

DAVID and GOLIATH COLLABORATE in AFRICA



25¢

by THE AFRICA RESEARCH GROUP

ISRAEL'S SERVICES to imperialism have not been confined to the Middle East. For over ten years, Israel has played a relatively invisible but strategically important role in Africa as a servant of the US organized "free world" empire.

US imperialism uses Israeli diplomatic, military, and "development" institutions to further its

own objectives of tying post-independence Africa to the West and undermining revolutionary movements which threaten Western hegemony. Israel's own long-range political and economic goals have also been strengthened by "foreign aid" programs in at least 15 African countries.



africa research group

"David and Goliath Collaborate in Africa", by the Africa Research Group, was originally published as a shorter article in Leviathan (September, 1969) and reprinted as a pamphlet by ARG. This longer edition is taken from a reprint by Tricontinental (no. 15, 1969).

The article has also been translated and published in French, Arabic, and Hebrew, the latter edition having been banned by the Israeli Government.

The Africa Research Group is a movement research and education project that focuses on analyzing the United States' imperialist penetration of Africa. The group hopes to promote a more informed concern with and protest against the role the US plays in the domination of Africa and to contribute to sharpening and extending an anti-imperialist and anti-racist consciousness within movements for social change.

For a list of available publications, write PO Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

In overall terms, Israeli aid to Africa is statistically insignificant: her technical assistance made up only about 0.05% of the total amount of external aid received in Sub-Saharan Africa. That aid has been dispersed among: Ethiopia, Tanzania, Nigeria, Mali, Central African Republic, Congo (K), Kenya, Niger, Ghana, Uganda, Senegal, Togo and lesser amounts to several other states. At the same time, the character of these programs and their **strategic impact** demand serious attention from anti-imperialist political forces.

Israel's initial penetration in Africa came on a small scale in 1957 when her own national interest prompted her to seek political allies in the Third World. Israel was unhappy in 1956 because the Suez affair had identified her too closely with the interests of Great Britain, France, and the United States. It had reinforced Arab efforts to brand Israel as a "tool of imperialism" and provided too much hard evidence for political comfort. The growing strength of Moslem communities and the emerging Afro-Asian solidarity movement, born at the Bandung Conference in 1955, threatened to isolate Israel politically and economically. She sought to improve her international position by fashioning mechanisms which could undermine the emerging alliance between Asian, Arab, and African nationalisms. From their inception, these mechanisms have reflected the needs and interests of neocolonialism, even as they have pretended to subordinate themselves completely to African aspirations or have cloaked themselves in the rhetoric of idealistic mission.

The evidence shows that: 1) the US Government helped shape the

style and substance of Israeli assistance programs to Africa; 2) the US and its allies helped finance those programs through the use of the semicovert "third country" technique; 3) Israeli assistance programs have been concentrated in strategically important areas — particularly in specialized military training with direct "counter-insurgency" (i.e., counterrevolutionary) applications; 4) these Israeli programs serve the interests of a **relatively** small-scale Israeli imperialism and integrate nicely into a multinational US imperialist strategy. We consider this exposition as part of the larger disclosure of those techniques with which Western interests seek to preserve their political hegemony and economic control over the peoples of Africa.

In fact, detailed information about Israeli programs is most readily available in little-known but revealing reports prepared by "experts" on the payroll of US imperialism itself. Not surprisingly, the most complete survey and analysis of Israeli programs was prepared by a staff member of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) responsible for administering the US's foreign aid program; **Israel and the Developing Nations: New Approaches to Cooperation** (1967), was written by Leopold Laufer, a State Department official and former policy adviser to the US propaganda organ, the Voice of America. It is published by the Twentieth Century Fund, an important US ruling class foundation. A second — and unpublished — study is the work of a researcher for the Pentagon. Since the US Government has been involved in

shaping and assisting the Israeli program, it is not surprising that its "expert-agents" should then be involved in evaluating this program.

US Strategists Decide to Use Israel

America's growing cadre of Africa strategists decided that an Israeli presence could be useful in Africa. The late Arnold Rivkin, an economist who headed the Africa Research Project at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's CIA-organized Center for International Studies and later went on to a key role at the World Bank, was one of the first Americans to set out publicly the assumptions which underlay the US decision to take advantage of the convergence of interests between the US and Israel on the African front.

In the prestigious US journal *Foreign Affairs*, published by the super-establishment Council on Foreign Relations, Rivkin wrote in 1959 that Israel's moderate form of socialist development could serve as an important example to developing nations revolting against the West. "The Israeli model," he declared, "may well prove to be a sort of economic 'third force' — an alternative differing from the Western pattern, but certainly far more compatible with free-world interests than any communist model." (Our italics) In this collection of proposals for sophisticated "free world" policies to be coordinated by the US, published as *Africa and the West*, he outlines the way the US could support Israeli penetration:

Israel's role as a third force might also be reinforced by imaginative

use of the third country technique. A free world state wishing to enlarge its assistance flow to Africa might channel some part of it through Israel because of Israel's special qualifications and demonstrated acceptability to many African nations.¹

Rivkin's proposals made sense within State Department and CIA policy planning councils. US policymakers, for years, had been covertly channelling money to "third force" solutions as part of a sophisticated global crusade for containing communism. In Europe, as has since been revealed, millions of CIA dollars propped up and energized social democratic political groups which were moderately socialist but militantly anticommunist.² As nationalist leaders awakened Africa and Asia, only the right-wing hardheads in the State Department grouped around Dulles saw in this nationalism a serious threat to US interests. More sophisticated strategists understood that nationalist proclivities toward neutralism and nonalignment could be shaded to mask dependency and Western control.

As Rivkin observed in *Foreign Affairs*: "Africa saw in Israel a relatively neutral source of assistance, without any of the possible ideological implications which might attach from the West or the Communist bloc." A strategy then could be fashioned to take advantage of

¹ Arnold Rivkin, *Africa and the West*, Praeger, 1961, p. 89.

² In March 1967 a series of exposés blew the lid off the CIA's "covert action" program in which millions of dollars had been secretly channelled through a variety of conduits to anticommunist labor, student, professional, and political organizations throughout the world.

these illusions and reinforce the total strength of the "free world."

Israel "Imports" Knowledge from the US, Exports It to Africa

Between 1951 and 1962, Israel received \$15 million in aid and assistance from the United States. From 1950 to 1964, the UN and its specialized agencies — themselves often shaped and controlled by the US — spent over \$5 million on experts and fellowships for Israel.

The programs built a network through which US expertise was "imported" into Israel only to be "exported" by Israeli nationals somewhat later. The US was pleased with the "multiplier effect" that this aid had in broadening the impact of a US-conceived strategy. Henry Chalfant, former US Mission Director in Israel, quite frankly admitted this intention when he wrote:

Israelis selected for training abroad were carefully chosen with a view to returning to Israel as disseminators of skill and knowledge to others. This "multiplier effect" is an essential element of any program of technical assistance.... The high quality of the trained Israelis is further attested to by the fact that Israel is now and has been in recent years transferring these acquired skills and knowledge to less fortunate people through a technical assistance program of her own.³

To preserve its credibility and enhance its effectiveness Israel did not adopt American techniques wholesale, but instead modified them with a distinctive twist based on Israeli experience. Although Israel continues to require and receive foreign assistance, the size and scope of this type of technical training

has decreased and changed in character over the years. Nevertheless, a development technology "Made in USA" has left its unmistakable mark on Israel's strategy and style.

The Scope of the Israeli Assistance Program

Israel's program of assistance to Africa assumes several basic forms: 1) highly trained Israeli "experts" are placed at the disposal of African states, often in strategically important positions; 2) various categories of African personnel, including students, civil servants, labor leaders, and military cadre are given specialized training in Israel itself; this training is usually provided quickly and efficiently; and 3) Israeli businessmen and their government have set up joint economic enterprises with African states and private business.

In the first category, most of the important specialized assistance is military and paramilitary in nature and will be discussed in greater detail. Nonmilitary assistance programs utilize the "parallel training approach" — that is, while Israeli experts serve abroad, Africans are given specialized assistance in Israel. This assistance has been highly diversified, embracing everything from poultry training in Guinea to setting up national lotteries in Dahomey; from youth movement organizing in Gabon to pediatrics in the Upper Volta. The table below outlines the scope of these programs between 1958 and 1962.

³ Leopold Ldafer, *Israel and the Developing Countries: New Approaches to Cooperation*, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1968.

TABLE I*
ISRAELI EXPERTS SERVING ABROAD AND TRAINEES
ARRIVING IN ISRAEL, BY FIELD OF SERVICE OR
TRAINING

1958-66

Field of Service or Training	Total	Africa
EXPERTS		
TOTAL	1815	1261
Agriculture	523	261
Youth organization	256	234
Engineering	64	42
Medicine and health	202	173
Education	106	102
Cooperation	24	21
Management	63	46
Construction and building	65	49
Social work	23	22
Miscellaneous	489	311
TRAINEES		
TOTAL	9074	4482
Agriculture	2264	805
Cooperation and trade unionism	1048	664
Community development	712	493
Youth leadership	529	285
Medicine and health	265	211
Commerce, transport, finance, industry	156	37
Study tours and seminars	1622	537
Individual academic studies	230	102
Miscellaneous	2248	1348

Israel's agricultural programs are organized on military lines and carried out either directly by the military or by agencies linked to it. Be-

fore he became Defense Minister, General Moshe Dayan took an ac-

* Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 77. It is significant that Laufer's chart completely ignores the military dimension of the assistance program.

tive interest in shaping Israel's agricultural programs in Africa. This reflects the militarization of agriculture in Israel itself. Since the kibbutz system and most Israeli collective farms are closely tied into the national defense effort, this agricultural program has been organized on paramilitary lines. It is this highly political model of organization which Israel "exports" to Africa.

Israeli efforts seek to assist neo-colonial states in mobilizing their populations for "development." In the area of youth mobilization, Israel developed the *Gadna* (Youth Battalions) and *Nahal* (Fighting Pioneer Youth), which have been used as models for similar programs in African states. In theory, these programs are nonpolitical; in practice, they create politically potent and militarily useful bodies. Laufer explains what they do:

Gadna (youth battalions for boys and girls aged 14 to 18) offers sports, hiking, camping, crafts, group discussions, and cultural activities, as well as physical work and some paramilitary training. *Nahal*, which takes up where *Gadna* leaves off, is for young men and women of military age and includes paratrooper regular military training, followed by agricultural settlement in difficult or dangerous places.⁵

By 1966 Israeli experts had organized these "nation-building" programs in 13 African countries: Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malawi, Niger, Senegal, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, and Zambia. Other Israeli advisers carried on similar activities in Bolivia, Ecuador, Costa Rica, and Singapore.

In these countries, all primarily agricultural economies, Israeli experts often seek to impose Israel's pseudo-socialist *moshav* farm as an alternative to more radical collective forms of organization.

African independent peasants working on their own patches within the context of traditional community culture [claims Peter Worsley] thus find the Israeli *moshav* a more relevant model than more strictly collectivist forms of organization such as the Soviet *kolkhoz* or the Cuban state farms.⁶

Or such was the theory. In practice these *moshav* arrangements have not radically contributed to significant development in the agricultural sector.

Specialized training in Israel is provided on several levels. Government ministries offer courses as do quasi-government agencies such as the Israeli labor complex *Histadrut*. *Histadrut*, a nominally "socialist" but not anti-imperialist union, sponsors its own Afro-Asian Institute for Labor Studies and Cooperation in Tel Aviv, headed by Ellahu Elath, Israel's first Ambassador to the United States. It turns out 30 to 50 "trained leaders" every three to four months. Significantly, this institute was launched with a \$60 000 grant from the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations] in 1960; between 1960 and 1962 it received over \$300 000 in scholarships and grants from the AFL-CIO and its affiliated national and international unions such as the British Trade Union

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶ Peter Worsley, *The Third World*, p. 268.

Congress (TUC).⁷ Disclosures by prominent journalists in the United States have since revealed that the international programs of the AFL-CIO are virtually integrated into and coexistent with the CIA's international labor strategy.⁸ African trade unions are highly political instruments and the training which takes place in Israel seeks to depoliticize them by pushing a "cooperative" orientation rather than a working class, revolutionary one.⁹

"The emphasis," admits Arnold Zack, a Harvard-trained ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) agent, "is on cooperation with other segments of society; comparatively little time is devoted to skills of building trade unions as a power force in the country."¹⁰

Most Israeli training programs are short-run and highly concentrated in nature. More than 9000 "trainees" from the Third World have been exposed to Israeli seminars, conferences, and training courses. Only a few hundred students have spent more than a year in the country. Most of these courses are for middle-level personnel and concentrate, according to Laufer, on "transmitting new ideas and attitudes."

The Israelis have learned [he reports] that trainees brought to Israel for short periods of highly intensive, controlled exposure usually carry away with them a more favorable image than those who stay for longer periods.... Since the exposure to Israel is selective, the trainees encounter the most attractive aspects of Israeli life and society.

These courses have enhanced Israel's political reputation on the

continent while performing an important ideological and training function for imperialism.

Israel's interest in Africa is also prompted by economic considerations. As a geographically convenient source of raw materials and a market for Israeli goods, Africa has a natural attraction to businessmen. Trade between Israel and African nations is active and growing in volume. The volume of Israeli exports to Africa stood at \$11.6 million in 1963; by 1965 it was \$21.5 million. Notes Laufer: "It is probably more than a coincidence that the greatest increases have been in exports to those African countries (for example, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and Uganda) that also have an active technical cooperation program with Israel."¹¹ As a source of raw materials Africa is also crucial; the scale of Israeli imports in Africa is even more significant than exports and is growing. Samuel Decalo, another US expert, has an interesting observation about the nature of this economic relationship:

⁷ Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁸ See George Morris, *The CIA and American Labor*, International Publishers, 1968; "Agent Meany," *New Republic*.

⁹ Another professionally-run institute, the Center for Cooperative and Labor Studies in Tel Aviv, caters to the Latin-American trade unionists and is supported by both the foreign ministry and Histadrut. "Occasionally," discloses Laufer, "the Center runs three week seminars for South American trade unionists sponsored by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)." The AIFLD has been publicly exposed as a major CIA labor operation in Latin America which is openly funded by USAID.

¹⁰ Arnold Zack, *Labor Training in Developing Countries*, Praeger, 1967. (A survey of imperialist labor experience.)

¹¹ Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

...African imports of a number of Israeli commodities (e.g. furniture, cement, distilled soya oil) even if small in absolute figures amount to over 50% of total Israeli exports of these items. There are a number of other commodities (e.g. asbestos pipes, pharmaceuticals, carpets) of which Africa purchases over 25% of the Israeli exports with significant purchases of others below this figure.... In like manner, Africa is Israel's prime supplier for a number of tropical products.¹²

Most observers think that Israel stands a good chance of increasing the extent and scope of these economic relationships.

The modes of Israeli economic investment tend to be deliberately designed to minimize suspicion on the part of Africans. By mid-1963, companies based on partnerships between Israeli and African public capital had been established. Explained *The Economist*:

Instead of demanding control, or concessions for long periods, the Israelis almost invariably postulate as a condition of their participation that their shareholding must be minority. Contracts are limited to five years, at the end of which the local majority stockholders are given the option of buying the Israeli interest out.... Companies jointly financed by Israeli and African public bodies have been operating in Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Senegal, Tanganyika, and two or three other states.¹³

Israel's policy in this regard is motivated by shrewd economic reasoning. Explains Laufer:

...joint ventures have enabled

Israeli companies to enter new markets with relatively small capital investment and under the benevolent protection of the governments of developing countries. Since in many of these countries domestic markets are closely guarded by long-established foreign or expatriate firms, the Israeli firms might have found it difficult to establish themselves without the partnerships.¹⁴

The types of projects advanced with this method of Israeli penetration have also tended to assist neo-colonial governments with schemes which have a questionable benefit and are hardly priorities for the majority of their impoverished populations. For example, companies in which the Israeli quasi-public firm, Solel Boneh, has been a partner have built: an international airport in Accra, luxury hotels in Eastern Nigeria, university buildings, 800 miles of roads in Western Nigeria, fancy Parliament buildings in Sierra Leone and Eastern Nigeria, and military installations in the Ivory Coast.

Israel's economic interest in Africa is a long-range one. Her limited economic involvement is in part a function of the tight control with which metropole powers and the US seek to monopolize trade and retain preferences. But whatever its cause, this appearance of economic con-

¹² Samuel Decalo, "Israel and Africa; A Selected Bibliography," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, March 5, 1967, p. 391.

¹³ *The Economist*, August 24, 1963, as quoted in Basil Davidson, *Which Way Africa?* 1965.

¹⁴ Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

servatism allows Israel room for considerable political maneuverability.

Israel and the International Counterrevolution - Military Assistance

Israel comes into its own with sensitive and highly specialized military and police-intelligence training. A myriad of programs quietly provide African states the type of military and police know-how required to build up effective internal security forces designed to protect those neocolonialist governments, propped up and "developed" by US imperialism, from being overthrown by their own populations.

Information about this dimension of Israeli penetration is veiled in secrecy. When a member of the Africa Research Group made a first attempt to seek out this information (by contacting a professor who has written about Israeli involvement in Africa), he was informed that "printed material on Afro-Israeli military information is pretty difficult to obtain. Whatever material exists is in Hebrew, much of it being classified." The professor, however, suggested that an inquiry be sent to a certain Sanford Silverburg at American University in Washington, D.C.

Silverburg turned out to be more than just another academic. He is a professional researcher on the staff of the Center for Research in Social Systems (CRESS), a major research operation funded by the US Army (to the tune of \$1.9 million in 1967). CRESS was reorganized in 1966 following disclosures of its participation in the notorious Project Camelot, an intellectual espionage

mission in Latin America.¹⁵ It presently has two divisions: CINFAC, a Counter Insurgency Information Analysis Center; and SSRI, a Social Science Research Institute which studies ways of improving the effectiveness of US military personnel attached as advisers to the armed forces of other countries.

CRESS's interest in Israeli military programs in Africa is part of its larger responsibility for developing research which aids the Pentagon's commitment to preserve and defend the empire. The US has been a long-term supplier of military assistance to Israel, as part of a broader policy in the Middle East. Between 1964 and 1967 military assistance to Israel amounted to \$41.6 million, while total US economic and military assistance was \$1127 million.¹⁶

Israeli military personnel are trained in the US as are soldiers from Arab countries. There are also a number of information-sharing arrangements between the Israeli and US military establishments. In 1968 the Department of Defense financed close to \$2 million worth of scientific research through 32 contracts at Israeli universities and research centers.¹⁷

Sanford Silverburg has spent five years on the CRESS staff, during which time he has also worked on graduate degrees at American University. While still attached to CRESS, he prepared a Masters Thesis for the School of International Service (sic) entitled: *Israeli Mil-*

itary and Paramilitary Assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa: A Harbinger for the Role of the Military in Developing States. While concerned primarily with studying the Israeli military role in shaping the "nation-building" process — a notion very much in fashion among Pentagon officials and development planners — this document appears to be the most complete available nonclassified breakdown of the range and

import of Israeli military programs. At the outset of his study Silverburg acknowledges that data is hard to obtain, but nevertheless manages (presumably through CRESS's resources) to pull together an impressive amount of evidence from a wide range of American, European, African, and Israeli sources. In the chart that follows, we will outline the breakdown, on a country-by-country basis.

TABLE II
ISRAELI MILITARY AND PARAMILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

1960-66¹⁸

Country	Year	Nature of Israeli Program
Cameroon	1966	Israeli Army officers set up Nahal-Gadna system in January.
Central African Republic	1960	50 study grants to individuals.
	1962	14 Army officers set up National Pioneer Youth with Israel-trained staff (2-year contract).

¹⁵ I. L. Horowitz, *The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot*, 1968.

¹⁶ "US Overseas Loans and Grants, Special Report," March 1968, p. 15.

¹⁷ Senator Fulbright inserted a complete list of all of the overseas Defense Research in the Congressional Record May 1969.

¹⁸ Sanford Silverburg, *Israeli Military and Paramilitary Assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa: A Harbinger for the Role of the Military in Developing States*, Masters Thesis, American University, 1968, pp. 50-75.*

Chad	1964	Student training by advisers sent to youth movement.
	1967	2 Israeli advisers killed in counterinsurgency operations with Chad Army against National Liberation Front of Chad.
Congo (K)	1963	243 Congolese paratroops sent to Israel for air training, including now President, General Joseph Mobutu.
	1964	Israeli advisers go to Congo to provide 100 more Congolese troops with parachute instruction, in October.
	1968	In March, Israelis train 35 more paratroopers in First Paracommando Battalion, considered "best unit."
Dahomey	1962	Israelis "advise" First Army Pioneer Company.
	1966	2 Israeli advisers administer Young Pioneers Youth Movement (USAID supported).
Ethiopia	1960-66	Israelis operate counterinsurgency program directed against Eritrean Liberation Front and Shiftas of Kenya. Israelis replace US Special Forces "removed" after aborted coup by US-trained Ethiopian officers.

Substantial cooperation between Ethiopian and Israeli military operations includes: training for special forces, intelligence, counterinsurgency operations. Israel maintains major military mission graduating 500 men every 6 months. Israel cooperates with US and Ethiopian military in establishing base at Jebel Hamid.

Ghana	Ghana Air Force and flying school organized, jeopardizing Britain's unilateral control. Israel provides assistance to Army, Navy units. British commercial interests force Israel out of Ghana.
-------	---

Ivory Coast	1961	Nahal-Gadna type program set up with help from USAID. Service civique revamped and revitalized, to consternation of French.
-------------	------	--

	1963	Army school for "civic action" established. On advice of Israel, Ivory Coast seeks to use Army in "national service." Israel equips Presidential Guard with Israeli-made Uzzi 7.66 mm submachine guns.
--	------	---

Kenya	1963	5 Air Force cadets and 30 Army personnel "unofficially" trained through 1963 (negligible program).
-------	------	--

Malawi		Israel trains medical personnel. 4 instructors help set up Malawi Young Pioneers Movement, paramilitary organization of 500 to 700 members.
Nigeria	1967	Army and police training provided. Israeli-made 11 mm mortars supplied. 1967 charge that Israel also supplies weapons to Biafra denied by Israeli ambassador to Nigeria in January 1969.
Sierra Leone	1966	Israel helps set up Military Academy; 65 officers remain for 2 additional years.
Tanzania	1963	60 cadets trained in 193 day course. National Service Corps set up on Israeli model with Israeli assistance runs into trouble when 117 members are detained or discharged for disloyalty (no implication of Israeli involvement).
	1964	24 Naval Marine cadets trained.
	1966	120 police receive paratroop training; unit assigned to maintain order, deter cattle rustling and, according to speculations, reserved for use against Zanzibar if necessary. Israel rumored to be involved with Tanzanian intelligence.

Togo	1961	7-man Israeli team organizes Agricultural Youth Corps using Gadna techniques. Experiments with moshav settlement schemes initiated.
Uganda	1963	15 Army officers, 5 pilots trained in Israel.
	1964	Air force organized and trained.
	1966	Israel assumes all military training, supplies some planes, is alleged to be conduit for French assistance to Uganda.

The practical help Israeli military training provides the objectives of US imperialism is best illustrated by the situation in the Congo, one of Africa's richest and most strategically located countries. The US role in the Congo since independence is notorious: by the accounts of such men as Conor Cruise O'Brien, the US played a determining role in structuring the government of the Congo after engineering a UN intervention which helped topple the Lumumba government and impose a servile one. The CIA was deeply involved in General Mobutu's original rise to power.¹⁹ At the prodding of US corporate and financial interests, the US maintained an active role in the Congo, particularly when organized rebellions and guerrilla movements began to threaten US hegemony. In the course of developing effective counterinsurgency techniques, the US Army ordered a study on "Witchcraft, Sorcery, Magic and Other Psychological Phenom-

ena and Their Implications on Military and Paramilitary Operations in the Congo" (1964), which the academics at the Army-funded Counterinsurgency Analysis Center at American University provided. The report's conclusion is directly relevant to the role Israel came to assume. "Drawing upon the Belgian experience as well as that of Tshombe in Katanga," it noted, "it would appear that a more flexible approach to the military problem is to be found in the concept of elite troops: troops which are carefully trained and disciplined and which are well commanded." This military advice was accepted; only so as to diminish an already overextended and politically embarrassing overt US role, it was the Israelis who took on the task of training the Congo's crack elite paracommando squadron.

¹⁹ See Andrew Tully, *The CIA: The Inside Story*.

What is significant about these Israeli programs is not their size but rather their strategic concentration in building up elite sections within increasingly important military institutions. That these institutions are also in countries which have most significant US penetration (i.e., Ethiopia and Congo (K)) is by no means coincidental. These programs give the Israelis, and through the Israelis, the US, intimate access and influence in the internal development of the respective countries. "The granting of assistance — military or other —," admits Silverburg, "is also an open invitation to the donor to firmly establish its national interests in the recipient country, which may include inciting revolt and rebellion, though on a covert status."²⁰

Since her involvement is motivated as much by the international interests of US imperialism as by her own national interest, Israel takes great pains to work closely with the host government to avoid "misunderstandings." At the same time, Israeli programs are tied into a larger CIA and Western intelligence operation. Because of the very nature of intelligence training Israeli agents provide Tanzanians, Ethiopians, and Congolese, Israel is deeply enmeshed in the sub rosa world of intrigue and covert political manipulation.

Hard facts about Israel's covert role are even more difficult to amass than information about military programs. There is evidence that Israel supported covertly a number of liberation movements which also enjoyed US backing. The Israelis are reputed to be quietly assisting the Sudanese rebels and the discredit-

ed forces of Holden Roberto in Angola. On the diplomatic level, information obtained by the Israelis is often shared with local American embassies. In a recent interview, one observer said that such a practice is widespread and cited Uganda as one country in which the Israeli Embassy serviced information needs of the other Western ambassadors and their staffs. In exchange, it is known that US counterinsurgency and counter guerrilla expertise has been shared with the Israeli military in its efforts to destroy the Palestine liberation organizations.²¹

Not all Israeli military and paramilitary programs or covert activities have been successful. They run up against the deeply-rooted problems and contradictions which plague all Western attempts to shape impoverished African states to suit their interests. Strategies to modernize armies and institutions for national integration and development have backfired when African army officers preferred a share of the power and privileges enjoyed now by the Western-backed neocolonial elites. Many of these soldiers are not motivated ideologically to seek political change and, when they do, prefer coup-style takeovers to the more "functional role" foreign experts prefer.

At the same time, foreign assistance, whether of the Israeli brand

²⁰ Silverburg, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

²¹ According to Silverburg, Israeli officers including General Dayan have visited Viet-Nam for on-the-spot investigation of US counterrevolutionary warfare. Moreover, he "guessed" that the "What We Learned" forms which US soldiers fill out after encounters with the NLF "find their way to Israeli military officials." Interestingly, Silverburg thought that Israeli military was much more proficient in this regard than the US has been in Viet-Nam.

or another variety, cannot escape the central contradiction: countries which are oppressed by an imperialist system cannot develop with selective assistance by these oppressing powers. In fact, these programs only increase dependency and subordination. Mindful of their own long-run interests, the Israelis have limited their engagement in Africa to certain spheres, avoiding direct political identification with the imperialist powers. That "invisibility," however, is slowly being punctured — largely by Israel's own expansionist ambitions in the Middle East. Like their North American "Uncle," the Israelis have been forced into open counterrevolutionary warfare at home and abroad. The lessons of that identification are slowly filtering down among the African people.

Imperialism Finances Israel's Programs

Israel does not disclose the full extent of its aid program to Africa nor reveal who pays the bills. Funds are known to come directly from Israel's Government, partner governments in Africa, international organizations, and to some extent private sources.

In 1966-67 Israel's Department of International Cooperation (Mashav) reported a budget of 10 million Israeli pounds (\$3.33 million). This figure, however, is very misleading. For one thing, Israeli costs are lower than the costs of comparable US projects. In fact, the former director of the Department of International Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, according to Laufer, "told a group of US visitors that Israel gets twice as much for its foreign aid dollar as does the United States."²²

Nearly half of Israel's total program is financed by non-Israeli sources. The United States Government, through the third country technique; has been an important contributor to these programs. Exact figures on the US contribution are hidden. CRESS researcher Silverburg said that it would be a waste of time trying to find out the exact figure. "These third country arrangements," he disclosed in a conversation, "are usually handled with a tremendous amount of discretion. Even if you had some journalist's figures, he could be as much as a million dollars off." The Laufer report does mention some AID support for Israel's youth programs in the Central African Republic, Dahomey, and Costa Rica. It also mentions that "France has assisted youth projects in the Ivory Coast; and Great Britain and West Germany have reportedly given assistance to projects elsewhere in Africa."²³

Western support to Israel no doubt makes it possible for her to maintain an active program of penetration. Israel still earns more revenue from monies contributed from abroad than on monies obtained from exports. Without international credits — and contributions solicited abroad with the cooperation and complicity of Western powers — Israel could not survive economically. Its balance of payment problems have always posed real difficulties for the economy. Without finance from non-Israeli sources, her Africa programs would be inconceivable. Acknowledges Laufer:

²² Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Israel's achievement in having more than half its effort financed from non-Israeli sources is probably unique in the tangled history of postwar technical assistance operations. This shows how a small country, short of capital but with the will, and objective capacity, can generate a sizeable technical assistance program with little capital investment and negligible effect on its balance of payments position.²⁴

Not all of the revenue for these programs comes directly through the US or imperialist powers. Some of the expenses are met by recipient African nations. However, those nations are often themselves dependent on Western aid; hence the US or some other ally funding an African state enables it to afford the expenses of an Israeli assistance program which itself is receiving disguised or covert support through other channels. The US could also free local currency holdings in African states to help finance Israeli training and assistance efforts.

US-Israeli Coordination

There are many levels on which US and Israeli "Africa experts" exchange views and coordinate programs. Some of these are governmental but other more important exchanges often take place on a private, non governmental basis through meetings, seminars, and conferences. One such highly significant conference took place December 6-8, 1963, at Arden House, formerly the plush Harriman estate, high above the Hudson River near Bear Mountain, New York, now operated by Columbia University.

Sponsored by the National Committee for Labor Israel, a US-based fund-raising outfit for Israel's Histadrut, the meeting brought together key US and Israeli strategists to discuss pragmatic approaches to foreign aid, the role of cooperatives and private enterprises and voluntary agencies as well as some problems of Negro-Jewish relations. The list of the participants is impressive and instructive. The US was represented by a number of experts with close links to the government, particularly the CIA. They included: Arnold Rivkin; Benjamin Rivlin, an Africanist who served with the OAS and State Department; Edmund Hutchison, a onetime RCA executive, then AID administrator; John A. Davis, the President of the CIA-funded American Society of African Culture (AMSAC); and the dean of the corporate liberal Africanists, F. Taylor Ostrander, assistant to the Chairman of the American Metal Climax Corporation, the major US mining concern in Central and Southern Africa. Ostrander, who has served in a number of high government posts, is vice-president of the Tools for Freedom Foundation, a CIA-supported program.

Israel was represented by top Histadrut officials. Others present included an official of the NCFTU, a representative of the World Bank, and an editor of *Fortune* magazine. The Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland sent greetings to the meeting and excerpts from the proceedings were published under the revealing title: **The Free World and the New Nations** (A.S. Barnes and Co., 1964). Not only does the conception of the meeting and its content mesh nicely with the US

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

strategy outlined publicly by Arnold Rivkin but, as Histadrut spokesmen made clear in more than one speech, the Israelis identified with the US-sponsored "free world" mission in Africa and sought to assist it. No doubt, other conferences of this type have occurred subsequently.

The Israeli Model: A Harbinger for the Future?

The Israeli experience has served as a model for similar ventures by US client states and may be a harbinger of new perspectives and new modes of imperialist penetration in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

In order to counter the influence of China in Africa, the US uses her client state Taiwan in an operation modelled on the Israeli example. US third country assistance and training allows Taiwan to maintain an assistance program in Africa which has already spent about \$50 million since 1961.²⁵ The "nationalist" Chinese regime is recognized by 21 African states and has sponsored agricultural aid programs in 19 of them. In contrast, mainland China is recognized by only 14 African countries and extends aid to ten of them. This program has had a measurable political impact. In 1968 only 15 African countries voted for China's admission to the UN while 20 voted against Peking.

The Israeli model interests US policy-planners most as an example of an attempt at the mutual, multinational approach to aid. US strategists want to get away from bilateral approaches because they tend to brand the US politically as an interventionist. Global strategists would prefer to control the Third World through regional instruments (ie., SEATO in Asia, OAS in Latin Amer-

ica, OAU in Africa). By directing broader regional groupings or multilateral assistance programs the US can retain effective control with fewer political liabilities. They disguise the American role without limiting its power. What remains now is for the US to work out the snags in such programs, develop new organs of cooperation, and more effective machinery for multigovernment planning.

Conclusion

A critique of Israel's role in the world need not be dependent only on a position with respect to complex historical issues being fought out in the Middle East. As our examination of Israel's role and function in Africa demonstrates, there is a considerable body of reliable, if generally unavailable, evidence which points directly to the role of Israel in the interests of the US-directed Free World Empire.

In 1902 the Israeli Zionist leader Theodore Herzl wrote, "Now that I have lived to see the restoration of the Jews, I should like to pave the way for the restoration of the Negroes.... That is why I am working to open up Africa." But the restoration of one people should not entail the subjugation of another. In the Middle East, Palestinians are challenging Israel's right to occupy their lands and impose her rule by armed force masquerading as idealistic mission. In Africa, at least among radicals and revolutionaries, that Israeli "mission" is gradually being exposed and resisted.

²⁵ "Taiwan, — not Peking — Winning New Friends in Africa," *The New York Times*, December 25, 1968.

