CHAPTER VI
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ISRAEL IN AFRICA

The Background

Independent Africa is becoming one of the decisive political factors on the world stage. At the time of framing the Charter, Africa was represented in the United Nations only by three states. Between 1956 and 1964, their number rose to thirty-five and by 1967 it stood at thirty-nine. The "wind of change" that was blowing over Africa stormed the UN and the period 1955-1965 was aptly described as the "Africa decade". But the continent - termed as the "Dark Continent" - has long been underdeveloped and the political forces that have brought independence to most of it were soon faced with serious problems in the spheres of economic, education, health and public administration. Let us very briefly mention some of the salient problems which are unique to the developing countries of Africa.

As in most of the underdeveloped countries, the vast majority of the population in the African countries lives in an agricultural subsistence economy.¹ The cash crops are mainly colonial goods for export. In many a case, it may so happen that a country has only one or two such export crops.

Consequently, the foreign trade balance of such countries will depend entirely on the success or failure of such crops and further, the fluctuations of prices of such crops in the world market will influence the foreign trade balance of these countries accordingly.\(^2\)

Secondly, in most of the African countries, the traditional tribal society is dominating the totality of their political and social life.\(^3\) Local entrepreneurs are almost non-existent in Africa. Even a small middle class exists only in a very few African countries.

Further, there is a marked shortage of skilled manpower in the technological, administrative and in other fields of modern activity. So it is imperative that the productivity of the population will have to be increased. And that calls for tremendous amount of efforts in the domains of nutrition, general health, education etc.

Now, the primary purpose of economic cooperation with these countries is obviously to help them overcome the basic weakness of the economy of these countries. So, what is aimed at is to introduce modern methods of agricultural production to diversify their economies in order to reduce the countries' dependence on price fluctuations over which they have no control, to help create industries for the processing

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of local commodities so as to enable them to sell their goods with a higher added value. Obviously, the attainment of such objectives necessitates, apart from intensive training programmes for skilled manpower, considerable effort and investment in the economic infrastructure of these countries, be it by way of developing power resources and communications, or in the fields of education, public health, cheap housing etc. 4 But these countries cannot afford to take all the time the Western countries took for economic development. In order to come to a certain standard of economic development, industrialization and modernization, these countries will have to have "jet-propelled" rate of economic growth:

Once...freedom is gained, a greater task comes into view. All dependent territories are backward in education, in agriculture and industry. What other countries have taken three hundred years or more to achieve a once dependent territory must try to accomplish in a generation if it is to survive. Unless it is, as it were 'jet propelled', it will lag behind and thus risk everything for which it has fought. 5

This, now, is the situation: These African countries need "jet-propelled" rate of economic growth and at the same time they do not have the time to go through the whole process of normal economic development. This is where Israel came to the scene as a country capable of offering assistance to these African countries of the Third World.

Why is Africa Interested in Co-operation with Israel

Israel itself was a developing country; at least calling it so was consistent with the United Nations classification. Israel, now, in 1968, can no longer be called a developing country. But the fact remains that it had to face similar problems a developing country faces during the early years of its statehood. Israel, in fact, was the beneficiary of a large USOM aid programme until mid-1962. Thus in the early years of its statehood, it was relatively underdeveloped, but since attaining statehood, it has succeeded in raising its economic and scientific standards at a pace unmatched anywhere in Asia and Africa. The example of Israel is a challenge to these countries. This was very clearly stated by M. Felix Houphouet Boigny, the President of the Ivory Coast:

This dispersed people which has suffered so much throughout the ages has regathered once again in its ancient land which it found devastated, neglected, infested with mosquitoes and a breeding-ground for every conceivable disease. Without losing heart in the face of implacable nature and more than hostile neighbours, Israel took up its task courageously and after less than ten years, it can be considered a modern state. We also must follow this path. We have known colonialism. We have suffered and today we are independent and on friendly terms with our one-time colonial masters. But we are going to gather together our young volunteers, hopeful that Israel's example must be followed, and believe that we can succeed in making our young state a modern state. 6

Thus Africa comes to Israel. Let us see what other attractions Israel has for which African countries are interested in Israel.

We have stated above that the very fact that Israel attained a level of economic development comparable to any best European country within a short span of time is enough reason for these developing countries to utilize Israel’s experience for their own development. We have further stated that Israel had to face quite a few problems which these developing countries have to face (though Israel’s supply of capital was always assured). Thus in the course of working at its own national salvation, it has made it possible for others similarly situated countries to follow in its footsteps. So, Israeli assistance is sought after because Israel is itself known as a developing country, so that its advice and aid are based on ample practical experience and not on theory. Israel has learned much from its efforts to solve its problems - no less from its failures than from its successes. The news that had gone round the African world that Israel has made the desert bloom had naturally aroused interest in Israel. Israeli agriculture has thus become of special attraction to the African countries.

Further, much of Israel’s growth has been accomplished by relatively technically-unskilled people - the immigrants from Afro-Asian countries. Israel has developed methods for importing a homogeneous language, for quickly training people of all ages in a variety of necessary skills, and for
organizing workers of different national origins into useful production patterns. "African countries which face the problem of introducing modern techniques into a traditional society have a deep interest in this experience."

As we have stated above, most of the new countries of Africa are small and poor with elementary forms of organization. The methods and forms of rich countries like America with highly advanced and sophisticated forms of organization, do not fit in well with the needs of the new African countries. These developing countries, in fact, need the technology of the developed states to be translated to them in such a way that they might handle them. It could not have been better expressed then by the Director of South Vietnam's Public Works Department, Pham Minh Dvong:

I spent two months in the United States on a study tour. I went to many towns. At the end they asked me what I thought of America and I answered that it was wonderful! Fabulous! Fantastic! They then asked me what I learned and I said: Nothing! You see, America is too big for us. The smallest project I saw cost millions. Israel is closer to the problems we're up against. 8

The fact is that Israel has skills and experience the like of which the Africans need and want. Israel's combination of small size and advanced technology has enabled it to translate latest western technological knowledge into a form which the African


countries can absorb. An official from Senegal stated: "It seems logical to us that since we are small we can learn more from a small, efficient country than from a big efficient country." 9

Some African countries seem to appreciate Israel's non-doctrinaire socialism. The fact is that most of the African countries are attracted to socialism. It is not only that it appeals to their social value, but as we have stated above, lacking a middle class and having few potential entrepreneurs these African countries feel that only the government can mobilize resources for rapid development. But they do not seem to favour the Soviet system. Nor do they think that the Western form of parliamentary democracy could fruitfully be applied in Africa. Israel is a socialist country with a democratic political system. The Israeli system seems to appeal to the Africans. The situation was beautifully presented by a Senegalese official at the completion of a tour of Israel:

Naturally, many of us are overawed by the Soviet experiment. It is a very tempting road to rapid industrialization for an underdeveloped country, but we could not stomach the forced labour that goes with it. We do not think that parliamentary democracy, as it is practised in certain Western countries, can work in Africa, yet most of us are anxious to retain the basic principles of a democratic society. In Israel, we see a whole nation working hard for the same goals under a democratic system of government. 10


10. Quoted in Oded Remba, "Israel's Aid Program in Africa and Asia", Midstream, Spring 1961, p. 11.
Then there is the question of "aid with/without strings". The newly independent African countries are extremely sensitive to the issue of political domination. These countries are fearful that political strings might be attached to the aid they are offered. Political domination through economic and military aid may sometimes be the motive of the donor country. Israel, because of its small size and limited economic and military capability (distance between Israel and the Afro-Asian countries is also a factor) pose no such threat. The African countries are convinced that Israeli assistance does not endanger the independence and/or impinge on the sovereignty of the countries. Furthermore, these countries believe that there is no reason to fear "neo-colonialism" in their association with a small power like Israel.11

On an emotional level also, the Africans have a feeling of identification with Israel. In the past both the Negroes and the Jews had been the victims of oppression. There seems to be a constant attempt on the part of both the Israelis and the Africans to identify themselves with each other on this ground. Leaders from both sides have harped on this point over and over again.12

Some Israeli institutions, like the Kibbutz, the Moshav and the Histadrut, have wide publicity all over the

11. Right in the early years of Israel's programme of co-operation with the African countries, an attempt was made (which still continues) by the Arabs to give a picture of Israel as a "tool in the hands of the imperialists." This attempt has not been able to cut much ice with the Africans, it seems.

12. See infra, pp. 250-309.
world and the Africans have been attracted by these institutions. Moreover, the Israeli para-military organizations -Nehal and Gedea - have been very much appreciated by the newly emergent African countries.13

Another factor which has attracted the African states towards Israel is its military capability. Let us put it in the words of Ben Gurion: "We are surrounded by enemies and yet have managed to preserve our integrity and give a good account of ourselves in military action; this too has impressed them."14 Further when Ben-Gurion asked an African Minister about what attracted them to Israel, the Minister replied: "Your military exploits show that your people have courage and organizing ability. Your Kibbutzim and labour movement show that you have the spirit of idealism and at the same time you are practical. These are qualities we would like to develop in our own people."15

Now, coming down to a narrower, practical level, we find that: "Israeli experts working on projects in Africa are not expensive. They cost about a quarter of what an American expert costs and about half of what a British or French expert costs; which makes a big difference for a new and poor African state that have to pay for the expert."16 The African countries

13. See Chapter III for detailed description.
15. Ibid., p. 173.
get assistance from the United Nations also. But that involves long delays. By contrast, Israel is quick to reply requests for technical aid and promptness is often important.  

It appears that the Israeli expert working in Africa also has been able to create quite a good impression on the Africans. In an analysis of foreign aid to developing countries Hugh Tinker after describing several types of foreign advisers, writes:  

Perhaps the most sympathetic figure among these rival experts is the Israeli. Sunburnt, stripped for action, he too comes from a poor land which is making itself richer by sweat and ingenuity. Many in Asia and Africa would prefer to go into partnership with Israel, whose problems are more nearly related, and who, therefore, sees solutions in more realistic terms.  

Thus, these newly independent African countries "have found in Israel a state with an advanced technology capable of extending assistance, providing technicians, entering into trade and supplying investment capital without in any way compromising the sovereignty or independence of the African countries."  

And that is why Africa had responded to Israel's initiative to establish friendly relations with Africa. M. Modibo Keita, the President of Mali Republic, said:  

18. "The name and nature of Foreign Aid", by Hugh Tinker, International Affairs, January 1959, pp. 50-51.  
"Israel is becoming an object of pilgrimage for African peoples who seek inspirations on how to build their own countries. Israel has become a human approach to building a new society of 20 million Africans." \(^{20}\)

**The African Caucusing Groups**

There are three main African caucusing units. The first group is the Brazzaville bloc which includes Cameroon, Chad, Congo Brazzaville, Congo Kinshasa, Dahomey, Gabon, the Ivory Coast, the Malagasy Republic, Niger, Rwanda and Upper Volta. This group, on the whole, consists of the former French colonies in Africa. These countries are united by the fact of their common dependence on France; and normally they tend to be pro-West in word and deed. For economic aid and political guidance, these countries normally look towards the West and specially towards France. Most of these countries, however, have diplomatic relations with the Communist countries. These countries are the least militant ones in Africa. This group is not as cohesive as the Casablanca group, and it cannot be said that their votes are always identical. \(^{21}\)

The second caucusing group is that of Casablanca which includes Ethiopia, Ghana, Somalia, Mali and Guinea. This

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\(^{20}\) From a statement to the Israeli Press, August 1958.

Casablanca bloc is thus comprised of more militant and radical regimes of Africa. The Casablanca group has been taking more militant stand on a number of issues. First of all, these countries tend to support the drive for African unity much more emphatically and give much more credence to the concept of Pan-Africanism. Secondly, the Casablanca group countries have often expressed a much greater dislike and fear for the imperial West. Finally, the countries of the Casablanca bloc have decidedly been anti-Israel in political orientation in spite of the fact that some member states of this group have received Israeli aid. This group is the most cohesive caucusing unit in the United Nations.

The third group is the Monrovia bloc which consists of Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Tanzania, Togo and Uganda. This group consists of the English-speaking countries and are generally moderate in their political orientation. They tend to shift their allegiances frequently and form a cohesive unit of their own, and that is the Monrovia bloc.

With this background of the African countries in general, let us have a survey of Israel's relations with these countries on the bilateral level.

**Ghana**

The way Burma was the breakthrough in Israel's efforts to have friendly relations with the Asian countries, so was Ghana in Africa. When Ghana won independence on 6 March 1957, Israel was already represented in Accra by a Consulate that had been established four months earlier. But, as a matter of

22. Ibid.
fact, Ghana (previously known as the Gold Coast) had been "discovered" for Israel in the mid-fifties, about two years before it received its independence. The first contacts between Israel and Ghana were made by officials of the Israeli National Shipping Company "Zim" with shipping authorities in Ghana as well as with the Ghanaian Trade Union leaders who met Israeli "Histadrut" leaders at International Congresses. There was an interest on the part of Ghanaian leaders to learn from Israeli experience in social and economic development. On the other hand, there was an awareness on the part of the Israeli Government and Trade Union leaders of the importance of fostering relations with the first West African colony designed to gain independence after World War II. As a result, when Ghana's Minister of Labour (Botsio) met the Israeli representative to the 1956 inauguration ceremony of the Liberian President, he asked that an Israeli consulate be set up in Accra. This brought to the setting up of an Israeli diplomatic mission in Ghana in 1956. 23

Israel's delegation to Ghana's independence celebrations included Pinhas Sapir, the then Minister of Commerce and Industry and David HeCohen who was the first Israeli Minister to Burma. 24 While in Ghana the Israelis, like other visiting delegations, were handed over a list of Ghana's needs for

23. See Kreinin, n. 7, p. 15.
assistance. They took the list seriously and later that year the first project, the Black Star Shipping Line, a joint venture between the Government of Ghana and Israel's publicly owned "Zim" Navigation Company, was established. Moreover, shortly after the independence celebrations, trade relations between Ghana and Israel were inaugurated. 25 In the same year, John Tettegah, the then Secretary General of Ghana's Trade Union Congress, visited Israel and decided that the Ghanaian trade union movement should be reorganized along the lines of Histadrut.

Further, in August 1957, the Ghanaian Minister of Trade and Industry headed a mission to Israel to explore the possibilities of trade between the two countries. 26 A preliminary trade agreement was initialled in January 1958 and in July long term trade and payments agreements were signed.

Thus in a relatively short period, Israeli private and public bodies developed in Ghana extensive technical aid projects ranging from construction to navigation and various forms of military aid. Part of the projects was carried out in spite of competition by other rich states. Now, let us have a brief survey of the various projects of co-operation between Israel and Ghana. 27

Even before the proclamation of Ghana's statehood, the Israeli Cabinet approved the creation of Dizengoff West Africa Ltd to foster trade with West Africa, particularly with Liberia and Ghana. Early in 1958, Dizengoff West Africa opened its first office in Accra and a second branch office in Lagos, Nigeria. Again, according to the terms of an agreement initialled in January 1958, Israel agreed to extend credits of $20 million to Ghana over the four years period.

In the case of the Black Star Shipping Company (as mentioned above), Ghana held sixty per cent ownership whereas Zim held forty per cent (both in investment and in management). Zim, as the managing agent, was to operate the Black Star Line for the first five years. The Company prospered and notwithstanding the five year provision, the Zim Company agreed to Ghana's request to purchase its forty per cent share within only three years. But "Zim" carried on as the company's agent abroad until 1968.

A joint constructive venture between the Ghanaian Industrial Development Corporation and the Israeli Solel Boneh (the Histadrut Construction Company) started operating in 1958 and had undertaken construction of public works including an airport near Accra. Further, it undertook to train many Ghanaians for managerial and foremen's posts so that they can

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28. Arnold Rivkin, n. 19, p. 73.
29. Ibid., p. 72.
eventually take over from the Israelis. After three years of successful works, the Ghanaian authorities purchased the Solel Boneh's share and all the activities of co-operation on this project came to an end in 1963.

The first general technical co-operation agreement between Ghana and Israel was signed on 25 May 1962 and was ratified by the Israeli Cabinet on 11 November 1962. The agreement replaced previous individual ad hoc agreements on specific joint ventures and put them for the first time within the framework of comprehensive treaty. Further, in response to Ghana's request to Israel to help in seamen training, a Nautical college was established in Ghana to train officers and cadres for the merchant, military and fishing navies of Ghana. But in 1962, when the contracts of first staff members came to an end, the Ghanaians evaded their replacement by other Israelis, and invited British instructors and the college's co-operation with Israel ceased.

An Israeli Agricultural team established two farms at Tadzewu and Akatsi. In 1965, the Israeli staff left Akatsi and so now work continues only in Tadzewu.

Moreover, "vered" a subsidiary of the Israeli Water Planning Company (Tahal), has done a great deal in prospecting for water resources and planning irrigation schemes in Ghana.

Israel assisted in the establishment and operation of the Ghanaian Builders Brigade (later changed its name to.

Workers' Brigade) through a small staff of professional officers (in medicine, agriculture etc) who stayed there for several years. As a matter of fact, information on Israeli forms of National Service reached most emerging West African countries at an early stage of their independence. The first Israeli official offer for creating "pioneering armies" in West Africa was made in April 1957. This proposal was received favourably following the rejection of an Egyptian proposal for establishing a West African Unified Command. In late 1959, the organizers of the Ghanaian Builders' Brigade made a request to send Israeli Nahal officers to occupy leading posts in the Brigade. Since 1962, new trends appeared in the structure and functions of the Brigade with a consistent tendency for Africanisation of the Brigade's leadership. It should be mentioned here that in the Israeli case, the tendency for Africanization did not stop Israel's military co-operation with Ghana. In January 1966, on the eve of the Officers' Coup, the Israeli agricultural officer was the only foreigner in the Brigade headquarters. 31

In 1960, Ghana instituted a State Youth movement (The Young Pioneers) which resembled the Gadna organization. Israeli experts assisted in organizing this body and in training its commanders and instructors. Israel assisted Ghana also in the establishment of the air force, the border police and the coast guard. Moreover, Israeli doctors, pharmaceutical

31. For an elaborate discussion on Israel's Assistance to Ghana's Builders' Brigade see Z.Y. Hershlag, n. 27, pp. 135-48.
experts, statisticians, zoo-experts, orchestra conductors, sanitary engineers, meteorologists, information experts, textile laboratory experts, poultry experts, experts in beef production, taxation experts and experts to manage bank’s research department and other specialists have helped establish various specific services in Ghana. Further, several Israelis acted as lecturers in Ghanaian institutions of higher education; among them were the Dean of the Faculty of Civil Engineering in Kumasi, the Head of the Development Department in Legon and others. Further the Ghanaian Academy of Science and the Faculty of Agriculture of the University of Ghana have good contacts with the Israeli counterparts. On the other hand, many students from Ghana have attended the Histadrut’s Afro-Asian Institute in Tel-Aviv. Again, trainees from Ghana have taken part in various courses organized by the Foreign Ministry and other bodies. Moreover, there are some Ghanaian post-graduate students in Weizmann Institute and Technion. 32

In the political-diplomatic level Israel’s relations with Ghana have been chequered. Ghana has consistently been anti-colonialist and devoted to Pan-African cause. So, it is only natural that in view of the Arab hostility to Israel, this aspiration on Ghana’s part may occasionally be utilized to further the Arabs’ anti-Israel projects when Ghanaian representatives support resolution critical of Israel.

As a matter of fact, we see three distinct phases of Ghana's relations with Israel. In the period immediately after the independence of Ghana, Israel-Ghana relations were extremely friendly. Then gradually as Nkrumah identified himself with the Casablanca group, relationships tended to become strained, but with the coup of February 1966 in Ghana and ouster of Nkrumah, the attitude of the new ruling military Government towards Israel has tended to be friendly. As a proof of this we can point out to the Ghanaian attitude in the United Nations during the Fifth Special Emergency Session of the General Assembly in June-July 1967. Ghana voted for the pro-Israeli resolution.

Going back to the earlier period, it is found that George Padmore, Political Advisor on African Affairs to the Prime Minister of Ghana, came to Israel on a short visit in early 1959 as a guest of the Government of Israel. Padmore, at that time was considered in the African, Asian and European quarters as one of the great theoreticians on African affairs. Padmore offered to act as a mediator between Israel and the Arab states in an effort to achieve peace in the region.

The first conference of the Independent African states was held in Accra, Ghana, in April 1958. This is said to be the "honeymoon" period of Israel-Ghana relations. In the Conference the Ghanaian delegate stated that Ghana would seek

economic aid from any source from which aid was available provided that the granting of such aid would not lead to interference with the integrity and independence of Ghana. 34 Thus Israel had every reason to be happy with its relations with Ghana. Further, again, in the second conference of the independent African states, which met at Addis Ababa from 14 June to 16 June 1960, Ghana reportedly opposed the UAR move to adopt an anti-Israeli resolution. As a matter of fact, Ghana (and some other African countries) tried to keep out of the Arab-Israeli controversy. 35

But the circumstances were different when the Casablanca Conference met in January 1961. The Congo crisis was the burning question at that time and President Nkrumah, in order to promote his African unity, sought to develop a joint African High Command. As a result, Nkrumah naturally was drawn closer to the UAR. A devastatingly condemnatory resolution against Israel was adopted in the conference. 36 And Ghana was a signatory to the resolution. This stand of Ghana was a severe blow to Israel because it was only three months earlier that Nkrumah had emphasized in the General Assembly the necessity of a settlement between Israel and the Arabs based

34. Jerusalem Post, 29 April 1959.
35. Ibid., 19 June 1960.
36. The Casablanca Conference has been discussed in details in Chapter VIII.
on recognition of political realities. Further, earlier he had maintained that Israel was the most suited of all nations to help emergent states in their need for rapid development. 37

Israel's shock was understandable. As a reaction, Israel's envoy in Accra (also in Bamako and Conakry) was instructed to seek a meeting at the highest level with representative of the Ghanaian Government to express Israel's "surprise and dismay" at the anti-Israel resolution and to demand explanations for the Casablanca resolutions. 38

On 16 January 1961, President Nkrumah assured ambassador Moshe Biten of Israel of continued friendly relations with Ghana. 39 But, on the 19th of January 1961, the Foreign Minister of Ghana made the announcement that the President of Ghana "wishes it to be known that he and the Government of Ghana stand by the Casablanca Charter and resolution". 40

All the same, the events that immediately followed suggest that bilateral relations between the two countries were to continue. For example, on 23 January 1961, the Ghana Trade Union Congress and the Histadrut of Israel signed an agreement which provided for exchange of information on organization and professional matters. Further, President Nkrumah paid a

38. Ibid., 11 January 1961.
visit to the Israeli exhibition in Accra for forty minutes, on 29 January 1961. 41

But as we have said above, because of the radical image that Nkrumah wanted to give to his regime, Ghana became a vocal member of the Casablanca group and consistently went on taking an anti-Israeli stand in all the multilateral conferences. In/Belgrade Conference of 1961 42 Nkrumah urged for the adoption of the original Egyptian draft of a resolution which severely condemned Israel (that draft, of course, was not accepted).

In the coup in February 1966, the military took over the administration of Ghana and Nkrumah was ousted. At the time of the coup Ghana was suffering from a severe economic recession. The military government wanted to foster economic development and stabilize the internal situation. The new government took a friendly attitude towards the West. Thus, may be, they took a friendly attitude towards Israel as well. Whatever the case may be, Ghana's attitude towards Israel became more friendly than it was in the latter part of Nkrumah's rule. Ghana's reaction to the Six Day war was decidedly pro-Israel. 43

**Ethiopia**

"There was something romantic in the relations between

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41. Ibid., 29 January 1961.
42. We have talked about Belgrade Conference in Chapter VIII.
43. See Chapter VIII.
Israel and Ethiopia, though diplomacy and romance do not normally go together. It seemed that each country had a special feeling for the other. 44 This relationship of Israel and Ethiopia, as a matter of fact, dates back to the times of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. The historic meeting of the two rulers and the consequent birth of their son Menelik I, is a favourite subject for paintings in Ethiopia. In recent times, direct contact between Ethiopia and the Yishuv started in 1936, when emperor Haile Sellassie, his family and officers found refuge in Jerusalem after the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. The contemporary evidence of the ties between the two countries, however, is more related to national development, particularly in the forms of Israeli technical assistance and joint economic ventures and trade. Presently, Israel devotes its largest technical assistance efforts in Africa to Ethiopia; 45 a look at the map will explain why: Israel's interests seem to be common with those of Ethiopia. Historically, Ethiopia had defended the general African interests in the Red Sea by arresting Egyptian expansion in East Africa. For Israel, Ethiopia is near, and the more important factor is: it is the only country on the Red Sea which trades with Israel, through its two ports of Massawa and Asab. Further, both Israel and Ethiopia are aware of and sympathetic to each other's

45. See Susan Gittelson, "Israel and Ethiopia: Modern Renewal of Ancient Connection", Jerusalem Post, 1 September 1971.
particular problems with their neighbours i.e. Israel with Arab states and Ethiopia with Somalia and Sudan. Moreover, the existence of a strong Muslim minority within Ethiopia (about one third of the population) does give the UAR some political leverage. But this factor again is contributory to making Ethiopia the natural ally of Israel. Further, the decision to make Addis Ababa the site of the headquarters of Organization of African Unity (OAU) have turned the spotlight on Ethiopia - politically speaking. Again, Addis Ababa is also the site of the headquarters of the Economic Commission for Africa. Moreover, the eighty embassies located in Addis Ababa comprise the forty-one African states themselves, the Great Powers, Asia and Latin America. It is, therefore, an excellent point of contact for Israel with the Third World. Thus an earnest effort has been made by the Israeli policy makers to have close relations with Ethiopia.

On Ethiopia's part, it seems that in the earlier years it had adopted a cautious line of neutrality in most of its dealings with the problems of the Middle East. For in 1948, Ethiopia extended only de facto recognition to Israel. De jure recognition was accorded only as late as September 1961, and then only diplomatic relations at ambassadorial

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46. Ethiopia abstained in the crucial UN vote on 29 November 1947 on the partition of Palestine.

47. *The Israel Digest*, vol. 4, no. 23, 10 November 1961.
level was established as a result of which bilateral relations began to reflect the relatively close geographical proximity of the two countries. Thus numerous personalities of both the countries paid mutual official and semi-official visits. In 1960, Empress Menem went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In the same year the Israeli Minister of Agriculture, Moshe Dayan, paid an official visit to Ethiopia.

Further, Israel’s cordial relations with Ethiopia were reinforced by a visit to that country by Mrs Golda Meir, the Foreign Minister of Israel, in December 1963, for six days at the invitation of Emperor Haile Selassie. Consequently, Israel’s relations with Ethiopia started developing at different levels. To start with, cultural ties began to occupy a special place in the relations between the two countries, particularly those between the institutions of higher learning. In 1959, the Haifa Technion entered into close relations with the Engineering College in Addis Ababa which later became part of the Haile Selassie I University, in which Israeli professor subsequently served. Israel is also concerned with assisting Haile Selassie University on a project basis. Moreover, close collaboration between the educational institutes of the two

43. On his return to Israel, Dayan announced that Israel would be sending advisers to various Ethiopian ministries experts in water drilling, medical services etc. and lecturers for the Addis Ababa Technological College. A number of joint industrial and agricultural enterprises would also be established. Moshe Dayan was received three times by Emperor Haile Selassie. The Israel Digest, vol. 3, no. 20, 30 September 1960.
countries exists also in the fields of Medicine, Town Planning, Geology, Water Development and related fields. 49

Economic Ventures

Israel is presently engaged in two joint economic ventures on a fifty-fifty basis. A large pharmaceutical outfit, Ethiopian pharmaceutical - manufacturing (Ephran) - has been assisted by Israeli know-how and management. Another fifty-fifty project is a large cotton ranch, Abadiv Cotton S.C. located 250-kilometres east of the Capital. After attempts by British and Hungarian firms to make this venture successful, it finally became profitable for the first time under the new set up. This is by far the largest single Israeli enterprise in terms of area. 50 Further, Israel is trying to help Ethiopia to expand its Tourist Industry as well. Solel Boneh, the largest construction firm in Israel, has also been active in Ethiopia. Its major completed constructions include the airport, the university, the foreign ministry and the national stadium. It is also now constructing a highway between Kenya and Ethiopia.

With the opening of the Straits of Tiran to unhampered Israeli shipping and the recognition of the Gulf of Aqaba as an international waterway following the Sinai campaign

49. See Jerusalem Post, 1 September 1971, p. 5.

of 1956, Eilat and Massawa, and later on also Assab and
Djibuti became major ports of call for the ships of both
nations. With the introduction of more modern ships, the
time required for the trip from Eilat to Massawa steadily
decreased. Thus commerce between the two countries developed
steadily with Israel selling mainly manufactured goods and
buying primary products from Ethiopia.

As for military help Israel "sent army instructors
and members of Nahal (Fighting and Pioneering Youth), the
corps that establishes border settlements which are combined
forming and military outposts." 51 The fact is, strategic
military considerations are very important for Israel as long
as the Arab-Israeli conflict continues. And it is important
that Israel maintains close ties with this East African country
- Ethiopia - so long one of the basic factors of its Africa
policy is the containment of Arab influence through military
assistance, if possible. Ethiopia has its trouble with the
Ethiopian Muslims and the Arab-aided Eritrean secessionist
movement. The Israelis support the Ethiopian Government on
the Eritrean issue. Thus, Israel provides military advisers
for the Ethiopian army, air force and imperial guard. There
have been reports that when Selassie was briefly overthrown
in an attempted revolution in 1960, he radioed Israel for
assistance. Israelis also trained counter insurgency police
forces in Eritrea, composed of Eritreans, who supported the

51. Shimon Peres, n. 44, p. 151.
Ethiopian Government, Israel maintains an active embassy in Addis Ababa. As one diplomat commented: "Whenever we want to know about recent developments, we contact the Israelis. They always seem to know everything."52 Israel maintains a huge military mission in Ethiopia. "In 1966, the staff of the mission numbered about 100 most of them aiding the army, but some in the air force and the navy. The most important task of the Israelis was to train border patrol commanders...The training was undertaken by Israeli police experienced in border warfare against Arab commandos."53

On the political-diplomatic level, as we have mentioned earlier, Ethiopia has always tried to maintain neutrality in the case of Arab-Israeli conflict. Even at the time of according de jure recognition to Israel, the Ethiopian ambassador in Cairo informed the Secretary General of the Arab League that de jure recognition of Israel did not affect Ethiopian-Arab friendship.54 This attitude was further expanded to include Ethiopia's desire to play a role in the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Thus during his visit to Israel, Deputy Foreign Minister Getachew Makasha declared: "We in Ethiopia, who feel friendly to all nations (emphasis added),


are deeply grieved that Israel and the Arab states do not enjoy good relations. We would be willing to do whatever we could to help bridge this gap and contribute to better understanding." 55

Thus over the years Israel's meticulous attempt at cultivating Ethiopia's friendship has resulted in Ethiopia's maintaining - in the political-diplomatic sphere - a pro-Israeli neutrality.

In the fifth Special Emergency Session of the General Assembly in June-July 1967, Ethiopia voted for the Latin American resolution and abstained on the Yugoslav one, 56 thus showing preference for the Israeli position - though Israel expected that Ethiopia would oppose the Yugoslav-Indian resolution.

Whatever that might be, in 1968 Israel's relations with Ethiopia remained very close.

Kenya

In 1968, if we look at the Israeli assistance programme we will see that geographically speaking, bulk of Israel's aid went to East Africa. This is because this region is more accessible to Israel and more important strategically. Those strategic considerations apart, the East African countries have

55. Ibid., 17 May 1962.
56. Chapter VIII.
Muslims among their population. So, it must have gone into the calculations of the Israeli foreign policy makers that by having friendly relations with these countries they can produce proof that hostility between countries with Muslim populations and Israel is not inevitable. So, even before Kenya's independence Israel wanted to cultivate Kenya. In Kenya, Israel decided to concentrate on technical know-how. Thus, during Mrs Meir's third visit to Africa, when she arrived in Kenya, she said that the aim of Israel's co-operation with Africa was to "bridge the gap between those that know and those that know not".  

Similarly the Kenyan Finance Minister, J.S. Gichuru and the Israeli counterpart Pinhas Sapir stated during the former's visit to Israel in early October 1965, in letters interchanged in Tel-Aviv, that the Government of Israel is prepared to participate in the financing of industrial projects in Kenya. Industrial projects apart, Israel has been helping Kenya in the military sphere also. For example, three years before Kenya's independence Warhuin Itote, the former leader of the Mau Mau movement in Kenya, secretly came to Israel to get trained. After his return to Kenya shortly before independence, he became one of the first African officers in the Kenyan army. In 1966, he was appointed Assistant General

57. The Israel Digest, vol. 6, no. 3, 1 February 1963.
58. Ibid., October 1965.
Director of the Israeli-trained Kenyan Youth Movement. Further, after Kenya's independence, President Kenyatta publicly announced that the first Kenyan pilots had received secret training in Israel. 60

Thus the co-operation that developed between Israel and Kenya from even before the independence of Kenya continued to grow and by 1966 it had become solidified which was evidenced by the Israeli Prime Minister Eshkol's visit to that country in June 1966. The joint communiqué that was issued at the end of Premier Eshkol's visit inter alia stated that the Israeli-Kenyan co-operation pre-dating Kenya's independence, had continued to grow since then and the two leaders resolved to explore avenues for further co-operation. 61

And let us now see how that "resolve" has been given concrete shape. Israelis have participated in four joint ventures in Kenya, for manufacturing hydraulic equipment, glues, pharmaceuticals (specially for veterinary purposes) and plastic goods. 62 Moreover, Solel Boneh is responsible for the new International Life Insurance building and for the design, construction and decoration of the Nairobi Hilton. El Al has invested 22.5 per cent in the cost of constructing the hotel in co-operation with the Kenya Government and TWA. 63

60. Ibid., 28 February 1966, as quoted in Abel Jacob, n. 53, p. 170.
61. The Israel Digest, vol. 9, no. 13, 1 July 1966.
63. Ibid.
Israelis have been engaged in training programmes also. Two lecturers are there in the long-term assistance effort for the Kenya School of Social Work. In addition, Israel is supplying two teachers at the vocational National Youth Training Unit in Mombasa.

Israel has also trained more than 1,000 Kenyans, including 250 women in such areas as health, agriculture, co-operatives and kindergarten teaching. Moreover, there are scholarships to study at the Afro-Asian Institute of Labour Studies at Israel.

Thus on bilateral level, Kenya is having excellent relations with Israel. But Kenya has always wanted to keep away from taking sides in the Arab-Israeli dispute. This became very clear when Kenya abstained from voting in the two major political resolutions that were brought before the General Assembly in the Fifth Emergency Special Session after the Six Day war in June 1967. Kenya's position was clearly explained by N. Nyamweya in early fall 1967:

The Government maintains diplomatic relations with both the Arab States and the State of Israel, and we believe that every sovereign state in that area is entitled to peaceful existence....My Government is opposed to the acquisition of territory through the use of force, and cannot, therefore support territorial acquisitions arising out of the recent war in the Middle East....No effort should be spared to encourage the holding of discussions and negotiations aimed at bringing about an honourable and peaceful settlement, through the machinery of the United Nations. 64

64. Government of Israel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Files (Confidential) on Six Day war.
This statement suggested that withdrawal of troops must in some way be connected with the commencement of lasting peace negotiations. Kenya's delegates to the UN were motivated to a large extent by the desire to get both sides together as quickly as possibly. But politically Kenya does not wish to take sides in the Arab-Israeli dispute.

Israel tried its best to influence Kenya after the Six Day War. A special envoy of Prime Minister Eshkol was sent to Nairobi for this purpose just prior to the voting in the UN General Assembly.

Moreover, the closure of Suez Canal has affected Kenyan commerce very badly. Thus Kenya stated: "One cannot but assume that the presence of Israeli troops in the Sinai Peninsula greatly contributes to the continued closure of the Suez Canal. My delegation views with serious concern the effects on international commerce of the closure of the Canal."

Moreover, Kenya has maintained close relations with the Arabs as well. Thus, for these various reasons, though Kenya has maintained close bilateral relations with Israel, it (Kenya) has consistently shown a tendency to keep away from taking sides in the Arab-Israeli dispute. This is the state of Israel's relations with Kenya in 1968.

65. M. Nyemwuya as quoted in Government of Israel, n. 64.
Israel has maintained an embassy in Dar-es-Salaam ever since Tanganyika attained its independence in 1961. Moshe Dayan, the Israeli Minister of Agriculture went to Dar-es-Salaam, to participate in Tanganyika's independence celebrations as Israel's representative. Tanganyika and Zanzibar (which became independent in 1960) merged into the Republic of Tanganyika in 1964. Israel maintained a consulate in Tanganyika and established diplomatic relations with it in 1964. As a matter of fact, even before the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar took place, friendship for Israel had been openly expressed in Tanganyika. In reply to questions about Arab concern regarding Tanganyika's friendship with Israel, President Nyerere, during his visit to Washington said: "We know that some of our friends are not friends among themselves, but our policy is that we should pick our friends and not let them pick enemies for us."

The statement indicated Israel's growing friendship with Tanganyika. At that time some two hundred and fifty young people from Tanganyika had been trained in Israel; Israeli specialists were advising in fields of health, agriculture, housing and co-operation. An agreement that had been signed between the Histadrut Political Department and the Tanganyika

Federation of Labour stipulated that the Histadrut would be willing to offer scholarships to those F.F.L. members who desired to attend the Afro-Asian Institute in Tel Aviv. Apart from the agreement with the Histadrut, two agreements were concluded making available to Tanganyika IL559,000 in Israel credits.

Israel's relations with East Africa were enhanced by the visit of Mrs Golda Meir to the four states of Kenya, the Malagasy Republic, Tanganyika and Uganda, from 20 January to 6 February 1963. The visit demonstrated the growing Israeli involvement in East African Affairs and indicated the brisk two way traffic of important visitors. During that period, Israel seemed to have treated Tanganyika and Uganda as one unit. Thus, sixty Africans from both states underwent an intensive 193 days officers' training course in Israel and fourteen of them were awarded pilot's wings earned in Israel.

In the field of co-operation, Israel has participated in the establishment and direction of the National Service. Individual and national self-reliance form a vital part of Tanzania's plans for its future. So the problem was of building up a system of vocational training (but on limited funds)

69. The Israel Digest, vol. 6, no. 4, 15 February 1963.
70. Ibid., vol. 6, no. 16, 2 August 1963.
institute. It was with the setting up of this vocational scheme that Israel was asked to help. Further, Israel has assisted in establishing the Mwanza Project for rural settlement and cotton growing, and consumers' co-operatives. This pilot project for partially irrigated cultivation of cotton and other crops in the Mwanza region near Lake Victoria in Tanzania is one of the most noteworthy of the East African agricultural projects in which Israeli farm experts are assisting.

On the other hand, trainees from Tanzania have studied agriculture, labour and co-operation, youth leadership and police and military training in Israel. The Republic of Tanzania got its first marine police unit when twenty-four men of the Tanzanian police were passed out on 18 January 1965, at a naval training base in Israel. The men, who include six officers, six engineers, four signallers and eight sailors, had studied for a year with the Israel navy. Further, in December 1964, one hundred and twenty police paratroopers from Tanzania completed a three-month training course in Israel. Until 1969, Israeli corporations extended construction works and provided engineering services worth $10,500,000. Of these the most active firm has been Solel Boneh which built the Kilimanjaro Hotel in Dar-es-Salaam and the Bechari Beach Hotel.

71. For a detailed discussion of this project see Leopold Laufer, Israel and the Developing Countries: New Approaches to Cooperation; The Twentieth Century Fund (New York, 1967), pp. 85-92.

outside the town on the Indian Ocean Coast, as well as the Israeli and the French embassies, the IPS office buildings and some cement silos. Mlonot firm is responsible for managing the deluxe Kilimajaro and the imaginative Africana Hotel. 73

Now, since the Six Day war, however, relations between Israel and Tanzania have deteriorated. Tanzania's reactions to the Six Day war was very distressing for Israel because Tanzania has always had strong bilateral relations with Israel and on quite a few occasions came to Israel's support in international forums. But the stand Tanzania had taken at the time of Six Day war was decisively favouring the Arab position. 74

As a matter of fact, the development of Tanzanian policy can be traced back to the period before the war. At the end of May 1967 President Nyerere came to Cairo to visit President Nasser. The two leaders appeared to have developed warm personal friendship. On 1 June 1967, President Nyerere assured Nasser that the people of the UAR had the support of Tanzanian people in the "defence of their rights against imperialism". 75

On 3 June 1967 Nyerere expressed his first recognition of Israel's right to exist and also talked about the refugees: "The coin of peace in the Middle East has another

73. See Jerusalem Post, 8 September 1971.
74. See Chapter VIII.
side too. And that side must be the reciprocal recognition by Israel of the right of the Palestinian Arabs to return to their homeland." Thus Tanzania's position was clearly discernible. Now, when the war broke out on 5 June 1967, the Tanzanian Government immediately asked the Tanzanian students studying in Israel to return home.

The attitude of this East African country whom Israel tried to cultivate for various strategic military, political and economic reasons, towards Israel, during the Six Day war disappointed Israel. Subsequent relations between the two countries gradually started deteriorating.

Uganda

For strategic military and economic reasons, it is imperative for Israel to maintain as close relations as possible with the East African countries. This point was a major factor in Israeli policy makers' calculations when they decided to have friendly relations with Uganda.

Uganda attained its independence on 9 October 1962 and Israeli Government made it a point to send its Minister of Labour to attend the independence celebrations. Israel has maintained an embassy in Kampala ever since.

As a matter of fact, Israel's contacts with Uganda started even before the latter's independence. Prime Minister

76. Ibid., 2 June 1967, p. 1.
77. In a foreign policy speech opening the National Conference on 16 October, President Nyerere contended that "Israel's occupation of the territories of UAR, Syria and Jordan must be brought to an end." Africa Report, January 1968, p. 24.
Milton Obote visited Israel in 1962, from 2 to 6 September. On that occasion on 3 September 1962, addressing the Press Obote said: "The establishment of the State of Israel is of great importance to me and we in Uganda are eager to find out how despite difficult circumstances the people of Israel manage their affairs." Thus willingness on the part of both the countries to have close relations with each other resulted in Israel's extending technical assistance on a large-scale. Consequently, during Israeli Foreign Minister Mrs Meir's visit to Uganda in 1963, she signed a Technical Co-operation Agreement with Uganda on 4 February 1963, and following this agreement Israeli poultry and citrus experts started their work in Uganda. Further, Israel immediately agreed to train some East African cadets when approached to do so. In 1963 itself Ugandan cadets started getting training in Israel. The growing relations of co-operation was evidenced by the fact that Israeli Labour Minister visited Uganda in September 1963 and Uganda's Minister of Education and the Minister of Interior and Defence visited Israel in 1963 and 1964 respectively.

Israel's international co-operation programme helped Uganda in the Africanization of its public administration. Further Israeli officials and experts helped Uganda in reforming its tax system. Moreover, Israel has been helping Uganda in

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78. *The Israel Digest*, vol. 5, no. 19, 14 September 1962.

79. It is true that Obote had received military assistance from Soviet Union and China; but he decided to acquire it from Israel also.
organizing Uganda's health service, setting up its national Youth Movement, and training Uganda's Police Forces and planning Uganda's police headquarters organization. In 1964, Israel held its first series of on-the-spot course in Agricultural extension methods in Uganda.

Now, though the Israelis refuse to agree, "the Israeli role in Uganda has always been linked indirectly with the strategic military situation in the Middle East because Uganda's neighbour to the north, Sudan, is a participant in the Arab alliance against Israel...A Sudanese contribution to the anti-Israeli front would strengthen the Arab forces...and Israel was interested in seeing the bulk of the Sudanese army embroiled in southern Sudan." 82

The military training programme in Uganda was one of the biggest conducted by Israel in Africa. The Israeli Military Training Mission helped Uganda in establishing the Uganda Air Force, a parachuting School and a school for maintenance-technicians. It trained more than thirty pilots and hundreds of technicians, the artillery, and the land units in command courses and reconnaissance. Further, it trained and organized the armoured corps. 83

80. For an elaborate description of the various programmes see, Israel and Uganda, Israel Information Series, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Information Division, Jerusalem, April 1972.

81. The Israelis maintain that they extend assistance to any country irrespective of strategic consideration. Interview with the officials of the Division of International Co-operation in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Israel, Jerusalem in January 1972.


83. Israel and Uganda, n. 80.
Thus, by 1965, the Israelis had taken over, more or less, the role previously occupied by the British.

Thus Israel's friendly relations with Uganda were growing from strength to strength. On the political diplomatic level, this close relationship was manifested by the Israeli Prime Minister Eshkol's three-day visit to Uganda in June 1966. In a joint communique issued at the end of the visit, the two Prime Ministers expressed satisfaction at the existing state of co-operation between Israel and Uganda and agreed to extend this co-operation in new fields. During the Israeli Premier's visit, Milton Obote is reported to have said: "Israel has played a positive role in helping Uganda."

During the Middle East crisis of June 1967, though the Ugandan Foreign Minister, Sam Odaka stated "We support the existence and territorial integrity of Israel", Uganda's voting in the General Assembly clearly indicated a pro-Arab stand. As a matter of fact, "the close Israeli-Ugandan relationship began to cool after the 1967 war, as Ugandan Foreign Policy shifted towards greater support for the Egyptian cause. Obote

85. The Israel Digest, vol. 7, no. 13, 1 July 1966.
86. Israel and Uganda, n. 80. This sentiment of Obote found its concrete expression when in December 1966, he awarded the contract for the Kabale-Ntungame road building project to an Israeli Company. Moreover, a contract was signed with the Israeli Company, Solel Boneh, for the building of a housing project in Kampala.
87. See Chapter VII for details.
began to reduce the Israeli role in his country”.

But bilateral relations continued without any break and they rather tended to grow. Army advisers continued to operate and military assistance continued. This was evidenced by the fact that Uganda’s Chief of Staff, General Idi Amin came to Israel in late April 1967 and observed Israel’s Independence Day parade in Jerusalem. Further, in October of the same year, a Cultural Exchange Agreement was concluded to cover student exchanges and co-operation in science, sports and tourism. Thus, up to the end of 1968, Israel’s relations with Uganda continued to be close on bilateral level though after the Six Day war Uganda’s foreign policy reflected the tendency to shift towards greater support of the Arabs.

Liberia

Liberia voted in the United Nations for the partition of Palestine, and was the third country to have recognized Israel. Liberia was the second country to have shifted its embassy to Jerusalem in October 1958 (of course, due to US pressure after four months, Liberia moved its embassy to Ramat Gan, Tel-Aviv). Since the early fifties, there has been an honorary Israeli Consul in Monrovia though diplomatic missions were not exchanged until 1957. As a matter of fact, Israel’s first


Treaty of Friendship with an African country was concluded with Liberia on 9 April 1959.  

In January 1960 Mrs Golda Meir, the Foreign Minister of Israel, made her second trip to Africa. She was present in Monrovia, the Capital of Liberia, on 4 January 1960 at the inauguration of President William Tubman. Thus, over the years cordial relations between the two countries have been growing - both on the level of economic co-operation as well as on the political diplomatic one.

In the field of technical co-operation Israel has assisted Liberia in the formulation of club programmes for urban youth, and the direction of an eye-clinic and the management of a model farm. Moreover, in the earlier years Israeli assistance was made available in the fields of citrus and other agricultural development projects and in the exploration of water resources and the improvement of irrigation procedure. Liberian trainees, on the other hand, have studied labour and co-operation, youth leadership and medicine in Israel.

On the political diplomatic level also, Israel is maintaining excellent relations with Liberia. Thus President Tubman of Liberia visited Israel in June (from 21 June to 1 July) 1962. Speaking at a State banquet President Tubman called for

91. See "Israeli experts in Africa" by Yael Guiledi in The Israel Economist, June-July 1966, p. 142.
92. The Israel Digest, vol. 1, no. 18, 26 December 1958.
the establishment of a UN Commission to survey all the troubled areas of the world and make recommendations for "practical solutions which can help bring about peace." On the other hand, President Izhak Ben-Zvi made a three and a half week state visit devoted to consolidating the warm and friendly relations between Israel and a number of African countries which included Liberia. Further, during Israeli Premier Levi Eshkol's African tour in May-June 1966, he arrived in Monrovia on 2 June 1966. At a State dinner in the Israeli Premier's honour, President Tubman spoke of "Israel's right to free choice and need to live in peace with her neighbours".

In the joint communique issued at the end of the visit, the Israeli Premier and the Liberian President laid stress on the need for "respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every country, on the exclusion of the use of force and on direct peaceful negotiations for the settlement of regional and international problems." 

Liberia's reactions to the Six Day war have been decisively pro-Israel. Liberia supported Israel's freedom of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba. Moreover, President Tubman gave his navy strict instructions that they were not to go near the straits of Tiran during the crisis while they were flying

94. Ibid., vol. 5, no. 18, 31 August 1962.
95. Ibid., vol. 9, no. 12, 17 June 1966.
96. Ibid.
Thus in 1968, Israel's relations with Liberia remains very friendly.

**Ivory Coast**

The relations between Israel and Ivory Coast have been marked by cordiality and friendliness. Ivory Coast attained its independence in 1960. By March 1961, Israel established an embassy in Abidjan and shortly thereafter Ambassador Jean Baptiste Mackey came to Israel to open the Ivory Coast Embassy and the "Conseil de l'Entente" in Jerusalem. Ever since the first trade pact, exchange of students and experts between the two nations and visits of government officials had served to draw the two countries closer.

President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast came to Israel on a state visit for ten days from 15 July to 25 July in 1962. By the end of President Houphouet-Boigny's visit a Treaty of Friendship, a Cultural Pact, and a Technical Cooperation Agreement were concluded. Consequently, various projects of co-operation came up between the two countries.

In the field of joint venture there is a construction and public works company named 'Sonitra'. This venture is

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97. *Ha'aretz*, 1 June 1967, p. 3.

98. The *Israel Digest*, vol. 5, no. 3, 3 August 1962.

99. For a comprehensive account of the various programmes of co-operation between Israel and the Ivory Coast, see Z.Y. Hershlag, n. 27, pp. 603-06.
for the execution and supervision of building and other public works and is based on share distribution - 55 per cent to the Government of Ivory Coast, 45 per cent to Solel Boneh, Israel.

Moreover, a large project of apartment buildings for government employees was given to Israeli execution, and foreign finance. Works started by the Israeli firms "Federman" in December 1963. Further, the Ivorian Government asked the Israeli Government to assist in the construction and operation of a luxury hotel in Abidjan. The hotel is now functioning successfully.

Moreover, Israel has helped in introducing Nahal Gadna Youth Movements also. In the Israeli list of priorities in 1961, the Ivory Coast enjoyed the first place. Since the summer of 1962, Abidjan was selected as the African centre from which the Israeli Gadna-Nahal activities were conducted. As a matter of fact, in the Ivory Coast, Nahal developed as a part of the regular military service.

As for Gadna, the project started with two courses for Gadna instructors, one in 1963 and the second in the winter of 1964. The Israeli Gadna activity in the Ivory Coast, as a whole, was rather disappointing from the point of view of the Israelis. The local authorities did not give much support to this project as the main use of the Gadna was for parades.

These projects, apart, Israeli experts in the fields of Tourism, Agriculture, Co-operative Movement etc. and a special advisor to the President for the establishment of national planning and development company have been working
in the Ivory Coast at various periods of time till 1968. Moreover, a substantial number of trainees from Ivory Coast have studied agriculture, youth leadership and labour and co-operation in Israel.

Ivory Coast is a moderate, French-speaking African country, normally pro-Western in its political orientation and usually follows the lead of France in international affairs. But, during the Six Day war of June 1967 and subsequently in the voting in the UN, Ivory Coast defied France and voted for the Latin American resolution which favoured the Israeli position. But this was by no means the first time that the Ivory Coast had shown its friendship towards Israel in the political-diplomatic level. Ivory Coast has always been taking stands in the Arab-Israeli dispute which are favourable to Israel. President Houphouet Boigny has always remained an ardent admirer of Israel and its achievements. On the other hand, Israel's Prime Minister Levi Eshkol visited Ivory Coast in May-June 1966. In the joint communique issued at the end of Eshkol's visit, the two leaders called for respect for the independence and territorial integrity of states, negotiations to settle inter-state disputes and the renunciation of force. Again, during Israel's Foreign Minister Abba Eban's

100. See Chapter VII.

101. On his arrival in Abidjan, the Israeli Premier was warmly received by President Houphouet Boigny - a gesture normally reserved for visiting Heads of State. The Israel Digest, vol. 9, no. 12, 17 June 1966.

102. The Israel Digest, vol. 9, no. 12, 17 June 1966.
visit to Ivory Coast in August 1968, the Ivory Coast President said that the excellent relations between Israel and the Ivory Coast recalled the fraternity of the Jewish and Black peoples whose plight down the ages had been similar. He praised Israel's technical aid which had left its imprint on the development of his country.

Thus in 1968, Israel's relations with the Ivory Coast have been extremely cordial and friendly.

Congo (Leopoldville)

As was the case in most areas of Africa, Israel's bonds of friendship with the Congo (Leopoldville) were established in advance of the country's independence. Israel was looking forward with particular interest to the independence of the Congo. Israel knew that this large and populous country was potentially a rich land whose people have been eager to cast off foreign rule but are not yet equipped to administer their own state. Israel, therefore, attempted to establish contacts in advance with the Congolese national movement and succeeded in establishing bonds of friendship with many of its leaders. Much before Katanga's secession and the resultant crisis, a number of Congolese leaders including Cyrille Adoula visited Israel to explore areas of future co-operation.

Levi Eshkol, the then Israeli Minister of Finance, represented Israel at the independence celebrations in 1960. It was agreed that consultations between the Congolese leaders,
the Israel Ambassador and Eshkol were to take place on develop-
ment problems. In the wake of the Congolese tragedy, however,
these plans were deferred. Israel declined any role in the
armed struggle in the Congo and had no desire to contribute
to the United Nations Emergency Force. However, Israel did
d Contribute significant emergency medical relief to the Congo
throughout the crisis.

During Israeli President Ben Zvi's state visit to
four African countries in July-August 1962, Congo (Leopold-
ville) was also included. President Ben Zvi was the first
Head of State to have visited that country so far. During the
Israeli President's stay there in Congo, President Kasavubu of
Congo said that the Congo would never forget those who dis-
played friendship in its days of difficulty.

The growing link of close and cordial relations between
Israel and Congo was further demonstrated by a week's visit to
Israel of President Joseph Kasavubu of Congo (Leopoldville)
which culminated in the decision to conclude a Treaty of
Friendship and Co-operation between the two countries. The
joint communique issued at the end of the visit inter alia
stressed "the fundamental right of the people of South Africa to
equality and respect for their individual dignity". The two
statesmen affirmed their faith in peaceful methods of
resolving the problems that exist between sovereign states,

104. Ibid., vol. 5, no. 17, 17 August 1962.
notably by direct talks inspired by the desire to achieve a freely negotiated solution.\textsuperscript{105}

In 1964 commercial and consular agreements were signed between Congo and Israel. Israeli assistance to Congo include advice on the management of a poultry farm and on the preparation of social workers' training centres. Training in youth leadership, community development, co-operation and agriculture has been provided in Israel.

As for military help, Israel helped to consolidate the Congolese army by training paratroop units. In the middle of July 1963, six parachuting instructors from the Congolese army, who had received their training in Belgium, arrived in Israel. Finally on 3 August and 5 August, twenty-three members of the Congolese army arrived in Israel.\textsuperscript{106} That the military assistance by Israel in a substantial way/to commence with was apparent from the fact that when General Mobutu received the Israel Army Paratroops Wings, he said:

I personally have had many opportunities of experiencing the moral support of Israel's representatives during the period of grave difficulty which the Congo and its army passed through. I hope that the experts of our friend Israel will help us to form three additional battalions of paratroopers which I plan to add to the Congolese National Army.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., vol. 6, no. 26, 20 December 1963.

\textsuperscript{106} After 15 days, General Joseph Mobutu, Commander-in-Chief of the Congo (Leopoldville) army, watched these Congolese soldiers in parachute training in Israel take their first jumps in Israel. General Mobutu decided to take a parachutists' course himself. \textit{The Israel Digest}, vol. 6, no. 18, 30 August 1963.

\textsuperscript{107} \textit{The Israel Digest}, vol. 6, no. 19, 13 August 1963.
In 1963, two hundred forty-three Congolese paratroopers were receiving training in Israel. In 1964, hundred more Congolese received training from Israeli advisers in Congo itself. In 1968, thirty-five more paratroopers were trained by Israelis. In 1966 Israel had seven officers in the Congo supervising the paratroop training scheme that was started in 1963. The one thousand graduates so far included forty women.

On 5 June 1966, Premier Eshkol arrived in Kinshasa for a four-day visit. This was the first official visit of a head of government since the new regime took over in November 1965. It appears that there were constant and meticulous attempts on the part of both Congo and Israel to identify themselves with each other. Thus on 6 June 1966, the Congolese President General Joseph Mobutu, while welcoming Eshkol to the Presidential mansion, said: "I am face to face with a leader who has the African interests in view because his country has suffered as has ours." Further, at a dinner in Eshkol's honour Premier Leonard Mulamba said: "The African people like Israel because we are all victims of racial discrimination and we have had to fight for our liberty." In reply Eshkol said that

108. These figures are taken from Israel : Imperialist Mission in Africa. This document has been compiled by the Africa Research Group, Cambridge, Massachusetts.


110. The meeting between the two statesmen was not their first. In 1963, Eshkol presented General Mobutu with his paratroop wings when as Congolese Army Commander, he completed a paratroop training course in Israel.
for generations, the terms "Negro" and "Jew" had been
terms for oppression and agony, servitude and exploitation.
He further observed that it was perhaps not a coincidence
that the Jewish and African peoples shared the ideal of freedom,
which they attained in the same historical epoch. 111 On 8
June 1966 the Israeli and the Congolese Prime Minister's signed
Friendship and Cultural agreements. These agreements expressed
the desire "to strengthen even more the bonds between the two
countries". 112

Congo's reaction to the Middle East crisis of June
1967 was rather equivocal. In the United Nations General
Assembly, Congo voted for both the Latin American as well as
for the Yugoslav-Indian resolutions. This stand apparently
speaks for a position moderately preferring the Israeli
position, rather at least it is not an anti-Israeli stand.

On bilateral level the two countries are maintaining
friendly relations and in 1968 now the relations are solid.
Thus, in February 1968, Israel's Histadrut and the Congo
(Kinshasa) National Union of Workers (UNTC) signed a Technical
Aid and Co-operation Agreement covering the fields of transpor-
tation, consumption, agricultural production, co-operation and
mutual aid. 113

111. The Israel Digest, vol. 9, no. 12, 17 June 1966.
112. Ibid.
Nigeria attained its independence in 1960. Ever since Israel has been represented in that country by an embassy in Lagos.

Israel's first ties with Nigeria were with the Western region which at that time (1958) was led by Chief Awolowo, a severe critic of Abdul Nasser. At the end of 1959, an agreement was concluded between the Government of Western Nigeria and a joint Western Nigeria-Israeli Construction Company for a five-year work's programme. Similarly the Vered Company and Solel Boneh together with local enterprises, commenced construction and development work in Eastern Nigeria. The Dizengoff, West Africa had by 1960 become active in Nigeria and reached a turnover of one million sterling.\(^{114}\)

Another significant development was the conclusion of an agreement between Israel and Nigeria on the eve of Nigeria's independence to provide Nigeria credit of £8.5 million for a seven year period. It established trade relations between the most important West African country and Israel on a firm basis.\(^{115}\)

Israel, however, failed to create any political basis for economic and technical co-operation with the North region of Nigeria. In her West African tour of 1958, Mrs

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Golda Meir was denied permission to visit this predominantly Muslim region which had strong ties with both Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Chief S.L. Akintola, the Premier of Western Nigeria visited Israel for eight days from 9 October 1961. There in Israel he said: "Israel is helping us in our fight and in our attempts to speed the development of Africa."¹¹⁶ He further added that he wanted to see as many students from Eastern and Northern Nigeria in Israel as there were from his own province. The Prime Minister of Eastern Nigeria, Michael Okpara, also visited Israel in June 1961.¹¹⁷

Thus the relations between the two countries had been growing with mutual understanding. This was illustrated by the fact that the Israeli Foreign Minister, Mrs Golda Meir, received a tumultuous welcome when she arrived at Lagos, Nigeria, on 28 October 1964. She paid a courtesy call on President Azikiwe, who described her as "an ambassador of goodwill" and said that her visit was welcome. (Arab diplomats' attempts to stir up agitation against Mrs Meir's visit backfired when the Nigerian Government reprimanded them for interference in the country's internal affairs).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷. Ibid.
¹¹⁸. Identical Government notes were sent to eight Arab Heads of Missions in Nigeria, which inter alia said: "The Ministry (of External Affairs) wishes to state categorically that it will not tolerate any such interference." See The Israel Digest, vol. 7, no. 23, 6 November 1964.
In the field of technical assistance, Israel has helped in agriculture and medicine. Moreover, Nigerian students have studied medicine and agricultural engineering in Israel and have been trained in agriculture and co-operation. Further, Israeli corporations have also invested in a paint factory and a gas distribution enterprise. 119

Talking about Israel's relations with Nigeria on the political-diplomatic level it may be maintained that they have not always been smooth. It has already been observed that when Israel began to extend aid, the predominantly Muslim north had refused to accept Israeli advances. This refusal was largely a result of religious considerations. This hostile attitude of the northern region was expressed in the political level as well. Sir Ahmadu Bello, Prime Minister of the North, stated on one occasion: "What is Israel? To me Israel does not exist!" 120

Moreover, Nigeria has an active and vocal Muslim minority that has proven to be anti-Israel in orientation.

During the period of the Six Day war of June 1967 in the Middle East, Nigeria had a seat in the Security Council. Nigeria had played an active role in the Arab-Israeli debates. As a matter of fact, the initial reaction of the Nigerian delegation to the crisis was reserved and guarded, but it had not


shown any hostility to Israel. It becomes clear when we analyse the statement made by Ambassador Iyalla on 30 May 1967. He said:

I am instructed to make it clear that the Nigerian policy will not support any action that tends to impair or encroach upon the right of a legal government of any country to maintain the integrity of its territory and waters and to order its affairs in its own light. 121

But with the outbreak of the war and the subsequent debates that took place, Nigeria gradually shifted over to supporting the Arab position. Nigeria, it is true, recognized the need for direct negotiations, but it repeatedly called for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces.

Nigeria's vote on the two political resolutions indicate a stand moderately supporting the Arab position.122 The internal Biafran situation (The Eastern region of the Nigerian Federation seceded to form the independent state of Biafra on 21 May 1967, and civil war in Nigeria started on that day) had also influenced the Nigerian vote in the United Nations; that is because of the fact that Egypt supplied military assistance to Nigerian Government and that sympathy of the public opinion in Israel was with the suffering of the Biafrans.

Thus in 1968, Israel's relations with Nigeria have been strained and the Israelis got to the position of considering Nigeria "a lost cause" until the internal situation cleared up.

122. See Chapter VIII.
Mali

When the Mali Federation broke up with the withdrawal of Senegal on 20 August 1960, and Mali left the French community, its government needed friends who could assist it in its difficult tasks and they turned to Israel. Israel immediately responded to this call and sent out one of the heads of the Foreign Ministry to investigate the possibility of friendly co-operation without prejudice to its good relations with Senegal. Israel established an embassy in Bamako.123

About two months after the break up of the Mali Federation, a top-level delegation from the Republic of Mali came to visit Israel on 16 November 1960. The eleven-man delegation was headed by the Vice-President of Mali and included the Director-General and Commissioners of a number of ministries. On arrival, the Vice-President Jean-Marie Kone declared:

Two years ago, when nobody thought about us, Israel stretched out the hand of brotherhood to our people. In Mali they say that a time of trial is the test of friendship, and Israel was the first to lend a hand when we ran into difficulty. The Republic of Mali will never forget this expression of Israel’s friendship. 124

Thus all indications were that relations with the first non-Arab African Muslim country to recognize Israel would flourish. The fact that Vice President Leone-Kone came direct from Prague to Israel with his delegation encouraged the belief

that differences with the French would not automatically drive Mali away from Israel. This view was further reinforced with the conclusion of Israeli-Mali agreements on technical aid, cultural relations and civil aviation in November 1960 itself.\textsuperscript{125}

Now, the treaties with Mali were widely interpreted as significant breakthrough in Israeli-African relations,\textsuperscript{126} demonstrating that in Sub-Saharan Africa (as in Turkey and Iran), Islam did not necessarily constitute an inseparable barrier against relations with the Jewish State.

But with the passage of time, Mali gradually began to support the Arabs in their anti-Israeli moves. Mali voted for the anti-Israeli Casablanca resolution. Israel's reaction to the Mali participation in the Casablanca resolution differed from that towards Ghana and Guinea. While the official protests and demands for explanation were made by its ambassadors in Ghana and Guinea, the Deputy Director General of the Foreign Ministry was dispatched to Mali for this purpose. Although he failed to sway Mali from the resolution, this official's insistence that aid should continue was apparently upheld. Subsequently, an Israeli medical mission was sent to survey and establish training centres in Mali.

In June 1961, Modibo Keita paid his first State visit to Cairo. In the joint communiqué issued at the end of the visit the two Presidents made it a point to -

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{125} Ibid., vol. 3, no. 25, 9 December 1960.
\item \textsuperscript{126} Dever, 17 November 1960.
\end{itemize}
condemn Israel which constitutes a bridgehead for imperialism and endangers the security and safety of the Middle East region and African and Asian States. The two Presidents therefore assert the necessity of a just solution to the Palestine question which will generate to Palestine Arabs the restoration of their legitimate rights in full and in line with the UN Charter. 127

In Jerusalem, a spokesman for the Israeli Foreign Ministry stated that nothing had changed in the cordial relations between Israel and Mali, and that Israel had received satisfactory assurances that nothing was about to be changed. 128

At the same time, it was, however, admitted that in contrast to Israel's treaties of co-operation with other African nations, the agreements had from the start been implemented with something less than vigorous enthusiasm.

Thus, Mali has always been supporting the Arab stand, in all the international conferences, wherever the Arab-Israeli dispute has come up for discussion. Thus, during and after the Six Day war, Mali has been vociferously supporting the Arab stand. In the UN General Assembly voting at the Fifth Emergency Special Session, Mali voted for the Yugoslav-Indian resolution and opposed the Latin American one. That obviously (see Chapter VII) is a pro-Arab stand.

Even after the war was over, as late as October 1967, Thiam from Mali had stated that "the right to existence of the State of Israel does not depend on the will of the Arab countries, and the fact that the latter are not prepared to recognize it, cannot in our opinion constitute a belligerent act." 129

Thus in 1968, now Israel's relations with Mali remained strained and rather unfriendly.

**Dahomy**

Even since Dahomy's independence in 1960, Israel has maintained an embassy in Cotonou. The Embassy of Dahomy in Israel is located in Jerusalem. Dahomy belongs to the four member Conseil de L'Entente (the Ivory Coast, Niger, Upper Volta and Dahomy) and the Brazzaville group.

In September 1961, President Hubert Maga of Dahomy paid an eight-day visit to Israel. During the visit a treaty of Friendship and a Mutual Technical Assistance Agreement was signed. The joint communiqué that followed, spoke of a re-affirmation that all governments should refrain from the use of force and settle disputes by negotiation and repeated the denunciation of every kind of "political subjugation and racial discrimination".

Similarly, the second official visit to Israel of President Hubert Maga of Dahomy on 21 September 1963, for a

129. Government of Israel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Files (Confidential) of Six Day War.
three-day stay, marked the close and friendly relations that have developed in the past two years between the two nations. 131

This very cordial relations between the two countries was further demonstrated when the Prime Minister and Vice President of Dahomey Justin Ahomadegbe along with the Foreign Minister of Dahomey, made five-day official visit to Israel in early June 1964. In the communique that was issued at the end of the visit, the two Prime Ministers stressed the mutual satisfaction of both countries with the increasing scope of their co-operation in the fields of agriculture, youth education and information. 132

Israel has assisted Dahomey in various fields. Israeli activity in the field of communication media and information in Dahomey, initiated by the local government, started in 1963. During the period three Israelis acted alternately in the fields of press, public information etc. At the request of the Government of Dahomey, an Israeli tourism expert carried out a survey in Dahomey. Consequently, the Government invited a market research on potential tourists. The research was conducted by a Mashav expert. Mashav also granted two scholarships to Dahomey for tourism training in Israel.

It was the declared policy of the Dahomey Minister of Defence that military service should include vocational training. Therefore, the Israeli suggestions for establishing

131. The Israel Digest, vol. 6, no. 21, 11 October 1963.
133. For a comprehensive account of Israel's co-operation projects with Dahomey, see Z.Y. Hershlag, n. 27, pp. 600-03.
a Nahal type of National Service movement were favourably accep-
ted. The agreement between Israel and Dahomy was signed in
1962.

As for Gadna, following local initiative, an Israeli
Gadna team of two officers arrived in Dahomy by the end of May
1963. In its initial stages, the Gadna was organized according
to the Israel model. But in 1967, the mobilization policy of
the Gadna was changed. The organization subsequently declined
until only the orchestra remained.

Moreover, Israeli experts in the fields of Finance,
Banking, Construction, Geological Survey etc. have been assis-
ting the Dahomy Government over the years.

On the other hand, trainees from Dahomy have studied
agriculture, labour and co-operation and community development
in Israel.

Dahomy's reaction to the Six Day war has been a stand
favouring the Israeli position.

Upper Volta

Israel and Upper Volta have been maintaining friendly relations
ever since the latter attained independence in 1960. In July
(9-12) 1961, President Maurice Yameogo of Upper Volta made a
State visit to Israel. This visit took place six months after
the Casablanca Conference (where Israel was severely censured).
Yameogo was the first African head of state to visit Israel
after the Conference. Israel put great importance on the visit.
During the visit he said: "As far as we are concerned, you may be assured that when an occasion presents itself we shall co-ordinate and dedicate our efforts so that Israel can continue to prove its vitality." 134

The highlight of the visit was the joint communique that was issued at the end of the visit. This communique clearly marked a new line of political co-operation between Israel and the emergent African states, for, for the first time, Israel formally registered its opposition against the apartheid policy of South Africa and the Portuguese policy in Angola. Ben Gurion and Yameogo, through the communique stated their respective positions in the international problems and recorded their "deep indignation at the inhuman acts perpetrated in Angola and at the apartheid enforced against the majority in South Africa." The "inalienable" right of the Angolan people to independence and the "historic right of the South African people to equality and human dignity" were proclaimed. 135

This communique could be said to be the turning point in Israel's Africa policy. Israel came to take a more vigorous stand on colonial issues. Relations of Israel with African states thus got extended to the political field also.

In the level of economic co-operation, Israel has extended its assistance to Upper Volta in the fields of medicine,

agriculture, co-operative movement, hotel management and establishment of National Lottery etc. 136

In the political diplomatic level, as has been maintained above, Israel has maintained cordial relations with Upper Volta. In the Six Day war, Upper Volta had taken a stand which shows some preference for the Israeli position.

Sierra Leone

An agreement for the establishment of a joint construction company was signed between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Foreign and Port Works Division of Solel Boneh, the Labour Federation's Construction Company of Israel in Freetown, the Capital of Sierra Leone, on 27 March 1960. Sixty per cent of the shares are held by the Sierra Leone Government and forty per cent by Solel Boneh and the Mekorot Water Corporation. 137

The two countries have signed consular agreements in 1962, Cultural and Technical Co-operation agreements in 1965. Moreover, trainees from Sierra Leone have studied co-operation, youth leadership, medicine and agricultural engineering in Israel. Israeli corporations have participated in a number of joint industrial enterprises, and an Israel construction firm executed projects to the value of $6,000,000 through 1969.

In the political diplomatic level, Israel has been trying to establish friendly relations with this country from

136. For detailed discussion see, H.Y. Hershlag, n. 27, pp. 615-18.

137. The Israel Digest, vol. 3, no. 8, 15 April 1960.
even before the independence of this country (1961). During her second trip to Africa Mrs Golda Meir, the then Foreign Minister of Israel went to Sierra Leone also. She arrived in Freetown on 7 January 1961, for a four-day visit.\footnote{138}

Again in late August 1965, the Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone, Cyril Rogers-Wright, came to Israel on a ten-day visit. During his stay there in Israel, Israel and Sierra Leone concluded on 22 August 1965 agreements on technical and cultural co-operation. Addressing a press conference on 29 August 1965, Rogers-Wright declared:

Sierra Leone will express its view at the forthcoming Afro-Asian conference in Algiers that no resolution affecting Israel-Arab relations should be adopted there. I am very worried about the situation between Israel and her neighbours and we will do our best so that Sierra Leone's Moslems, who comprise some 60% of the country's 2.5 million people, should contribute towards peace between Israel and the Arabs.\footnote{139}

As for military assistance, an important military mission was at work in 1966. Five high-ranking Israelis were training twenty-six officers and twenty-five N.C.O's, the entire officer corps for the Sierra Leone army of 2,000 men.\footnote{140}

During and after the Six Day war, Sierra Leone's stand on the issue has been that though Israel has a right to exist, it should withdraw from the occupied territories. Thus M. Leigh of Sierra Leone said: "First the occupation by

\footnotesize

139. Ibid., vol. 8, no. 19, 10 September 1965.
140. Abel Jacob, n. 53, p. 179.
military forces of the territory of one state by another is a contravention of the provisions of the Charter. Secondly, it is the right of every state to exist in security within its own borders. 141

In the voting in the General Assembly Sierra Leone voted for the Latin American resolution and abstained on the Yugoslav-Indian resolution, thus showing some preference for the Israeli position.

In 1968, thus, Israel's relations with Sierra Leone remained cordial and friendly.

**Malagasy**

Support for freedom of navigation in international water-ways, direct negotiations as the means for solving disputes, between nations, refraining from the use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any nation, and the extension of aid by the advanced countries of the world to the emerging nations of Africa and Asia were expressed in a joint communique issued by President Philibert Tsiranea of the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) and Prime Minister Ben Gurion on 28 August 1961, a day before the end of the former's six-day official visit to Israel. Thus the visit was a demonstration of the emerging Israeli-African political co-operation.
President Tsirena:ta, who was the third African Head of State, to visit Israel till then, was accompanied by the Malagasy Foreign Minister, the Chief of Staff, and senior government officials. On 28 August President Tsirena:ta and President Ben-Zvi were present at the signature of a Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Technical Assistance between the two countries which was initialled by the Malagasy and Israeli Foreign Ministers, M. Albert Sylla and Mrs Golda Meir. The mutual technical assistance pact between the two countries provides for co-operation in six major areas: agricultural and industrial development, education and youth training, public-health and medical training, vocational and scientific training in communications and transport and other public services.

To Israel, Malagasy was of special importance, since it was the only member of the Brazzaville group situated in East Africa whose interest coincided with Israel in the use of the Suez canal and the Gulf of Aqaba.

As we have already stated, Israel made an earnest effort to establish friendly relations with the African countries in late 50s. The importance that Israel attached to its ties with Africa led to a brisk two-way traffic of important visitors. In her third visit to Africa in late January 1963, Mrs Meir included Malagasy in her itinerary to solidify the already existing relations between the two countries. "The friendship

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142. The Israel Digest, vol. 4, no. 13, 1 September 1961.
between the Malagasy Republic and Israel has already found practical expression", she told the press before her departure. 143

In fact by 1966, Israeli effort to establish friendly relations with the East African countries had borne fruits. Israel had relations with almost all the sub-Saharan African countries. In an attempt to consolidate this position the Prime Minister of Israel, Levi Eshkol, undertook a three-week long tour to seven African countries in May-June 1966. Eshkol visited Malagasy also.

Thus the relations between the two countries have been growing over the years and Malagasy has always shown understanding to Israel's problems. 144. In the Middle East conflict of June 1967, Malagasy had supported the Israeli stand.

Malawi

Israel has maintained an embassy in Blantyre ever since Malawi's independence in 1964. On the other hand, Malawi is represented in Israel by a non-resident ambassador. Malawi's President Kamuzu Hastings Banda made a State visit to Israel for ten days (later part of which was non-official) on 26 May 1968. Banda was the first Head of State to visit Israel and the United Jerusalem since the Six Day war.

143. Ibid., vol. 6, no. 3, 1 February 1963.
144. Ibid., vol. 9, no. 12, 17 June 1966.
Speaking before the Knesset, Israel's Parliament, on 27 May 1968, Banda said: "I am personally concerned about what goes on in the Middle East, since what affects you here, affects Africa too." Banda further said that last summer he had felt bound to express his views on the Middle East crisis, and he felt today that the stand he took then was fully borne out. Now, on the strength of his personal observation in Israel, he would make a point of advising his colleagues at Organization of African Unity (OAU) gatherings, at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and the UN General Assembly not to base their judgement on hearsay. He said he would speak otherwise, from direct knowledge.145

In the joint communique issued at the end of the Malewi President's visit, both the Malewi and the Israeli Presidents expressed "their strong belief that a just and lasting peace can only be brought about through direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States", and that a just settlement of the Arab refugee problem "must be based on mutual and regional agreements".146 These statements speak for themselves — the excellent relations that exist between Israel and Malewi on the diplomatic-political level.

In the field of technical co-operation, Israel has assisted in organizing 'youth pioneers' and a central school.

145. Ibid., vol. 11, no. 12, 14 June 1968, p. 2. Malewi's vigorous support for Israel during the General Assembly debate on the Middle East was well known. We will discuss about that later.

146. The Israel Digest, vol. 11, no. 12, 14 June 1968.
for youth instructors. Israel has also assisted in the training of 6,000 men in ten-agricultural training centres and in the preparation for the rural settlement of 600 families. Moreover, Israel has also helped in developing health services. On the other hand, trainees from Malawi have studied youth leadership and community development and have attended nursing courses in Israel.

Israel's relations with Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Lesotho, Niger, the Popular Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Senegal, Swaziland, Togo and Zambia, have, by and large, followed the same pattern. Israel had diplomatic relations with all these countries (till 1968) in the ambassadorial level. These countries are obviously not very big ones nor are they rich and influential in the African political scene. But, for Israel's policy of establishing friendly relations with as many African countries as possible, each of these small countries holds an important position.

Israel has concluded Technical Assistance Agreements with all these countries and consequently has provided technical assistance in the fields like Agriculture, community development, co-operative movement, medicine, youth movement etc. Moreover, Israel has undertaken joint economic ventures with most of

these countries. On the other hand, trainees from all these countries have received training in Israel in the fields of community development, labour and co-operation, agriculture, youth leadership etc.

As for military aid to these countries, Israel's Nehal and Gadna have assisted Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Gabon, Niger, Senegal, Togo and Zambia.

The countries mentioned above represent all the three African caucusing groups: Brazzaville, Casablanca and Monrovia, but Israeli assistance to these countries has not been ideologically-oriented. Israel has endeavoured to co-operate with all the African countries irrespective of their form of Government. Thus, though Guinea and Senegal represented the "radical" group of the African countries and have normally supported the Arab cause in international forums, on the bilateral level, Israel has not made any reservations to co-operate with these countries. Thus on the bilateral level Israel has maintained excellent relations with all these countries.

On the political-diplomatic level also, Israel has maintained friendly relations with most of these countries. Thus the Presidents of Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Gabon and Togo, the King of Burundi, and the Prime Ministers of Gambia and Lesotho have made official visits to Israel. On the other hand, President Ben Zvi had visited the Central African Republic in 1962. Moreover, a handsome number of distinguished

personalities from these countries have visited Israel over the years. Thus, though Guinea and Senegal normally have supported the Arab cause in the international forums, the rest of the above mentioned countries have been sympathetic to the Israeli cause in the Arab-Israeli dispute. But all these countries have maintained friendly relations with Israel on the bilateral level.

Israel's Trade with Africa

After Prime Minister Eshkol's visit to Africa in May-June 1966, Israel's friendly relations with the African countries got further strengthened. But compared to Israel's extensive and cordial relations, the actual volume of trade between Israel and the African countries is relatively small. All throughout the sixties Israel's trade with the Third World countries has remained more or less the same in proportion. In 1965, these countries accounted for about eleven per cent of Israel's exports and a little over six per cent of its imports. The proportion was the same in 1960. One reason is that the more progressive African states are rapidly setting up industries of their own which are competing with Israel's industries. One further primary reason is that Israel's market and the markets of many of these countries do not complement each other. There is almost no demand in the developing world for Israel's two leading exports - citrus and polished diamonds; at the same time, most primary products, the characteristic export of
developing countries, cannot be absorbed by Israel's predominantly light and medium industries without processing elsewhere.

The situation differs as between West Africa and East Africa. In West Africa, one of the principal obstacles in the way of trade development, specially in former British territories, is that imports are concentrated mainly in the hands of a few big firms which are accustomed to purchasing from West European suppliers. Of course, in certain countries, such as Ghana, Government owned or Government sponsored importing and trading companies have been established, and here it has been found easier to penetrate the market. The Ghanaian National Trading Company imports substantial quantities of Israel commodities. In West African countries which were formerly colonies of France, there is another problem. In these countries France not only enjoys preferential duties and tax privileges, but the influence of French advisers goes to foster French exports. These countries and Nigeria, have reached an agreement with the European Common Market, so that the other partners in the Common Market apart from France, also benefit from trade preferences.

In East Africa there is freer competition, and the fact that Israel can ship via the Port of Eilat and the Red Sea brings it closer to the East African market. Israel's trade with Ethiopia, Kenya and other East African states is still very modest in the light of import requirements of these countries, where British brand names enjoy a long standing reputation.
While admittedly Israel's economic interest in Africa is secondary to its connection with the markets of the Western world, the progress made in this sphere should be viewed in the context of Israel's new geo-political position which resulted from the Sinai war. The liberation of the Gulf of Aqaba provided the conditions necessary for trade with East Africa. Yet, the expected trade facilitated by the opening of the port of Eilat has not been unqualified success. The total volume of trade with Africa declined from $36.2 million in 1961 to $30.8 in 1962. Israel's total export in 1961 amounted to $245.1 million as against $216.6 million in 1960. Almost seventy nine per cent of this trade was with Western Europe and North America. In 1964, Israel has imported more from the Third World countries than it has exported to them. In 1965, for example, its imports from African countries were $27.2 million - $5.7 million more than its exports to those countries.

In the earlier years Israel's trade with the former French community of nations had been regulated by the protocols signed with France and their annexes on 19 November 1954, 16 May 1955, 9 November 1956, 19 November 1957, 6 November 1958, 21 January 1960 and 29 December 1960. In Accord Commercial et Financier Franco-Israelien, Israel obtained a more liberal treatment of its industrial exports into the French market than had hitherto existed. 149 The agreements

applied to Metropolitan France, Algeria, Malagasy, Republic of Gabon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Central African Republic, Dahomy, Upper Volta, Niger and Cameroons. Nearly all of the agreements concluded with the Sub-Saharan states resembled one another.

Prior to 1957, Israel's trade with Africa was insignificant and one-sided, its purchases being confined to staple commodities such as cocoa, coffee, oil seeds, diamonds, tropical woods and hides. Today four main groups of goods may be distinguished in Israel's export to Africa. The first of these are building materials (plywood, panels, tiles, sheet glass, paints) and cement. The second group consists of motor vehicles and parts, batteries, tires and tubes; here Israeli products have to compete with many of the big international firms; in the third group are various consumer goods comprising durables (i.e., refrigerators, air conditioners), all kinds of textiles and knitted goods, shoes, canned foods, detergents and stationery, pharmaceuticals. The fourth group is made up of producer goods mainly irrigation pipes and agricultural equipments.

Export to Africa increased steadily from $2 million in 1956 to $10.5 million in 1960, making up about six per cent of total Israeli exports and twelve per cent of its industrial exports. (Export to Asia reached $900,000 in 1960). Further, the volume of Israeli exports, particularly to Africa has grown gradually (though not necessarily in proportion). In 1963, it was $11.6 million and it went up to $21.6 million in 1965. It
Table 1

Exports to Africa in 1959 and 1960
(in thousand £)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1959</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>Main items exported in 1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1,407</td>
<td>2,055</td>
<td>Tyres (615), cement (354), cotton clothes (212), shoes and sandals (110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>1,280</td>
<td>Cement (433), tyres (374), building machinery (190), poultry-farming equipment (124), air conditioners (108)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>1,863</td>
<td>Cotton yarn (330), cotton materials (216), tyres (169), fertilizers (121), nylon stockings (120), brome (109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>1,037</td>
<td>Tyres (221), cement (132), tins (107), sweets (65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>Cement (271), tyres (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malagasy Republic</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>Edible oils (316), cement (138), motor-cars (113)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodesia and Nyasaland</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>Cotton materials (167), cotton yarn (85), stockings (83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>Edible oils (403)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>Cement (291), fertilizers (27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>Asbestos products (35), stockings (33), citrus (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>Motor-cars (66), air conditioners (23)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

......-/-
Table 1 contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1959</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>Main items exported in 1960</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper Volta, Coast, Dahomy &amp; Niger</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>Motor-cars (53), air conditioners (22), razor blades (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo (Leopoldville)</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Tyres (33), stretch stockings (12)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Plywood &amp; carpentry products for building (31), cement (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Motor-cars (24), plastics (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Tyres (23), furniture (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroons Republic</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Tyres (23), furniture (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djibouti</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Tyres (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo (Brazzaville) Chad, Gabon &amp; Central African Republic</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Machinery (16)</td>
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<td>Uganda</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Air conditioners (7), seeds (7)</td>
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<td>Togo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Other African countries</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>719</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 5,458 10,406

Source: The Israel Economist (Tel Aviv), July 1961, p. 117.
might as well be more than a coincidence that the greatest increase have been in exports to those countries (for example Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda) that also have an active technical co-operation programme with Israel.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1964</th>
<th>1965</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imports to Israel</td>
<td>Exports from Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>356,000</td>
<td>783,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>3,420,000</td>
<td>187,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>275,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total East Africa</td>
<td>4,976,000</td>
<td>1,950,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Indeed during 1964-65 the volume of trade with the East African countries has steadily increased. Israel's exports to Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have risen by 77 per cent from 1964 to 1965. Imports from the three countries have gone up
by 20 per cent (see table 2). There is enough scope for improvement on this trade relations. For example, in 1965, the three countries imported goods worth $502 million, out of which only 0.55 per cent from Israel.

As for the overall African-Israeli trade relation in 1963-64, a glance at the trade figures reveals a slow but steady upward movement.

The total foreign trade between Israel and the African continent amounted to $39.6 million in 1964, as against $33.5 million in 1963. Of these figures exports to Africa accounted for 12.7 million ($11.6 million in 1963) and imports from Africa amounted to $26.8 million ($21.9 million in 1963). If South Africa and Rhodesia are excluded, Israel's leading African partners were Ghana, with whom total trade amounted to $4.3 million, Kenya ($4.1 million), Gabon ($3.6 million), Ethiopia ($2.6 million), Nigeria ($2 million), and Tanzania ($1.3 million), with smaller figures for Zambia, Malagasy Republic, Mozambique, Congo, Uganda, Mauritius, Reunion and others.

Despite UAR's strategic interests in East Africa (the Nile Basin and the Red Sea) Israel has established political, diplomatic, economic and military relations with Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Malagasy Republic. Geographically close to Israel, these countries stand on the strategic eastern perimeter of the Arab boycott. Moreover, Israel's economic ties with

150. The Israel Export and Trade Journal (Tel Aviv), vol. 17, no. 7, 1965, p. 15.
these countries also seem promising.

As regards composition also, the trend of Israeli trade with the East African countries remains the same. But all the same, in proportion to the total export, the export to Africa is not impressive.

By 1966 also, the overall situation with regard to exports have not changed. But the point to be noted is that by 1966 Israel's trade extended to 28 African countries, however, small the volume may be. A look at the table no. 3 makes the position clear.

In 1967, Israel's total export to Africa was $23.4 million as compared with $19.5 million in 1966, representing an increase of 20 per cent. The rate of growth of imports from Africa was smaller, amounting to $27.6 million in 1967 as against $26.7 million in 1966, or a rise of only 3.3 per cent. The gap between exports and imports continued to narrow, and the deficit fell from $7.2 million in 1966 to $4.1 million in 1967.

The rate of increase of Israel's exports was by no means uniform. The increase applied more to the East African countries and South Africa and less to the French speaking countries in West and Central Africa. In the case of English
Table 3

Exports to African Countries
(in dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Exports 1965</th>
<th>Exports 1966</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>5,348,000</td>
<td>4,931,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>2,514,000</td>
<td>2,946,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>2,723,400</td>
<td>2,310,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>1,636,200</td>
<td>1,796,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1,166,000</td>
<td>1,612,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>1,149,700</td>
<td>1,171,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>637,500</td>
<td>931,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>565,000</td>
<td>603,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>145,700</td>
<td>542,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>2,990,100</td>
<td>484,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>133,300</td>
<td>411,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>47,600</td>
<td>290,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malagasy Republic</td>
<td>251,000</td>
<td>191,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo (Leopoldville)</td>
<td>254,300</td>
<td>187,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo (Brazzaville)</td>
<td>27,600</td>
<td>124,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Exports 1965</th>
<th>Exports 1966</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>122,200</td>
<td>105,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Somalia</td>
<td>137,400</td>
<td>94,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reunion</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>53,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>28,600</td>
<td>27,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>11,700</td>
<td>27,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>22,200</td>
<td>13,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahomey</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>13,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Volta</td>
<td>12,800</td>
<td>6,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>19,400</td>
<td>6,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>9,100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>1,246,100</td>
<td>735,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,418,800</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,667,200</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

speaking West African countries and of the Indian ocean islands there was actually a decline in Israel's exports.

In 1967, exports to East Africa rose from $8.8 million to $14.2 million or by 62.5 per cent in the course of a single year. This development was due partly to Israel's geographical situation as the nearest non-African industrial country to this area, considerably assisted by the closure of the Suez Canal during the past year, and partly to the improvement in shipping communications from the port of Eilat. The Trade Mission to East Africa organized by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry of Israel in September 1967, also contributed to the development of export-consciousness among Israeli manufacturers in relation to this market.

With a view to promoting trade with East and South Africa still further, five commercial attaches have been appointed to serve in Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Zambia and South Africa, instead of the single economic counsellor who had hitherto served the area from Nairobi. In 1966 imports from the area amounted to $10.4 million and exceeded exports by $1.6 million. In 1967, imports remained stable, while exports exceeded imports by $4 million.

The situation is different with regards to Israel's trade with the English speaking countries of West Africa where exports have declined from $8.3 million in 1966 to $6.7 million in 1967. This applies particularly to Ghana and Nigeria. Israel's exports to Ghana have been faced with some difficulties
in 1967 due to the fact that the cocoa deal which Dizengoff West Africa had concluded a few years ago terminated last year, and since then it has not been able to sign a comparable agreement with Ghana. But an Israeli economic mission visited Ghana in June 1968 and signed a new trade pact that provides for much better trading opportunities. In Nigeria, the decline was obviously due to the civil war which naturally affected the economic situation in the country.

There has been no major change in the composition of Israel's exports to Africa in 1967 as compared with the preceding years. The principal export products continued to be textiles and wearing apparel, chemicals, tyres and tubes. The main markets for Israeli goods in this area, in order of importance, have been South Africa, Ghana, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Kenya, Zambia, Uganda, Ivory Coast, and Tanzania.

As in the former years, the leading import items from Africa in 1967 were diamond roughs from Ghana; fish meal and wool from South Africa, tropical wood from Gabon and the Ivory Coast, coffee from Uganda and Kenya, and cocoa from Ghana. In order of importance, Israel's principal suppliers in Africa in 1967 were South Africa, Gabon, Uganda, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Ethiopia and Congo Brazzaville.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1967</th>
<th>1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>3,996,565</td>
<td>5,676,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>3,373,423</td>
<td>4,960,746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>985,000</td>
<td>3,580,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2,511,393</td>
<td>2,603,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>2,528,507</td>
<td>2,119,843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>3,880,329</td>
<td>1,942,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>2,246,977</td>
<td>1,790,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>683,900</td>
<td>1,251,606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other African Countries</td>
<td>4,221,470</td>
<td>4,012,733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24,427,570</strong></td>
<td><strong>27,944,381</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Israel Export Annual (Tel Aviv), 1969, p. 39.
In 1968 also, the same trend, as discussed above, has continued with regard to the East African countries.

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1968</th>
<th>1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>4,118,000</td>
<td>2,087,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2,604,000</td>
<td>1,293,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>3,580,000</td>
<td>1,749,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>1,156,000</td>
<td>405,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>1,781,000</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>236,000</td>
<td>68,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>258,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>13,743,000</td>
<td>5,629,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 5

Trade with Kenya

(a) Israel Exports to Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Amount (1968)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Products</td>
<td>52,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerals</td>
<td>142,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foodstuffs</td>
<td>113,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>179,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing Apparel</td>
<td>48,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood and Wood products</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper, Cardboard</td>
<td>58,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber and Plastic Products</td>
<td>787,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals</td>
<td>355,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamonds</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base metals</td>
<td>176,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal products</td>
<td>279,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>258,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric and Electronic equipment</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport equipment</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                                    2,603,000
(b) Israel Imports from Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Amount (1968)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dried fruits and vegetables</td>
<td>48,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>433,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil seeds</td>
<td>181,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant materials</td>
<td>19,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals</td>
<td>237,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skins and hides</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood products</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>199,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,293,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7

Trade with Madagascar

(a) Israel Exports to Madagascar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>1968 ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural products</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerals</td>
<td>53,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foodstuffs</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles, wearing apparel</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, paper, cardboard</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber and plastic products</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals</td>
<td>48,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal Products</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical and electronics equipment</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport equipment and various</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>236,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Israel Imports from Madagascar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>1968 ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cinnamon, plant materials, dried beans</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>36,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>68,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8

Trade with Uganda

(a) Israel Exports to Uganda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>1968 (£)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Products</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerals</td>
<td>53,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foodstuffs</td>
<td>29,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>33,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing apparel</td>
<td>47,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood and wood products, paper, cardboard</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather products, rubber and plastic goods</td>
<td>239,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals</td>
<td>302,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base metals and metal products</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>1,170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical and electronic equipment</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport equipment</td>
<td>1,610,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,580,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Israel Imports from Uganda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>1968 (£)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>795,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>995,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,816,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9

Trade with Tanzania

(a) Israel Exports to Tanzania

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>1968 ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural products</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerals</td>
<td>118,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foodstuffs</td>
<td>17,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>223,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing apparel</td>
<td>14,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood and wood products</td>
<td>67,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper, cardboard, cartons</td>
<td>54,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing and publications</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber and plastic products</td>
<td>144,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals</td>
<td>194,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base metals</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal products</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td>141,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric and electronic equipment</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport equipment</td>
<td>39,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>83,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,156,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) Israel Imports from Tanzania

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>1968 ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>52,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oilseeds</td>
<td>122,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>145,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fibres</td>
<td>81,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>405,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Israel's trade with the African countries included in our discussion is very limited compared to the total foreign trade of both the sides. The pattern of trade relations is like the ones between a developed country and a developing country - the former buying primary goods from the latter and the latter buying industrial products and processed goods from the former. In this context, here Israel's role is that of a developed country. From the tables 10 and 11 it becomes amply evident.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Exports (f.o.b. $m)</th>
<th>Exports to Israel (c.i.f. $m)</th>
<th>Total Imports (c.i.f. $m)</th>
<th>Imports from Israel (f.o.b. $m)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>3,690</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>3,840</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>3,790</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>4,130</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>3,760</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>4,120</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>4,110</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>4,230</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>4,820</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>5,060</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>5,329</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>5,430</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>5,380</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>5,370</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>5,460</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: (1) U.N. Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1966, p. 16.
(2) Israel's Foreign Trade, 1967, part II.
(4) Israel Foreign Trade, 1967, part II.
### Table 11

**World and Israel - Tropical African Trade**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>World exports (f.o.b. $m)</th>
<th>Israeli exports (f.o.b. $m)</th>
<th>Israeli exports to Tropical Africa</th>
<th>World imports (c.i.f. $m)</th>
<th>Israeli imports from Tropical Africa (c.i.f. $m)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>128,100.0</td>
<td>21649</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>135,500.0</td>
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<td>247.20</td>
<td>9.31</td>
<td>141,000.0</td>
<td>586.30</td>
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<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>141,600.0</td>
<td>239.20</td>
<td>8.60</td>
<td>149,800.0</td>
<td>634.50</td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>154,100.0</td>
<td>351.50</td>
<td>9.01</td>
<td>162,400.0</td>
<td>672.10</td>
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<td>372.40</td>
<td>10.60</td>
<td>181,900.0</td>
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<td>429.60</td>
<td>13.90</td>
<td>197,500.0</td>
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<td>503.40</td>
<td>17.24</td>
<td>215,800.0</td>
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<td>569.90</td>
<td>20.44</td>
<td>227,000.0</td>
<td>770.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**
3. Israel's Foreign Trade, 1961, 1967, part III.
5. Statistical Abstract of Israel, no. 18, p. 218.