

JEWS, ZIONISM & SOUTH AFRICA

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PREFACE:

Katya Gibel Azoulay is a black Jewish Israeli and a post graduate student in the African history department of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She has been an anti-apartheid activist for many years, supporting the African National Congress and the Citizens Rights Movement within Israel. The following is an account of some of the conversations between the author and Katya during the summer of 1989.

DH: The equations of Zionism equals Apartheid and Israel equals South Africa seems more prevalent and acceptable now, than ever before.

KA: The insistence on isolating South Africa for comparison with Israel may be fashionable but it continues to be invidious, whether it's done through African propaganda or by supporters of a Palestinian State. The readiness of many intellectuals, including more Israelis, to accept this comparison and to accommodate their political analysis of both regions to it, demands a rebuttal each time. Let me add that the equation of Zionism equals Apartheid is not new, it dates back to the days of the new left, which you know was riddled with Anti semitism.

DH: I want to ask you how you would deal with a speaker who claims Zionism equals Racism and Israel equals Apartheid in a hostile meeting, say at a student conference.

KA: There is no point in knocking your head against a brick wall. I refuse to debate in such hostile environments, especially with people who argue Zionism is racism. This is, anti semitism. I believe the pen is mightier than the sword. I would leave the meeting and then write to the people concerned and any journals or papers they're associated with. The bottom line is there can be no dialogue with those who question the fundamental right of Jews to a state.

DH: How do you differentiate the two situations?

KA: Firstly I look at the situation in both regions. The differences seem to be obvious: the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict centres around opposing nationalities, two peoples who want their own state. South Africa has balkanized its territories, imposing legally binding ethnic identities on its population over the objections of the people affected by this decision. The Israeli occupation of the territories is a direct result of wars with neighbouring countries, whose stated goal, until recently, was Israel's destruction. The question of racism as practised in Southern Africa, therefore, is irrelevant to any discussion of Israeli behaviour. Anyone - Palestinian or otherwise - can undergo conversion to Judaism without regard to colour or ethnic background, and be fully integrated into the Jewish Community. If the objective of anti-Zionists is to encourage a shift of Israeli public opinion toward the idea of direct negotiations with the P.L.O., this

will never be achieved by crude and simplistic equations with South Africa, but instead by relating to the specific context of the Palestinian - Israeli Conflict.

The conflict in our region centres on two nationalistic ideologies, mutual recognition and some form of partition. Only the P.L.O. and its supporters can give Israel peace; only Zionists can make peace with P.L.O. and the Palestinians. Drawing superficial parallels between South Africa and Israel merely obscures the issues, without advancing this psychological and political process. The Conflict in South Africa is ultimately between Christian South Africans - the Deklerks and the Mandelas - over justice and equal rights in one state. White South Africans must come to terms with the fact that pigment has nothing to do with politics.

DH: The flip side to the Israel - South Africa equation is the comparison of the A.N.C. and P.L.O. In left wing circles the A.N.C. and P.L.O. are virtually always linked. Both are given as examples of progressive national liberation movements. What is the truth here?

KA: It has become customary to note one's own beliefs when dealing with this subject. I believe that the Palestinian people are entitled to a national identity and that this obviously necessitates territorial accommodation and compromise on our part. However, I am not overwhelmed with either respect or trust for Yasser Arafat, but recognise that it is with the P.L.O. headed by Mr Arafat that our Government must negotiate.

Finally, I do not view the P.L.O.'s liberation struggle as worthy of praise or admiration, whereas those of the Haganah, and yes, the Irgun, as well as the A.N.C. and the Algerian, Cuban and Chinese struggles for independence, can be said to have been waged honourably within the context of their times.

Let me expand. The A.N.C. is a united movement; the P.L.O. is an umbrella organisation containing divergent ideologies, from Marxist to Maoist, from religious nationalist to the worst forms of reactionary militaristic nationalism. Further, the fact is that for fifty years the A.N.C. was characterised by the principle of non-violent opposition to the white domination. The decision to turn to sabotage directed at state institutions and military installations was not taken lightly. The A.N.C. would never attack a school children's bus. The same cannot be said for the P.L.O. The P.L.O. was founded before there was territory to liberate, with a primary commitment to armed struggle as the only way to liberate Palestine.

The P.L.O. is therefore a completely different organisation to the A.N.C. in terms of organisation, development and method. It is inconceivable that Oliver Tambo would appear at the U.N. proudly waving a gun.

DH: Do you find that all your energy is drained in combating "Zionism equals Apartheid" myths, leaving you little time for more positive work?

KA: Not at all. I'm currently the Co-ordinator of the RATS (Citizens' Rights Movement) Foreign Affairs Committee. On June 18th we forced a discussion on South Africa in the Knesset, we helped establish the organisation, Israelis against Apartheid, we have had a telephone link-up with Winnie Mandela, and have ensured many books on the subject have been translated into Ivrit (Hebrew).

We want to continue raising public consciousness *viz-a-viz* South Africa and to lobby for complete disinvestment and sanctions by the (Israeli) Government.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last decade, a plethora of different groups and individuals have repeatedly equated Zionism with Apartheid, and asserted that a Tel-Aviv-Pretoria axis is in operation. On many British campuses and throughout broad sections of the British Left the equations of Zionism with Apartheid and Zionism with racism are such commonplace slogans, that many student activists, for lack of understanding of the true character and purpose of Zionism, internalise this slander. They accept anti-Zionist propaganda in its entirety and condemn the alleged South African - Israeli Alliance as a conspiracy of two racist states.

This concerted attempt to slander Israel finds its origins in the infamous Zionism equals Racism resolution, passed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1975. At the time most rational observers saw this act as yet another episode of political name calling engineered - through among other methods, blackmail, i.e. threat of oil embargo's - by the Soviet Union and Arab States. This canard about Zionism has been given credence by the United Nations and those forces committed to the destruction of the Zionist vision of a free, just and democratic state.

By equating Zionism with Apartheid (implicitly saying Zionism equals racism), anti-Israel elements within the Anti-Apartheid Movement are exploiting the energy and commitment of other activists for their own purposes. This both spreads an ugly lie in order to undermine Israel, and compromises the purpose and goals of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The Jewish Community in general, and Jewish Students in particular, have good reason to be concerned. Not only are we outraged by these equations with their gross misrepresentation of the facts and deliberate distraction of our collective identity, but, perhaps worse still, we are frightened by the racist tone of much of the propaganda now being disseminated by anti-Zionists.

The true character of Jews and Judaism are being undermined. The history of the Jewish people has reinforced the ethical and social values of Judaism. Jews have been medieval victims of hatred and slavery, constant objects of suspicion and envy and contemporary martyrs of genocidal racism. We Jews can only empathise with all peoples who suffer from injustice of any kind. The very idea of apartheid is anathema to the Jewish people. The Jewish people's rejection of the evils of apartheid is a universal fact. Jews, both inside and outside South Africa, have had a disproportionate role in the struggle against Apartheid, and against racism in general.

Jewish students who have wanted to be involved in the Anti-Apartheid Movement over the last decade have, more often than not, been instantly attacked, put on the defensive regarding Israel and Zionism, and often completely ostracized from the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

It is time to expose the feeble and racist nature of the Zionist/Apartheid analogy, and, in particular, its irrelevance to the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The purpose of this booklet is to highlight and dispel the (intellectually) dishonest arguments and issues that pervade the Anti-Apartheid Movement, whilst re-examining about Israel

The strategy to discredit Israel through South Africa is two-fold. The first aspect is to highlight trade and commercial links between the two countries, the second is to perpetrate the Zionism equals Racism apartheid lie. The former relies on selective and distorted use of so called empirical evidence, the latter on a perverted often anti semitic view of the Jewish National Liberation Movement, Zionism.

ISRAEL'S POLICY ON APARTHEID.

The often repeated lie, that Israel condones apartheid, has become an accepted fact among many ill-informed left wing groups, sections of the media and segments of the Jewish community. This misconception testifies to the success of the Arab propaganda effort and undermines Israel's credibility with British people, the black community in particular and the international community in general.

Israel has consistently condemned apartheid, making its opposition clear to international agencies and the South African Government itself. Israel's U.N. Ambassador, Benjamin Netanyahu, stated his Government's position before the General Assembly on November 21st, 1984.

".....Israel categorically condemns racism in all its forms, including Apartheid. We are people who have suffered more from racism, murderous racism than any other people. This is why the founder of modern Zionism, Theodore Herzl, wrote that after liberating the Jews from the evil of racism he would strive to liberate the oppressed Blacks. And this is why the state was run on his vision. Israel has repeatedly expressed its revulsion of and opposition to apartheid, both in world forums and directly to the Government of South Africa.....".

In 1983, Israel's President, Chaim Herzog, during a visit by Liberian President Dr Samuel K. Doe - whose State is critical of Apartheid yet maintains trade links - that "nothing unites the people of Africa and the people of Israel more than a hatred of racism. Our people have suffered more than anyone else from racism, have fought, and still fight, more than anyone else against this most horrible disease that still persists among mankind. Israel and its Government have consistently condemned publicly the policy of Apartheid, and I take this opportunity to express once more our abhorrence of apartheid and any form of racism, wherever it may occur."

Israel has expressed its opposition to apartheid in other ways as well. In 1978, the Israeli Ambassador in Pretoria boycotted the premier of the play, "Golda", because blacks were not permitted in the 'whites only theatre'. He explained that by attending he "would commit an act of infidelity to our heritage".

On behalf of the Government of Israel, Minister of Energy, Moshe Shalal, issued the following statement on October 21st 1985 condemning the execution of the South African poet, Benjamin Moloise:

"the Government of Israel can only express its heartfelt participation in the grief of the family and people throughout South Africa following the execution of the South African poet, Benjamin Moloise. The Israeli people cannot remain silent *viz-a-viz* the absence of mercy seen in the carrying out of the death sentence, as it cannot remain silent regarding the wave of violence which has touched all levels of the South African population.

The people of Israel opposes the system of apartheid, which is racist, and the Government of Israel, including all of its representatives and cabinets, has given expression to this throughout."

It is clear that Israeli officials from the President and Prime Minister have spoken out against apartheid at the U.N., to the South African government, to Black African leaders, and in the general media. The people of Israel, like the Jews in the Diaspora and South Africa itself, have played a prominent part in the Anti-Apartheid Movement, adding our voices to the international outcry against Apartheid. The Government of Israel and her people clearly oppose Apartheid.

TRADE: THE 'TEL AVIV - PRETORIA MYTH'

There is an agreement employed by the Anti-Apartheid Movement calling for a world wide trade embargo of South Africa. This agreement when applied universally is both morally and tactically compelling. For apartheid to be dismantled pressure must be brought to bear on the South African Government, specifically on the economy, that prospers and flourishes precisely because of the racist nature of apartheid. Slave labour is cheap indeed!

The rhetoric and propaganda of the anti-Zionist lobby presents Israeli - South African commercial relations as a conspiratorial plot. Israel is portrayed as South Africa's most crucial trading partner.

As we shall see, the facts tell a completely different story. The 'Tel Aviv-Pretoria' connection will be exposed for the malicious myth it is, invented by anti-Zionist forces whose own ties to Pretoria are far more extensive than Israel's. Does the fact that 46 Black African States trade with South Africa mean that they condone apartheid? Of course not! Yet, for Israeli trade with South Africa, anti-Zionists maintain that that is the case.

OVERALL TRADE

South Africa's major trading partners are the United States, United Kingdom, Japan, Saudi Arabia, France, Italy, Sweden and Switzerland. The International Monetary Fund (I.M.F) 'Direction of Trade 1984' states that Israel ranks 17th amongst the countries receiving South African exports, and 23rd among those

supplying that nation's imports. The I.M.F. states that Israel's trade with South Africa amounts to less than 1% of South Africa's total trade. In 1983 South Africa exported to the United States \$1.55 billion worth of goods or 8.2% of South Africa's total exports; to Japan \$1.39 billion or 7.4%; to the United Kingdom \$1.2 billion or 6.4%; to Switzerland \$1.5 billion or 8%; to African States \$769 million or 4%; and to Israel \$142 million or three quarter of 1%. Israel is unfairly singled out among the nations who trade with South Africa and that is a result of anti-Zionist propaganda.

MILITARY SALES

The military connection between Israel and South Africa commenced in 1967, when South Africa supplied Israel with spare parts for its Mirage planes, after France imposed an arms embargo on Israel. The bulk of Israeli arms sales to South Africa have been to their navy. In 1977-78 three Israeli-built Reshev guided missile boats were delivered to South Africa. Between 1978-1984 nine other Reshev's were built in South Africa under Israeli licence.

A survey of World Arms sales to South Africa reveals the fact that while Israel and South Africa have engaged in Weapons Trade, it has been grossly exaggerated.

Because of the arms embargo, South Africa has developed its own arms industry and is self-sufficient in producing artillery guns and rockets, short range guided missiles, mine detecting equipment, armoured vehicles, anti-personnel and anti-vehicle mines, arms and ammunition, and, according to *Janes*, in the manufacturing of infantry weapons.

Heavy equipment such as aircraft and tanks are either produced under licence or purchased. Of the eleven foreign licences South Africa has for manufacturing heavy weaponry only one is from Israel and it is for the Reshev Patrol Boats. Of purchases of military aircraft and helicopters, according to a 1982 UNESCO Study, 84 were from the US, 124 from the U.K., 263 from France, 344 from Italy and 40 from Canada. UNESCO has a long history of anti-Israel behaviour, but could not find any evidence to substantiate the obviously false claims of Israel being a major arms supplier of South Africa.

In 1979, Israel announced that it would abide by the United Nations resolution to impose an arms embargo on South Africa. The official position has been, until recently, that Israel has acted in accordance with this resolution. Over the last few years evidence has surfaced showing renewed military links between Israel and South Africa. These links have been defended in two ways, both of which are spurious. The first, is that the links are essential for Israel's security. This is false. No evidence has been forthcoming to prove this; moreover it has been shown that in some cases Israel's aid to the South African arms industry threatens Israel's security. South Africa is now a net arms exporter and some of its key customers are in the Arab world. Ironically, it is increasingly possible that some of Israel's deals with South Africa have been used to arm Israel's enemies.

The second defence of military links is economic. It is argued that too much money is earned and too many jobs are involved to cease military sales to South

Africa. The arms industry was never created for a profit rather to overcome the embargo against Israel.

By defending the *status quo*, and ignoring both internal Israeli calls for the end of the links with South Africa, as well as international opinion, Israeli Government officials have ignored entreaties for policy change which may be vital to both the image and security of Israel in the years ahead.

Even though Israel's military trade is not nearly as pronounced as some anti-Zionists claim for its own interests as well as the moral imperative, Israel must stop dealing with South Africa, particular in the military field.

TRADE BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES & SOUTH AFRICA.

100% of the oil imported by South Africa between 1971-1974 came from the Arab States of the Persian Gulf(1), averaging 13 million tons annually. Arab exports of oil disappear from the records after 1974, only to reappear in 1979, re-discovered through Lloyds Voyage records and studies conducted by the Shipping Research Bureau. Oil shipment went unrecorded out of fear of the effect it would have on the Arab States' new relationship with those Black African States that broke diplomatic relations with Israel following the U.N. Zionism equals Racism decision.

The Arab Oil trade that keeps South Africa alive amounted to \$9.9 billion between 1980-1984(2), despite the U.N. 1979 embargo of oil shipments to South Africa. The largest single supplier, about 35% of South Africa's oil imports, is Saudi Arabia. One never hears of the "Riyadh-Pretoria Axis".

The oil trade alone, amounting to approximately £3 billion per annum, makes the Arab world, South Africa's largest trading partner.

GOLD TRADE

"Arabs are buying South Africa gold like hot-cakes, thus helping to sustain that country's abominable policy of apartheid. Arabs who sought and continue to woo our support have become business partners in building the South African economy".

Kenyan: Daily Nation

South Africa produces three quarters of the non-Communist world's gold, 658 tons in 1981(3). Over one third of this is sold to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates(4).

By violating the oil boycott against South Africa, OPEC member states have exploited South Africa's need for oil - as well as bolstering the apartheid regime - and have sold oil to South Africa for payment in gold, at a 60% premium above official crude oil prices(5).

The Arab world continues to champion the goals of anti-Apartheid while literally fuelling that same system. The oil and gold trade between the Arab states and South Africa amounts to around \$6 billion per annum.

(1) *World energy supplies 1950-1974*. U. N. Department of Economics & Social Affairs series Number 19pp228-9.

(2) *Jct*, September 17, 1984 page 30.

(3) *Business Week*, August 16, 1982. P.37

(4) *Ma'Ariv*, Jan 27, 1978.

(5) *Israel, South Africa and Black Africa*, KUNIFRMOSIA, University Press of America 1981 chapter 5 P.89

MILITARY LINKS

"King Hussein's arms deal with South Africa need not be a surprise. Members of organisation of Africa Unity are to blame for slavishly breaking ties with Israel. Black Africans are now the losers. One can only hope when next the Arabs call for help, Black African's will remember this Arab hypocrisy."

Adebayo Dele Opaoye
Africa Magazine Jan 1975

The hypocrisy of the Arab States is re-affirmed in the area of arms deals with South Africa. While decrying Israel for military links with the Apartheid regime. Arab States have been involved in constant arms deals with South Africa.

In 1974 Jordan sold South Africa 555 Tigercat missiles, 41 centurian tanks, jeeps and other equipment. Egypt has acted as an intermediary to break the arms embargo, supplying French Cratole missiles. Morocco has South African Military advisers and imports South African armoured cars(7). In April 1985 Iraq purchased 100 Howitzers delivering much needed oil in return(8).

South-African-Arab ties extends well beyond gold, oil and arms. According to 1981 I.M.F. reports Saudia Arabia imported \$56,183,000 worth of South African commodities and \$149,628,000 worth of food and livestock, a total of \$104,856,000. Kuwait is another major trader, their royal family controls LOHNRO that owns 55 Rhodesian and South African companies. Through one of the dozen or so South African trading houses operating in the Arab world Kuwait has purchased hundreds of thousands of tons of South African building materials.(9)

The Arab championing of the Anti-Apartheid cause is a show designed to discredit Israel while maintaining good relationships with black South African States. Their own trade with South Africa is concealed while Israel is scapegoated - a classic anti-semitic ruse.

The facts are compelling, the Arab States do not abide by either oil, military or trade embargoes. Arab States account for over a third of total foreign investment in South Africa, totalling over \$9 Billion(10). There have been no calls for Arab disinvestment. If they were sincere in their declared desire to end apartheid they could severely threaten the South African economy, instead they point an accusing finger at Israel who could never come close in matching their petrodollar trade with South Africa. The exploitation of the Anti-Apartheid Movement is designed to delegitimise the State of Israel, by doing this they have concealed their own involvement in bolstering the Apartheid regime.

(6) *Arms trade registers* - Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 1975 PP 92-95

(7) *Sunday Times* Feb 7 1980.

(8) *UN General Assembly Sec. Council A/40/4645/17326* July 5 1985.

(9) *Boycott Report: American Jewish Congress* 1978/80.

(10) Michael Curtis "Middle East Review" Summer 1985

NUCLEAR CO-OPERATION "MYTH OR REALITY"

Allegations regarding Israeli-South Africa collaboration in the development of nuclear weapons are so common place that they have entered the realism of "Conventional Wisdom", despite the fact that these reports are often without substantiation or reference.

The United Nations and other international bodies have been central in disseminating reports of South African-Israeli nuclear collaboration. Similar allegations can be found in a variety of sources and publications. Journalists such as James Adams (Sunday Times) emphasise the nuclear connection. According to Adams, Israel has "developed its own independent nuclear capability and, in the search for friends, has not hesitated to share its knowledge with its closest ally, South Africa".⁽¹⁾ Many authors cite an alliance between "Israel's technological expertise and South Africa's financial power to create parallel nuclear capabilities". However, these reports are not subject to any form of scrutiny or examination. The evidence in all cases is extremely tenuous and in many, does not exist.

While rumours have been circulating for many years, the increased contacts between Israel-South Africa, their growing international isolation, and the efforts to link Zionism to Apartheid has intensified the frequency and magnitude of these reports. Among studies of the so called Israeli-South African nuclear co-operation three specified areas are suggested:

1 ISRAELI DEPENDENCE ON SOUTH AFRICAN URANIUM

South Africa has the third largest resources of Uranium in the world and supplies the U.S., West Germany, Britain and France. The allegations of Nuclear links between South Africa and Israel often focus on the supply of Uranium. According to Adams "South Africa has one great advantage over Israel in the Nuclear race' Uranium". Israel operates a french designed Uranium-fuelled nuclear reactor at Dimona, which it is argued establishes Israel's dependence on imported Uranium. While there are many sources of Uranium, Israel's options are limited by political factors. The U.S. and Australia will not supply Uranium and some suppliers have no relations with Israel. Thus the argument goes, Israel is dependent on South Africa.

2 ISRAELI EXPERTISE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

It is a commonplace argument that Israel swops technological know-how for South African Uranium. Commentators have noted Israeli scientists in South Africa, reported on Israeli assistance for South African efforts to develop Uranium enrichment technology and suggested co-operation between Israel, Taiwan and South Africa in the development of a nuclear armed cruise missile. Other sources claim Israel has developed a ballistic missile (the Jericho) and has provided the technology to South Africa.

⁽¹⁾ J Adams, *the Unnatural Alliance*, London Lauret Books, 1984, P166

⁽²⁾ Ali-Mazro'i, *Zionism and Apartheid, Strange Bedfellows or Natural Allies* 1983-4 P93

3 NUCLEAR TESTS

There are numerous reports of Israeli-South African co-operation in the testing of Nuclear devices. In 1979 a 'bright flash' in the South Atlantic off the Coast of South Africa was detected by U.S. Vela Satellites. Some analysis have concluded the flash was caused by a nuclear detonation and speculation has centred a South African involvement.

Reports of Israeli involvement were denied by both Israel and the U.S. and a technical Committee in the U.S.(3) concluded that the mysterious flash was not caused by a nuclear detonation. Nevertheless, this event is often cited as a primary example of Israeli-South African nuclear collaboration and has been repeated in Newsweek and other newspapers and magazines.

In all three areas the evidence is either tenuous or non-existent. The allegations are based largely on the isolation of the two states and the fact that both are engaged in nuclear activities. As noted, most authors claim the 'special relationship' is essentially based on the exchange of Uranium for expertise. No source or evidence for such exchanges is cited. No ships carrying cargo have been traced - although in contrast, the secret oil deliveries from Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf to South Africa have been uncovered - The argument hangs on the logic that South Africa is the only potential supplier of Uranium to Israel.

Here the circumstantial case fails. Israel has sufficient sources of Uranium to meet the requirements for the relatively small Dimona reactor. Israeli industry recovers 50 tons of natural Uranium per year as a by product from its phosphate mining. This capability is far from secret, the Jerusalem Post has carried detailed reports on Uranium Mining and processing in Israel. The report of the U.N.'s(4) panel of experts - including two Arabs and a Soviet delegate - acknowledged that Israel was not dependent on South African Uranium.

The reports, of the presence of Israeli nuclear scientists in South Africa may be true but are no more significant. Israeli scientists may have assisted in the development of the Safari 2 research reactor, but this reactor was entirely unrelated to military activities and was decommissioned after a short lifetime. In a broader sense, Israeli scientists are very active in international nuclear affairs. As even Adams admits "the exchange of knowledge and personnel is not unusual in the nuclear field.... in an evolving science, the regular exchange of ideas are expected and encouraged." (5) Compared to scientists from U.S., West Germany, France, Britain and the Peoples Republic of China, Israeli scientists have spent relatively little time in South Africa.

(3) 'Blow Up' Technical Review, Oct 1980

(4) Jerusalem Post Weekly March 26, 1974. Tedd Friedman "Israel's Nuclear Option"

(5) Adam P179

Similarly, only speculation links Israel with the development of South African nuclear delivery systems. The missile programme referred to above, has produced no signs of life. The Jericho missile project has not been seen, even in Israel and even international military technology publishers such as 'Janes' have dropped references to this system.

The idea that Israel-South Africa carried out joint nuclear test's is not only lacking in any evidence what so ever but is intrinsically flawed. Israel has devoted over two decades to the development of nuclear devices as Adams points out "there was little doubt in the minds of Israel's nuclear experts that the devices they have been working on for so long would work perfectly"(6). Furthermore there is little if any value in a single test. Thus, there is no evidence nor rationale to support the charges of Israeli links to nuclear tests involving South Africa.

CONCLUSIONS

In 1979 the U.N. General Assembly requested reports on the nuclear activities of South Africa and Israel, and in particular to investigate the links between them. While the report cited reports of "possible nuclear cooperation between South Africa and Israel" it found no evidence for such activity.

Of course its logical to expect that nuclear cooperation would be hidden. However the program of the magnitude suggested would be almost impossible to keep secret. Material and personnel could be tracked particularly over a period of years. For example, despite great efforts to maintain secrecy there is ample evidence of Western European and in particular West German nuclear links to South Africa. i.e. the ANC expose of secret deals between South Africa and Germany, concerning the training of nuclear scientists. In addition France has supplied nuclear reactors and the EUROOD consortium operated by France, Belgium, Spain and Italy has supplied enriched Uranium for the Kogburg reactor. There is no evidence linking Israel to the South African program.

(6) Adams P181

THE EXPLOITATION OF THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

We have seen over the last few chapters how much time, energy and money has been devoted to linking Israel with the Apartheid regime of South Africa, by anti-Zionist forces within the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The reason for this effort is not to advance the Anti-Apartheid Movement, for it has been shown here that there are far more suitable targets than Israel - both in terms of the quantity of trade and military links with South Africa - The reasons are far more devious. The Apartheid regime is quite rightly seen as the most despicable, racist state in the world today. Hence, if the anti-Zionist lobby can link Israel with South Africa, then they can give legitimacy to their argument that Zionism equals racism.

On October 11th, 1986 the council for the advancement of Arab-British understanding (CAABU) organised a seminar entitled "Israel and South Africa: Zionism and Apartheid". The object of the seminar was not only to highlight "the close commercial and military alliances between them" (1) (Israel and South Africa) but also to draw parallels between Israel and South Africa's ideological and political positions. David Watkin's (Director of CAABU) argues that "The striking similarity between Israel and South Africa is nowhere more clearly brought out than in the report of the Commonwealth Eminent(2) Persons Group on South Africa"

Watkins argues that terms like "South African Government", "A.N.C" and "process of negotiations" could be swapped with 'Israeli government', 'P.L.O. and International Conference' and the report could be one on the Middle East and Israel. This is the type of crass, unsubstantiated analysis and arguments that anti-Zionists are using to undermine Israel. Watkins offers no substantial evidence for his claims and shows a complete lack of understanding of the nature of Zionism.

Faisal Aouidha - P.L.O representative in the U.K. spoke at this seminar, he argued that, "If we are on principle anti-Apartheid on the same principle we have to be anti-Zionist. Both stand for the destruction of the peoples in their area". Throughout his speech Mr Aouidha continually re-asserts this theme, without any substantive evidence to justify it at all. It is in the nature of propaganda, pure rhetoric, relying on evidence such as "when one of the high officials in the conservative party, who was in Israel, recently returned, he was asked 'how was it?' He said; "Fascism. It is a fascist State. I don't know how anyone can tolerate it". The next day he was in Parliament talking about it - "Israel the democratic state."

Mr Aouidha manages to equate Israel with fascism and suggest a conspiracy against a highly placed Conservative official without telling us who the Conservative official was, when the statement was made and to whom. Intellectual honesty seems to have no place in the world of anti-Zionist propaganda.

(2) *IBID* P9

(3) *Israel & South Africa/Zionism & Apartheid* Pp:3

The lie that Zionism, like Apartheid is a racist ideology and Israel, like South Africa, is a racist state needs to be dispelled. Zionism, simply put, is the National Liberation Movement of the Jewish people.

Israel is the spiritual, cultural, religious and national centre of world Jewry. Throughout two thousand years of exile, Jews who wandered throughout the world, maintained Zion as the centre of Jewish hope and belief. While in the Diaspora, Jewish Statelessness manifested itself in the modern era, as Jewish powerlessness, Jews fell victim to endless persecution, pogroms, crusades and eventually to the Shoah (Holocaust).

In the ideology of Zionism there is no reference to race or the advocacy of discrimination. Israel is home to people of African, Asian and European decent. Zionism is a reaffirmation of Jews as a nation not a race.

Modern Zionism grew as a response to racism, in the form of anti-Semitism. The evidence used to prove that Israel is racist is the law of return. The law of return, allows any Jew, anywhere in the world to come to Israel and claim automatic citizenship.

This law must be seen in context. It was passed to ensure that every Jew in the world has a place of refuge. It was passed against the backdrop of the Shoah, where one third of the world Jewry was wiped out because they had no haven, because no state would come to their rescue. All this does not mean that others are excluded, on the contrary, citizenship requirements for non-Jews who wish to immigrate to Israel - Christians, Muslims, B'hai or others - are more liberal than those of the U.K or many other western countries.

The second argument used to prove Israel is racist, is the 'Palestinian issue. Here parallel's are constantly drawn between Israeli Arabs and Black South African's. Yet again these prove to be gross distortions of the truth, made only to justify the Zionism equals Apartheid myth. An honest appraisal of the situation of the Palestinians living within Israel will reveal discrimination. To its shame there is a level of racism in Israeli society as in any other. However, in Israel, unlike South Africa or indeed any of its neighbouring Arab states, the situation is confronted democratically. Israeli Arabs have the vote, access to the Judiciary, can demonstrate, have an independent media and are protected under the law. Their rights enshrined in the Declaration of Independence.

The State of Israel... will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of the shrines and holy places of all the religions.....

And indeed Israeli Arabs have the longest life span of any Arabs in the Middle East, the lowest infant mortality rate and the highest and most extensive systems of health care and education. Arabic is one of Israel's official languages, Palestinians, Bedouin's and Druze serve alongside their Jewish counterparts in Israel's Parliament.

This is a far cry from the situation of Blacks in South Africa. Thus, while it can be said that discrimination exists in Israel, the claim that Zionism is racism is pure propaganda, as Baynard Rustin, a Black civil rights leader put it.

"Americans indeed, all persons committed to democracy should support Israel in its efforts to see that Ethiopia's black Jews are united with their brethren in Israel - an effort that should finally lay to rest the false notion that Zionism is Racism."

'Afro American' February 1985.

Apartheid is a political system, predicated on a racist ideology, that states blacks are inferior to whites and should therefore have limited, if any, political, social or economic rights. Racism is an institutionalised way of life where black and white are separated constitutionally, legally and in many cases physically.

Israel's political system is predicated on the Zionist ideology, an ideology designed to solve the classical 'Jewish question' and ensure the Jewish emergence from powerlessness. Its institutions reflect the democratic ethical and humanitarian notions of Israel's founding pioneers. Zionism is the antithesis of racism.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this booklet has been to dispel lies and myths, perpetrated to delegitimise Zionism as an ideology and to undermine the State of Israel.

The lie, is in essence, that Zionism like Apartheid is a racism ideology and Israel like South Africa is a racist state. The motives for the lie are obvious (if Israel is identified with South Africa it too will become an international pariah, beyond the pole of civilised nations).

We have seen the hypocrisy of the Arab states that have spread the lie while themselves fuelling, financing and arming South Africa. We have seen that the 'evidence' used is either fictitious, or gross distortions and exaggerations of the truth. However, unfortunately it is also true, that throughout sections of the left, the media, on British Campus and even within the liberal intelligentsia 'the big lie' is accepted as Conventional Wisdom.

The shadow of anti-Semitism in the anti-Apartheid Movement discourages some, thankfully not all, of the Jewish communities involvement. The continuing singling out of Israel among the nations connected with South Africa, the slanders against

the National Liberation Movement of the Jewish people, (not just by members but also leading organisers) and the continual application of a double standard applied to Jews and Israel is inconsistent with the values the anti-Apartheid Movement claims to uphold. The anti-Apartheid Movement does not have the mandate, nor the responsibility to legitimise every national liberation cause that comes along. The strength of the anti-Apartheid Movement should be that justice and right is so obviously on its side that it can attract large portions of mainstream opinion. By dwelling on side issues and allowing the movement to be used by anti-Zionists who have their own agenda, and who pursue their own interests at the expense of the movements goals, the potential for construction activism is undermined and many supporters are at best made to feel uncomfortable and at worst discouraged altogether.

This booklet as well as dispelling many lies has tried to the best of the authors ability, to give a fair and honest account of Israel's relationship with South Africa. The nature of the booklet has been reactive and in the main negative.

The reality is, that Israel is no better, but also no worse than any other country in the world. Israel should cease all relations with South Africa both economically and politically. As Rabbi Stanley Ringler puts it Israel "should disengage on the basis of the Jewish ethical tradition and the lessons of history "... Israel can claim that Apartheid is repugnant in every way and antithetical to Judaism and Zionism alike".



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