program, there will normally be four lectures per day except on those devoted to excursions. Upon completion, each participant will receive a certificate of assiduity attesting his compliance with all course requirements. During these three months, students will have tutors from the program teaching staff and special counselors to assist them in personal and social affairs.

Subject to the availability of funds allotted to the respective countries and to the receipt of nominations, the United Nations will grant a minimum of twenty fellowships including tuition, travel to and from Israel and food and lodging there. Thus, this specialized course in applied criminology will cost the twenty participants fortunate enough to be granted fellowships almost nothing.\textsuperscript{36}
From 1958 to 1963, Israel has immensely expanded its training programs in underdeveloped areas around the world. In 1957-1958, only 137 students from twenty-six countries were studying there. By December 1963, the number of trainees had reached 2,272, many from the forty African political entities, and is still mounting rapidly. Since many of these people will return to their native countries as specialists to establish local training schools, their number alone fails adequately to reflect Israel's total contribution to the newly-emergent countries' development. Although small, Israel's self-help programs are on the rise and are attaining significant stature.

Why would a country as small as Israel offer even a modest amount of technical assistance to retarded nations? She is certainly diminutive by any standards: an area of but 7,993 square miles and a population of only 2,232,000 as of 1962. She suffers from a trade deficit rooted basically in her lack of raw materials and food and her inability to produce heavy industrial goods which would sell at high prices on the world market. In 1962, for example, the total value of her imports amounted to more than $612,407,000 while her exports were valued at a mere $279,150,000. Yet, in spite of these handicaps, Israel has accorded generous aid to emergent countries—a truly remarkable phenomenon in current world affairs.

The answer to this question of motives may be found in part in the altruistic character of Jewish religious tradition. Since Biblical times, almsgiving—aid for the poverty-stricken—has been an integral part of the Jewish faith. Isaiah the Second declared, "They helped everyone his neighbour; and every one said to his brother, 'Be of good courage.'" The desire to assist the Negro, specifically, was first expressed by Theodor Herzl, whose hero in the prophetic novel, *Altsauland*, evinced his
In 1962, Eliahu Elath, President of Hebrew University at Jerusalem, argued that Israel had a moral and ethical responsibility to help the African people. In that same year, A. Schweitzer, an Israeli journalist, expressed this traditional altruism in the following manner: "We are active in the Black Continent because of our wish...to give them the benefit of our experience in development and in solving complex social questions."

Perhaps the best illustration of the unselfishness is the statement by Mrs. Golda Meir, Israel’s Foreign Minister, before the United Nations on October 10, 1960:

We will never be really free as long as our children need to be fed by others. Our freedom will be complete only when we have learned to bring forth from our own soil the food we need... The inequality of the world today is not only in the gap of material things, but what is even more frightening, the gap between those that literally reach for the moon and those that know not how to reach efficiently into their own soil to produce their daily needs.

In an effort to help bridge the gaps described by Mrs. Meir, Israel had, with the cooperation of the United Nations, invited some forty nations to send delegates to a conference held in August 1960 under the auspices of the Weizmann Institute of Science and the Israel Ministry of Education at Rehovoth, in southern Israel.

This meeting, attended by cabinet ministers, high governmental officials, technicians and university presidents from nations the world over, resolved that "the governments of developing states should regard the furtherance of science and technology as a major objective of their national politics..."

The scholarly group there assembled declared further that "states which have made advanced scientific progress should, as a matter of policy, be willing to extend scientific aid and advice to states less scientifically advanced."
Since Israel, as well as Ethiopia, the former Belgian Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Cameroon, Chad, the former French Congo, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal and Togo, was among the states subscribing to this pronouncement, it was dramatically demonstrating a desire to lend its human resources to the development of the other nations.

Although altruism certainly played a part in Israel's technical assistance programs, it would appear that the inauguration of this policy was more closely related to economic and political necessities. Mrs. Meir implied this need in her statement that Israel expected friendship in return for its cooperation and goodwill. She delineated Israel's motives even further when she described the technical assistance agreement with Mali in 1960 as a great achievement because that country was "situated beyond the barrier of Arab States that are hostile to Israel." Oded Remba, a journalist writing for Midstream, described Israel's mission in Africa as an attempt to develop normal diplomatic, cultural and economic relations with the new states.

In order fully to comprehend the economic implications of this policy, it must be remembered that, in 1945, the Arab League instituted its boycott of Jewish goods and that, in 1948, Egypt halted the shipment of Israeli goods through the Suez Canal. As a result of such restrictions, Israel was unable to sell her manufactured goods to her next-door neighbors, the Arab nations. Her trade deficit was some $235,000,000 in 1955; $260,000,000 in 1956; and $292,000,000 in 1957. These adverse balances were alarming. Under such conditions, it is not difficult to understand why one author terms Israel's relations with Africa her "policy for survival."
Africa, meanwhile, was the continent of underdeveloped resources: diamonds in Sierra Leone and Tanganyika, tin in the Bauchi Plateau of Nigeria and in Uganda, copper in Uganda and Katanga, radium ore and cobalt in Katanga and Northern Rhodesia, and iron ore in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea. Politically and economically, Africa was no longer the "Dark Continent," rather, it had become the "Awakening Giant." If its great industrial potential were realized, it would become a vast market for manufactured goods as well as an unlimited source of raw materials. Israel hoped to gain the goodwill of these newly-independent countries by helping them develop and thus become one of the most-favored nations in their future commercial relations.

The New Republic, an American periodical, described Israel's policy as an effort to acquire a market for her tires, cement and refrigerators and a source for much-needed rubber, diamonds and petrol. However, E. Ezrachi, Director of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry's Export Division, predicted that "it will take years before we can build up a satisfactory volume of neutral trade with this part of West Africa [the former French Colonies]." In 1956, Israel's imports from Africa amounted to only 7,000,000 Israeli pounds while her exports to African territories totaled scarcely 12800,000, but, by 1962, the latter increased to more than 190,000,000. Even this sum, however, was but three percent of Israel's total trade. Since African commercial relations have developed so slowly, it is apparent that Israel's attempt to gain markets outside the Arab encirclement was not her sole reason for continuing an African program. In an article for Midstream, Oded Remba, the journalist already mentioned, took cognizance of the fact that, although Africa represented a large potential market for Israeli goods, this factor alone
did not provide an adequate explanation for her motives.57

The third, and perhaps most important, reason for Israel's continued efforts South of the Sahara was the need for political friends in her struggle with the Arab Bloc. If Israel had taken no action while Radio Cairo spread its anti-Jewish vituperations to listeners among the new states, her chances of winning friends beyond the Arab blockade would have been nil. Instead, she immediately counteracted such propaganda broadcasts with a positive program, offering assistance to every infant African state regardless of its culture or religion.

Israel's leaders realized that, as each new state was added to the United Nations, the African Bloc would become more powerful in the family of nations. If such new members voted with the Arab nations and the Soviet Bloc in the General Assembly, an anti-Jewish majority would be formed. Israel did not wait for such an occurrence. In 1957, she launched her mission of goodwill and, with the agreements of that year, gained at least a three-year advantage over the United Arab Republic which offered practically no assistance until 1960.

Although nearly all African nationalist leaders have persistently refused to take sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict, all but seven of the African States have extended de jure recognition to Israel, thus establishing diplomatic relations with her. Israel, on the other hand, has almost immediately recognized the independence of each new state as it has appeared and has offered assistance to all, including Algeria in 1962.58

The underlying reasons for Israel's policy, therefore, may be classified as altruistic, economic and political. The evidence indicates that each of these factors has played a role. Although the Jewish people have traditionally felt a genuine sympathy for the less fortunate and a
sincere desire to help them, this unselfishness alone would not explain her assistance programs. Economic necessity has been and will continue to be an important constitutive element underlying Israel's mission in Africa. In the near future, the expansion of commercial relations will have even more implications because the African supply of mineral resources is virtually unlimited. However, the motive which is currently most important is that concerned with the potential political power of the new states. Israel hopes that her African friends may prove to be the bridge to future peace in the Middle East. In fact, Eliashiv Ben-Chorin, Head of the African Desk of Israel's Foreign Ministry, has stated that "in the long run, Israel will stand or fall on its ability to establish itself with the community of small, poor nations."59

The new African states, on the other hand, desperately need the basic commodity which Israel is willing to donate: the assistance of trained technicians. In order to develop its natural resources, each new country must have a nucleus of trained personnel to serve as administrators and managers. In 1957, this vast continent had few such qualified persons. Kwame Nkrumah's Africa Must Unite voices the urgency of this requirement: "Our profound need at the present time is for tolerably proficient technicians, capable of manning, supervising and managing our agricultural and industrial developments."60

The Minister of Agriculture in Western Nigeria, Chief Gabriel Akintola Deko, pointed up this need in the following statement:

During my visit to Israel I was able to make personal contact with the Israel system of agricultural development and expansions and saw how some of their modern methods of approach and organization could be adapted to set a new pattern for our rural industry where there is a need to remove the present stagnation, to attract young educated persons to the field and to substantially increase our agricultural output.61
Not only in agriculture, but also in every other area, African countries are faced with a horrendous need for trained personnel.

A second factor in Israel's favor has been her small size, relative insignificance and recent independence. African leaders invariably gained recognition on the promise to break the bonds of colonialism. In accepting Israel's hand of friendship, therefore, they had little to fear because Israel patently had no imperialistic designs. Although Israel was supported largely by foreign funds, they felt that she was acting in her own name. An official from the Mail Republic reflected this view in his brash statement that Israeli assistance programs elicited "no fears of getting involved in a power struggle."62

Israel's size also made her an ideal model for these small, independent nations. African officials were frequently overwhelmed by the sight of vast irrigation projects in the United States or immense sovkhozy (state farms) in the Soviet Union. They had neither the need for such ventures nor the capital with which to finance them. In Israel, however, they saw small-scale industrialization and collectivization. A Senegalese official said that it seemed logical to him that, since his country was small, he could learn more from a small, efficient country than from a big, efficient one.63

During his August 1962 trip to Israel, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast, praised Israel, which, in spite of her small area and insignificant wealth, remained as a "symbol of dynamic growth, work and hope."64 From these comments, it is apparent that Africans admire Israel's ambition and rapid industrialization.

Not only is Israel approximately the same size as many of the new nations, but also, during her short critical history, she has faced many
problems similar to those now encountered by Ghana, Dahomey, Senegal and other political newcomers on the African scene. One such was the reclamation of semiarid land. Israeli settlers, with the aid of new irrigation techniques, now raise crops on former wastelands. Airports, hospitals, schools, factories and government housing projects have taken the place of shacks and barren deserts.

Another problem which Israel has solved rather successfully has been the assimilation of immigrants. More than one million newcomers from some one hundred countries are being unified into a single nation. This has been accomplished largely through training received in Gadna and Nahal (paramilitary youth organizations) and in collective settlements. Such organizations have established a rigid discipline by which all individuals learn to work together for the common good. The African leaders are faced with a similar problem of uniting numerous tribes under a central government. Since Israel has founded a workable, yet relatively simple, solution in only a few years, officials from newly-developed states cannot but feel that Israel will help them.

The increasing demand for technical assistance has been due primarily to the way in which itinerant Israeli experts live and work in Africa. They have talked neither of charity nor of the "white man's burden," but have worked side by side with the natives. One young African described his impression of the Jews visiting his country as follows:

They don't isolate themselves socially. They don't live in special compounds when they come out to Africa, with their tennis-courts [sic] and swimming-pools and things. And their experts don't just tell us what to do and how to do it. Quite naturally, they just roll up their sleeves and work with us... They know more or less instinctively what we are up against because they themselves have been up against it in a practical sense, not merely theoretically.
Since African nationalist leaders have maintained adamantly their decision to remain aloof from all international power struggles while concentrating on local problems, Israel's desire to win political friends has often been frustrated. Yet, she has continued to give technical assistance in spite of diplomatic defeats. David Dacko, President of the Central African Republic, expressed his appreciation for Israel's soft-sell program in the following statement: "You have not tried to create us in your image."

Africans have, therefore, willingly accepted the Israeli mission of goodwill because they believe that Israel is an excellent model for an emergent nation. She is small and has recently solved many problems similar to their own. She has not jeopardized their political or economic autonomy nor does she insist on involving them in an international power struggle. However, the paramount motive for their acceptance can be expressed in a simple phrase--stark need. These new nations lack the technical training offered by Israel, and by no other country, on so liberal a basis.

Today, Israel's African image is much improved over that of 1956. This fact is due in part to her willingness to withdraw after her tasks are completed and partially to her experts' quick adjustment to life in the emergent states. As a result, there are today more requests for Israeli technicians from African nations than specialists to fill them.
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2 "The Meaning of the Concept 'Underdeveloped----Lesser Developed' Areas of the World," an unsigned article in Technical Assistance Quarterly Bulletin, Summer 1956, published by the Technical Assistance Information Clearing House (New York, 1956). Figure 1, page 26, divides one hundred political entities into categories called "Highly Developed," "Partially Developed" and "Underdeveloped." Figure 2, page 27, compares these three groups on the basis of mean annual incomes, mean infant mortality rates, etc.


5 Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 116. Dr. Sais speech to the Commission on Science and Technology.

6 Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 117.


9 An article covering this change in policy appeared in The Times (London), October 19, 1960, p. 11.


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46 Ibid., p. 21.
47 Ibid., pp. 24-25.
50 Oded Remba, in Midstream, Spring 1962, p. 12.
61 Cited by Israel, Israel-Africa, p. 3.
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CHAPTER III

Humanism or Imperialism?

In order adequately to evaluate the success of Israel's mission in Africa, it is necessary to recall her stated objectives. How closely has Israel come to realizing the goodwill which she desires? What have been the reactions of the major power blocs to her policy, and how have these responses affected her technical cooperation? Is she acting as a base for colonialism or in her own name? How has this program affected the new African states? The answers to these and similar queries are essential to a comprehensive analysis of the subject.

Briefly, it will be recalled, Israel's primary goals have been the acquisition of African markets in order to nullify the effects of the Arab blockade and the winning of political friends aligned against the Soviet and Arab Bloc countries in the United Nations. In addition to suffering several disappointing setbacks, Israel has won many heartening victories within both the economic and political spheres.

Her economic success has come primarily in the establishment of joint companies and, thus far, has been largely a private, not a governmental, conquest. The Zim Shipping Line, the Solel Boneh Construction Company and the Mekorot Water Company, to name but a few, have established some forty joint enterprises similar to the Black Star Line and Ghana Construction Company which have created a volume of assets totaling some $200 million.1 In most cases, the Israeli company has owned a forty-percent interest in the venture, but the local governments have always retained the right to purchase the former's share as soon as practicable. Her financial success is limited, however, by her own lack of capital.
Since funds are not available for wholesale investment in promising African industries, Israel's financial returns have been rather insignificant.

Similarly, Israel's commercial relations with countries immediately beyond the Arab cordon sanitaire are expanding rapidly. During the period 1956 through 1962, the total value of her African trade rose by more than three hundred percent. Superficially, this figure indicates a tremendous increase, but, without other pertinent information, such statistics are deceiving. The fact is that, even with this sizeable percentage increase, Israel's commercial transactions in Africa amounted to less than $31 million, a sum constituting a mere three and one-half percent of the value of her total foreign trade. Furthermore, two-thirds of that amount was spent for raw materials imported from the underdeveloped countries, so Israel had unfavorable trade balances with them. Since infant Jewish industries have found it difficult to compete with those in the well-established, highly-industrialized powers, it is most improbable that Israel will become a major participant in African trade in the foreseeable future.

Most Jewish officials are aware of their limitations, as witness the statement by E. Ezrachi, Director of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry's Export Division, that, although Israel had been accorded the same trade status in West Africa as all other countries save France, it will take years to build up a satisfactory volume of mutual trade with that area. This fact is explained in part by Africa's old economic ties with European nations and partly by Israel's inability to offer goods at lower cost than those of the more developed countries. She continues to export to the new states low income-yielding items such as cement,
plywood, ceramic sanitary ware, irrigation equipment, canned goods, asbestos products, tires and cooking stoves.

Because of her alleged aggressions in the Sinai Peninsula in 1956, Israel had few political friends when she launched her African program a year later. Many of her former allies, notably Great Britain and the United States, refused to support her attempts to unseat Premier Nasser and open the Suez Canal. Although continuing to give financial assistance to the Ben-Gurion Government, President Eisenhower reprimanded the Prime Minister for his role in the Sinai Campaign crises.4

Thus, it is not surprising that the technical aid program initiated for economic and humanitarian reasons in 1957 became, by 1961, an attempt to build goodwill in the emergent territories. David Ben-Gurion has stated that this policy was, for Israel, both a moral and political issue and, from both aspects, was as necessary for her as it was beneficial for those assisted.5 He further explained Israel's desire for friends in the following statement:

The surest way of arriving at peace and cooperation with our neighbors [the Arab States] is... by making the largest possible number of friends in Asia and Africa, who will understand Israel's importance and her capacity to assist the progress of developing peoples and convey that understanding to our neighbors.6

How successful has this policy been? At the 1958 All-African Conference in Accra, Ghana, Dr. Mahmoud Fawzy, Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic, requested African support for Arab claims in "Palestine." Ghana, Liberia and Ethiopia refused to back this earnest effort to discredit Israel and, almost as if by design, one of Ghana's representatives left the gathering before adjournment to attend Israel's tenth anniversary celebrations in Jerusalem.7
In October 1960, Mrs. Golda Meir, Israel's Foreign Minister, sponsored a party for new members of the United Nations in New York. Jack Raymond, New York Times columnist who covered the gala gathering, reported that the large attendance, including eight cabinet members among the representatives of fifteen African states, and the general mood of the guests, "indicated that Israel was in a position to obtain important African support in her continuing struggle against the efforts of her Arab neighbors to isolate her."8

Raymond's analysis proved premature for, when Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the United Arab Republic, Libya, Ceylon, the provisional government of Algeria and Morocco met at Casablanca early the next year, they criticized Israel as a tool of imperialism. Morocco had originally called the conference to block a Mauritanian independence movement supported by the Brazzaville Powers including the Congo (Brazzaville), the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Upper Volta, Niger, Dahomey, Chad, Gabon, the Central African Republic, Cameroun and Madagascar.9 Although Guinea, Ghana and Algeria favored Mauritanian independence, they were eventually persuaded to accept a draft resolution condemning the same as a French scheme to regain part of her lost empire.

The second question with which this group dealt centered around the use of United Nations troops in the Congo. Ghana steadfastly refused to withdraw her contingent from the armed battalions serving in the Congo. When the subject of Israel's policy in Africa was broached, Ghana raised no objection to a strong denunciation for fear of further isolating herself and fatally damaging any possibility of an all-African military force under a High Command. The Ghanaian delegation was the only attendant Negro nation having both close economic ties with Israel and the
prestige to head off such a discussion. It is not surprising, therefore, that the ensuing resolution branding Israel as a tool of the imperialists was subscribed to by all. This pronouncement read as follows:

Israel has always taken the side of the imperialists each time an important position had to be taken concerning vital problems about Africa, notably Algeria, the Congo, and the nuclear tests in Africa . . . and has served as an instrument in the service of imperialism and neo-colonialism not only in the Middle East but also in Africa and Asia. 10

The Casablanca meeting obviously was a political defeat for Israel—the Ghanaian support which she had hoped to marshall never materialized.

Prior to 1961, Israel had understandably tied her foreign policies to those of the Western Powers, and notably of France, which had supported her since 1956. If Israel had then been denied Western World assistance, she would very likely have collapsed. The Casablanca Conference marked a watershed for Israeli foreign policy. After recovering from the immediate shock of this diplomatic setback, she embarked upon a new Afro-Asian centered course. In 1962, she reversed her stand on several issues, including the Angolan and South African resolutions passed by the United Nations General Assembly. She was aligned with African, Asian, Arab and Communist nations on the denunciation of Portugal's colonialism in Angola. 11 She voted with the countries favoring a resolution requesting member states to break off diplomatic and economic relations with the Union of South Africa in protest against the latter's policy of racial discrimination. Significantly, the United States, the United Kingdom and France opposed both measures. 12

In May 1963, the Pan-African Conference meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, refrained from adopting an anti-Israeli declaration. Doudou Thian, Senegal's Minister for Foreign Affairs, headed the opposition to Nasser's proposal condemning Israel's technical assistance program to
Africa as being "subversive infiltration." Of the thirty-one African nations present, twenty-four were beneficiaries of Israel's generosity. Furthermore, the non-Arab States present wished to concern themselves solely with African problems.

Since that time, Israel has consistently supported the emergent nations in the United Nations and has maintained normal diplomatic relations with them. In July 1964, for example, the Karume Government of Zanzibar, which had only a few months earlier overthrown the former revolutionary regime, exchanged diplomatic recognition with the Eshkol Government of Israel and accepted fifty scholarships of varying stipends for study at Israeli colleges and universities.

Within Israel, this technical assistance program has received wide acclaim and is today a cornerstone of national pride. In her statement before the General Assembly of the United Nations, October 2, 1963, Golda Meir declared that Israel's service to underprivileged states in development and nation-building was a source of great satisfaction to her.

In his recently published work, Israel: Years of Challenge, David Ben-Gurion demonstrated yet another positive reaction to Israel's presence in Africa:

Our relations with Asia and Africa will not loosen our ties with Europe and America but strengthen them. The moral precept in our Torah--'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself' --accords with historic needs. The creative pioneering of Israel ... will spur on new peoples by its example, guide them out of darkness, from penury to affluence, from dearth to plenty, and by enhancing Israel's prestige bring us nearer to peace with those about us.

He voiced the opinion that Israel's future lay in her ability to win prestige among the newly-developing nations.

Although Laurence Fellows, writing for the New York Times immediately after the Casablanca debacle, reported that several strong
nationalist Israeli groups urged the government to withdraw its technical assistance from Ghana, Guinea and Mali,\textsuperscript{16} it is noteworthy that, for the most part, the press representing the opposition parties in Israel found no fault with continued support there. Indeed, in a \textit{New Outlook} editorial, the writer suggested that Israel should not export her quarrels, in addition to her talents, to the emergent states.\textsuperscript{19} Meanwhile, Mordecai Nahumi, the political voice of \textit{Al Hamishmar}, recognized the fact that Israel must not tie her foreign policy to the "apron strings" of any great power, but must act in her own name.\textsuperscript{20}

Another aspect of Israel's recent African policy was discussed in an article by Moshe Dayan, Minister of Agriculture, appearing in the November 22, 1963, issue of the \textit{Jerusalem Post}. He had toured West Africa in September-October 1963, and described Israel's successes and problems there. In a kibbutz-like settlement near Yaounde, Cameroun, Dayan found a very efficient Israeli staff which had recently trained some twenty instructors to assist with future programs. He emphasized, however, that this settlement was run on a $50,000 annual budget for modern machinery whereas the average cooperative village there had less than one-tenth that amount on which to operate. He suggested that, in order to insure success, each settlement be backed by the Cameroun State. He concluded that Israeli assistance could not be completely effective until the local government was in a position to supply the capital necessary for modern agricultural equipment.\textsuperscript{21}

Israel's African program has elicited both praise and criticism abroad. In the United States, it has generally met with approval. In 1961, for example, the AFL-CIO contributed $180,000 to a scholarship fund for sixty students attending the Afro-Asian Institute for Labor
Studies in Tel Aviv.\textsuperscript{22} Since this affiliation with an American labor organization bore the stigma of Great Power control, many Africans were reluctant to accept such financial assistance. Partially as a result of this fear, but mainly from a lack of funds, this relationship was ended after 1962. The AFL-CIO, however, continues to praise Israel's contribution to the new states.

W. Averell Harriman, now America's Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, viewed the Afro-Asian institutes in the following manner:

I believe that this educational program in Israel for students from the underdeveloped countries is perhaps the most effective of any in the world. There the students see and hear for themselves the manner in which knowledge and scientific developments contribute to improvement in social and economic conditions.\textsuperscript{23}

At the annual dinner of the Palestine Economic Corporation in New York, Jacob Javits, United States Senator from New York, hailed Israel's assistance as one of her major achievements.\textsuperscript{24} It was, however, Gabriel Gersh, a New England journalist, who paid Israel the greatest tribute:

The habitual greeting in the country [Israel] is 'Shalom,' or 'Peace.' One might suppose daily repetition would debase this word into a vacant platitude--or that the struggle which made Israel, and by which it must endure, would give it undertones of irony. Yet curiously, the word still seems right and meaningful: and I think this is because Jews, despite all proofs of their restoration to the ancient role of warriors, do long for peace, and wish it for mankind.\textsuperscript{25}

Although Pierre Moussa, the French Government Inspector of Finances, did not specifically mention Israel in an oft-quoted passage, it can certainly be applied to that nation:
It [technical assistance] has to be a dialogue because the idea of a backward country receiving intellectual aid quite passively and with no attempt to take part in the creative process is almost a contradiction of terms. . . . Technical assistance which does not have the character of a dialogue is like help which, through laziness or incompetence, parents sometimes give to children when they do their homework for them instead of showing them how to do it.26

If Mr. Moussa's criterion for success is accepted, Israel definitely rates a "Superior" on that score, for her entire program is based upon the self-help concept.

However, Mr. Moussa also pointed up several weaknesses of intellectual or technical assistance programs. He contended with good reason that this type of aid could be successful only if it was attended by financial grants enabling it to "carry out its own advice." He declared that sending technicians without accompanying capital was like "offering a dying man consultations with the most famous doctors without giving him money to buy a bottle of aspirins [sic]."27 Since by Israel's self-admission, the small state is unable to provide large-scale financial aid to the underdeveloped nations, her technical assistance is less effective than it could be.

In England, Fenner Brockway, the veteran Labour member of Parliament and chairman of the Committee for Colonial Freedom, described Israeli-African relations in a now classic statement: "African goodwill is the bridge which will cross the gulf between the Arab nations and Israel. The opportunity is now greater than it has ever been. I pray Israel will seize it."28 Those subscribing to this view believe that Israel's technical assistance program in Africa will eventually win solid support in the emergent nations of Sub-Saharan Africa who, in turn, will bring political and economic pressures to bear on the Arabs. This posi-
tion is, however, unrealistic because it fails to take into account the Africans' adamant refusal to enter inter-bloc disputes unrelated to continental problems.

It is no more unusual for the Western nations to acclaim the accomplishments of young Israel than it is for a father to laud the exploits of his small son. As early as the Balfour Declaration in 1917, they were, in general, very sympathetic to Zionist aims. Furthermore, Palestine was an integral part of the British Mandate system from 1920 until 1948. Finally, from her inception in May 1948 down to the present time, Israel has been sustained by assistance from Britain, France and the United States, without which she would long since have lost her identity in the political upheavals of the Middle East. Thus, the Western powers have, in this century, been bound to the problems of the Holy Land.

A second aspect of their praise for Israel's efforts in Africa involves the similarity of political ideologies. Until her realignment of political ties in 1962, Israel had consistently voted with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization nations on major issues. Although Israel has a managed economy with many cooperative enterprises, she has a republican form of government with the law-making power residing in the popularly-elected Knesset. As a propaganda device for raising funds in the United States, the Israel Bond Organization advertised that Israeli assistance in Africa was a means of spreading democracy. Several American authors, including Arnold Rivkin, writing for the April 1958 issue of Foreign Affairs, viewed Israel as a "third alternative" in competition with the Great Powers of the West and the Sino-Soviet Bloc.29
Israel's ability to counterbalance the Communist influence on the continent must be predicated on the former's demonstrable ability to furnish trained technicians and supporting capital in sufficient numbers or quantity for each requesting country. Only then can she hope to fulfill the promise of providing a third alternative to capitalism and communism in Africa. Lamentably enough, Israel is unable, at the present time, to meet these specifications, nor would it seem that she will be able to in the early future.

The size of Israeli contribution to Africa is based upon two variables: the ability to play her role, and then withdraw, and the expansion of her own economic base. She has met the former challenge and has, in several instances, been able to recall her managers ahead of schedule. Because her own economy is undernourished, it is the second qualification which may most seriously limit her future participation in African self-help programs.

The Sino-Soviet Bloc has issued many condemnations of Israel's enterprise such as the one appearing in Izvestia on December 12, 1960. The Soviet Government then accused Israel of playing the role of a "Trojan Horse" for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. According to this view, Israel was guilty of subversive infiltration into African governments and armies; with the assistance of the United States "imperialists," she was allegedly equipping the African nations with new military tactics and weapons. The Soviet Union warned the developing countries that they were being "hoodwinked by a tool of American capital."30

Anti-Semitism in Russia has an historical tradition dating back to the early nineteenth century. After many years of hatred and distrust between Jew and Slav, it came to a head in 1881 following the assassina-
tion of Tsar Alexander II. Since a Jewish girl was linked with the murder plot, high government officials attributed his untimely death to the scheming of international Judaism and, the following year, initiated pogroms aimed at eliminating the Jewish participants. Under the twentieth-century Communist regime, Jews have, for the most part, received the same ill-treatment as other religious groups in the Soviet Union.

Israel's African policy was attacked by the Communist nations because, by so doing, the latter could indirectly asperse the reputations of the United States and Western European nations. By labeling this aid "a tool of American capital," the Communist nations hoped to discourage the young states from maintaining close ties with the West and perhaps, themselves, to win friends South of the Sahara.

It is interesting to note that, although the controlled economy and recent economic expansion of the Soviet Union have appealed to many African nationalist leaders desiring rapidly to modernize their countries, several have been disappointed by the absence of the Soviet Union at such important technological conferences as the one held in 1960 at Weizmann Institute, Rehovoth.31

The second aspect of the Communists' condemnation of tiny Israel may be summed up in a concise phrase--the desire to keep the West out of Middle Eastern oil fields. In order to promote friendly relations with the oil-rich Arab nations and in return for Arab support in the General Assembly, the Sino-Soviet Bloc has consistently backed the Arab League nations on nearly all questions concerning Middle Eastern conflicts.

As supporting evidence for its indictments of Israel as a "Trojan Horse," the Soviet Union has cited the historical, economic, political
and ideological ties between the Jewish State and the West. She has pointed out the AFL-CIO's contributions to the Afro-Asian Institute and the Jewish Bond Organization's annual fund-raising drives in the United States. Prior to 1962, it was not difficult to demonstrate Israel's political attraction to the Western World. The Communists mentioned the Jewish State's voting record in the General Assembly: she had sided with the European States and the United States against Algerian independence, against condemnation of the Union of South Africa's policy of apartheid, and in favor of nuclear tests in the Sahara. Radio Moscow's broadcasts to African nations have repeatedly stressed this duplicity in Israel's policies.

The second consistent opponent of her technical assistance program has been the Arab League, particularly the United Arab Republic. The nine nations in this loose confederation have sponsored objurgatory reports labeling this policy as a part of the neo-colonialist, Western plot to regain lost territories below the Sahara. After nearly three years of vain attempts to discourage the acceptance of proffered aid, the Arab States changed their tactics to a more subtle, positive inducement.

As early as March 1960, Gamal Abdul Nasser, Premier of the United Arab Republic, announced plans for African assistance in the form of credits for Egyptian goods and services. Later that same year, he signed pacts with Mali, Somali and Guinea which were to receive loans of $11,000,000, $11,000,000 and $17,000,000 respectively. By establishing trade relations with these African countries, Nasser hoped to undermine Israel's program of goodwill. In addition to this aid, the United Arab Republic also brought pressure to bear on Nigeria's fourteen-odd million Moslems in an attempt to prevent her accepting Israel's aid. Undaunted,
Ahubakar Balewa, then President of Nigeria, signed the agreements calling for trade credits with the Jewish State.31

In January 1961, Kamil Sharif, an Arab journalist, warned that the Israelis were hard at work setting up shop and winning friends in Nigeria. He suggested that the departing British officials had probably facilitated this quick acceptance of Jews, but added that the Arabs should not blame imperialism and then sit back and do nothing.35 That same year, as if following Sharif's advice, the Arab League established a committee to study the specific needs of the newly-independent African states and to make recommendations. Members of the Commission urged the parent body to increase its technical and financial assistance, countering Israeli progress and winning a share of the ever-expanding African market. Following this counsel, the United Arab Republic established 1,100 scholarships for African students attending Egyptian colleges and sent some 1,250 teachers and technicians to several developing states.36 The fact that such Egyptian aid was accepted again demonstrates the willingness of Africans to avail themselves of all proffered assistance for the modernization and development of their economy.

The United Arab Republic realized its first diplomatic success on this score at Casablanca in January 1961. Three recipients of Israeli assistance, notably Ghana, Guinea and Mali, joined Morocco and the United Arab Republic in the strong condemnatory resolution previously cited. This victory was only temporary, however, because it was accepted in self-interest, not as an evidence of political friendship. Indeed, one member of an official Mali delegation to Israel in October 1961 declared that the Arabs should first raise their own standard of living before attempting to better that of others.37
Anti-Jewish sentiment in Egypt may be traced back to the time of Moses and oppression by the Pharaohs. This antagonism, which, for the most part, lay dormant from the Alexandrine conquests until re-ignited by the early Zionist demands, came to a head with the establishment of the Palestinian Homeland under the British mandate. Neighboring nations claimed that the Jews had stolen the land from its rightful owners, leaving several hundred thousand Arab refugees homeless.

Although their traditional enmity against the Jews has been the primary motive for the Arab nations' attempt to retard Israeli progress in Africa, there was also fear that Israel was breaking through the cordon sanitaire and was winning lasting friendships among the new nations. Nasser and other Arab leaders were certainly made aware of Africa's desire to maintain normal diplomatic and trade relations with both Middle Eastern groupings at Addis Ababa in May 1963. Since that time, all United Arab Republic attempts to gain African support for anti-Israeli resolutions have failed.

The underdeveloped nations of Asia, Latin America and Oceania, while attempting to continue their non-alignment policy and to maintain their identity in a world controlled by giants, have vacillated between denunciation and approbation. They have quite successfully walked the tightrope and have received aid from both the Arab states and the Jewish one. Whether they indict Israel as a neo-colonialist in Africa and the Middle East or laud her as an alternative to capitalistic or communistic control seems largely dependent upon where they are.

During his visit to the United States in 1959, Pham Minh Dvong, then Director of Public Works in South Vietnam, told the American press that Israel's experience was more useful then that of the larger countries
because she had encountered many problems similar to those faced by his own emergent nation.38

Neither this state, nor the other emergent nations outside Africa, have stood firm against anti-Israeli proposals at the Afro-Asian solidarity conferences. In August 1961 at Belgrade, for example, twenty-five nations, among them being the nine Arab League members and Burma, India, Ceylon, Yugoslavia, Nepal, Ethiopia, Ghana and Cyprus, condemned Israel's "imperialist policies in the Middle East" and declared their support for the "full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine."39

During the third such conference at Cairo in February 1963, the assembly voted to adopt five of the six anti-Israeli resolutions proposed denouncing Israel as a "base for imperialism" and a "threat to peace in the Middle East." Each attending state pledged to stop Israel's subversive infiltration in underdeveloped areas.

Nasser, however, was disappointed to learn that it was one thing to marshal support for subjective, ill-defined, time-worn resolutions, but quite another to win patronage for a resolution demanding the boycott of Israel's political and economic bureaus. In keeping with their neutral status, the emergent nations refused to break diplomatic and commercial relations with Israel.40 Thus, what has been called by some a resounding victory for Nasser and by others a ringing defeat for him, was really little more than the Afro-Asian states acting in their own national interests. These oft-contradictory fluctuations are based upon the sincere desire to gain immediate technological assistance while the states remain aloof from both Arab and Jew. To date, they have been quite successful in exploiting both sides.
In order correctly to evaluate reactions among Africans, it is necessary to reiterate the needs of the underdeveloped nations and their reasons for accepting Israel's assistance. In a paper presented to the 1960 Conference for the Advancement of New States at Rehovoth in southern Israel, S. E. Imoke of Nigeria clearly expressed his country's needs by saying, "We do not ask for the moon, nor are we anxious for a trip there with you just yet. All we seek is your guidance, assistance, and cooperation in our efforts to gather the treasures of our lands, so that we may rise above the subsistence level." 41

Eyo Ita, Director of the West African People's Institute of Eastern Nigeria and a delegate to this gathering, delineated that situation even more succinctly. "Education," he declared, "is the great gate through which science and technology will come to stimulate and uplift us, and the training of youth will be the most important creative frontier for the New Nigeria." 42

Gabriel Lisette, Vice-Premier of Chad, added the following comments to the discussions of African problems:

Although there is an abundance of arable land, the soil is rather poor and vulnerable to erosion because of deforestation, bush fires, and cultivation of sun parched earth. . . . Moreover, the obsolete cultivation methods, besides impoverishing the soil, interferes with modern economic development. 43

Thus, it is clear that most African nations need what Pierre Moussa termed "intellectual assistance." The nationalists are attempting to modernize as quickly as possible and trust that the end justifies the means. A statement made by J. G. Kiana, Minister of Commerce and Industry in Kenya, at Rehovoth, illustrates this aspiration:
The Kenya government... must now engage in a full-scale industrialization program, and must do it at full speed...

To those who criticize us Africans for rejecting gradualism,... we reply, 'It is the early bird that catches the worm.'

In general, African states have developed excellent relations with the Jewish one and have accepted the latter's technical assistance with few qualms. Many have echoed the views held by M. Denis Koffi Bile, Ambassador to Israel from the Ivory Coast:

Like the thirsty Negev [Desert], longing for rebirth, I have come to your beautiful country and long to drink from the wells of progress, human development, sacrifice, labor and faith in the future, to learn a useful lesson for my country and to improve the ties between our two countries.

Although, on occasions, several African states bowed to Nasser's desire to disparage Israel, most were confident that they had little to fear from the tiny state. While on a goodwill tour in Israel in June 1962, Michael Okbara, then Premier of Nigeria, emphatically declared, "I have spent all my life fighting imperialism and if I thought that Israel was a 'bridgehead for imperialism' I wouldn't be here right now."

In 1958, with the assistance of Israeli agricultural experts, Akintola Deko, as Agricultural Minister for West Nigeria, introduced several African-style moshavim and kibbutzim in his country. In August 1963, he returned to Israel as the Director of the Food and Agriculture Organization established by the United Nations in 1961. He paid the following tribute to Israel's efforts:

Israelis are doing a most useful job in Africa. I travel constantly throughout the continent and I keep meeting them all over the place. Indeed it is true that Israel is small geographically, but its contribution to African development is out of all proportion to size.
Jomo Kenyatta, Premier of Kenya, added that Israel's experience had been of invaluable assistance in Africa's fight against man's chief enemies--ignorance, poverty and disease. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, further declared that Kenya would embark on her own path of socialism on an African basis, following an example set by Israel which had demonstrated how a state could "blaze a national trail of its own within the framework of socialism, while maintaining a strong individual identity."

In the words of the Liberian Age of Monrovia, "Israel is one of the new states of the world, yet it has played an enviable role helping the emerging States of Africa attain a measure of advancement and progress." These statements of praise are the usual African reactions on the general aspects of Israeli assistance. Although there have, of course, been adverse declarations by several recipients of technical aid, such as Ghana, Guinea and Mali, the nationalist leaders, in general, recognize and laud Israel's humanitarian efforts.

The quotations just presented serve to illustrate official government reactions to Israel's mission in Africa, but what about those of individual participants in the self-help programs? Do they resent learning from Jews? Do they feel that institutes and on-the-spot courses will assist them in improving their own countries? Will they benefit from Israel's experience in development?

Joseph Alaba, a twenty-year old student of electrical engineering from West Nigeria, decided that the best gift Israel had offered him was the opportunity to study electrical engineering because, without light, there would be neither life nor knowledge. A twenty-year old Ghanaian student of mechanical engineering emphatically declared that Ghana today
needs many experts for its rapidly expanding construction industries but that, as an independent country, she should draw primarily from her own peoples. Since his country did not as yet have enough adequately trained managers, Israel has stepped in to take up the slack until such a time as Ghanaians are able to replace them. For this assistance and for the opportunity offered him, Mintah Osei Kwadwo commended the Jewish state.52

Edward Finley, a twenty-three year old horticultural student from Lower Bucharan, Liberia, expressed his aspirations in the following words:

Liberia has plenty of water but it is not utilized in the right way. We have to learn from Israel how to preserve the water for the dry season of the year. This knowledge I hope to gain during my stay in Israel. I want on my return home to give the people the benefit of my own experiences so that instead of having to import food commodities, we will be able, like Israel, to grow sufficient [food] for ourselves and export our surpluses.53

Bruno Tohngodo, a Dahomeyan student at the Seminar on Cooperation held at Tel Aviv in 1961, explained why he was interested in such a course of study:

In the field of cooperation which primarily interested us, we have enjoyed our experience in the kibbutzim and moshavim. Every problem has a solution, and it is our impression that we can find elements in these Israeli patterns which will help us to solve the urgent problems facing our country.54

Mrs. Janet Bolarinwa, a West Nigerian graduate of a similar institute, recounted the following experience upon her return to Ibadan:

My activities have been based mainly on all my experience in Israel. I have built a small cottage for myself and I am proposing to build one for the workers too. My intention is to establish a sort of kibbutz on the farm, thereby providing for those relatives who are not on sure jobs. . . . We intend building our full year's programme and activities on my Israel experience.55

It would seem that, in general, those Africans attending classes in Israel or on-the-spot courses in their native lands are determined to
apply their newly-acquired experience in local projects. Each offered only praise for the Jewish state's contribution.

Indeed, Israel has conducted herself well in spite of several bitter disappointments. It is to her credit that she has maintained her equilibrium while not forcing the Africans to make a choice between Jew and Arab. She has been willing to treat her newly-found African friends as equals in every respect and, in consequence, has received many appreciative comments from the leaders of the emergent states.

A. Eyimofe Boyo, writing for Ibadan, set up what he considered ideal criteria for technical assistance to the underdeveloped states. He declared that such arrangements must be in the form of a partnership and that a "partnership of any kind becomes desirable and acceptable only when it is between equals." It would appear that, in the main, Israel's assistance fits these qualifications and is consequently acceptable to most.
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2. Israel, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Together We Build (Jerusalem, 1963), p. 12.


10. From a complete text of the Resolution in Ibid., Appendix 15, Section 3, p. 188.


12. Ibid., pp. 99-100.


19 Ishmael, "Month by Month," in the New Outlook, September 1960, p. 49.


22 Oded Remba, in Midstream, Spring 1962, p. 8.


27 Ibid., p. 148.


I would like to refer to the conspicuous absence from this Conference of our friends of the East, the Soviet Union, one of the two world powers which . . . hold the destiny of mankind in their hands. To my mind, the issues facing us cut across the boundaries of political ideologies.


37 Cited in Ibid., p. 46.

38 Cited by Kermit Lansner, in Newsweek, March 23, 1959, p. 49.


42 Ibid., p. 38. A statement delivered by Eyo Ita, Director of West African Peoples Institute in Eastern Nigeria.

43 Ibid., pp. 45-46. A report submitted by Gabriel Lisette, Vice-Premier of Chad.


49 T. J. Mboya, "Extended Hand," in Ibid., p. 4v.


51 Israel, Israel-Africa, p. 8.

52 Ibid., p. 8.
53 Ibid., p. 11.
54 Ibid., p. 15.
55 Ibid., p. 23.

CHAPTER IV
Conclusion

In 1951, pregnant women were the only Israelis able to purchase eggs and even they were rationed to one per week. There were then but few cattle and the dairy industry was primitive, milk being scarce and pasteurization unknown. Today, Israel exports eggs; beef is freely available; and sanitation in milk production has become a fetish. An Agricultural Revolution has wrought wonders in little over a decade but explanations are not difficult to find. First and foremost, the Israeli people were inspired to work hard and to sacrifice to attain their goal of effective statehood. Then, unquestionably, without generous assistance from foreign technicians, they could never have securely established themselves so quickly.

Now, in the 1960's, they are willing to give the underdeveloped nations the benefit of their fifteen-year experience. They have labored just as diligently in aiding others as in developing their own country. To date, they have an excellent record in Africa and other underprivileged areas because they have undertaken economic assistance with vigor and have departed after having given expert training to large numbers of native men and women with potential qualities of leadership. Even more important, they have not forced their new-found friends to choose between Jew and Arab.

Israel has much to gain by maintaining good relations in Africa. Since she has cut her political ties with the West and has added her voice to that of the rapidly-forming Afro-Asian Bloc in the United Nations, she has crossed the Rubicon. Her immediate future may well lie in her
ability to retain African support. In order to do this, she must refrain from attacking Syrian outposts and demonstrate that her greeting of "Shalom" ("Peace") is not a shallow, time-worn cliche, but the hope and desire of every Israeli.

What will be Israel's role in the future growth of Africa? How will this affect her relations with the Arab states? With the rest of the world? How will this policy shape her domestic welfare? The answers to these and similar queries lie in the realm of prognostication, not history. None the less, definite trends are already discernable.

In the following statement before the Rehovoth Conference on Science for the Advancement of the New Nations held in 1960, Ernst D. Bergmann, Chairman of Israel's Atomic Energy Commission, demonstrated the insight which makes his countrymen welcome in all small states:

Israel cannot be considered an unqualified example to the new nations. . . . Not all solutions of problems which have been found in Israel are directly applicable to other countries; nor can all the solutions found in highly developed countries be applied in the new ones, even if the problems happen to be identical.¹

Government officials such as Bergmann realize that they do not have positive solutions for all problems. They try, instead, to assist the emergent states in working out practical answers to the pressing, typically African questions confronting them.

Israel's place in the new Africa is hopefully expressed by Sir Milton Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone and a long-standing friend of the Jewish state:

We are for ever [sic] grateful for the readiness of the Government of Israel to send us experts to advise us on several of our development projects, and we look forward to a greater cooperation between us in the future including joint participation in some of our schemes for economic development.²
From this statement, it would appear that Israel's role in the "Lion Mountain" state is far from ended.

The Reverend S. B. Caulker, Vice-Principal of Furah Bay University in that same country, echoed his Prime Minister's sentiments at the Rehovoth Conference in the following glowing praise of Israel's assistance:

At the moment we have 15 Sierra Leonians in Israel who have generously been awarded scholarships by the Israeli Government to study practical methods of agriculture. They arrived here two weeks ago and will be here for nine months. I have no doubt that when these 15 young men return to Sierra Leone there will be a little revolution in terms of simple agriculture in our village life. This is what we want; this is science helping Sierra Leone.³

He knew of Israel's rapid agricultural expansion and desired the same revolutionary change in his own country where life expectancy was a mere thirty years and the infant mortality rate ran four out of five children born.

While visiting Israel in June 1963, David Dacko, President of the Central African Republic, declared that, in Israel, the new states had a brilliant example of the most rapid path to economic and social emancipation.⁴ One month earlier, M. Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of Cameroun, became the first Moslem chief of state to journey in Israel. His sincere appreciation and hopes for a bright future were recorded by the local press: "Your help to the new countries of Africa is not in vain. As our countries develop with your aid, the friendship between us will grow."⁵ Both statements illustrate African desire for continued Israeli assistance.

The need for technical training in Africa is obviously increasing in direct proportion to the number of new development projects in each country. Until they have educated a sufficient number of nationals to
fill managerial posts, these must be occupied by foreigners. Since Israeli experts, as a group, have gained respect for their willingness to relinquish control as soon as highly qualified local personnel are ready to replace them, they are the logical choices for such positions. As long as there is need for such persons in Africa, Israel will be looked to to provide them.

Furthermore, although state funds are unavailable for foreign investment, Israeli enterprises such as Zim and Solel Boneh will continue to supply capital and technicians to the developing countries. The unique joint company has become quite common throughout the continent and future prospects are excellent. These arrangements are acceptable to Africans because the Israelis request only a forty percent interest, train carefully selected locals to take over administrative duties and, when these have, themselves, become proficient, withdraw gracefully.

Israel's technical assistance is obviously limited by her own relatively small economic base. In fact, Rabbi Max Nussbaum, member of the World Zionist Actions Committee, related to the late President John F. Kennedy the need for highly skilled immigrants to replace those serving in developing nations. Rabbi Nussbaum declared further that Israel's service in Africa was a very crucial matter, "important to its [Israel's] very survival as it is the only way to keep open the communications with newly awakening nations." 6

That Government officials are fully aware of their limitations is evidenced by the declaration put forth in the Israel Government Year Book: that, "in the kingdom of the spirit quantity is not decisive . . . [for] even small nations . . . are capable of making their contributions
to the sum-total of human values."7

The Israelis certainly have confidence that their program will be successful. They have accepted this challenge of assisting new nations and have marshalled all their forces for the endeavor. David Horowitz, Governor of the Bank of Israel, ably demonstrates this fervor in declaring: "We believe in our common destiny with the developing world, and in the contribution we would make to its progress. By our tradition and past, we could help form a bridge between the two worlds."8

Israel's future prospects in the ever-expanding African market are excellent. Although her trade with the emerging continent constitutes only a small percentage of her total commerce, Israel has cemented her economic ties with African nations. She has extended credits to several new states, notably Ghana, Nigeria and Ethiopia. After these countries have become at least partially industrialized, they will need some of Israel's more important exports such as diamonds used in tool-making and refrigerators. In time, Israel's balance of payments in African trade may well swing in her favor.

As long as Israel has technicians willing to work with the nationals in self-help programs and Africa needs such experts, Israel will play an ever-increasing role in the new states. Today, however, she is engaged in a series of border clashes with Syria. If this police action develops into full-scale war, technicians formerly stationed in the developing countries will be forced into active service back home. Thus, Israel's policy is related to Shalom, or Peace, in two ways: its assistance to African development materially strengthens the family of nations and consequently promotes peace; but continued Israeli services in Africa are
predicated on the assumption that it will maintain the military status quo.

All indications today point to an indefinite continuation of Israel's brilliantly conceived African policy. During the 1963-1964 scholastic year, more than one thousand Africans were studying in Israel, and more are now in attendance. Nearly six hundred Israelis are serving in vari-skilled positions all about the continent. Although Israelis are continually making themselves expendable and are turning project after project over to trained Africans, new endeavors requiring their special knowledge are constantly opening elsewhere. Instead of completing a job in Kenya and returning home, the expert moves on to neighboring states, such as Zanzibar-Tanzania or Uganda, to begin all over again. As the new nations expand, they stand in need of increased services. In tomorrow's Africa, anyone going there with shirt sleeves rolled up for work will be accorded a hearty welcome.

It would appear, therefore, that Israelis will play a significant role in the modernization and development of the emergent states. Barring unforeseen handicaps, such as war with Syria or economic instability in Israel, the latter will continue her mission of goodwill. To be most beneficial to both participants, such undertakings must maintain what Moussa, already mentioned, termed a "dialogue" and what Mr. Poku, Ghanaian Ambassador to Israel, called a "two-way traffic." Both participants will benefit from a concerted effort to modernize within limits prescribed by the local situation.

On October 24, 1960, Ben-Gurion declared to the 120-member Knesset that Israel's assistance program to the developing states of Africa and Asia would, in the end, "breach the wall of hatred built
around her by the Arabs. It should be noted here that the former Prime Minister did not predict the cessation of Arab-Israeli hostilities as a result of pressure placed upon Nasser by Israel's new friends. His statement does, however, express the hope that Israel can establish her own circle of friends beyond the Arab Bloc's cordon sanitaire.

Obviously, Africans do not wish to tie themselves to any one nation or bloc but desire only to employ all available assistance for their development. Israel will gain friends in Africa only on conditions set by the latter. If she exerts pressure upon the African nationalists to support her in the United Nations, the Jewish state will lose her newly-won friends.

It is, in fact, most unlikely that the new trans-Saharan lands will exercise either political or economic force upon the Arab states in order to benefit Israel. It would be fallacious to assume that the latter's technical assistance programs will solve her longstanding quarrel with the Arab Bloc. If anything, this assistance is merely one more area of cut-throat competition. Future Israeli technical assistance will not halt anti-Jewish vituperations from Radio Cairo.

Africa stands to be the big winner in this rivalry. If each antagonist tries to outgive the other, the recipients, if able to maintain their autonomy, will be blessed by the best technicians from both sides. Shrewd young leaders of the emergent states are fully aware of this possibility and crassly play one donor against the other. If these nationalists walk the tightrope skilfully, they will modernize on a truly African basis without declaring allegiance to either side.

For example, statements by M. Modibo Keita, President of the Mali Republic, to the effect that Israel has become an object of
pilgrimage for African peoples who seek inspiration on how to develop their own nations, and that she has exemplified a human approach to building a new society of 20 million Africans, demonstrates the African acceptance of Jewish assistance. Three years later, however, this same Mali government acceded to the Casablanca Resolution condemning Israel as a tool of imperialism. It was not coincidence that, shortly before, Nasser had extended long-term trade credits totaling $11,000,000 to Mali.

It is much too soon to evaluate the effect of Israel's technical assistance upon her world image. In Israel, it is hoped that, by doing her share to develop other countries, she will win her place in the family of nations. The very fact that, in 1960, representatives from nearly fifty lands, both highly developed and underprivileged, attended the Conference on Science for the Advancement of the New States held at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovoth, Israel, attests to worldwide acceptance of Israel as an equal. Conspicuous absentees at that meeting included her challengers, the Communist nations and the Arab League states.

Her technical assistance, however, must be placed in proper perspective. It must be remembered that her programs are sharply limited by her size and population. This aid can never be comparable to that of the United States or the Soviet Union. Her contribution, therefore, must have a unique characteristic rendering it acceptable. This unexampled feature is that, like the Biblical widow who gave her mite, Israel enjoys the goodwill of the recipient for the spirit in which her modest contribution was made.
A serious domestic problem attending her African policy is the drain of Israeli experts, alluded to in Rabbi Nussbaum's statement to President Kennedy. Israel is still a debtor nation with an adverse balance of trade and innumerable infant industries. If some six hundred technicians are sent abroad to help other peoples, what happens on the domestic scene? Unless these experts are replenished, Israel stands to suffer in its own developing stages.

This program in the underprivileged states has, however, rallied home support based upon a sense of national pride. The Jews of Israel find sincere gratification in assisting emergent territories in situations similar to their own in the recent past. Few, if any, members of the opposition parties have attacked the government's aid program because the Israelis, as a people, wish to give the impression of cooperating in all spheres.

In summary, Israel has a bright future in the great African continent if she maintains the correct priorities. Africans will welcome her participation at all levels so long as she does not interfere in their politics or threaten to involve them in her own disputes. If Israel maintains her present uneasy truce in the Middle East, she will have technicians available for assignment to the new African nations. In the event of war with Syria and/or the Arab League nations, many such individuals would be recalled to serve on the home front.

Satisfactory commercial relations with Africa will probably ultimately emerge as a result of the expanded African economy. When and if this occurs, Israel's attempt to breach the Arab blockade will have been successful because she will have nearby markets. Furthermore, such an event would strengthen Israel's hand in her fight against the Arabs.
The latter, who do not surrender easily, are now competing with Israel in both financial and technical assistance to Africa. To date, Israel, has had the better of this conflict because she launched her constructive programs three years earlier than did the Arab states and because she has better understood native psychology.

Many Western journalists feel that Israel's technical assistance program may swing the African pendulum toward democracy. Be that as it may, at present, nearly all nationalists are concerned with rapid modernization rather than with individual liberties. Since the government is the only institution having access to the necessary capital, this central authority must finance the major share of new enterprises. Thus, the new governments in Africa acquire a socialistic aspect. From this, it is but one step further to the abuse of individual rights. Much will be accomplished in the field of mass education in the near future and this may prove to be a restraining influence on national power. Although Israel has often been cited as an excellent example for newly-independent states, Africans and Jews alike emphasize that Israeli solutions may not always be applicable to trans-Saharan problems.

Israelis take great pride in their own accomplishments and in their African aid programs. Unless Israel goes to war with the Arabs, she will continue to supply experts to help satisfy Africa's expanding needs. As soon as nationals are trained in on-the-spot courses or in seminars, the Jews will withdraw. Such a time when the latter will no longer be needed will, however, not come for at least another fifteen to twenty years.

Stripped of all its myths and false claims, Israel's technical aid to Africa, though small, is certainly becoming significant as more
students enter Israel, more experts visit the new nations, more joint enterprises are formed and more friends are won. In spite of her handicaps, Israel will be needed in tomorrow's Africa and, in proportion to her size, her contribution may well be larger than that of any other donor.
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<td>Rhodesia and Nyasaland</td>
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<td>593</td>
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<td>Ivory Coast</td>
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<td>Liberia</td>
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<td>Malagasy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
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<td>-265</td>
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<td>2,874</td>
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<td>Congo (Bg)</td>
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<td>-70</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congo (Fr)</td>
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<td>-336</td>
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<td>-27</td>
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<td>Kenya</td>
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<td>Others</td>
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<td>-950</td>
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<td>98</td>
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<td>-9,382</td>
<td>13,450</td>
<td>10,730</td>
<td>22,727</td>
<td>20,112</td>
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</table>

*Statistical Abstract of Israel: 1963, No. 14, (Jerusalem, 1963), Table 9, p. 448
SOURCE MATERIALS

Documents

A pro-Arab history of Palestine presenting a well-documented,
if very biased, account of events prior to 1948.

Esco Foundation. Palestine: a Study of Jewish, Arab and British
Volume I proved of substantive value.

Contains the complete findings of the Committee studying the
immigration problem in Palestine.

International Conference on Science in the Advancement of New
A collection of papers and speeches presented at the
Rehovoth Conference in 1960.

International Labour Office. The Role of the I.L.O. in the Promotion
of Economic Expansion and Social Progress in Developing Countries:
A complete text of the proceedings of the forty-fifth session

Israel. Israel Government Year Book. Jerusalem: annually since 5720
Publications containing speeches by various government officials.

Israel. Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Agricultural Engineering:
Special Course in English for Students from Developing Countries.
A booklet covering both the general aspects and specific course
requirements for the four-year program.

Basic Course in the Prevention of
A booklet describing the course scheduled to begin on May 2,
1965, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Course in Community Development.
A pamphlet describing the course held in Haifa, Israel, from
June 15 to September 30, 1964.
A pamphlet describing the general aspects of the course at Mevo'ot Yam, Israel.

A booklet describing in detail this prospective course.

A booklet written in English, Spanish and French giving a brief description of all short-term courses in Israel.

A pamphlet covering the recent Building Seminar in Monrovia, Liberia.

A booklet including both a discussion of the course and a collection of excerpts from papers written by participants.

An excellent discussion of various aspects of Israel's assistance to Africa and a description of all the on-the-spot courses taught by Israelis.

A pamphlet describing the institutes beginning in October 1960 at Tel Aviv.

A booklet describing various African reactions to Israel's cooperation in Africa.

A pamphlet describing the general aspects of Israel's aid program in Africa.

An Israeli analysis of the local conflict and its economic ramifications.

Contains a useful chart dealing with the country's trade with each African nation.
A pamphlet containing the text of the Declaration calling for international cooperation in the development of the new states.

While obviously slanted, this is a superior documentary history of the founding of the Jewish State, 1917-1947.

Khalil, Muhammed. The Arab States and the Arab League: A Documentary Record. 2 vols., Beirut: 1952.
Volume II contains a scholarly collection of documents on twentieth century Middle Eastern history.

An Arab account of the Arab-Israel conflict. Compares blueprint projects of Israel with actual situations as they have developed.

A list of each member nation's delegates.

A political map of Africa in 1960 showing all independent territories.

An abstract of the papers and proceedings of the Conference held in Geneva in February 1963.

The 1960 and 1961 volumes contain tables of Israel's trade with each African nation and other countries of the world.

Israeli Works

A discussion of the "making of Israel" by its leading statesman.

An objective analysis of the crucial events in Israel between
1954 and early 1957 by the Chief of Staff of the United Nations
Truce Supervision Organization (1954-1956).

Herzl, Theodor. The Jewish State: an Attempt at a Modern Solution of
the Jewish Question. New York: 1946.
Gives an excellent insight into the foundation of Zionism, as
well as a glimpse of its first modern exponent.

One of the first expressions of modern Jewish nationalism.
Hess hoped to awaken his fellow Jews to political action.

Personal impressions of the first United States Ambassador
(1948-1951) to the new state.

Meir, Golda. This is Our Strength. New York: 1962.
A collection of speeches and essays by the eminent Israeli
Foreign Minister.

Patai, Raphael. (ed.). The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl. 5 vols.,
Volume II gives an excellent insight into the foundation of
the Zionist movement.

This pamphlet is a passionate attempt to stir the persecuted
Jews to concerted action.

Weisgal, Meyer W. and Carmichael, Joel. (eds.). Chaim Weizmann: a
A collection of essays portraying various aspects of the
brilliant career of one of Zionism's founders.

African Works

An excellent history of Pan-Africanism by one of its founders.
An account of African nationalism by one of its foremost proponents.

Gives an excellent insight into African nationalism and some of its leaders, particularly Nkrumah himself.


A reiteration of Ghana's non-alignment policy in Middle Eastern politics.

One of the early leaders of Pan-Africanism describes political trends in contemporary Africa.

A collection of enlightening excerpts from records written by Europe's earliest travelers in Africa.

SECONDARY WORKS

General

An excellent background study covering types of assistance rendered by various nations to emergent areas throughout the world.

Analyzes this basic subject, particularly as it applies to Africa.

An excellent account of life in a state-owned farm.

Enumerates Israel's reasons for turning to Africa.

Part II lists African resources by region.

A pro-Zionist, but useful, account of Jewish history and events leading to the formation of the new Fatherland.
Ghana's Minister of Communications and Works describes the new
Ghana Nautical College, an Israel-Ghana cooperative project.

Discusses such problems confronting emergent nations.

Black, Eugene R. "Developing Africa," in the New Africa, January 1963,
pp. 20-21.
Analyzes the needs of the awakening continent.

Boyo, A. Eyimofe. "Partnership in Africa," in Ibadan, November 1959,
pp. 23-25.
Enumerates the conditions under which such working agreements
in Africa are acceptable.

Brockway, Fenner. "African Column: The Implications of Algerian Indepen­
An analysis of Israel's assistance and its place in African
affairs by the veteran Labour Member of Parliament.

A report of the attendant nations labeling Israel a tool of
imperialism, but refusing to break diplomatic relations with her.

Brockway, Fenner. "The Old Colonialism and the New," in the New Outlook,
December 1961, pp. 3-6.
A discussion of the current political and economic controls of
Africa.

Darin-Drabkin, H. "The Moshav As a Path to Settlement," in the New
An excellent description of life on a cooperative farm.

Elath, Eliahu. "Israel's Relations with the Emerging States in Africa
and Asia," in Jewish Social Studies, April 1962, pp. 69-78.
Analyzes Israel's aid to Africa.

A detailed description of the seminar on cooperatives held at
Workers' College, Tel Aviv, in 1958.

One of the best general histories on the period discussed.

Fisher, W. B. The Middle East: a Physical, Social, and Regional
The most comprehensive geography of the Middle East.
   Discusses the problems between the two countries from the Arab viewpoint.

   An analysis of Israel's motives for according assistance to underdeveloped nations.

   A history of Israel's emergence as a state from the Jewish point of view.

   This book was useful for general information on the political and economic development of the continent. For the most part, this work is an objective analysis.

Harris, Norman. *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1914.
   An early, but excellent history of the colonial period in Africa.

   A scholarly work of the problems of emergent Africa in the light of its past.

   A discussion of the problems which Africans must face in Africanizing their civil services by a Dutch journalist.

   An Israeli journalist's reactions to aid in Africa.

   This biweekly abstract of news gives many useful news items concerning Israel's policy in Africa.

   Summarizes the Belgrade Conference at which the attendant nations backed the United Arab Republic's condemnation of Israel.

   An excellent portrayal of Israeli technical assistance to Africa.
   A pro-Israeli account of the Conference meeting in Accra in 1958.

   An analysis of the African reactions to Israeli aid.

   Perhaps the most scholarly historical analysis of African nationalism in print at the present time.

   An objective evaluation of Africa's motives for accepting Israeli aid.

   A general history of Africa's emergence and an evaluation of the awakening continent's status in the family of nations.

   An analysis of problems of Egyptian trade in Africa by an Egyptian.

   A thoughtful evaluation of a major problem for future generations.

   A most useful study of the problems of underdeveloped societies and current attempts to alleviate them.

   A somewhat biased evaluation of Israel's assistance to Africa.

   An excellent, impassionate analysis of Israel's hopes and problems in Africa.

Nikolayev, V. "Israel's Perilous Course," in the International Affairs, October 1961, pp. 77-81.
   Describes the Soviet Union's reactions to Israel's African policy.

   A scholarly article covering the broad aspects of Israel's assistance to Africa.

   Perhaps the most comprehensive and most analytic article of all. A dispassionate survey of Israel's program.
A well-documented critique of Pan-Africanism and a searching analysis of Africa's future in world affairs by the American Counsellor to Paris on the Marshall Plan.

*Israel and the Afro-Asian World,* in *Foreign Affairs,* April 1959, pp. 486-495.
An excellent discussion of Israel's African policy.

Evaluates Israel's prospects in Africa and urges an expansion of her endeavors.

An excellent description of an Afro-Asian seminar on Labor cooperatives sponsored by Histadrut.

An analysis of motives behind Israel's aid program in Africa.

A useful study of African nationalist leaders and their aspirations.

A leftist Israeli journalist criticizes his country for being inconsistent in its foreign policy.

A brief, objective analysis of Israel's African program and its meaning for the Arab nations.

An historical approach to the question of Israeli motives.

Simpson, Dwight J. "Israel Policy for Survival," in *Current History,* February 1959, pp. 70-76.
An excellent analysis of factors underlying Israel's assistance to Africa.

Lists the common problems and characteristics of Israel and Africa.

Discusses some of the recent major technical training programs in Africa.
Describes the success of such enterprises in East and West Africa.

An excellent economic geography of the many regions of Africa.

This issue was devoted to the needs of African countries.

A statistical analysis of countries comparing their mean annual incomes, infant mortality rates, etc.

Discusses the reasons for Arab-Israeli rivalry in Africa and evaluates the success of each.

Analyses the significance of Ethiopia's granting Israel de jure recognition in 1961.

An editorial which discusses the United Nations resolution requesting the lifting of the Egyptian blockade.

Briefly summarizes the Conference held in late December 1957.

Enumerates the resolutions of the Casablanca Conference.

A sound, objective evaluation of Israel's motives in according extensive aid to Africa.

Evaluates Israel's African policy and finds it welcomed in Africa.

A report by an Arab League Commission visiting African nations on the success of the Israeli program.

A realistic analysis of the effects of the Casablanca Conference on Israel's aid to Africa.
A detailed discussion of a medical course established at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

An evaluation of Israel's assistance to Ghana and Nigeria.

"Israel Aid to Africa," in the New Outlook, November-December 1962, p. 104.
A useful discussion of Israel's recent aid policies.

Stresses the unique qualities of Israel's assistance programs.

Analyzes the Casablanca Conference in relation to Israel's policy in Africa.

A discussion of a very significant problem which contemporary Israelis and Arabs must face.

Discusses the reasons for the Soviet Union's denouncing Israel's African policy as imperialistic.

An Israeli analysis of Arab reactions to Israel's African programs.

Evaluates general African reactions to Israel's programs.

Williams, Joseph J. Hebrewisms of West Africa. New York: 1940.
An interesting research project comparing culture traits found in West Africa and Jamaica with those found among the Jews.

Newspapers

This weekly contains many news articles and editorials describing various aspects of Israel's assistance to newly independent nations.

Several news articles contain descriptions of Israel's work in Africa.
Many news items and a few editorials were useful in the analysis of Israel's aid to Africa.

The Times (London), 1957-1964.
Many news items and a few editorials were useful in this research project.