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and South Africa

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* This is a mimeographed version of a special report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which will be issued in printed form in Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 22A (A/41/22/Add.1-).

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

18 September 1986

Sir,

I have the honour, in accordance with paragraph 7 of resolution 40/64 E adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1985, to transmit herewith a special report of the Special Committee against Apartheid on recent developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa.

The Special Committee requests that this report be issued as a document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) J. N. GARBA
Chairman of the
Special Committee against Apartheid

His Excellency Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, New York 10017

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Special Committee has been following with deep concern the developments in the relations between Israel and the apartheid régime since the visit to Israel of the then Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. John Vorster, in 1976, which resulted in the signing of several comprehensive bilateral agreements and set the basis for a growing collaboration in all fields.

2. The issue of collaboration between Israel and South Africa has been and continues to be a matter of concern to many intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. At the request of the General Assembly, the Special Committee has submitted to it for the past several years reports on the growing collaboration between those two régimes.

3. The most serious aspect of the collaboration between Israel and the apartheid régime relates to military and nuclear matters. Over the years, the Special Committee and experts in the field have reported on the matter. Israel is considered as a principal conduit of arms to South Africa since the imposition of the arms embargo and has provided South Africa with technology and know-how to develop its arms industry.

4. The Political Declaration (A/41/341-S/18065 and Corr.1, annex I) adopted by the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 16 to 19 April 1986, stated in paragraph 109:

"The Ministers noted with great concern the increasing co-operation between the racist régimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria. They noted the similarity of repressive measures such as the policy of the iron fist and hot pursuit practised by both régimes against the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Palestine, southern Lebanon and the Arab lands occupied by Israel. The Ministers called upon States to refrain from co-operation with the régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv in the nuclear field, since such co-operation constitutes a threat to international peace and security. They also recalled the resolutions adopted by the fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly, which reaffirmed its condemnation of the continuing nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa and expressed its awareness of the grave consequences for international peace and security of Israel's collaboration with South Africa in the development of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems."

5. The World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris from 16 to 20 June 1986, took note of the above-mentioned declaration in paragraph 43 of its Declaration (A/41/434-S/18185, annex), which states as follows:

"The World Conference takes note of the Declaration adopted by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 16 to 19 April 1986, which expressed its concern at the grave consequences for international peace and security of Israel's collaboration with South Africa, especially in the nuclear field."

6. At its fortieth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 40/64 E of 10 December 1985 on relations between Israel and South Africa. The operative parts of the resolution read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"1. Commends the Special Committee against Apartheid for publicizing the growing relations between Israel and South Africa and promoting public awareness of the grave dangers of the alliance between Israel and South Africa;

"2. Again strongly condemns the continuing and increasing collaboration of Israel with the racist régime of South Africa, especially in the military and nuclear fields;

"3. Demands that Israel desist from and terminate all forms of collaboration with South Africa forthwith, particularly in the military and nuclear fields, and abide scrupulously by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council;

"4. Calls upon all Governments and organizations in a position to do so to exert their influence to persuade Israel to desist from such collaboration;

"5. Requests the Special Committee to continue to publicize, as widely as possible, information on the relations between Israel and South Africa;

"6. Again requests the Secretary-General to render, through the Department of Public Information and the Centre against Apartheid of the Secretariat, all possible assistance to the Special Committee in disseminating information relating to the collaboration between Israel and South Africa;

"7. Further requests the Special Committee to keep the matter under constant review and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate."

7. The present report is prepared in accordance with that resolution.

II. MILITARY AND NUCLEAR COLLABORATION

8. Although the collaboration between Israel and the racist régime of Pretoria in the military and nuclear fields is kept secret, there have been many reports confirming that such collaboration is expanding and covers various fields, ranging from scientific exchange in military matters to the production and procurement of arms.

9. Israel's collaboration with the régime was referred to by many participants during the International Seminar on the United Nations Arms Embargo against South Africa, held in London from 28 to 30 May 1986, and the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa mentioned in paragraph 5 above. In a paper submitted to the World Conference (A/CONF.137/BP.2), it was stated that "A further potentially very dangerous conduit for South Africa is Israel because of its intimate co-operation in the nuclear and military fields; in the reverse direction it can be used to funnel South African exports into the European Community."

10. In a paper submitted to the Seminar on the arms embargo Signe Landgren of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute stated that "Israel is of course the closest contact for South Africa in the Middle East. South Africa has, as mentioned in part I (of the book) supplied large amounts of hardware, and also military volunteers during Israel's wars with its Arab neighbours after 1948. In 1967, for example, South Africa was the chief supplier of spare parts of the Mirage fighters of the Israeli Air Force. It seems reasonable to assume that technological co-operation in military R and D (research and development) has taken the place instead of direct arms exports since the Israeli arms industry is more advanced than the South African. In 1982, P. G. Marais of ARMSCOR confirmed in an interview that both Israel and Taiwan played a role as intermediaries for South African arms exports."

11. According to the Jerusalem Post of 19 November 1985, the Israeli List for Peace and Progress (a political party in Israel) condemned the Israeli Government's plans to sell a sophisticated electronic border fence to South Africa. On 18 November 1985, that organization issued a political statement in which it said that such a sale to the apartheid régime, which would use it in the cruel war against black South Africans, would be a most serious act of support to the racist apartheid régime. The Israeli organization demanded that the sale be put immediately on the agenda of the Israeli Knesset (Parliament).

12. On 13 January 1986, National Public Radio of Israel reported that, according to a study by Tel Aviv University, Israel was carrying on a brisk arms trade with South Africa. Israeli arms sales to South Africa were about \$300 million a year. Those sales, together with the concomitant training, represented an important aspect of the collaboration between the two countries. It was stated in the same report that two delegations of the South African internal security services had been received by the Israeli military and police forces at Israel's training bases. Representatives of the arms industry of Israel were reported to have demonstrated to the South Africans the use of smoke and tear-gas grenades. 1/

13. One of the most important loopholes in the present arms embargo against South Africa is the export to that country of dual-purpose material such as radar, computers and aircraft. According to the Financial Mail (Johannesburg) of 31 January 1986, "co-operation between South African and Israeli companies has reached a high point. ... Existing collaboration in the scientific field was

extended by the creation of a framework of co-operation between South African and Israeli companies". Computer projects between the two countries include the following:

- (a) Co-operation between the South African company Barlow Rand and the Israeli company Degem regarding a computer-aided instruction system designed to develop software programmes or courseware for South African schools;
- (b) Co-operation relating to advanced computerized water-management systems;
- (c) Development of a universal computerized controller for irrigation systems;
- (d) A computer-based soil reservoir system;
- (e) A telecommunications project to develop an electronic concentrator and a trunk-line doubling device;
- (f) Plans to establish a South African processing centre for laser material, which could introduce industrial laser technology to South African industry;
- (g) A project to develop a pilotless aircraft using composite materials. 2/ While this aircraft is to be used for crop-spraying, one cannot underestimate the impact it may have on the South African military industry.

14. Despite the secrecy of the Israeli-South African military and nuclear collaboration, it will be recalled that the Special Committee reported in 1983 that the missile used during the South African attack against Maputo was Israeli-made. More recently, during the South African attack against Angola, it was reported that a South African patrol boat armed with Israeli-made Scorpion missiles had attacked Namibe, Angola, on 4 June 1986. 3/

15. On 6 November 1985, the role of Israel in assisting South Africa's military and nuclear capability was referred to in the Sub-Committee on International Economic Policy and Trade of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States House of Representatives. Statements were made to the effect that South Africa was capable of producing two nuclear bombs a year. There were also references to persistent reports of South Africa's involvement in the development of Israel's Lavi jet fighters, which are funded by the United States, to the presence of 20,000 Israelis presently working in South Africa, and to the ownership by South Africans of a "high-tech" industrial park in Israel. 4/ These reports have caused deep concern among the international community.

16. According to the publication Jane's Weapon Systems (London, 1984-1985), Skorpion is the name under which the South African navy operates the Israeli Gabriel II anti-ship missiles that arm the first six Mod-class fast-attack craft serving with the South African navy. These vessels are similar to the Israeli Saar class and three of them were constructed in Haifa and reached South Africa in 1978.

III. DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS

17. In January 1986, South African Bishop Desmond Tutu expressed his astonishment at the Israeli collaboration with South Africa. Bishop Tutu said "I am seriously and deeply distressed when I hear about the collaboration between the Israeli and South African Governments ...". 5/

18. In December 1985, the South African Ambassador to Israel was invited to the inaugural meeting of the Israel-South African Friendship League, which consists of many former South Africans who migrated to Israel. The League was reported to have wide contacts in various Israeli political parties. 6/

19. Mr. Yitzhak Shamir, the Foreign Minister of Israel, stated in September 1985 that relations between his country and South Africa would continue to grow. He said that "we are not going to change the character of our relations with South Africa". It was reported that Israel wanted to maintain contacts with the 120,000 Jews in South Africa by promoting relations with the racist régime of South Africa. Mr. Shamir also said that it would be better to let "the world Powers tackle this problem" of apartheid. 7/

20. On 8 August 1985, prior to returning to his country after the completion of his assignment in South Africa, the Israeli Ambassador stated:

"I did not come here to fight with the South African Government. I came to maintain my country's interests - one of our interests is the Jewish community - that the Jews should be free in their lives and actions and in Zionist activities. There are few countries in the world that grant such freedom to the Jewish community ... Israel does not agree with actions such as embargos or the breaking of relations or boycotts because it creates hostility and an atmosphere of belligerence. We believe it is much more productive to maintain normal relations and to nag Governments in connection with their policies, although sometimes it is regarded as an interference in the internal policies." 8/

21. Mr. Y. Griffel, representing the city of Tel Aviv (Israel), participated in the Johannesburg Centenary International Week held in September 1986. He praised the way South Africa was able to deal with its problems by stating "I have great respect for the way attempts are made at solving problems". 9/

IV. ECONOMIC RELATIONS

22. Trade figures between Israel and South Africa do not include statistics for gold and diamonds, which are marketed through London, and exclude military sales. If all those factors were to be taken into account, Israel would become one of the major trading partners of South Africa. According to a report in Business Day (Johannesburg) of 19 November 1985, South African imports from Israel increased by 15 per cent in rand terms between January and May 1985. South African exports to Israel increased during the same period by 53 per cent in rand terms. However, according to Israeli figures, the total trade between Israel and South Africa was \$275 million in 1984 and \$249 million in 1985. As just stated, these figures exclude diamonds, gold and arms, which, if calculated, could triple the figures indicated above.

23. It has been reported that South African firms are using Israel to evade the economic sanctions. South African companies are investing in Israeli industries. There are more than 250 firms in Israel belonging to the South African-Israeli Chamber of Commerce, one of which is the steel plant of the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa (ISCOR), which now produces about half of Israel's steel. 10/

24. An Israeli trade delegation headed by the Director General of the Finance Ministry of Israel, Mr. Emmanuel Sharon, and top treasury officials visited South Africa in August 1986 amid reports that the Pretoria régime was seeking ways and means to avoid the impact of international sanctions. The talks were convened within the framework of a long standing agreement with Pretoria to hold annual consultations on bilateral economic matters. One of the issues discussed was increasing South African investments in Israel. According to the Financial Times (London), "The wealthy South African Jewish Community has special exemption from their country's foreign exchange controls in respect of remittance and other important inflow of funds the Israeli Government is keen to maintain". Other issues such as fishing rights for Israel in South African waters and cheaper credits for Israeli imports of South African coal were also discussed. 11/

25. As a result of those discussions, it was reported that South Africa agreed to maintain investments of more than \$100 million in Israel. Israel was granted the right to fish in South African territorial waters and would continue to import South African coal with cheap credits. 12/

26. The Special Committee has reported on several occasions that South Africa has taken advantage of its close relationship with Israel to circumvent the boycott and to export through Israel goods to the European Economic Community and the United States. The question of the role of Israel in violating sanctions against South Africa is becoming very important now in view of the emerging international consensus to impose sanctions against South Africa. Business Week (New York), in a recent article entitled "Pretoria's Route Around Sanctions", referred to the role of Israeli traders and others in keeping goods flowing to and from South Africa. 13/

27. South Africa also takes advantage of the facilities, including duty-free treatment, granted by the European Economic Community to Israel. South African manufacturers export goods to Israel and then re-export them to western European countries with labels made in Israel, which qualifies them for preferential treatment. 14/

28. In an effort by the Israeli Government to expand the industrial infrastructure of the southern city of Eilat beyond its current emphasis on tourism, the Parliament declared the city a free trade zone in November 1985. The Mayor of Eilat, Mr. Rafi Hochman, visited South Africa to offer local businessmen unique incentives to export raw materials to Israel, which would be completed there. Mr. Hochman said he wanted South African investors to take full advantage of the special tax concessions that were granted to Eilat under the Free Trade Zone Law. The idea is to encourage South African businesses to send semi-manufactured products and raw materials through the mostly unused port of Eilat where local workers will assemble the goods. Among the many benefits available to new investors are grants of up to 44 per cent, an immediate 20 per cent government refund on labour costs and exemption from income and capital tax for a period of seven years. South African investors would also be entitled to an exemption from the 15 per cent value added tax and capital gains tax for an enterprise owned by a foreign resident whose investment is made in foreign currency. Mr. Hochman was a guest of the Mayor of Johannesburg. 15/

V. CO-OPERATION WITH THE BANTUSTANS

29. Co-operation between Israel and the bantustans continues to increase despite the international outcry against the attempts by Israeli concerns to establish economic and other contacts with the bantustans.

30. According to the Sunday Times (London), individual Israeli investors have included several Members of Parliament, Ministers and politicians. Due to the large-scale corruption, the matter is subject to inquiry, particularly the heavy investment of Israeli companies in Ciskei and \$160 million worth of contracts negotiated with those companies. 16/

31. In December 1985, it was reported that, after international condemnation, the Government of Israel had decided to close the Ciskei trade mission in Israel. However, many Israeli businessmen continue to be actively involved in the bantustans, particularly in setting up factories and development projects. In addition, the Israelis are reported to be involved in providing military hardware to Ciskei. However, it was mentioned also that the closing of the Ciskei trade office in Israel was not related to change in policy but rather due to corruption involving Israeli ex-army officers and businessmen. It was reported that many contracts had been awarded without a bid and often far above actual costs. By 1983, there had been a sufficiently high-level Israeli activity in the bantustans to support the creation of an informal "homelands lobby" in the Knesset. By 1984, there had been 60 Israeli entrepreneurs operating in Ciskei alone and by 1985, when the issue of collaboration with the bantustans had been revealed, there had been 200 Israeli advisers, technicians and entrepreneurs in Ciskei. 17/

32. Part of the Israeli involvement is the Ciskatex textile factory owned by Efraim Foran, military secretary of former Prime Minister Menachem Begin, together with two other major Israeli industrialists. Yoram Aridor, a former Israeli finance minister, owns a company that builds vintage automobile copies. Ruth Dayan, first wife of the late Defence Minister Moshe Dayan, has set up a "cottage industry" to develop instructional software in Bophuthatswana and she often visits Ciskei. The law firm of Deputy Foreign Minister Roni Milo represented the Ciskei trade office, whose representative, Nat Rosenwasser and Milo himself, along with other Likud coalition figures, once attended a dinner given in honour of Ciskeian visitors. 17/

33. In August 1985, it was reported that the visit of Chief Gatasha Buthelezi to Israel and the welcome extended to him by Israeli officials showed the extent of the extensive links between Israel and the collaborators with the apartheid régime. The Israeli Government used the occasion to try to show its concern for blacks in South Africa, while reiterating its opposition to sanctions against the apartheid régime. 18/

VI. CULTURAL, SPORTS AND OTHER FORMS OF COLLABORATION

34. The Registers of sports and cultural boycotts of South Africa issued by the Special Committee indicate the extent of collaboration between Israel and apartheid South Africa. The names of more than 20 Israeli entertainers, athletes, artists, sportsmen and sportswomen are included in the Registers. 19/

35. In April 1986, an Israeli tennis team participated in the Standard Bank Cup held at Ellis Park, Johannesburg. 20/

36. There were reports of the participation of a South African team in the Maccabee games held in Israel in July 1985. Since the Israeli organizers were worried that the participation of the South African team might disrupt the games, the members of the South African team were given temporary residence visas and allowed to participate as members of a team of new immigrants. 21/

37. Israel is devoting particular attention to the role of the South African Zionist Federation. The Israeli Government, as well as the Zionist organizations in Israel, have expressed concern that South African Jews who wish to migrate from South Africa might choose to go to Australia or Canada instead of Israel. There are several incentives for South African Jews to migrate to Israel instead of Australia or Canada. In Israel they would be able to maintain contacts with South Africa without the constraints that they would face in other countries. 22/

38. In September 1985, it was reported that South Africa had been well represented at the Christian Zionist Congress held at Basel, Switzerland. Pretoria University Professor Roelf Botha, chairman of the international organization's South African branch, was involved in the Congress both as organizer and delegate. 23/

VII. CONCLUSION

39. This is the tenth special report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly and the Security Council on developments concerning relations between Israel and South Africa. There is a continuing trend of increasing collaboration between Israel and South Africa in all areas, particularly in the military and nuclear fields.

40. The Special Committee notes that in recent years and, in particular, at the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, deep concern has been expressed by the international community at this growing collaboration.

41. The Special Committee again recommends to the General Assembly that it request the Secretary-General to devote particular attention to this problem through the dissemination of information by the Department of Public Information and the Centre against Apartheid on the growing collaboration between Israel and South Africa.

Notes

- 1/ Israeli Foreign Affairs (Oakland, California), February 1986.
- 2/ Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 31 January 1986.
- 3/ Financial Times (London), 7 June 1986.
- 4/ Israeli Foreign Affairs (Oakland, California), December 1985.
- 5/ San Francisco Examiner, 22 January 1986; and Northern California Jewish Bulletin (San Francisco), 31 January 1986.
- 6/ Jerusalem Post, 8 December 1985.
- 7/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 28 September 1985
- 8/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 9 August 1985.
- 9/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 3 September 1986.
- 10/ Xinua (Cairo), 14 May 1986.
- 11/ Financial Times (London), 6 August 1986.
- 12/ Johannesburg International Service, 0630 GMT, 18 August 1986.
- 13/ Business Week (New York), 1 September 1986.
- 14/ Business Day (Johannesburg), 25 September 1985.
- 15/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 9 April 1986.

Notes (continued)

- 16/ Sunday Times (London), 11 August 1985.
- 17/ Israeli Foreign Affairs (Oakland, California), December 1985.
- 18/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 13 August 1985, and New York Times,
14 August 1985.
- 19/ For the latest Registers, see Notes and Documents 20/85, 3/86, 9/86 and
22/86.
- 20/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 21 April 1986.
- 21/ The Star, Airmail Weekly Edition (Johannesburg), 12 July 1985.
- 22/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 14 April 1986.
- 23/ South African Digest (Pretoria), 20 September 1985.
