NOTES AND DOCUMENTS*

February 1977

REPORT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

This report is published by the Centre against Apartheid in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of General Assembly resolution 31/6 E of 9 November 1976 which "Requests the Secretary-General to disseminate widely the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, in various languages, in order to mobilize public opinion against the collaboration by Israel with the racist regime of South Africa."

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I. BACKGROUND
1. In recent years, the General Assembly has expressed increasing concern over the intensification of political, economic, military and other relations between Israel and South Africa.
2. In resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly condemned "the unholy alliance between ... South African racism ... and Israeli imperialism".
3. In resolution 3324 E (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, the General Assembly condemned "the strengthening of political, economic, military and other relations between Israel and South Africa".
4. In resolution 3411 G (XXX) of 10 December 1975, the General Assembly again condemned "the strengthening of relations and collaboration between the racist regime of South Africa and Israel in the political, military, economic and other fields".
5. The Special Committee against Apartheid has constantly followed the development of relations between the two regimes with increasing concern and reported to the General Assembly as appropriate.
6. In March 1974, following the decision of the Government of Israel to upgrade its diplomatic mission in South Africa to an embassy, the Special Committee requested its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa to prepare a report on recent developments in relations between Israel and South Africa. The report of the Sub-Committee was issued as document A/AC.115/L.383.
7. The Chairman of the Special Committee sent a letter on 2 April 1974 to the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations stating that "the raising of the level of the diplomatic mission in South Africa is a flagrant violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly" and requesting him to convey to his Government the great concern of the Special Committee and its hope that the Government would reconsider its decision and terminate its diplomatic, consular and other official relations with the South African racist regime in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. While the Permanent Representative of Israel acknowledged receipt of the Chairman's letter, no reply was ever received from the Government of Israel.
8. In October 1974, the Special Committee decided to publish a comprehensive study of the development of relations between Israel and South Africa from 1967 to 1974 prepared for the Committee by an expert, Mr. Peter Hellyer. The study was issued as document A/AC.115/L.396.
In June 1975, the attention of the Special Committee was drawn to press reports that the South African Minister of Interior and Information had arrived on a "private" visit to Israel on 17 June 1975 and that the South African PO-e 4 Consulate-General in Israel would be elevated to an embassy. Disturbed by the evidence of further increase in links between the two countries, the Committee requested its Rapporteur to prepare a report on recent developments concerning military, diplomatic, economic and other collaboration between South Africa and Israel. The report was issued as document A/AC.115/L.411.

Following another visit by the South African Minister of Interior and Information, Mr. C. P. Mulder, to Israel in March 1976, and in the light of reports of an impending visit to Israel by the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. B. J. Vorster, the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mme. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea), issued a press statement on 7 April 1976. She expressed the hope that all Governments and organizations would condemn the actions of the Government of Israel in developing closer collaboration with the Pretoria regime in defiance of United Nations resolutions, and exercise their influence to persuade the Government of Israel to desist from its present course.

At its 321st and 322nd meetings on 14 and 30 April 1976, the Special Committee discussed the growing collaboration between Israel and South Africa, following Prime Minister Vorster's visit to Israel from 9 to 12 April 1976, and the conclusion of a wide-ranging co-operation agreement between the two countries. The Committee requested its Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa, to prepare, as a matter of priority, a report on the increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa, with a view to transmitting it to the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the Organization of African Unity, the Conference of Non-aligned Countries, and the League of Arab States.

On 11 August 1976, the Chairman of the Special Committee, Ambassador Leslie O. Harriman (Nigeria), attending the non-aligned ministers' meeting in Sri Lanka, issued a statement condemning the reported sale of two missile boats by Israel to South Africa. The statement read as follows: "Announcement by Israel of proposed sale to South Africa of two corvettes equipped with missiles represents flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions and cynical and hostile act against African people now engaged in heroic struggle for freedom in face of massacres by apartheid régime. It also constitutes threat to independent African States and challenge to efforts to establish Indian Ocean zone of peace. I call on all Governments and people to denounce this action and growing Israeli collusion with apartheid regime and demand cessation of all collaboration with Pretoria. I feel certain that non-aligned ministers now meeting here in Colombo will give this growing threat to Africa the attention which it deserves."

II. INTRODUCTION
13. The purpose of the present report is to give an account of the growth in relations between South Africa and Israel. The report contains information on the historical background of collaboration between South Africa and the Zionist movement prior to the formation of the State of Israel. It reviews developments in all areas of collaboration between the two countries between 1948 and the present.

14. The report shows that relations between South Africa and Israel, which have ideological and historical roots, acquired new dimensions and were greatly intensified after the June 1967 war in the Middle East and even more after the October 1973 war. Differences between the two regimes caused by diverging foreign policy objectives toward the Arab and the African countries were set aside when the African States broke diplomatic relations with Israel. Weakened by the advances of the liberation struggle and forced into increasing isolation by growing Arab-African solidarity and world condemnation of their racist policies, the two regimes have resorted to an ever closer collaboration in all areas.

(a) Politically, this collaboration has aimed at driving a wedge between the African countries and between them and the Arab countries, and at linking southern Africa and the Middle East as common strategic concerns of the Western Powers. South Africa expects substantial political dividends from closer association with Israel, and co-operation in undermining the boycott campaigns;

(b) In the military sphere, this growing collaboration has provided each country with an additional source of arms supplies and technological know-how, as well as access to classified information on strategies and tactics;

(c) Economically, Israel has benefited from raw materials vital to its economy, while South Africa has derived substantial advantages from its favourable balance of trade with Israel and from the possibility of using that country as a springboard both for evading the international boycott and for circumventing high European Economic Community tariffs. Investment has increasingly taken the form of joint projects by public-corporations drawing on the complementarity of the two economies - South Africa's raw materials and Israel's scientific know-how - to promote industrial expansion schemes of benefit to both countries;

(d) In the cultural field, exchange programmes and other activities have promoted closer ideological identification between the two countries and have served to further South African propaganda.

III. DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS: GENERAL OUTLINE

15. The rapidly increasing collaboration between the apartheid regime in South Africa and the Government of Israel reached a new stage in April 1976 when Prime Minister B. J. Vorster visited Israel, and concluded agreements on economic, scientific and industrial collaboration between the two countries. Press reports and subsequent developments also showed that the two countries had agreed on intensifying military collaboration.
16. It may be recalled that relations between the minority racist regime in South Africa and Israel have deep historical and ideological roots. General Jan Smuts, Minister of Defence in the Union Government and a member of the Imperial War Council in 1917, was one of the chief architects of the Balfour Declaration on the establishment of a "Jewish homeland" in Palestine.  

17. The Nationalist-Labour coalition Government under General J. B. M. Hertzog fully supported the creation of a "Jewish homeland" in Palestine, adopting a resolution to that effect in 1926. It also promised to support the Zionist aims before the League of Nations. In the United Nations, South Africa actively supported the project of the partition of Palestine. One of the first acts of the National Party after coming to power in 1948 was to extend de jure recognition to the newly-established State of Israel. Dr. D. F. Malan was the first Prime Minister in the British Commonwealth to pay a courtesy visit to the new State. In addition, he permitted South African Jewish reserve officers to serve in Israel, and approved transfer of funds and goods to Israel despite South Africa's financial difficulties at the time. 

18. In line with its support for the State of Israel, the National Party reversed its previous policy toward the Jewish minority in South Africa, which had been marked by rabid anti-Semitism. Soon after taking office, Dr. Malan declared that both he and his Government stood for a policy of non-discrimination against any section of the white population and looked forward to the day when there would no longer be any talk of the "Jewish question" in the country. The ban on Jewish membership in the National Party was lifted and prominent Jews were appointed to important governmental positions.

19. The new policy of the National Party was apparently motivated not only by a desire to strengthen white solidarity, but also by a recognition of the important role that the Jewish community had come to play in South Africa's economy. The leaders of the Party feared that any implementation of discrimination against Jews would drain South Africa of Jewish capital. It has also been pointed out that Afrikaner support for Zionism had a basis in the common opposition to the British. 

1/ Richard P. Stevens, Weizmann and Smuts: A study in Zionist-South African cooperation (Beirut, Institute for Palestine Studies, 1975); Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz, The Jews in South Africa (Cape Town, London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1955) pp. 281 ff. General Smuts, a close personal friend of Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist leader, was to remain one of the strongest supporters of the Zionist cause until his death. 


5/ Stevens, op. cit.
at the time, as well as the common feeling of being "chosen people" with a biblical mission. 6/

20. Through its support for Israel and its official abrogation of anti-semitism internally, the National Party was able to secure 'acceptance of its apartheid policies at all levels of formal Jewish expression. The sizable Jewish community in South Africa had always been strongly Zionist and had maintained close ties with the thousands of South African Jews who had emigrated to Israel, some of whom had come to occupy prominent positions in the new State. In response to Dr. Malan's new policy, the Jewish associations toned down their previously outspoken criticisms of racial discrimination. While individual Jews maintained their anti-apartheid stand and even joined the liberation struggle, the official Jewish organizations followed the South African Jewish Board of Deputies in taking the position that, as non-political bodies, they would "refrain from taking any position on party political issues" and would not "express views on the various race policies being advocated". 7/

21. As Rabbi Dr. M. C. Weiler put it in a speech to the Eighth International Conference of the World Union for Progressive Judaism in London in July 1953: "The Jews as a community had decided to take no stand on the native question, because they were involved with the problem of assisting Jewry in other lands. South African Jewry was doing more to help Israel than any other group. The community could not ask for the Government's permission to export funds and goods and at the same time, object to the Government." 8/

22. The South African Jewish press and the Board of Deputies did not break their silence even on the occasion of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. In return, the South African Zionist Federation was allowed to continue sending substantial funds to Israel every year - making the South African Jewish community the greatest per capita contributor to Israel in the world. 9/

23. The community of interests between the State of Israel and the apartheid régime was therefore established from the very beginning, with the South African Jewish community serving as the link between the two countries, in spite of some transitory difficulties. As Peter Hellyer has noted: "The differing political objectives of the two States, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, from 1960 to 1970, have caused problems from time to time, 6/ Ibid.; Leslie Rubin, "Afrikaner nationalism and the Jews", Africa South, vol. 1, No. 3, April-June 1957; Interview with Mr. Yitzhak Unna, Israel's Ambassador to South Africa, in Jewish Press, 18 June 1976.

7/ Katzew, op. cit.

8/ Quoted in Stevens, op. cit.

9/ Stevens, op. cit.; Saron and Hotz, op. cit.

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ties."

24. Israel's attempt to establish diplomatic and other links with independent African countries in the 1960s led it to declare opposition to apartheid in the United Nations and other forums. In retaliation, in 1962, the South African regime rescinded the special concessions in foreign currency regulations which had allowed the free transfer of funds to Israel. 11/ The South African Jewish organizations attempted to influence Israel to abstain "with the other Western nations" in the votes on anti-apartheid resolutions in the United Nations. 12/ They also turned themselves into instruments of South African propaganda by deciding that "the Jewish community should take steps to explain South Africa's position to Jews overseas and at home". 13/

25. The underlying community of interests between the two Governments despite divergencies over foreign policy, was shown by South African support for Israel during the 1967 war. Special regulations to allow free transfer of funds to Israel were quickly reinstated, and other forms of material aid were made available. The war led to increasing recognition of the basic similarity of the two countries in international politics and the resulting need to co-operate. Die Burger, organ of the National Party in Cape Province, described the situation as follows: "Israel and South Africa have a common lot. Both are engaged in a struggle for existence, and both are in constant clash with the decisive majorities in the United Nations. Both are reliable foci of strength within the region, which would, without them, fall into anti-Western anarchy. It is .Li, South Africa's interest that Israel is successful in containing her enemies, who are among our own most vicious enemies; and Israel would have all the world against it if the navigation route around the Cape of Good Hope should be out of operation because South Africa's control is undermine. The anti-Western powers have driven Israel and South Africa into a community of interests which had better be utilized than denied." 14/

26. The same argument was reiterated by Jewish Affairs, the official organ of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies:

11/ Stevens, op. cit.
14/ Die Burger, Cape Town, 29 May 1968.
and from all the realities of their national existence ... In short, the destinies of the two countries, so different in many ways, but so alike in the fundamental conditions of their survival, are interwoven in a much more meaningful sense than any enemy propagandist could conceive, or, for that matter, would be happy to see." 15/

27. Economic, political and military links between the two countries grew rapidly in the subsequent years, despite some new temporary strains occasioned by Israel's overtures toward independent Africa. In 1971, the South African regime again suspended the free transfer of money to Israel in protest against Israel's offer of $5,000 to the OAU Assistance Fund for the liberation movements. Israel was then obliged to withdraw the offer.

28. The October 1973 war was a major milestone in the process of growing identification between the two countries. Most African States broke relations with Israel during or after the war, thus putting an end to Israel's need to maintain a facade of opposition to apartheid. This was immediately evident in Israel's voting on anti-apartheid resolutions in the United Nations: since 1973, Israel has either been absent, has abstained or has voted against these resolutions. 16/ South Africa openly expressed its support for Israel during the war: Mr. P. W. Botha, South African Minister of Defence, declared that "within our means, and without declaring war", his Government would provide assistance to Israel. Prime Minister Vorster stated that if Israel lost the war, its defeat would have important consequences for South Africa. 17/ Accordingly, South Africa immediately lifted exchange controls to allow free transfer of funds to Israel and provided various forms of material assistance, including military assistance. After the war, 15/ Jewish Affairs, November 1970.

16/ Israel's voting record on anti-apartheid resolutions in the United Nations General Assembly since 1973 has been as follows:
(a) Resolution 3055 (XXVIII), absent; resolution 3151A (XXVIII), absent; resolution 3151B (XXVIII), absent; resolution 3151C (XXVIII), absent; resolution 3151D (XXVIII), abstaining; resolution 3151E (XXVIII), abstaining; resolution 3151F (XXVIII), abstaining.
(b) Resolution 3324A (XXIX), no vote taken; resolution 3324B (XXIX), absent; resolution 3324C (XXIX), absent; resolution 3324D (XXIX), abstaining; resolution 3324E (XXIX), abstaining.
(c) Resolution 3411A (XXX), no vote taken; resolution 3411B (XXX), no vote taken; resolution 3411C (XXX), absent; resolution 3411D (XXX), absent; resolution 3411E (XXX), no vote taken; resolution 3411F (XXX), abstaining; resolution 3411G (XXX), against.

South Africa became, in the words of an observer, "Israel's sole substantive supporter on the African continent and one of the few Governments anywhere not calling for its withdrawal from occupied Arab territory". 18/ 29. In the years since the 1973 war, the two countries have rapidly moved towards the establishment of an ever closer alliance in defence of common interests, and the formalization of their links. They upgraded the level of their diplomatic relations from the level of legations to that of embassies. Several joint investment projects were undertaken by para-statal corporations in both countries, and commercial and scientific ties were strengthened with the creation of appropriate organs and the exchange of high-level visits. Political contacts were greatly intensified. Among the high-ranking Israeli officials who have visited South Africa since 1974 are Gen. Moshe Dayan, former Minister of Defence, Gen. Meir Amit, former head of Israel's intelligence services and present Chairman of Koor Industries; and Gen. Chaim Herzog, then military commentator on the Israeli radio and now Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations. While such Israeli visitors had in the past usually been admitted to South Africa in connexion with functions involving the local Jewish community, this limitation was reportedly dropped in 1974. 19/

30. Dr. C. P. Mulder, South Africa's Minister of Interior and Information, visited Israel twice, in June 1975 and in March 1976, and met with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Israel. 20/ His visits apparently paved the way for a formal invitation by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to Prime Minister J. B. Vorster, who visited Israel for four days in April 1976. Mr. Vorster, who was accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr. Hilgard Muller, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Brand Fourie and others, held talks with the President of Israel, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Defence Minister and other high officials in the Israeli Government. He toured strategic areas in the southern Sinai (reportedly the first foreign Prime Minister to do so), and visited a military aircraft factory. 21/

31. During Mr. Vorster's visit, a wide-ranging agreement on economic, scientific and industrial collaboration was concluded between South Africa and Israel. Announcing the agreement at a press conference held on 12 April in Jerusalem, Mr. Vorster stated that the two Governments had decided to establish a Ministerial Joint Committee comprising Ministers of South Africa and Israel, which would meet at least once a year to review the situation of economic relations between the two countries and to discuss ways and means to expand economic cooperation between the

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two countries, in particular the encouragement of investments, development of trade, scientific and industrial co-operation and joint utilization of South African raw materials and Israeli manpower in joint projects. A steering group would be established in order to regulate the exchange of information and ideas, and committees would be established in both countries. 22/ It was expected that, from the South African side, the committee would include the Ministers of Defence, Finance, and Economic Affairs. 23/ Press reports indicated that the pact might also involve "a major expansion of the arms supply relationship", although both Governments denied that this was discussed. The subsequent announcement that Israel was building two missile boats for the apartheid regime made it clear that military co-operation is being rapidly strengthened following Mr. Vorster's visit. 24/

32. While the agreement aroused world-wide condemnation, it was welcomed jubilantly by most sectors of the South African white community, in particular the Jewish organizations, which hailed Vorster as "an outstanding statesman" and called the pact "a most imaginative act of statesmanship on the part of both countries". 25/ The Johannesburg Star commented: 'Clearly the pact goes well beyond the usual trade and co-operation agreements which normally round off a state visit between friendly countries. ... at the root of the pact is a mutual exchange of materials and military know-how which both countries desperately need. For both, it is virtually a question of survival. Very likely that is the strongest imperative of all." 26/

An editorial in the Rand Daily Mail stated: "There is no gainsaying the signal nature of Mr. Vorster's triumph this week. By achieving a publicly announced economic, scientific and industrial pact with Israel he has done far more than merely formalize bonds that have, in any case, been growing strong'. He has, in fact, acquired for South Africa a public friend, an avowed ally, at a time when this country confronts an increasingly hostile world and an increasingly aggressive Black Africa." 27/ 22/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 22 April 1976, Speech by the Prime Minister, col. 5200. 23/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 April 1976. 24/ The New York Times, 18 April 1976, 9 August 1976; Christian Science Monitor, 12 August 1976. 25/ The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 17 April 1976. 26/ Ibid.. 27/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 April 1976. I...

33. Closer association with Israel has also important political advantages for South Africa. In an interview with a group of Jewish newspaper editors from the United States of America, published in Jewish Press of 18 June 1976, the Israeli
Ambassador to South Africa, Mr. Yitzhak Unna, made it clear that he expected the agreement to influence the attitudes of the international Jewish community towards South Africa favourably.

IV. DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR RELATIONS
34. Israel has maintained a Legation in Pretoria and a Consulate-General in Johannesburg since 1949. Being a member of the Commonwealth at the time, South Africa chose initially to be represented through the United Kingdom in order to promote links with the Arab countries. In 1961, following the severance of diplomatic ties by the United Arab Republic and the break with the Commonwealth, South Africa sought a closer association with Israel. Israel, however, had adopted a policy of wooing the newly independent African States: consequently, it recalled its Minister in Pretoria, and left the mission under a Chargé d'affaires. The over-all strengthening of relations between the two countries subsequent to the June 1967 war led to the general upgrading of Israel's level of representation: in 1969, Israel appointed a Chargé d'affaires with the personal rank of ambassador. In April 1973, it expanded its Consulate-General. Following the October 1973 war, Israel decided to elevate its diplomatic mission to a full-scale embassy, and appointed Mr. Yitzhak Unna, a former Consul-General, as its first ambassador. 28/
35. South Africa reciprocated by establishing a Consulate-General in Tel Aviv in 1971, headed by a Consul-General with the personal rank of ambassador. In 1975, South Africa established an embassy in Tel Aviv, and its first ambassador to Israel presented his credentials in January 1976. 29/

V. MILITARY COLLABORATION
36. Military collaboration between South Africa and Israel dates back to the very beginning of the State of Israel. Several hundred South African volunteers fought with the Zionists after November 1947, and South Africa sent food, medical and other supplies to the Zionists during the 1948 war. The first pilot to fall in battle in the Israeli Air Force was a South African volunteer. Other South African pilots have reportedly died fighting for Israel. 30/
29/ House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), Questions and answers, 13 May 1975, cols. 151-2; Jerusalem radio, 12 January 1976. *
estimated to have been over R 21 million. 31/ In addition, the official South African blood transfusion service loaned blood to the Israeli medical services. 32/ Spokesmen from all white political parties expressed sympathy for Israel and participated in various support activities. 33/ 38. Jewish volunteers from South Africa served in Israel during the 1967 war, officially in non-military posts, replacing Israelis who had been called up for combat duty. The South African Zionist Federation launched a special fund for Israel. In addition, many other sectors of the white South African community became involved in support for Israel. 34/ 39. South Africa's support for Israel during the October 1973 war was even more extensive, marking a new stage in the development of relations. The South African Government relaxed all exchange control regulations to allow immediate cash transfer to Israel of all money raised. Although the total amount was not disclosed, press reports have indicated that it may have been as high as $30 million. As during the 1967 war, collection of funds and support activities were carried out by all sections of the white community, not just Jewish groups. 35/ 40. A considerable number of South African volunteers went to Israel during and after the war to take part in combat and other duties. Press reports have indicated that hundreds of South Africans, both Jewish and non-Jewish, volunteered to fight in Israel in October 1973. At least one report put the number of men with South African connexions in the Israeli armed forces during the war at 1,500. 36/ Following the war, hundreds of volunteers from South Africa went to Israel to replace kibbutz workers who were still in the armed forces. 37/ 41. There were indications that South Africa may have played an even more direct role in the October 1973 war. The Egyptian Government announced that a Mirage jetfighter of South African origin had been shot down on the Suez front during the war. A subsequent report in the London Daily Telegraph suggested that South Africa had sent several Mirage jets via the Azores to aid Israel. These reports were subsequently denied by both Israel and South Africa. 38/ 42. In addition to providing assistance during the wars, South Africa was reported to have supplied military equipment to Israel, but these reports were denied by Israel. In January 1990, for instance, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported that the South African Government was exporting giant 65-ton tanks, designed after
the British "Chieftain" Tank, to Israel. The Israeli Foreign Ministry refused to
comment on the report, which was denied by the Israeli representative to the
United Nations. 39/
43. There has been increasing evidence of Israel's military co-operation with the
apartheid regime, in the form of supplies of military equipment and of assistance
in counter-insurgency training and in the use of sophisticated weaponry.
44. In the early 1960s, South Africa obtained from a Belgian company a licence to
manufacture the Uzi submachine gun, of Israeli design. 40/ This is now standard
equipment in the South African Army.
45. South Africa has long been interested in obtaining military aircraft from
Israel. The first contacts between the Israeli Aircraft Industries and South Africa's
Atlas Aircraft Corporation were reported to have taken place in 1967, concerning
the possibility of export to South Africa of the new Israeli plane, the "Arava",
specially suited for counter-insurgency operations. The "Arava" was taken to
South Africa for test trials, and there have been unconfirmed reports that South
Africa may have bought the plane. 41/
46. Another indication that Israel may have supplied military aircraft to South
Africa came in May 1971, when Israel was reported to have offered to replace
three airplanes of the South African Air Force which had crashed into Table
Mountain. 42/
38/ Daily Telegraph, London, 31 October 1973; The Star, Johannesburg,
40/ The New York Times, 30 April 1971; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 11
September 1971.
41/ Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 10 October 1967; The Star, Johannesburg,
25 May 1973; Peter Hellyer, "Israel and South Africa - development of relations,

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47. There have also been reports that Israel might supply the "Gabriel" sea-borne
missile, manufactured in Israel, to South Africa. These reports were also denied
by a spokesman for the Israeli Aircraft Industries in September 1974. Shortly
thereafter, however, the London Daily Telegraph indicated that six missile boats
then being built in South Africa would probably be equipped with
the "Gabriel". 4
48. An important element of Israel's military collaboration with South Africa has
been the sharing of expertise in counter-insurgency techniques and sophisticated
modern weaponry. A South African mission was reported to have flown to Israel
in June 1967 to study the use of weapons and the tactics of lightning strikes
during the six-day war. 44/ After the war, the Chief of Staff of the Israeli Air
Force visited South Africa to explain in detail the lessons of the war to the South
African staff college. _/
49. Gen. Meir Amit, former head of Israel's intelligence services and present chairman of Koor Industries, disclosed during a visit to South Africa in July 1975 that senior Israeli military officers visit South Africa regularly to lecture South African officers on modern warfare and counter-insurgency techniques. Although declining to give details, Gen. Amit stated that the South African Defence Force was benefiting from Israel's experience and know-how in the field of military electronics manufacture. 6/

50. On 3 April 1976, the Johannesburg correspondent of the Daily Telegraph reported that Israeli officers had been closely involved with South African Army planning in the Angolan campaign. According to the report, Gen. R. H. D. Rogers of the South African Air Force had stated that one reason why South African casualties in the campaign had been so light was because Israeli techniques for evacuation and treatment of front-line casualties had been closely followed.

51. Marcia Freedman, Opposition member in the Israeli Parliament, asserted in June 1976 that hundreds of Israeli soldiers were attached to South African Army units as instructors and participated in training manoeuvres. The report was denied by the Israeli Defence Minister. 47/

45/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 10 October 1967.

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52. Desire to share in Israel's expertise in military technology and modern warfare was reportedly an important element in Mr. Vorster's visit to Israel in April 1976. 48/ Press reports indicated that South Africa was prepared to finance an expansion of Israel's arms-producing capacity, and even to supply Israel with uranium, in return for the Israeli Kfir jetfighter and other arms. Mr. Vorster denied these reports, but toured the Kfir factory. A representative of the Israeli Aircraft Industries was known to have visited South Africa in January 1976. According to the Times of London, "informed sources" indicated that arms from Israel were already on their way to South Africa even before Mr. Vorster's trip. 49/

53. In August 1976, the Israeli radio announced that Israel was building two long-range gunboats armed with sea-to-sea missiles for the South African Navy. Unofficial sources were quoted as having said that 50 South African naval officers and their families had arrived in Israel and would take delivery of the boats in January. Press reports have indicated that Israel is building "several" missile boats for the apartheid regime, and in return will receive steel and coal. 50/

VI. TRADE
54. Trade between Israel and South Africa has increased rapidly in recent years, especially since the June 1967 war in the Middle East, and has almost doubled in the aftermath of the October 1973 war. The following table shows the growth in trade between the two countries over the 10-year period ending in 1974, the last complete year for which statistics are available:

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<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: International Monetary Fund, Washington, Direction of Trade Annual vols.9-7and 10. The figures are based on Israeli Government statistics. South African Government statistics, which are based on the country of origin and final destination of goods, underestimate the extent of trade with Israel. They show, however, the same trend toward rapid growth.

55. As the table shows, the balance of trade in recent years, has been in South Africa's favour, thus making the Israeli market increasingly interesting for South Africa.

56. In 1974, the main South African imports from Israel were chemicals, textiles, rubber goods, pharmaceuticals, electronic equipment and machinery. South Africa's main exports consisted of steel, cement, timber and sugar. Coal and other raw materials are expected to be added to the list in the near future. a/

57. Israel's largest import from South Africa is raw diamonds, which are not included in statistics for trade between the two countries since sales are carried out through the London-based Central Selling Organization (CSO), an arm of De Beers. Israel, which is one of the world's leading diamond processors, reportedly buys almost half of its raw diamonds from the CSO for an amount exceeding $100 million a year. 12/

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58. Although trade links between the two countries were established immediately after the creation of the State of Israel, trade remained minimal until the opening of the Straits of Tiran as a result of the 1956 tripartite aggression against Egypt. 53/ It was only after the 1967 war in the Middle East that concerted efforts were made to formalize and strengthen commercial relations between the two countries. A delegate from the Israeli Ministry for Commerce and Industry was sent to South Africa for a four-month period at the end of 1967. Representatives of Israeli business and shipping interests also visited South Africa with a view to promoting trade. 54/

59. Several associations aimed at promoting trade between the two countries were set up in the aftermath of the war. The Israel-South Africa Friendship League was established in Israel in January 1968, with a membership which included several politicians, local councillors and businessmen. The organization pledged to work to increase trade and to improve relations between the two countries. 55/ The South Africa Foundation, an organization of prominent South African and international businessmen devoted to promoting South Africa's interests abroad, established an Israeli-South African "Man-to-Man Committee" whose membership included high-ranking former Israeli politicians and military men. The Committee was instrumental in promoting exchanges of visitors at the highest levels and in furthering economic links between the two countries. 56/ An Israel-South Africa Trade Association (ISATA) was also established in 1968, and was reported to have been a key factor in the subsequent rapid increase in trade between the two countries. 57/

60. In June 1968, Israel appointed a trade commissioner to South Africa. 58/ 61. An Israel Fashion Week was held in Johannesburg and Cape Town in August 1968. This was the first major fashion promotion of its kind by Israel in South Africa, organized by the Israeli Export Institute. More Israel Weeks were held in South Africa in the following years. 59/

53/ Hellyer, op. cit.
56/ Sechaba (publication of the African National Congress of South Africa), April 1970; Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 4 and 27 April 1968.

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In July 1970, the South African State-owned Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) signed an agreement with the Foreign Trade Bank of Israel extending a guaranteed line of credit for R 10.7 million to promote South African capital exports to Israel. The first South African trade mission to Israel was organized shortly thereafter by ISATA, with the participation of the Federated Chamber of Industries, the IDC, and some of South Africa's largest companies and banks. The mission's goal was to ensure that the line of credit would be fully taken up, and to strengthen economic links between the two countries. 60/

A new line of credit for $14.9 million was made available to Israel by the IDC at the beginning of June 1971. The agreement was followed by another South African trade mission to Israel in early 1972, with the purpose of further boosting South African exports. 61/

The October 1973 war in the Middle East marked another major turning point in commercial relations between South Africa and Israel. In January 1974, the Israel-South Africa Chamber of Commerce was formed in Tel Aviv. At the inauguration ceremony, the South African Consul-General predicted that trade between the two countries would increase considerably during the year (as in fact it did). The Chamber was joined by nearly 100 Israeli firms. Its immediate success led to the formation of a South Africa-Israel Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg shortly thereafter. 62/

In 1974, Israel and South Africa undertook a joint campaign to promote Jaffa and Outspan oranges and orange juice in the United Kingdom. 63/

Israel had a pavilion at the Easter Rand Show - South Africa's largest industrial fair - in the spring of 1974, for the first time in 10 years. In 1976, Israel was reportedly one of the major overseas exhibitors at the Show, with electronic and control equipment. 64/

In April 1975, South Africa was designated a "preferred export target" by the Israeli Ministry of Trade and Industry, and Israeli exporters were granted special financial concessions. 65/ A high-level trade promotion mission from the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce visited Israel in June 1975. 66/
68. Trade between South Africa and Israel was given another major boost by the co-operation agreement signed by Prime Minister Vorster during his visit to Israel in April 1976. The agreement was expected to lead to an expansion of two-way trade, the exchange of trade missions, and an increase in South Africa's exports of raw materials to Israel, in particular coal from the new Richards Bay harbour. The development of Richards Bay was expected to be accelerated as a result. There was speculation in the South African press that closer ties with Israel would result in a two-way shipping traffic in which vessels would carry coal from South Africa to Israel and return with oil for South Africa. 67/

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VII. INVESTMENT

69. South African investment in Israel has grown rapidly since the early 1970s, and in particular after the October 1973 war. This growth was stimulated by a decision of the South African Government, in May 1971, to relax controls on direct investment by South African companies in Israel, raising the ceiling to R 10 million. The ceiling was raised again to R 20 million in May 1974, and it is expected to increase to R 32 million in 1977. 68/

70. Israeli interests are also increasingly channelling capital to South Africa, both as direct investment and in the form of loans. Japhet Bank and Bank Leumi established offices in South Africa in 1971 and 1973, respectively. 69/ The United States subsidiary of Bank Leumi was involved in a secret loan to the South African Finance Ministry in 1972, with a share of $2 million. 70/ Bank Leumi recently sent one of its top executives to South Africa to explore further investment possibilities. 71/

71. Direct investment by either country in the other has taken place primarily through joint undertakings by public and private corporations. Both South African and Israeli leaders have often pointed out that the economies of the two countries are complementary and that their potential can best be realized through partnership arrangements. As the former Israeli Consul-General to South Africa put it: "With South Africa's abundance of raw materials, and Israel's know-how, we can really go places if we join forces." 72/ The Israeli Trade Consul in South Africa pointed out recently that South Africa was rich in cheap labour, which Israel lacked. 73/

72. A major advantage for South Africa of partnership arrangements with Israeli companies has been that Israel is thereby used as a manufacturing base from which to evade the boycott against the apartheid regime. For example, South Africa manufactures textiles, chemicals and fertilizers in Israel for export to Africa and other countries. 74/ In addition, South Africa is using Israel as a springboard for circumventing high European Economic Community and United States tariffs on its products. South African semi-finished goods can be exported to Israel and
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finished there to qualify for an Israeli certificate of origin, thus taking advantage of Israel's free-trade agreements with the Community and the United States. 75/73. The co-operation agreement between Israel and South Africa concluded on the occasion of Prime Minister Vorster's visit to Israel in April 1976 is expected to lead to a significant increase in these joint investment projects. The South Africa-Israel Chamber of Commerce is reportedly considering sending a high-level mission to Israel to study the most effective ways to implement the agreement. Mr. E. Hausmann, President of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries, said that the Chamber had been approached by a number of industrialists eager to explore investment opportunities in Israel, and was considering sending an industrial mission there. Several major companies already involved in joint undertakings have announced expansion schemes. The pact is also expected to lead to an agreement to avoid double taxation in the near future. 76/74. While the actual extent of investment by either country in the other is not known precisely, a list of the known projects is given here:

(a) South African investments in Israel

75. Steel Pipe Industry (Pty.), a subsidiary of African Gate Holdings, entered into a partnership with Middle East Tube Co. of Haifa to build a R 250,000 spiral steel pipe mill. 77/

76. Africa-Israel Investments, a major Israeli firm in which South African interests have a 25 per cent stake, participated in a project in Venezuela with financing by the South African Industrial Development Corporation. 78/

77. The Desiree Clothing group of Cape Town established a textile venture in Israel called Cecil Knits. 79/

78. Undisclosed South African interests have invested 400,000 pounds sterling in an Israeli factory to make cotton prints for the black South African and independent African market. This was reportedly only one of six or seven such projects in the pipeline. 80/

75/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 14 April 1976.


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79. The South African Iron and Steel Corporation (Iscor), a State-owned company, entered into a partnership with Koor Industries, a major industrial investment company owned by a syndicate of Israeli trade unions. The new company, Iskoo, with a share capital of R 1 million (owned 51 per cent by Koor and 49 per cent by Iscor), distributes steel in Israel. The company's success was such that a steelprocessing plant is now being built at Kirjat near Gaza. The cor.ry 1 "t ctrl1 made a substantial investment in a warehouse and a steel servicing centre. 81/

80. Dorbyl, one of South Africa's largest heavy engineering companies, has established a subsidiary in partnership with the Israeli company Koor to tender on engineering construction projects. The first contract obtained by the new company was a R 9.2 million project for the construction of steel tank farms in Israel. 82/

81. The South African Railways and companies Dorman Long and Union Carriage are building a railway line to the Red Sea port of Eilat. 83/

82. Other South African projects undertaken in Israel include the following: "South Africa House", a 26-storey office and shops complex in Tel Aviv; a petrochemicals complex in Haifa; a factory complex at Holon, near Tel Aviv, for rental to light industry; the manufacture of agricultural machinery in Eilat; a plant to make welded mesh fencing in Ashdod; a rice-milling plant in Haifa; a non-ferrous metal works; and participation in the redevelopment of the port at Eilat and of other Israeli ports. 84/

(b) Israeli investments in South Africa

83. Israeli investments in South Africa have remained modest until recently, when Koor Industries set up an agency in Johannesburg - Afrita - with the specific purpose of promoting economic relations between the two countries, and in particular joint investment projects. 85/ The expansion of ties, however, has led to the establishment of several major joint ventures in South Africa.

84. In June 1974, Koor Industries made its first investment in South Africa by joining in a partnership with the South African Adcock-Ingram group for the construction of a R 2.5 million agricultural chemicals plant at the Berlin "border area", near the Transkei. A new company, Agbro (Pty.), was formed to establish and


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run the factory, which would be the first of its kind in South Africa. Koor was to hold 25 per cent of the equity, with the South African group holding the difference. The factory was expected to have sufficient capacity to supply the needs for herbicides of South Africa and neighbouring territories, as well as "countries further afield". 86/
85. Assia Chemical Laboratories, another Israeli chemicals company, has established a subsidiary in South Africa, called Denkavit, for the manufacture of balanced feeds. Assia holds a 25 per cent share in the venture, with the option to purchase the remaining 75 per cent. 87/
86. Israeli interests are building a sea-water desalination plant in South Africa. 88/ 87. Tadiran, Israel's leading manufacturer of advanced electronic equipment, is to establish a R 1.7 million plant at Rosslyn, in a "border area". The plant, which will produce nickel cadmium products and batteries, will reportedly be fitted with the latest equipment from Israel. Tadiran is also to assemble emergency lighting equipment in partnership with Conlite South Africa at a plant in Johannesburg. 89/
88. Earlier, and smaller, Israeli ventures in South Africa include: Electra, a manufacturer of air-conditioners; Car Part Industries, in partnership with a South African company; and a joint venture between Shabal Engineering Works and the South African Power Tool and Equipment Co. for the manufacture of tools under licence. 90/
89. Israel has recently shown interest in investing in the "bantustans". Ha'aretz, an influential Israeli newspaper, has suggested that Israel could help "develop" the African reserves through its know-how in modern agricultural techniques and in combating soil erosion. 91/ In April 1976, a delegation from Israel attended a three-day symposium organized in Umtata, Transkei, by the South African Foreign Affairs Association. 92/
86/ Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 16 June 1974. Recent reports indicate a similar project in Berlin by the Israeli company Machteshim and the South African company Sentrachem. It is not clear whether these companies have joined the earlier undertaking, or whether this is a different project. (See The Star, Johannesburg, weekly airmail edition, 24 April 1976; Financial Mail., Johannesburg, 15 April 1976.)
88/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 7 July 1975; South African Digest, Pretoria, 23 April 1976.
91/ Quoted in South African Digest, Pretoria, 30 April 1976.
VIII. COLLABORATION IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

90. In the past few years, South Africa and Israel have established increasingly closer ties of scientific and technological collaboration. According to Dr. van der Merwe Brink, president of the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), a para-statal agency, this co-operation extends to such areas as water resources management, agriculture, building and construction, oceanography, the manufacturing industry including chemicals, fertilizers, electronics, aeronautical engineering and others. 93/

91. The first steps towards such collaboration were taken in 1972, with the exchanges of missions by scientists and technicians to study various areas of interest. In June 1972, the South African Minister for Water Affairs and Forestry visited Israel to study Israeli methods of water conservation and held talks with his Israeli counterpart, with a view to establishing collaboration with Israel in this field. 94/

92. A year later, a 15-man mission from South Africa visited Israel for two weeks to study methods of establishing new towns, urban renewal schemes, emergency building schemes, and industrialized buildings. The mission was headed by Dr. T. L. Webb, director of the National Building Research Unit of the CSIR. 95/ 93. In July 1974, Dr. E. J. Kruger, senior professional officer at the Lowveld Fisheries Research Station of the Transvaal Nature Conservancy Division, visited Israel to attend a fisheries seminar. 96/

93. In 1975, steps were taken to put these initial contacts on a more formal basis. A South African Committee of the Weizmann Institute was formed under the chairmanship of Prof. S. S. Israelstam, chemistry professor at Witwatersrand University. One of the first tasks of the Committee was the organization, in co-operation with the CSIR, of the Weizmann Centenary Science Conference, held in Johannesburg in April 1976 with the participation of leading scientists from South Africa and from the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel. 97/ The establishment of the Committee was followed by a visit to Israel of Dr. C. van der Merwe Brink, president of CSIR, and Dr. W. A. Verbeek, South African Secretary for Agriculture, to promote scientific co-operation. Early in 1976, the visit was returned by Dr. E. Tal, director of the Israeli National Council for Research and Development, Mr. Y. Saphir, director of international affairs of the Council and Prof. S. Lavee, chief director of the Department of Horticulture, who travelled to South Africa as guests of the CSIR. 98/

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95. The strengthening of scientific and technological co-operation was one of the aims of the agreement with Israel signed by Prime Minister Vorster on the
occasion of his visit to Israel in April 1976. In June, it was announced that a research exchange agreement had been reached between the CSIR and the Israeli National Council for Research and Development providing for the exchange of scientists and for a symposium of interest to both countries to be held annually. The first symposium was already held in Israel in November 1975 on the recycling of waste water. The next symposium would reportedly be held in South Africa in 1977, again on a topic of equal importance and common to the national interest of both countries. A similar agreement was also reached between the Israeli Agricultural Research Organization and the South African Department of Agricultural Technical Services. According to Dr. Meiring Naude, scientific advisor to Prime Minister Vorster, South Africa expects to gain tremendous scientific advantages from closer co-operation with Israeli scientists and technologists. 99_/

96. A further area in which South Africa is apparently interested in tapping Israeli know-how is that of scientific management. It was reported in April 1976 that Mr. Israel Meidan, head of the Israeli Productivity Institute and reportedly one of the world's top productivity experts (the Institute itself is said to be the largest of its kind in the world) had been invited to speak at a country-wide series of seminars in South Africa at the end of 1976. Mr. Meidan would seek to apply Israel's experience in raising productivity to the South African situation. While in South Africa, he would be the joint guest of the National Productivity Institute in Pretoria and the National Development and Management Foundation. 100./

IX. AIRLINE AND SHIPPING CONNEXIONS

97. Regular airline connexions between Israel and South Africa are provided by El Al, the Israeli airline. Following the increase in relations between the two countries after each major war in the Middle East, El Al stepped up its flights from Tel Aviv to Johannesburg to twice weekly in 1968, and thrice weekly in November 1973. The shorter route made possible by the Israeli occupation of the Sinai peninsula has reportedly led to a rapid increase in the volume of traffic carried by the airline. 101/

98. Shipping connexions are provided by Zim, the Israeli shipping line. The line plies regularly between Israel and South Africa. 102/


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African visitors to Israel rising by 35 per cent in one year, and continuing to increase steadily thereafter. This rapid growth resulted in the establishment of an Israeli Government tourist office in South Africa in 1968. 103/ In 1972; South African tourists to Israel numbered 15,319. 104/ In the same year, 2,601 Israelis visited South Africa. 105/

100. Visits by Israeli artists to South Africa have become increasingly common since 1968. In that year, the Karmon Israeli Singers and Dancers and the comedian Shimon Dzigan toured South Africa. 106/

101. Two leading musicians from the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra played in Johannesburg in August 1970. 107/

102. In 1974, the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra toured South Africa for two weeks. It was a major cultural event for South Africa, which reportedly had not entertained a visiting orchestra of comparable size and stature for 18 years. 108/

103. In 1976, the Bat Dor Dance Company of Israel toured Johannesburg, Cape Town and Bloemfontein. 109/ An exhibition of paintings of some of Israel's most prominent artists was held in Johannesburg in March 1976. 110/

104. Another instance of increasing cultural relations was a twin-city agreement between Cape Town and Haifa signed in February 1975. The mayor of Cape Town visited Haifa on the occasion and stated that the agreement had the consent of the Government of Israel and the South African Department of Foreign Affairs. The agreement was expected to lead to intensified exchanges between the two cities. One result of the agreement was the establishment of a cultural exchange society at the University of Haifa aiming to promote closer ties with South Africa. The

106/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 16 April and 19 July 1968.
107/ Ibid., 11 August 1970.
10/ Jerusalem Post, 13 August 1974.
110/ Ibid., 5 March 1976.

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director of foreign affairs at the University of Haifa toured South Africa for three weeks in June 1976 to promote the aims of the Society, in particular by starting an exchange programme between South African professors and students and the University of Haifa, and by setting up a correspondence course in Jewish affairs in South Africa. 111/

105. Among other instances of cultural collaboration are reported to be the following:

"In Israel there are countless foundations established by South Africans:
the parasitology laboratory of Hebrew University is entirely financed by a South African foundation; the Bialik chair of Hebrew; the Ruth Ochberg chair of agriculture; the Cootcher Museum; an entire wing of the national library; the Silas S. Perry foundation for biblical research ..." 112/106. In addition, it was disclosed in 1975 that a wealthy Israeli arts dealer, after a trip to South Africa, had offered a $2.3 million book collection to the Hebrew University to establish a department devoted to the promotion of closer ties between Israelis and Afrikaners. 113/107. Cultural relations between the two countries have at times concerned Namibia. In 1971, a study group from Tel Aviv University visited Namibia as guests of the Windhoek Rotary Club to study the socio-economic and political structure of the country. llh/

XI. COLLABORATION IN SPORTS
108. Sports ties between the two countries, which had been dormant since the mid-1950s, were intensified since 1970. In March of that year, the Israeli Lawn Tennis Association declined to use its proxy vote at the Davis Cup meeting in London which was to decide on participation by Rhodesia and South Africa. 115/109. In 1971, the official Israeli judo team visited South Africa, the first international judo team to do so. 116/ The Israeli basketball team Maccabi Tel Aviv played matches against all-white teams in South Africa in July-August 1971.

112/ Bullier, op. cit.
113/ Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 8 July 1975.
116/ Ibid., 1 September 1971.

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In November, two Israeli athletes participated in multiracial athletic meetings in Cape Town. 118/110. An official Israeli women's tennis team went to South Africa in March 1972 to participate in the Federation Tennis Cup. 119/111. In July 1973, a team of 120 athletes from South Africa competed in the Maccabiah Games in Israel commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of Israel. 120/121. In December of the same year, the Israeli Sports Federation sent a team to compete in the international gymnastics competition in Johannesburg. 121/122. The Northern Transvaal rugby team toured Israel in January 1976. 122/L18/ Report from South Africa, South African Embassy, London, 2ebruary 1972.
120/ A/9022, para. 120-1.