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Can U.S. Aid and Assistance Continue Playing a Soft Power Role in the Muslim World?

Abdullahi Ayoade Ahmad*

Mohd Afandi Bin Salleh**

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Abstract: Realists believe that power is central in international relations. A state's survivability needs power capability to combat against any likelihood of aggression. The power of a state is a combination of hard and soft power, which is considered as smart power. States with major power adopt foreign aid strategy as an aspect of instrument of foreign policy to persuade and attract other states to achieve what it intends from that state. War and cohesion have become unpopular nowadays; democracy has widely taken ground and embraced by several nations, especially after the end of the Cold War. The United States' power requires smart method through persuading and entertaining cooperation regardless of its undisputed global strength. Some Muslim countries like Egypt, Jordan, and Pakistan have benefited from US aid and assistance; in return the United States found its foreign objectives through. The paper investigates the strategies of the United States in its future aid to these countries, after the United States' recognition of Jerusalem as a new capital for Israel, which resulted in the subsequent United Nations General Assembly voting results. The research

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is descriptive and analytical in nature. The findings show that United States will remain the principal donor to several Muslim countries at least for now.

Keywords: Aid, Soft Power, Muslim Countries, U.S., Foreign Policy, Jerusalem, UN.

Abstrak: Realis percaya bahawa kuasa adalah pusat dalam Hubungan antarabangsa, dan menyatakan bahawa kelangsungan hidup memerlukan kemampuan kuasa daripada kemungkinan berlaku pencerobohan. Kekuatan keadaan adalah gabungan kekuatan keras dan lembut. Kuasa utama yang terlibat dalam proses bantuan asing sebagai instrumen dasar luar. Ini menjadi alat untuk meyakinkan dan menarik negara lain, untuk dapat melakukan apa yang dia inginkan dari negara itu. Perang dan kohesi menjadi tidak popular sekarang ini; demokrasi telah banyak berlaku dan dianut oleh beberapa negara, terutamanya setelah berakhirnya perang Dingin. Kekuatan Amerika Syarikat memerlukan kaedah pintar melalui usaha meyakinkan dan menghiburkan tanpa mengira kekuatan globalnya yang tidak dapat dipertikaikan. Beberapa negara Islam seperti Mesir, Jordan dan Pakistan mendapat manfaat daripada bantuan dan bantuan Amerika Syarikat; sebagai balasannya Amerika Syarikat telah menemui objektif asingnya melalui. Makalah ini menyelidiki strategi Amerika Syarikat dalam membantu masa depannya ke negara-negara ini, setelah Amerika Syarikat mengakui Yerusalem sebagai ibu kota baru bagi Israel, yang menghasilkan hasil pengundian Majlis Umum Bangsa Bersatu berikutnya. Penyelidikan ini bersifat deskriptif dan analitis. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa Amerika Syarikat akan tetap menjadi penderma utama ke beberapa negara Islam sekurang-kurangnya buat masa ini

Kata kunci: Pertolongan, Daya Lembut, Negara-Negara Islam, Amerika Syarikat, Dasar Luar, Baitulmaqaddis, Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu

Introduction

Being a major power encodes various important responsibilities, and one of the fundamental roles is aid given to developing nations. A majority of it were channeled to assist in military and economy sectors. According to the Congressional Research Service, there are five types of aid rendered by the United States: bilateral development aid, multilateral economic contributions, military aid, and humanitarian aid (Curt Tamoff, Larry Nowels & Others, 2005). The United States employed the international affairs budget department to discharge

foreign aid to countries as a crucial part of its foreign policy. In the aftermath of the Cold War, several individuals have raised the view on the restructure of its size, component and purpose of the aid. Most notably the receivers of the US assistance are countries that struggle to rebuild after a war or conflict, and developing countries that are in badly need of assistance, at the same time crucial to the national interest of the United States. The US government distributes the aid through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). It began with the Marshall Plan which started in 1948, assistance provided to rebuild Western European nations in the aftermath of World War II. This was followed by ten years of the Mutual Security Act (1951-61), which represents military assistance for some developing countries. Similarly, it was mostly done for certain economic and political interests. As a superpower of the world that has sufficient power to pursue its interests, soft power is also applied to boost and accomplish the strategies of the United States (Jonathan Cristol, 2018).

The Middle East is an important region with its potential in various economic resources. It has considered the United States a potential ally in providing security with its military presence in the region intact. It first established a small military base in Bahrain in 1958. However, way before the Iranian Revolution of 1979, the United States embraced the Twin Pillars foreign policy strategy in which Iran and Saudi Arabia were depended upon to lead the security of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. The objective was to deter the influence of the Soviet Union in some of its allies like Iraq, South Yemen and Syria. Hence, Iran tops the United States' security concern at the time, most importantly, the fear of Soviet's possible invasion of Iran. The aftermath of the Cold War led to the demise of the Soviet Union and the rise of Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. The US coalition of over 30 allies forcefully defeated Saddam's forces with unconditional withdraws from Kuwait territory. Since then, the United States has increased its military bases and security concentration in the Middle East (Jonathan Cristol, 2018). These various commitments have earned the United States not only a positive cooperation but also a wide influence in the region. Besides that, the position of Israel is another major reason that made the United States a potential and relevant ally in the region. To protect the security of its closest ally, the United States provides attractive aid to Egypt and Jordan among others, while it continues enjoying great cooperation with others.

US Foreign Aid

In the 19th century, the developed nations embarked on assisting underdeveloped nations and great powers such as Britain, Germany, and France by the 1920s and '30s, were extending regular aid to their colonies in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. In the United States (U.S.), on September 4, 1961, the Foreign Assistance Act being passed by Congress design to readjust U.S. foreign assistance programs and separate non-military and military aid. The act described aid as “the unilateral allocation of U.S. government fund to assist the external entities. Such resources include not just funding and goods but also educational programs and technical assistance, among others. The recipients include foreign government, militaries, and security forces, as well as charitable groups and local businesses, international organizations such as United Nations (U.N), and other non-governmental organizations (James McBride, 2017).

The concerns of National security have continued to motivate U.S. aid policy, leveling to provide stability in volatile regions, promote democracy, bolster allies, as well as contribute to law enforcement and counterterrorism efforts abroad. There are other purposes, not amount to U.S. assistance on National security; notably, humanitarian aid exertions to respond directly to severe disasters, healthcare, poverty reduction, and other improvement programs. The U.S post 9/11 terrorist attacks reiterate foreign aid on a more strategic sense of significance by which it frequently donates in terms of funding to the war on global terrorism. The National Security under the Bush Administration in September 2002 was the first to establish international development as the third pillar of national security along with diplomacy and defense of the country. In the same year, the foreign aid executive branch budget started to emphasize the war against terrorism as the paramount foreign aid priority, underlining the number of U.S. aid to almost 30 “front-line” states in the fight against terrorism (Michael Clarke & Ricketts Anthony, 2017).

The extensive restoration programs in Iraq and Afghanistan, which equated to FY2004 than the collective budgets of whole other assistance programs, hinged with foreign assistance to battle terrorism. At the same time that battling terrorism became America’s foreign aid priority, the Bush government publicized other substantial initiatives that

have shaped and strengthened two further key foreign aid objectives: enhancing economic growth, eradicating poverty, and fighting the international plague of HIV/AIDS pandemic. A newly aid delivery concept was established in early 2004 termed Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), which was designed to emphasize majorly higher amounts of U.S. resources in developed and underdeveloped nations with proven strong commitment in social, political, and economic reforms. If fully supported, \$5 billion will be sufficient by FY2006 to fund these “best development performers” to energize economic growth and diminish the high rate of abject poverty (Michael Clarke & Ricketts Anthony, 2017).

In recent years, curtailing international health issues has become the paramount objective of U.S. aid. In the 1990s, a separate appropriation account was created for health activities and child survival as well as enhance funding for global HIV/AIDS and other contagious diseases programs. In 2003, President Bush addressed on State of the Union of a five-year, unveiled \$15 billion effort to curtail AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria has tremendously contributed to the core foreign aid objective that covered spheres of the U.S. aid:

Military and security aid: it helps allies obtain U.S. military equipment, foreign military personnel training, and financing peacekeeping missions. A little portion of it goes to “non-military assistance,” such as counter narcotics programs in Colombia, Afghanistan, and Peru, among others, as well as counterterrorism and nonproliferation efforts.

Humanitarian aid: is distributed to ease short-term humanitarian crises as a result of earthquakes, famine, failed states, war, and other man-made or natural disasters. This comprises the Defense Department and State Department disaster relief efforts, as well as obtaining U.S. agricultural goods and aiding organizations such as the U.K. High Commissioner for Refugee and International Red Cross.

US Aid to Muslim Countries

US financial assistance keeps ascending since the period immediately after World War II when the United States enormously invests in reconstructing European economies. In the wake of the Soviet Union collapse in the 1990s, aid levels were reduced drastically compared with

what it is today, dropping to less than 0.8 percent or \$20 billion of the 1997 overall budget. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks, aid escalated again surpassing 1.4 percent of the 2007 budget, and analysts imply that it was influenced firmly by supporting Afghanistan and Iraq as well as the global health programs of President George W. Bush. The US post 9/11 terrorist attacks reiterate foreign aid on a more strategic sense of significance by which it frequently donates in terms of funding for the war on global terrorism (Dylan Matthews, 2015).

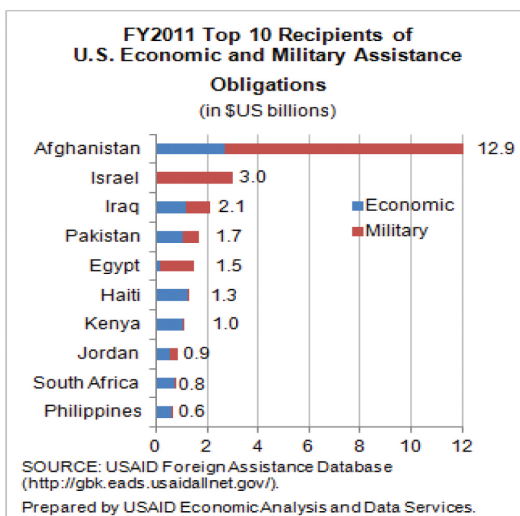
The United States has given aid to several states across the globe. It excessively goes to a few; in 2015, the top five countries that were receiving United States aid were Afghanistan (\$5.5 billion), Israel (\$3.1 billion), Iraq (\$1.8 billion), Egypt (\$1.5 billion), and Jordan (\$1.1 billion). According to the scrutiny of a *Washington Post* analysis, it is mainly as a result of military assistance in a few nations: in security assistance, Afghanistan receives \$3.7 billion, the \$3.1 billion Israel receives is military aid, and a majority of aid to both Iraq and Egypt is security-related. Development and economic assistance are much more distributed: while Afghanistan again gets more than any single nation, the majority of the ten largest receivers are in Africa, including Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, and Tanzania. Regionally, 32 percent of the US aid goes to Africa, tailed by the Middle East at 31 percent and Central and South Asia at 25 percent. Some of this assistance takes place via US influences to the United Nations, distributed for the purposes of peacekeeping operations and development initiatives around the world. Based on the explanations of the Council of Foreign Relations (CFR) Stewart Patrick, United States contributes about \$8 billion for UN operations annually, and almost \$2.5 billion of that amount goes to peacekeeping (Michelle Nichols, 2017).

Historically, the United States foreign aid to the Arabian Gulf has been the purpose of the US national security in the province. The United States followed a foreign policy that strives for stability in the province with profuse energy reserves but an implosive interstate relationship. Foreign aid has often been employed by policymakers to achieve such objectives. Foreign assistance has been used as an influence to reassure peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors, while firming bilateral relationships between the United States and Israel and between the United States and moderate Arab nations are gaining preference. Foreign assistance has functioned to cement close military collaboration between

the United States and the governments in the province, dissuading local states from engaging in overpowering arm races. Economic assistance also has had an underlying tactical rationale, as US funds have been used to uphold development in an attempt to weaken radicalism in partner nations (Jeremy M. Sharp, 2010).

The level in which foreign aid has tremendously added to the achievement of US objectives in the Middle East is hard to measure, but most analyst consensus seems to be that US security and economic aid has added tremendously to Egypt’s stability, Israel’s security, and Jordan’s cordial relations with the United States. The promise of US aid to Egypt and Israel during peace conferences in the late 1970s facilitated both nations to take risks required for peace and may have helped firmly convinced both countries that the United States was committed to supporting their peace accords. Exclusively, Egypt, Iraq, and Israel are significant three beneficiaries of US assistance, respectively. As elaborated in Table 1, four Muslim nations lead the largest five countries, led by Afghanistan, due to the unending battle against terrorism that emerged after the 9/11 incident. Israel is in the second position, followed by Iraq, Pakistan and Egypt respectively, and in which Jordan is enumerated the eighth position. This illustrated that Muslim countries have intensely relied on US assistance and aid (Dylan Matthews, 2015).

Table 1: The largest recipient of US AID



i-US Relations and Assistance to Egypt

The cordial relations between the United States and Egypt is said to have paved the way for new diplomatic contact in 1956 after the debatable nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt former president Gamal Nasser in 1956. The Suez Catastrophe exploded with France and Britain threatening war to yield control of the Canal and oust Nasser, with Israel invasion, France and Britain alliance with troops to grasp the Canal. Using substantial economic and diplomatic pressure, the Eisenhower government forced France and Britain to withdraw. As such, a warming of relations between Egypt and the United States began (Burns, William J., 1985).

As the period changes, with Egypt's leadership transition from Nasser to the much more moderate Anwar Sadat and evolving peace accord between Israel and Egypt, Egypt's foreign policy began to change. Sadat understood that reaching a settlement between the Israeli-Arab hostility is a precondition for the Egyptian improvement. To attain this goal, Sadat recognizes the importance of promoting Egyptian and US relations to substantiate a peace consensus with Israel. As a result, diplomatic relations were fully reinstated between the United States and Egypt on February 28th, 1974. To reflect a good gesture, Sadat agreed with then President Richard Nixon to cancel its military cooperation with the Soviet Union by withdrawing 20,000 Soviet soldiers and technicians, and to revive the Suez Canal in line with a new agreement with Washington. Sadat later opened dialogues with Israel, on a new initiative measure introduced by former President Jimmy Carter, and ensured a peace agreement and diplomatic relations with Israel in 1979 (Adfi Safty, 1991). Sadat recognized that US assistance was vital to that goal, and it permits him to unlock from Israel disputes and pursue a provincial peace policy (Mannin G. Weinbaum, 1985).

One of the characteristics of Egypt-US strategic partnership is their military cooperation. According to the former Commandant of the US Central Command (CENTCOM), Anthony Zinni, "Egypt is of paramount importance in my responsibility zone due to the entrance it offered me to the region". The Clinton government also termed Egypt as the greatest player in the Arab world and a prominent US ally in the Middle East. The US military assistance to Egypt was measured as part of the government's strategy to preserve continual availability of

Persian Gulf energy possessions and to protect the Suez Canal, which functions both as an essential global oil route and an acute route for US warships altering between the Mediterranean and either the Persian Gulf or the Indian Ocean. For this reason, Egypt emerged as the most substantial military power in Africa and the second leading power in the Middle East, after Israel (Dominic Dudley, 2018)..

Table 2: US Assistance to Egypt 1948-2017

Year	Economic	Military	IMET*	Total
1948-1997	23,288.6	22,353.5	27.3	45,669.4
1998	815.0	1,300.0	1.0	2,116.0
1999	775.0	1,300.0	1.0	2,076.0
2000	727.3	1,300.0	1.0	2,028.3
2001	695.0	1,300.0	1.0	1,996.0
2002	655.0	1,300.0	1.0	1,956.0
2003	911.0	1,300.0	1.2	2,212.2
2004	571.6	1,292.3	1.4	1865.3
2005	530.7	1,289.6	1.2	1,821.5
2006	495.0	1,300.0	1.2	1,796.2
2010	250.0	1,300.0	1.9	1,555.7
2011	249.5	1,297.4	1.3	1,553.8
2012	250.0	1,300.0	1.4	1,557.3
2013	241.0	1,234.3	.47	1,485.5
2014	200.0	1,300.0		1,500.0
2015	150.0	1,300.0	1.7	1,451.7
2016	150.0	1,300.0	1.8	1,451.8
2017 (req.)		1,417.4		1,417.4
Total	31,4044.7	44,367.1	50.8	75,822.6

Source: <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/u-s-foreign-aid-to-egypt-1948-present> and U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants, Obligations and Loan Authorizations, July 1, 1945-September 30, 2016.

ii-US Relations and Assistance to Jordan

As far back as 1949, the United States and Jordan have maintained close diplomatic relations. This relation has led to the assistance in the provision of economic aid to Jordan by the United States in a sum exceeding \$9 billion both in loans and grant; \$7.7 billion in grant and a respective sum of \$1.3 billion in loan since 1952. Other development funds for several projects include capital for education, health care, aid for microeconomic strategic change for an entirely free market system, construction to increase the availability of water, loan as well as access to grant for the acquisition of US agricultural produce (Elayyan, Hani Ismael (2007). As both states' relation continues to flourish, the success of these projects has led to Jordan's economic and political stability. In order to tighten Jordanian defense and territorial integrity, the United States also provides resources for equipping its military capability. In 2006, Jordan made a deal with the MCC. Following the agreement, Jordan was accepted to be known for its success on social, political, and economic indicators in the compact agreement. By 2013, over \$3.3 billion was donated five years before to the Jordanian intelligence agency by the United States with an additional \$200 million to aid the refugee crisis in Syria. In strengthening the US-Jordan relation, the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) maintains a close link with Jordan's General Intelligence Directorate (GID). As a result of the inflow of Syrian refugees into Jordan in 2014, Jordan's economy was threatened leading to then President Obama's promise for assistance of \$1 billion credit assurance and he managed to secure the congress approval of \$1.25 billion in 2013 to rescue its economy (Wheaton, S. and Landler, M., 2014).

In terms of bilateral aid, the United States remains the biggest provider to Jordan. For instance, in 2017, Jordan received more than \$1.7 billion, which includes an additional \$1.3 billion in foreign aid, and more than \$200 million for the assistance of the Department of Defense. The United States have equally provided a sum close to \$1.1 billion for the welfare and assistance of Syrian refugees residing in Jordan. The United States and Jordan in 2018 agreed to a non-binding Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for the provision of \$6.375 billion in foreign aid to Jordan over a period of five years, imminent to the accessibility of funds.

Between 2013 and 2014, Jordan received another \$2.25 billion from the United States as credit assistance, paving way for Jordan’s admittance to adequate finance in the international capital markets. According to Table 1, Jordan stands in the eighth place among states in the world that are receiving both economic and military aid from the United States.

iii-US Relations and Assistance to Pakistan

Since 1947, the United States stands to be the largest provider of foreign aid to Pakistan with an assistance of \$67 billion. Aggregately, between 1948 and 2016, Pakistan received close to \$78.3 billion from the United States with a substantial fund since 1951. Moreover, since 9/11, the intent of the United States fund is to address the following five objectives: providing Pakistan with military weapons to combat terrorism, for both humanitarian and development support, to fill the financial gap of Pakistan military in the fight against terrorism, clandestine funds like bounties or prize money, as well as direct cash transfers to the budget of Pakistan. Pakistan is one among four countries receiving such direct fund. Fundamentally, such fund is meant to serve as a sovereign fund for Pakistan, which inhibits US control. In 2018, the United States declared its desire to reduce \$300 million from the annual Pakistani aid. It argued that it is due to Pakistan’s failure to combat militant groups, provoking tension in an age-long relation following a visit to Islamabad by Mike Pompeo, the US Secretary of State (The Guardian, 2 Sep. 2018).

Table 3: US Military and economic aid to Pakistan

Year	Military (USD in billions)	Economic (USD in billions)
2002	1.36	1.233 for 2002 to 2004
2003	1.500	
2004	1.200	
2005	1.313	.338
2006	1.260	.539
2007	1.115	.567
2008	1.435	.507
2009	1.689	1.366
2010	1.232	1.409
2011	1.685	Unknown
Total	11.740 ^[19]	6.08

Sources: U.S. Departments of State, Defense, and Agriculture; U.S. Agency for International Development

New Dimension on US Aid and Assistance to Muslim World

It was indeed an embarrassing scene at a global magnitude for then President Donald Trump as he was denied by 128 states; who voted in support of the United Nations General Assembly Resolution demanding that the United States repeal its declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Undoubtedly, 9 states voted in support, 35 states did not show up, while 21 states abstained. This vote came as a response from the Arab and Muslim states in the aftermath of the United States' veto of this particular resolution in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). As a response in similar measure, the General Assembly unequivocally detested the United States for its unilateral decision, which could oppose peacemaking efforts in the Middle East as many observers posited. While such measure carries a deep implication, it is not legally binding considering its rejection, which indicates a global voice of non-acceptance. Nevertheless, the resolution also upholds that any move or action striving to change the character, position, or demographic setting of Jerusalem has no legal authority, and thus becomes null and void and it must be withdrawn (Gladstone, R. and Landler, M. 2017).

According to the spokesman for Palestine, Nabil Abu Rudeineh, stating the outcome was “a victory for Palestine... with the continuous efforts in the UN and other international platforms to eventually end the occupation, in order to establish a Palestinian state having its capital located in East Jerusalem” (Mythili Sampathkumar, 2017). Several states in Latin America, Africa, and a total of 35 counties refrained from the UNGA vote, due to the threats issued by former US President Donald Trump of cutting humanitarian aid and other funding from countries whose name are taken to have voted against the United States' interest. Trump was quoted as saying “For all these nations, they take our money and then vote against us. They take hundreds of millions of dollars, even billions of dollars and then they vote against us” (Mythili Sampathkumar, 2017).

Remarkably, according to expert's opinion, Donald Trump's warning to hold back US aid to countries who voted against US interest in the UN General Assembly in relation to the status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel is a mere travesty and a complete pretense. Indeed, Egypt is understood to have drafted the proposed document and was vetoed first by the United States in the UN Security Council prior to

its move to the UN General Assembly persuading the Trump regime to abstain from such decision. It was, however, supported by the vote of all Muslim countries who considers such development as illegal; it impedes the position of international law. Meanwhile, these concerned countries who voted in support of the resolution were recognized to be those who strongly rely on aid from the United States, of which Donald Trump has declared prior to and after the result of the UNGA to cut off billions of dollars in aid to any country that votes in support of the resolution and rejecting the position of the United States declaration of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Ironically, Egypt, which in 2016 received a sum of \$1.3 billion and \$200 million of US aid for economic and military support, is likely to be vulnerable and a victim to the United States' warning declared prior to the UN General Assembly's vote (Michelle Nichols, 2017).

Some analysts posited that such decision to punish nations that did not support the United States will be difficult for the Trump administration to exercise. Arguing that most of the US aid to these countries is spearheaded by the Congress for particular countries on a designated purpose, they asserted that a sole or personal withdrawal will not easily pass by. It is difficult to suddenly declare that Ethiopia, Egypt, Pakistan or any other states can no longer have access to such aid anymore. A critical observation at the projected fund withdrawal, the reality seems to be that Congress and the White House leadership eventually negotiated the terms of the package to designated states and withdrawal was not manifested as Trump earlier warned (Karen McVeigh, 2017)

Others opined that it was critically imperative to differentiate the various aid programs; security and military support, given to government, and development funds which is directed to those in need and not supposed to be distributed for political terms of gains. In other words, a humanitarian assistance that was established by law is to be given on the reason solely for those in need of the assistance. Therefore, they opined that a large portion of these funds is purposely meant for security and military policy. For instance, the cutting of aid is therefore tantamount to the abuse of human rights just as specified in the case of Pakistan and Egypt as it once occurred in previous years although not popularly heard (Karen McVeigh, 2017).

Perception of Muslim World on American Foreign Policies

The Pew Global Attitudes Project (PGAP) upon its inauguration in 2002 has embarked on a survey of more than 90,000 people in 50 countries, which include several Arab nations and a number of Muslim majority countries. PGAP result proves to be imperative and deserves detailed analysis. Thus, it looks at the good area or part of US foreign policy towards Muslim countries and the Arab world respectively. After carrying out a survey on 17 Muslim and Arab countries, two different reports were made available. The United States' image improved slightly, yet still negative. Islamic extremism, which was identified to be a major issue for both Western and Muslim public, reflects the behavior towards the United States including a number of other themes (Andrew Kohut, 2005).

The survey, which deals with six Muslim majority states: Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Pakistan, and Turkey. The prime attention of the report findings was on the Arab states of Jordan, Lebanon, and Morocco. The survey also discusses findings related to states within the region such as Pakistan and Turkey. It indicates that the United States continues to encounter difficulties in regards to its image among the public in both Muslim and Arab states. The region is known for its anti-Americanism facilitated by its hatred for US foreign policies in the region, such as the two Gulf Wars, the American war on terrorism since 9/11, and the US unconditional support for Israel. This is in addition to the popular view that the US policies in the region is against the populous benefit and that the United States disregards this fact. As a result, the United States' favorability rankings have surged in some states, and there are some indications that aiding terrorism has declined. Likewise, there is substantial proof indicating that the public in Muslim majority countries as well as Arab states possess a daunting aspiration for democracy in their states. The general outcomes depict that the anti-Americanism globally is fueled by the antagonism of US foreign policy. As far as the region is concerned, four main policies are outstandingly relevant. First is the impasse conflict in Iraq as it remains a factor igniting anti-American thoughts. The United States' universal popularity fell at the emergence of its military action to invade Iraq, and its ubiquity in the region stands to be generally unpopular. In all five states where the survey was conducted, majorities believed that the decisions of their respective states are against the use of force in Iraq. A majority among

these states also held the view that such war has placed the world in an unstable and fragile condition (Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, 2003).

Secondly, the region views the American war on terror negatively; majorities among these states stand in opposition to the US policy and initiative to combat terrorism. The Global Attitudes Survey in 2002 found that in Arab states as well as other Muslim majority states, the war on terror attracts a high level of resistance compared with other regions in the continent. Albeit the level of resistance in some particular states varies slightly over time, the general image is apparent: the United States has failed to triumph among the Muslim public in their view on this critical subject.

Thirdly, anti-Americanism appears to be propelled by the views that the United States' behavior in the international scene is unilateral. Majorities among these concerned states posited that the United States in formulating its foreign policy gives little or no attention to their national interests. In the case of Lebanon, for example, there is a record of success regarding this issue. The United States in 2018 is perceived to be less unilateral. Nevertheless, in Lebanon, closely six-in-ten remains firm that the United States does not regard their national interest. Finally, in the Israeli-Palestinian war, the US policy permeates anti-Americanism. In 2003, Pew Global Attitudes poll discovered that majorities in Muslim and Arab states (at least 90% in Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, and the Palestinian Authority) held that the United States gives overwhelming assistance to Israel. Yet it finds strongly negative perception towards the Jews in the Arab World. For instance, in both Jordan and Lebanon, no participant held a positive perception of Jews, whereas 91% of Lebanese and 58% of Jordanians had positive perception of Christians. Meanwhile, irrespective of public opinion among several Muslim leaders, it is obvious that their governments will still maintain their loyalty to the United States for their financial misfortune (Andrew Kohut, 2005).

Why Muslim States Vote against US in the Jerusalem's UN Resolutions

The global foreign assistance mechanism has been met with criticism from a number of economists arguing that it is counterproductive and fruitless. Former World Bank economist and New York

University professor William Easterly argued on the subject in his book published in 2006, "The White Man's Burden", that fund for development is populated by top-down bureaucrats and planners with less accountability, and it appears to be insufficient proof that aid improve the long-term development and growth of countries. He was equally critical of associating aid to the effort of combating terrorism. He and other analysts warned that prospects for military aid could engineer despotic regimes. To address that, Congress has issued a law excluding US aid to military apparatus found to have inhibited human rights. Meanwhile, such position was countered by economist Jeffrey Sachs of the Columbia University, and billionaire Bill Gates, that in the health industry such program has actually saved lives. Gates argued that the success of the program has established political stability through efforts such as anti-HIV/AIDS as well as polio campaigns, thus improving economic prosperity and opportunity has erected US prominence. While individuals such as Deaton and Easterly acknowledged such a humanitarian endeavor with the aid, yet Easterly opines that it is not significant in overall performance (Dylan Matthews, 2015).

Differently put, there is also an ongoing debate about the use of foreign aid aggressively to exercise course of several motives in the Arab world. Among these critics of US policy, some opined that several other conditions should be infused on US aid in Egypt, for instance, to pursue utmost exercise for democratic principle and human rights in the concerned state. Another camp of the critics asserted that the use of this aid as mechanism to reinstate the Middle East peace initiative. The third camp emphasized that the aid should be evidently used to champion the course and progress of both economic and political success as well as the right of minorities and women in the society. The fourth view posited that the use of foreign aid as a weapon to threaten recipient states and solidify democratic reforms in the Middle East can be tantamount to a negative outcome for the United States and others' interests in a democratic reform in the region. As far as despotic regimes are concerned, military aid has encountered and attracted much concern with its capacity to equip the prowess of such regime. Sir Angus Deaton, a Nobel laureate, argued that foreign aid empowers governments that are corrupt; isolating such governments from political pressure would establish adequate and well-organized

states. Dambisa Moyo, a Zambian economist, opined that since the previous decade, there has been over \$1 trillion in foreign aid influx to Africa, yet there is no record of an increase in per capital income in the region since 1970s. Congressmen and several other analysts have criticized the United States as a fruitless expenditure. Danielle Pletka, a member of the American Enterprise Institute, asserted in the presence of the Congress that USAID has little impact relative to its abundant spending, and that the aid framework founded in 1961 under foreign assistance law is exponentially not yielding intended results (Dylan Matthews, 2015).

Former US ambassador and Harvard University professor R. Nicholas Burns agreed to some of the criticisms placed on the US State Department. He further argued that for the adequate performance and efficiency in the system, it requires a revamping. Meanwhile, he also warned that decreasing the aid to the designated recipients as well as other programs would be penny wise and pound foolish; unrequired and hazardous to the national security of the United States. Several other military personnel are also strong proponents of the foreign assistance scheme. According to a letter addressed to the Congress in 2017 penned by over 120 retired admirals and generals, they supported the continuity and the inclusion of foreign aid within the upcoming budget positing that “USAID, Millennium Challenge Corporation, the State Department, Peace Corps as well as other parastatals responsible for development are critical of avoiding hostility and decreasing the risk of harming American men and women in uniform”. General Jim Mattis (rtd.), former President Trump’s Secretary of Defense, also argued by taking a similar stance and was quoted as saying, “If you don’t fully fund the State Department, then I need to buy more ammunition.” CFR’s Stewart Patrick also took the same position, arguing that withdrawing foreign aid from the national budget would portray a complete give up of the US universal hoax (Jeremy M. Sharp, 2010).

Irrespective of various positions relating to the US foreign assistance to Muslim and Arab countries, it is apparent neither of these opinions accepts a complete withdrawal nor a huge cut-off. All positions stand to persuade or convince the recipients to adhere to other affiliated conditions that address human rights and humanitarian response, which reflect a true and honest democratic principle.

Can the Muslim World Survive Without US Aid?

Concerning the UN General Assembly vote, former President Donald Trump warned of withdrawing US aid in response to any states that challenge his interest. He further warned the respective states to seize their support for the resolution followed by a threat to rescind US foreign assistance to those states that deny him. "Let them vote against us," telling reporters at a Cabinet meeting. "We'll save a lot. We don't care. But this isn't like it used to be, where they could vote against you and then you pay them hundreds of millions of dollars" (Emily Shugerman, 2017).

At the end of evaluating several opinions and arguments from the critics on the merit and demerit of foreign assistance, two themes emerge. First, it is highly unlikely that the United States would seize to completely withdraw its foreign aid to the recipient nations. Still, the overall figure can be decreased for some specific reasons and conditions where the recipient states have yet to fulfill. In regards to that, on different times has the United States reduced its aid to Pakistan? Recently, the United States is alleged to have withheld \$300 million for its supposed disappointment of Pakistan's failure to address the issue of militant groups. Second, the aid can possibly be withdrawn for peculiar motives within a period of time, and not a complete withdrawal. A good example is the case of three states; Egypt, Jordan, and Pakistan, whose military aid was reduced (Jong-Dae Park, 2019).

The survivability or vulnerability of states that receive little from US aid will equally be minimal whether or not it chooses to give it out. Meanwhile, the above mentioned three states will worsen if the United States stopped giving its aid to them. Finally, reliance on the aid from the United States and its impact on recipient states will be judged base on the country's position. A good example is Saudi Arabia, which does not rely on US aid to facilitate its activities. However, the US military assistance is pivotal for its regional security and the protection of its oil resources as well as the gulf region security in general.

Conclusion

Although the position of the United States in the world remained undisputed, developing nations continued looking forward to US aid in major assistances. Hence, aid and assistances are not provided

for free but on a level of give and take. As far as the United States' interest is concerned in Arab and Muslim nations, the influences of its foreign policy will continue affecting such state or region. With the United States having the largest economy with 24.3% globally, several nations will remain recipients of US aid. On the other hand, Arab and Muslim worlds will continue allegiance to the United States and the three countries in scope of this work have been heavily relying on US aid to finance their military and economy of various states. As a result, no solution is foreseen in the nearest future that these countries will become self-reliant in equipping themselves with adequate needs without US aid. Therefore, the domestic policies of these nations will continue to be influenced by the United States' interest. As a conclusion, the United States remain an important player in worldly affairs and will continue exercising soft power role in the Arab and Muslim worlds at least for now. As long as the United States' interest is achieved, these nations will continue receiving uninterrupted US aid. Although policies might defer from a leader to another, it is strongly believed that the continuation of giving aid to these countries will guarantee the national interest of the United States.

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