

# **South African Jewish Diaspora and its Impact on South Africa Israel Relations (1994-2017)**

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “**South African Jewish Diaspora and its impact on South Africa-Israel relations (1994-2017)**” submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

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Dedicated to My Parents and Elder Sister

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*Abbreviations:*

<b>ANC</b>	<b>African National Congress</b>
<b>CAP</b>	<b>Community Active P</b>
<b>NP</b>	<b>National Party</b>
<b>SAJBD</b>	<b>South-African Jewish Board of Deputies</b>
<b>SAZF</b>	<b>South-African Zionist Federation</b>
<b>DA</b>	<b>Democratic Alliance</b>

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background

The term diaspora is a Greek word which means to sow over. It is originally associated with historic experience of specific groups. It was used by Greeks to describe the Greek colonial people outside Greek. The classical diasporic groups were Armenian Jews and Greeks. With the passage of time religious minorities of Europe were added in its domain. In the present times the term diaspora includes any immigrant community or any dispersed population of the world (Chaloyan, 2017). In the field of social science the word diaspora is commonly referred to the dispersion of Jews. Although there are Jewish diaspora in different regions of the world and they have their own culture and way of living in their host countries. There is strong Jewish diaspora in United States of America, Canada, France Russia, Ukraine Canada and other developed countries of the world. Most of the Jews migrated to these developed English speaking countries in search of safety and good livelihood. Knowing the economic opportunities and democratic system of these countries, Jews made a choice to settle in these countries. They made a great progress in these English speaking countries particularly in USA, UK, Canada, and Australia. They assimilated with the local ethos of those countries while some of them maintained their Jewish orthodoxy. In those times Eastern European Jews made a different destination by moving to South Africa a country which was not developed and was divided on the basis of race. Even than the Jewish community made South Africa as its destination because South Africa already had Jewish people which came from UK and German. However, there was a huge migration of Jews which came from Eastern Europe during the initial years of world war second. South African government implemented a ban on the arrival of immigrants by bringing the Quota Act of 1930. This Act would restrict the flow of immigrants; however ban was lifted very soon. Most of these immigrants were from Eastern Europe with a common identity of being Litvak in origin. During 1910 and 1948 thirty thousand Jewish immigrants came to South Africa, despite the Quota Act of 1930 which restricted the flow

of immigrants. The exploration of diamond in 1867 nearby Orange River which became one of the main Jews to migrate from villages to urban areas to find the new ways for their livelihood (Reprobate, 2013).

The exploration of mineral resources requires technical and managerial expert which was fulfilled by the Jewish community. Similarly country's most significant businesses where either belongs to them or monitored by them which include Premier Milling Group, Anglo American Corporation, and the Liberty Life insurance company (Davidson, 2011). ). The Jewish community organized itself by establishing two Jewish organizations called the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (SAJBD) and later on South African Zionist foundation (SAZF) which became the spokes body of Jewish community. There were some small sort of Jewish organizations before this but their existence and scope was limited. However, the emergence of these two Jewish organizations became significantly essential for vulnerable Jewish community who at that time were facing many right wing organizations hatred and other type anti-Semitism for example Ossewbandwag Grey Shirts and other fringe elements. Once the Afrikaner or nationalist party came into power it was no more that anti-Jewish or anti-Semite. During Prime Minister D.F. Malan reign Jews were freely allowed to occupy any position and even allowed to conduct their religious affairs freely. Country's most significant businesses where either belongs to them or monitored by them which include Premier Milling Group, Anglo American Corporation, and the Liberty Life insurance company (Davidson, 2011).

The Afrikaner the ruling party people, were originally the descendants of Dutch, German and French Protestants. They were identified by their Calvinism and by their strong ethnic identity. Despite their anti-Jewish feeling during world war second, Afrikaners were not anti-Semites. Their strong religious affinity toward protestant Calvinism played significant role in considering Israel as a holly land. This perception of Israel as a holly land made Jews to admire the Afrikaner apartheid regime.it was during this time prime minister Malan paid a visit to Israel which was a beginning of a long term collaboration between the two settler regimes apartheid and Zionist regime. The two countries started to do trade and other defence related agreements. The relationship took a new shape after 1973 Arab Israel war, when most of the African nations broke off the

relationship with Israel and it was South African apartheid regime which continued its diplomatic and other political engagements with Israel (Shain,2016).The two countries found a similarity in a way that both the states were surrounded by majority people like in South Africa white regime was chased by blacks and in Israel the newly established state was under threat from most of the neighbouring Arab states. This was the common threat both states thought would bring them closer. The continuation of apartheid regime led South Africa to isolation at international level. Most of the states broke off their diplomatic relationship with South Africa over its racist policies and United Nations also levied sanctions against South Africa.

It was after 1986 only when United States of America passed a comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act. Israel unequivocally condemned the white racist regime of South Africa only after USA levied sanctions against apartheid government. Israel supported this resolution so that they do not lose American aid. But in reality the two countries had strong military and economic relationship till the end of apartheid regime, for example between 1973 and 1981 Israeli arms export industry increased from \$70 million to almost \$ 1 billion. During that time, South Africa was Israeli's most arms client receiving almost 35 percent of Israeli's military exports. But the end of apartheid regime in South Africa has led to both the nations at cross roads. South Africa always had been the prime supporter of Palestinian self-determination and continues to do so. The former President Nelson Mandela once said that "we know too well that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of Palestine". South Africa always opposes Israel at UN, regarding Palestine –Israel issue. This legacy of supporting Palestinian cause has a history as PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) was very supportive of South Africa's anti-apartheid movement.

This issue of Palestine-Israel has been one of the prime causes for the weak political and economic relations between the two countries. Unlike in apartheid regime both the countries had very close political and economic connections and were supportive of each other at international forums. The two countries had close relationship during apartheid years, for example in 1975 South Africa had agreed to sign a pact which was signed by Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peers and South African Defence Minister P.W. But after the end of apartheid regime in South Africa there is no such strong political as

well as economic connections between the two countries. Why South Africa and Israel did had much close relations during apartheid years. Was this strong economic and political relations based on race as both the regimes were alien in their respective lands. The other question which rises is was there any influence of South African Jewish diaspora which led to the close bilateral relationship between the two countries. This thesis will be a humble attempt find out what really has changed between these two countries which has affected their political and economic relations after the end of apartheid regime. It will also try to find out does South African Jewish diaspora has any role in developing the close relationship between South Africa and Israel as a non-state actor particularly in post-apartheid period.

## **1.2 Theoretical framework**

### **1.2.1 Diaspora in international relations**

#### **1.2.1.1 The concept of diaspora**

‘Diaspora’ is a Greek word refers to the dispersion across the world of the people of similar territorial origin. In the wider discussion of the concept is mostly given religious or ideological connotations as it can be seen in the Hebrew concept of galut (exile) which is filled with the messianic desires of Return. Understandings of the diasporic condition can vary both within and between Diasporas. The term diaspora is not confined to its classical definition for instance Jews, Greeks and Armenians, but it includes a larger categories which replicate the processes of politically influenced uprooting and migration of masses, voluntary migration, global interconnectedness and transport. In the recent times the term has attained a large semantic domain and it covers diverse range of groups like political refugees, foreign residents, guest workers, dispersed, expellees, ethnic and radical minorities, overseas groups. One of the recent community group included in this category are 25 million Russians residing in non-Russian states of the former Soviet Union territories. The disintegration of Soviet Union has divided them into minorities in the CIS. Palestinians have adopted the sensibility of diaspora only after 1948 when they were forced to leave their territories. Similarly there is a reference to black diaspora related to those black people whose ancestors were driven out forcibly from different African countries and

then settled in other parts of the world (Shuval, 2000). There is a substantial proof of the noun diaspora are in ancient Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible called as the Septuagint. Accordingly the concept of diaspora has developed a close connection with Jewish history and classic descriptions of Jewish living outside Palestine.

Largely scholarship is produced on this and it has existed more than two thousand years. From the beginning of its existence the present scholars have provided a different version of it. There are scholars who provide a strong checklists that qualify or disqualify communities as Diasporas, while as other provide a larger frameworks that determines Diasporas through standards of global experiences or institutions. Currently most of the scholars do not endorse a common definition of diaspora and they simply define subjects' diaspora identity, which allows intensive research on the difficulties and polymorphous nature of this type of diaspora existence (Carter, 2016). There is no unanimity regarding the actual definition of the term diaspora various scholars have defined diaspora in different ways. For instances one of the important scholar on diaspora Shaffer is of the view that “modern diasporas are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin their homelands”. Cohen one of the significant scholars of diaspora studies has proposed” a typology of Diasporas each of which has been caused by a different set of precipitating circumstances which result in a variety of social contexts mythologies and definitions of solidarity. These are victim diaspora, labour and imperial Diasporas; trade Diasporas, cultural Diasporas, global territorialized Diasporas” (Shuval, 2000).

In most of the works related to nationalism and ethno nationalism, the concept of diaspora has not been worthy for debate among the scholars. This omission is not a new discovery itself, indeed the concept of diaspora had a specific meaning since ages old for example, the exile of Jews from their actual homeland and their dispersion from various parts of the world and indicating as well the oppression and degrading caused by the same oppression. However, a unique phenomenon is not very helping for social scientists intending to make generalizations. According to William Safran “Today, "diaspora" and, more specifically, "diaspora community" seem increasingly to be used as metaphoric designations for several categories of people expatriates, expellees, political refugees, alien

residents, immigrants, and ethnic and racial minorities tout court in much the same way that "ghetto" has come to designate all kinds of crowded, constricted, and disprivileged urban environments, and "holocaust" has come to be applied to all kinds of mass murder". These are some of the critical observations provided by the scholars regarding the concept of diaspora. On the basis of these observations and definitions there is no universally accepted definition and understanding of the concept diaspora (Safran, 1996). Every diaspora has its own history and by the time the old definition of diaspora was mostly associated with Jews or Armenians but with the changing global order and globalization the term has been associated with different religions, communities and other groups living in abroad.

#### **1.2.1.2 Impact of Diasporas**

Diasporas are persecuted cultural or a specific group living in different parts of the world. They have been influential in world politics since old times till date. Diasporas are indirectly active in politics; particularly they connect their host countries with their homelands. They can play an important role in international politics as they carry both cultures of both the country of their origin and their home land continue to keep uphold and preserve both the cultures. Like any mobilized groups with firm belief in identity, Diasporas can be influential in both domestic and in international arena. Diaspora usually agrees with the policies which their homeland countries formulate and they support and mobilize for it. The prime example for diaspora mobilize and support the policies of their origin of their country can be seen in the cooperation between America and Israel which support for the security of Israel (Karanou, 2015).

Diaspora is often described in relations to a home, a place which they come from with regard in terms of its strong cultural or ethnic awareness. The perception that people belong to some particular place with those who share a place of birth is a very unique feature. It has given rise to a sedentary bias as per this bias has by default has not allowed people to move from one place to other place. This type of prejudice has been established with an exaggerating understanding of ethnicity and belonging, while as it also ignores the important developments have been made to theorize about the relationship in between people, place and their identity. There exists a debate in the field of social sciences from



last few decades about how regional mobility of people tended people to link themselves with the lands which they may or may not corporally belongs. There are post-modern and post-colonial writers who are of the view that after the after emergence of globalization, mobility has reduced the significance of permanent boundaries in international arena (Sinatti, 2014).

Diasporas can become the cause for state to recover its people living in a nearby state. Theoretically, Diasporas pose a challenge to old state foundations of citizenship and loyalty by resting at the nexus of domestic and global. Indeed Diasporas are regarded as a force of identity foundation. Although Diasporas mostly live outside their state, but they claim a stake in the affairs of their home land state. They challenge the conventional meaning of nation state. They are therefore considered as the classic other of the nation state, as it defy its old boundaries, promoters of transnational cultures, and as manifestations of territorialized community. Diasporas also act as ethnic lobbies in liberal democratic countries by promoting multi-ethnic foreign policy. They tend to democratize the authoritarian governments of their host lands and a force to in world economy and change the economic order of their home countries. Diasporas are capable of promoting the global ties and can be helpful in mitigating the differences between their host land and home land countries. They can also transmit the democracy, diversity and other skills which their kin countries may be lacking; therefore they act as a source of mediators between their homeland and host land countries. For example an array of lobbying of governments of host countries, as well as other national and global policymakers, were diaspora community tend to promote political settlement for their home states ( Shain and Barth, 2003) A growing set of scholars are considers diaspora as the agents of social, political and cultural transformation and are not peace spoilers. Writers like Cochrane signifies that the contribution of diaspora in inciting the violence in their homelands cannot be denied, but the diaspora can contribute to peace process as well. He is of the view that this aspect need to be explore more in scholarly writings of Sudanese diaspora role provides one of the examples of diaspora which contributed to enhance the peace process in the post-conflict period. Sudanese diaspora community supported different private radio stations which helped Sudanese people to mobilize them for peace process and made them to redress the challenge after the end of war. In the same way, Afghani diaspora played a

significant role in Afghanistan after 2001 US military interfere in Afghanistan. Afghani diaspora helped in negotiations between different tribal groups and in smooth formation of government after the end of Taliban regime (Base and Swian, 2008).

However, diaspora factor is not always helpful. It can also become a source of conflict in their state of origin. Same as in conflicts they can be mediators, they can also be a hindrance in the peace process. During 2007, French police conducted an enquiry about the activists related to Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in a town called Gare du Nord also called as Little Jaffna in France. More than thirty people were arrested by the police for interrogation. The police cordoned the entire area called little Jaffna. The people believed to be close to LTTE were questioned, photographed and videotaped inside their homes. All the stuff related to LTTE like books, pamphlets, CDs and other materials were seized by the police. At the last stage, fourteen Tamils were sent to jail on different charges including “extortion” direct violence and illegal confinement against Tamilian diaspora in France (Demers, 2007). This indicates that diasporas can become a peace spoiler in international arena, particularly after the 2001 attack on world trade. Science and technology has made it quite easy for diaspora to use its links with the people residing in other parts of the world.

### **1.2.1.3 Liberalism**

Liberalism believes that human beings are the rational creatures which are able to solve their political problems through negotiations and compromises. This ideological reflection was seen in the establishment of the world intergovernmental organizations like League of Nations, United Nations, and world court. It was after world war first that liberals intended to put an end by establishing these institutions (Dagger et al, 2017). Liberalism is very existential in American society that after world war second, many historians and social scientists considered liberalism and the American civic fabric more or less alike. The argument put forward by the liberals that “every one of us has a right to live, liberty and seek happiness” has been as a broadly accepted definition that any liberal will intend to pursue or define it. It is the liberalism, s fundamental promise that every liberal would agree.

From last few decades' liberalism has been under political crisis in the United States of America indeed liberals sometimes have been ambiguous about what they stand for. In the recent past decades, national leaders who believe firmly in liberalism have failed to articulate a compelling public philosophy, while as public opinion survey indicates that there are several Americans who are in support of liberal positions are not interested to portray themselves as liberals. Liberalism can be termed as an effort to guarantee the individual freedom and to establish the institutions and forms of character which will make people to adopt responsibility rather than being forced upon them by an external force. This can just be a normal definition, although, since liberties come into conflict with one another, and others benefits, and there must be a way to resolve issues among them that is reliable with the deepest interests in freedom and mutually beneficial for people. Liberalism constitutes the principle which will create a just society, but it can also provide designs for a state which can sustain and manage the state of affairs in a balanced manner (Starr, 2007). Liberalism is an ideology which seeks to protect and enhance the liberty of an individual. It states that government is vital to protect individuals from any kind of aggression posed by others. But liberals are also of the view that government can become itself a threat for individual liberty. As noted by the Thomas Paine an American revolutionary who describes it in his book "Common Sense" that government is at best "a necessary evil". Government machinery which is to say law, judges, and police are obliged to ensure the security of individuals, life and liberty, but the misuse of the power by these state sponsored institutions can become detrimental for individual liberty.

In the liberal definition of local politics, state is not the main actor, but a representative institution consistently, capturing and recapturing, and construction and reconstruction by a number of societal actors. Representative intuitions and activities constitute the transmission belt through which the preferences and social power translates into state policy. Individuals turn to state and want to achieve all those goals which private behaviour could not do in a professional manner. Government policies are therefore forced to act on activities as per the interests and identities of the individuals and groups who subsequently oblige policy makers to frame its policies in their interest (Moravcsik, 1997).

Liberalism states that non-state players are supposed to play its part in international relations. Diasporas act as political groups and they can affect foreign policy decisions through a liberal mode of pattern. Indeed, the idea of global connections and the other means of global communication as identified by the complex interdependence indicate the institutions and activities of the Diasporas (Karanou, 2015). For liberals states are not the only actors but non-state actors can like international organizations (IGOs) NGOs and other individuals can play an important role in world politics.

#### **1.2.1.3.1 Neoliberalism and its connections with Diasporas**

Liberalism rejects the core assumption that states are most important actors in international politics and that they are unitary. Indeed it states that it is the individuals and other non-state actors who strive to promote various interests. The state is no more an independent actor, but a composition of various actors. The states do not preferably prefer specific interests like security or power as supported by the neo-realism and institutionalism, but seek specific interests advocated by coalition of partners who are in power. As per the liberal approach is of the view that the intensity of the influence that domestic actors can put on foreign policy depends on the interactions between political parties and social organization. The weaker the state, the more strong will be social organization to exert their influence on state's policies. The example of weak state is here is the state which is prone to societal influences for example the United States of America where social groups have a significant role in its decision making process (Mccauley, 2012). Diasporas are either themselves interjected or they are drawn towards the political issues of the state. So they should be considered as a part of social groups in promoting their interests.

Diasporas are considered domestic actors by the host land countries as they owe to their host land. Diasporas had been instrumental in bringing changes in many of the home states. In this case it is mostly the elite Diasporas which have tried to mobilize its community abroad about their homeland. They are considered agents of change in the current state of affairs of different countries. Many diasporas have helped their homelands through their remittances and political mobilization for example during India's 1990s economic crisis India's rich diaspora in first world countries have contributed largely to

protect India from more debts, although the assistance was done with the some conditions in which trading in India was made easy and they were provided different state preferences like OCI, hassle free investment in India and many other opportunities. In the same way African diaspora have become prime sources of change in international development thinking. Diasporas are seen as main sources of remittances by their original lands, host countries and NGOs for the development in their homelands, praised by for their remittances, investment and other transfer of knowledge and technology (Kleist, 2014).in neo-liberal approach, particularly in complex interdependence, diaspora can play an essential role, as it focuses more on transnational cooperation and significance of social groups which can shape politics at global level.in complex interdependence there one can see there is an extended recognition of non-state actors their importance and the complexity of global connections with which these actors are involved in (Keohane, 2000).

#### **1.2.1.4 Realism**

Realism is one of the theories which have been dominating in the field of international relations (Booth, 2011). It is a theory which covers the competitive and conflictual part of world politics. Realism is based on some core principles which define its occurrence; among them the first assumption of realism is that states are most important actors in world politics. Although there exists the other actors as well like individuals and other organizations, but their scope is not wide. Secondly, the state is a unitary actor. National interests, in during the tough times of war and strife brings people to act in one voice. Thirdly policy makers are the rational actors as they frame their policies as per the national interests of their countries. Taking decisions which is detrimental for their state is not rational decision at all. Realism believes that leaders of a country no matter what their political interests are, they pledge to pursue those policies which keep their states to survive in a competitive world (McGlinchey etl, 2017).

Realism or realist school of thought in international relations emerged after end of First World War. Realism is the most dominant theory in the domain of international relations and explains a broad range of positions which have some interlink connections but also has

significant differences. The vital difference between classical and neorealism is that former places much importance on individuals and domestic factors, while as the later emphasis on structure of international politics (Joseph, 2014). The origin of realism or realpolitik or the concept of power politics goes back to the writings of great Greek philosopher and historian Thucydides in the fifth century BC. However, dominant attitudes towards realism have differed at certain levels, but realist definitions and orientations have been vital for the western theory of international politics. This is in particular with regard to “modern” international society, be it from the time of Machiavelli during sixteenth century or at the time of Hobbes in middle of the seventh century, has been linked to the realist concept of balance of power and power politics. The connection between realism and international relations were strong during nineteenth century. The international relations itself emerged as a discipline only after the end of the world war first, mostly in response against realist balance of power politics. This discipline was reshaped very soon after the end of world war second, by the realist scholars particularly like, E.H. Carr and Hans J Morgenthau (Donnelly, 2008). However, realism is challenged by the new trends in world politics. For instance, the concept of timeless principles and human behaviour, which has not been affected by the issues of time and place, has been regarded as an abstraction, more specific to know realism as a theory than global politics. Among many other claims against towards realism, recent developments at global level, like emergence of non-state actors and nonconventional conflict between global agents, made the often state-centric realist perspective more complex and fragile (Orsi, Avgustin etl. 2018). However, every realist scholar does not deny the importance or the existence of morality in international politics. One can draw the distinction between classical realism explored by the twentieth century theorists like Reinhold Niebuhr and Hans J Morgenthau and the neo-realist like Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer. As classical realism propagates the idea of national interest, it is not the Machiavellian doctrine “that anything is justified by reason of state”. Nor does it want to glorify war or conflict. Orthodox realists do not deny the possibility of moral judgment in world politics. Rather, they are against moralism or ambiguous discourse that does not consider the account of political realities (Zelta, etl, 2017). As per the realist school of thought states are the prime actors in international politics therefore they have not touched the diaspora aspect of international politics.

### **1.2.1.5 Neo-realism**

Neorealism or structural realism is the basic theory of International Relations. It started from a simple set of assumptions, it tries to explain how states behave specifically the powerful ones and how do they interact and work in international political system. Every theory tries to explain one or the phenomena but fails to explain. In the same way neorealism could not explain the things which occurred after the Westphalia State system. Neorealism is mostly criticized for its failure to explain or predict the issues which it predict to but did not happen (Jacobson, 2013). Neorealism is outgrowth of traditional theory which believes in balance of power. But the theory of neorealism is different from the classical theory by explaining the things in very specific theoretical way, same like economics particularly by comparing the theoretical approach of great power politics with an oligopolistic market and its intentional assumption regarding the nature of global power politics. Neorealism is also called as structuralism and some scholars simply called it realism as it was relatively relevant to older realist thought of school. However, it gave a new twist in realism by differentiating itself slightly from older realism. Its main theoretical that in international politics war is possible at any point of time as there is no central authority at international level which is to say that international political system is anarchic in nature (McKenon, 2017). Neorealism has also been under severe criticism by alternate theories particularly Marxist who see international global system being dominated by neo-liberal capitalist countries.

### **1.2.1.6 Constructivism**

Constructivism is a social theory and it is not a basic theory of international relations. Constructivists examine how actors make their activities successful. Constructivists emphasis on human consciousness, and consider ideas as part of structural system of state and value the dynamic connections between ideas and material world as outcome of how actors interpret their material reality. Constructivist are of the view that power can not only be understood how one actors influences another actor to do what otherwise he would not , but it can, but also the establishment of identities and interests which restrict their control over the destiny. Constructivism denies the claim of neo-realists that existence of anarchy

is inherit in world system. Instead constructivists believe in what Alexander Wendt says that “anarchy is what states make of it”. Which means states in one way or the other have adopted this notion as it is. Anarchy is the outcome of a process that sets rules and norms which regulates the interactions among states (CLAWS, 2014). Constructivism as a world view which believes that learning is an active and constructive process. In this process of learning and construction learner is the one who creates knowledge. Constructivism emerged as a critique of the scientific approach to the field of social sciences. In its early stage constructivism was developed as a specific metatheory stemming from the writings of scholars like Wilhelm Dilthey, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and R.G. Collingwood. Henceforth the core assumption of constructivism, according to Adler, is not related to the theoretical conflict between “science and literal meaning of stories”, but to the base of social science itself, therefore the subject of international relations (Behraves, 2011). The main insight behind the constructivism is that meaning is constructed socially. This is one of the sources of the label constructivism. According to Alexander Wendt “a fundamental principle of constructivist theory is that people act toward objects, including other actors, on the basis of the meanings that the objects have for them”. In a socially established world, the occurrence of events, cause and effect, interactions, indeed states themselves depends on different interpretation and other practices which form them. The interpretations and practices may sometimes be correct, but they are not bound to change and they cannot be regarded as a permanent solution to the objects. As ideas and practices differ over time or space, patterns that once appear strong and predictable may also change. For example, sovereignty is a social institution in a way that a state can be sovereign only when other states look it as a corporate actor or sole actor with rights and obligations over territory and its population (Hurd, 2008).

Over the period of the times the practice of sovereignty got changed and the powers and identities of actually states got changed as well (Bolt, 2013). Constructivism is distinct from neorealism and neoliberalism by emphasizing and exploring the ontological reality of intersubjective knowledge. However, it does not mean that constructivism denies the importance of material world. Material world and intersubjective knowledge are interlinked and can affect each other. These two aspects are not independent. They do not have self-sufficiency. Material world cannot entirely determine the behavior of a



state or individuals. It can only curb the intensity of interpretation and intersubjective world which people may construct. Constructivists state that material world matters and is shaped by social world. State's military might and distribution of military power among states do not automatically form an actual global social structure. Although there is no world government that regulates the affairs of nation states, the world system becomes a "power struggle" among states as realists will define it. It can become an individualistic security system as neoliberals will define it (Nugroho, 2008).

#### **1.2.1.5.1 Constructivism and diaspora**

International relations have defined the issues of world politics through different theoretical basis particularly realism, liberalism and constructivism. However, over the period of time, the international relations have undergone a very significant change in which new theories have come up in explaining relationship among the states in international arena. Constructivism is one of the most profound theories of international relations which explain the international relations in a very different manner compared to realism and liberalism. Constructivism gives much importance to, ideas of norms, the development of structures, and it focuses profoundly on identity which makes it different from the realism and liberalism. There are several points where constructivists differ with realists and liberalists. One of arguments, that constructivists from realists and liberals are the idea of anarchy. All the grand theories agree upon the idea that international system is anarchical and states are engaging in competition with each other for their survival. It is this main argument which makes constructivists distinct from the other two main theories of international relations (Behraves, 2011).

Constructivism is a social theory of international politics which considers the social construction of the world politics goes against the very idea of neo-realists who treat world politics as a world in which states cannot rely on others because everyone wants to maximize their interests and reduce the losses. Whereas Diasporas are supposedly have a unique and significant importance. They may live outside the state and are loyal too to their host land but they are emotionally attached to their ethnic states and always tries to connect with their homeland states. The blood relationship and cultural linkages are always

instrumental in constituting bondage between diaspora and the people living in the home states. Diasporas will make an impact on the external policies of both host land and the country which they consider as their homeland. This objective will likely be possible if the state to which they are living provides civil, political, and freedom of press and their influence can be much influential if the homeland is not economically and politically stable. In such circumstances Diasporas are highly influential and can make significant changes in their home states (Ozturk, 2015).

As Diasporas continue to adapt to the new nationalities or new host lands, but they continue to affiliate themselves with host land, social formations interpenetrate one another resulting in intermingling of identities. While to a certain degree this represents the sublimation of identity to the host land condition, diasporic identities gets change and synthesis outside of such dynamics which turn into internal homogeneity within diasporic uniqueness. This uniqueness and separation, enhanced through perceived shared history, culminates into the establishment of a hybrid community of sentiment where communities begin to develop a common sense and visualize the things together. These assertions reveal the things of diaspora which go beyond political, cultural or economic or as contracts with the host land mostly faced by the immigrants. According to Robinson “symbolic ties of shared religion, ethnicity and homeland nationality create opportunities for social cohesion, characterized by high degrees of solidarity, even if the diaspora is spatially dispersed. From this viewpoint, Diasporas act as effectively independent actors which actively influence the policies (domestic or foreign) of their homelands, and this is why understanding diaspora is so vital in relation to IR and constructivism”(Ogden,2008). The existence of this newly developed established homogeneity among diaspora groups helps them to strengthen their position at both in host land and their origin of country. This aspects of diaspora help the diaspora groups to continue their influence in both host and homeland states.

## **1.3 Review of Literature**

### **1.3.1 South African Jewish diaspora**

The beginning of Jewish community in South Africa starts with a seaman called Farnao Martins. He came with Vasco da Gama's ship in 1600 and settled there. However, the earlier Jews were converted into Christianity as religious freedom was not ensured at that time. The South African Jewish community was established when British people started to arrive in early nineteenth century. Just after this, there was huge immigration from Eastern Europe from 1800-1940 particularly from Lithuania to South Africa. The Jewish population increased to its peak in 1970s, it was around 118000 (Herman, 2005). Therefore whenever often journalists, Jewish people, scholars and politicians talk about Jewish diaspora and their connections with Israel, the uniqueness of Jewish diaspora and its affinity with Israel comes into picture. Most of the people general public, politicians, journalists and those; living in aboard including Israeli diaspora would view the Jewish diaspora very different. Jewish diaspora no more consider themselves as people in exile in their emigrant countries (Sheffer, 2010).

Shimioni in his book "community and the Conscience Jews in Apartheid South Africa" has provided a historical sketch of Jewish diaspora in South Africa. He is of the view that Jews had an advantage of being privileged in a society where everything was divided on the basis of race in a legal framework. The Jews did not want to oppose the government collectively and wanted to refrain from direct involvement as was proposed by the Jewish board of deputies. This approach of Jewish community presented a low image of South African Jewery as its principle organization Jewish board deputies failed to deliver on its principles and defend the right of an individual Jew to act politically as per his Jewish ethical tenants (Geodine, 2011).

The Jews were involved against apartheid regime along with black majority community. It was South African Jewish community who provided Nelson Mandela ample support and encouragement, they secretly provided him shelter once he was supposed to go underground and defended him in trials. During the great treason trial of 1956 half of the whites charged by the government were Jews. Similarly every white was charged in

the treason trial of 1963 which led to imprisonment of Mandela along with famous Jewish activist Denis Goldberg. Although this minimal participation of Jews against apartheid was mostly concerned about Jewish issues rather than fighting the actual issue of racial discrimination (Martin, 2011). The end of economic embargo by most states against south Africa, there was hardly any significant increase in foreign investment. There was a decline in the local business as it did not adopt new projects. Market factors and the cost of the labor further turn out to be a large entrenchment of the local workers. The Jewish community was praised by Mandela for its role in trade and commerce, but their migration to Israel too became a factor for the economic problems as mostly young professionals were migrating (Dubb, 1995).

### **1.3.2 South Africa Israel relationship**

The end of apartheid and establishment of democracy was an important development in South African domestic and foreign policy. During this time apartheid foreign policy was narrowly based on simplistic ideas, tend to isolate South Africa intentionally and to continue its white racists rule. It was the era when most of the countries had shunned its diplomatic relations with Africa as it continued its white minority rule in the country. However there has been a new shift in its foreign policy in the post-apartheid period. Its foreign policy has been driven by its interests and it is primarily focused on expanding its diplomatic relations with the other countries. What has been the status of south Africa Israel relationship since the onset of democracy and how have been these two countries pursuing their bilateral relationship as south Africa is the home to the largest Jewish diaspora.

South Africa was one of the first countries which accept the Israel as a state and allowed the recruitment of paramilitary force for Israel. Israel's approaches towards South Africa in fifties and sixties have faced many hurdles and embracements. Anti-Semitism was spreading throughout the country and the government in power was highly suspicious about the support of Jewish community on the Israeli side at UN General Assembly condemning the apartheid. But the 1967 war changed the relations between two countries as many white South African developed sympathy towards Israel. In this new era the development of trade connections increase among Jewish community, and funding for

Israel became high (Maulam, 2011). The growth of relationship between two countries was obvious in their trade performance. Their Israeli exports to South Africa were \$10.7 million and imports remain 10.2 million. In crux author is of the view that both the states have very different destinies in many ways, but they have a common issue of their survival.

One of the main areas of cooperation between South Africa and Israel has been Israel-South Africa nuclear weapons collaboration in mid-1970s and 1980s respectively. There were more speculations about this deal as both the country's nuclear synergies and their extensive military cooperation during mid-1970s. It is believed that both the states Israel helped South Africa develop its nuclear technology and provided a space to test the missile on South African soil. South Africa's nuclear technology was enhanced during this time, but it was yet to be confirmed whether Israel tested any missile test in South Africa. However, South Africa's former Navy officer Dieter Felix Gerhardt stated that an Israeli offer of nuclear technology was a secret deal signed between South African prime minister John Vorster and Israeli Defence Minister Shimon Peres in 1971 (Lieberman, 2004).

Martin provides a deep historical outlook of South Africa Israeli relations during apartheid regime of South Africa. The Israel policy towards South Africa during apartheid era was conditioned by two specific tendencies. Firstly to gain its political and security by becoming closer to developing countries particularly black Africa. Secondly an understanding among Israeli policy makers that Israel a promised land of Jews, must come forward to ensure the safety of its Jewish diaspora across the world and particularly South African Jews. However, the 1967 war in Middle East was defined very differently in South Africa particularly in its southern part, many of the white South Africans intentionally saw their own concerns with the struggles of Israel, and got inspired by the victory of Israeli over its odds (Martin, 2010).

### **1.3.3 Impact of Jewish diaspora on South Africa Israel Relations**

There are reports about whether Israeli agency is working tactically in South Africa. The south Africans alleged that Mossad has been playing its role in creating chaos in African society, they blame Mossad for throwing a bomb at Israeli embassy in order to gain much security for Israeli companies and other establishments (Silverstein, 2015). South Africa

has been very vocal against Israel and drawing comparison between apartheid of south Africa and labelled present Israel as apartheid. South African international relations minister for is of the view that “the struggle of people of Palestine is our struggle and South Africa has decided “to slow down” and “curtail leadership contact” with the Israeli regime”. The congress of South African trade unions has supported the ban on Israeli procurements (TOI, 2013).

South Africa and Israel relations go back to the time of creation of Jewish state in Palestine. South Africa was among the first countries that recognized the Israel and since then both the states have established some degree of diplomatic ties. These diplomatic relations where affected by a large content of Israel Palestine and Israelis relations with other Arab speaking world. After the end of Israel in 1994 president Mandela and African national conference created an inclusive kinship and affiliated with other freedom movements across the world which includes of those in Angola and Cuba, and Palestinian resistance movement. The author is of the view that this policy of supporting freedom movements. Mandela openly criticized the Israeli government’s occupation of Palestine territories (Basit, 2013).Jews played important role in Mandela’s life at many stages. His closeness towards Jewish community was obvious when he called a Jewish lawyer Lazer Sidelsky “my boss” the only white man whom Mandela called his boss. There where number of south African Jews who had close relations with Mandela such as Joe Slovo, Helen Suzmen, lionel Bernstein where most significant who helped to end the apartheid regime. During 1994 South Africa maintained diplomatic ties with Israel and worked to strengthen it rather than focusing on the past. Israel and South Africa had a strong military cooperation during apartheid period (Ahren, 2013). ANC’s has established strong connections with PLO which has ultimately undermined the role of South African Jews. I n the recent years south ANC the ruling party has demanded to downgrade its embassy in Israel.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

- 1) What has been the role of South African Jewish diaspora in South Africa Israel relations?

- 2) Has there been a significant development in South Africa Israel relations after end of apartheid regime?
- 3) What is the impact of South African Jewish diaspora on South Africa Israel relations?

### **1.5 Hypothesis**

- South African Jewish diaspora has not been entirely successful in creating a strong pro-Israel lobby in South Africa.
- The legacy of South Africa supporting Palestinian issue is still a bone of contention in South Africa Israel relations till date.

### **1.6 Research Methodology**

Historical, analytical and descriptive methodology would be used to examine the proposed research study, particularly with regard to role of South African Jewish diaspora and how it can have an impact on South Africa Israel relations. It will try to dwell South African Jewish diaspora which has been an important component of South Africa Israel relations and will try to examine whether it has been undermined after the end of apartheid period or it still works as catalyst between both the countries. The study will use primary sources like Newspapers, reports, conducting an interview with the officials of South African embassy located in New Delhi, websites of some of the working NGO,s of both the states. It will also use the secondary sources like Books, academic journals, published and unpublished sources of internet.

### **1.7 Chapterization**

#### **Chapter 1 Introduction**

This chapter will introduce the general overview of the topic

## **Chapter 2**

### **South African Jewish Diaspora after 1994 to 2017**

This chapter will examine the South African Jewish diaspora's came into existence and it will also discuss how South African Jewish Diaspora emerged as a strong economic Jewish community during apartheid period and continues to grow till the current time.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Changing relationship between South Africa and Israel**

This chapter will analyze the bilateral relationship between South Africa it will particularly look into how relationship between South Africa and Israel have changed after the end the democratization of South Africa.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Impact of South African Jewish diaspora on South Africa Israel relationship**

The chapter will try to seek what has been the role of South African Jewish diaspora and whether it has played any role in the bilateral relationship of South Africa and Israel.

## **Conclusion**

The last chapter will be the conclusion which will give overall findings of the thesis and will try to test the hypothesis.



## **Chapter 2**

### **South African Jewish diaspora after 1994 to 2017**

#### **2.1 Arrival of Jews to South Africa**

Jews are believed to be part of South Africa's development since the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards. Jewish academicians and cartographers helped Vasco Da Gama to discover the Cape of Good Hope in the late fourteenth century. There were number of Jews who settled in South Africa in 1652, though non-Christians communities were not allowed to enter the country. The Jews are part of the earliest community in South Africa is proven by the record of the baptism of two Jewish people living Western Cape during the Christmas occasion in 1669. Until eighteen century only a few Jews arrived at South Africa as religious freedom was not ensured to non-Christian faiths like Muslims, Christians and other. These earlier Jews came along with the Dutch East India Company, but they were asked to follow Protestant Christianity. However, after a few years, the Dutch colony decided to grant religious freedom to all the people who were fully implemented by the British government in 1806(JVL). One of the highest migrations of people took place from 1881 through 1914. During this wave of migration British shipping agents had their sub-agents in Lithuanian areas and who managed to book the people to immigrate to South Africa. Some of the Jews initially boarded from the port of Libau Germany, and Liepaja meant Lithuanian on the Baltic Sea and was embarked to England. However, all of them could not go to England or other countries, and only a small number of them went to Hamburg or Bremen. The Jews who initially arrived in London were shifted to the poor Jews Temporary shelter in the east side of the London, where they got their boards, lodgings medical aid and travel passes. From 1903 to 1904 more than thirty-six thousand Jews were supported by the Poor Jews shelter and deported to mostly on coastline line to Cape Town South Africa (Ogus and Isroff, 2012).

A large number of people left the European countries, mostly Eastern and Southern Europe. This mass migration of people was driven by political, economic insecurities. Most

of the people were migrating to English speaking countries viz the United States of America, United Kingdom, Australia and other destinations. The arrival of these mass migrants became a concern for host land countries. The concept of alien emerged in the host land societies, and some countries established alien's act to restrict the migration. In this era of great migratory movements, South Africa also became a destination of a large number of migrants. Indeed, it was the period when South Africa had the highest number of immigrants in its history. During 1875, its total white population was just 329000, whereas in 1911 it had gone to 1276000. There is no accurate data of immigrants during this era except for the years 1903-08, but the rise in population of whites was increased by immigrants. Indeed, the population of immigrants in South Africa during 1875 and 1910 was so high that it even surpassed the United States of America. In 1880-1910, the annual growth of the population of United States of America was 2.1 %, whereas in South Africa from 1875 to 1910 it was more than 3 %; however, the average increase in population was just 2 % only. South Africa's total volume of immigrants was very less compared with that of the United States of America who accommodated 18,000,000 immigrants during 1880-1910. Out of these 18,000,000 more than half of it came from Europe (Saron and Hotz, 2014). Therefore most of the Jews who came from Eastern Europe were Litvak. It is because of this composition of South African Jewry is Lithuanian or Litvak in Yiddish terms. A Litvak is Jews who have migrated from the pre-1917 Czarist Russian provinces of Vilna, Minsk, and Mogilev, areas which had Byelorussian features. Since there were no accurate record keeping activities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, one could not prove whether they were 80 or 85 per cent. However, there are circumstantial pieces of evidence which show that this estimation is probably right (Horowitz et al. 2001). South Africa received immigrants from Eastern Europe and in the later period of the 1950s, onwards it accepted the immigrants from Israel also who intended to come to South Africa figure first will show the total immigrants who came to South Africa from 1950s to 1996.

### **2.1.1 Early Settlements of Jewish Community**

The Jewish connections to South Africa are of not recent origin. The early Jews were found when Cape of Good Hope was discovered. The early Jews were not allowed to exercise their faith because of the nonexistence of the religious freedom. To survive in South Africa,

these early Jews were asked to convert to Protestant Christianity (Maulaum, 1971). The religious freedom became one of the main obstacles for foreigners not to come and settle in South Africa. The earliest recorded Jews arrived in the Cape with the first Dutch colonists in 1652. Jews started to organize themselves religiously in eighteen hundred onwards. Jewish community first involved in local trade within the villages. Over the period they started moved out of villages and established businesses in the main cities of South Africa. South Africa provided a strong and viable environment for political and economic prospectus particularly after the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in 1869 and gold in the Transvaal in 1886. These were the two significant pull factors which attracted a large number of immigrants to come to South Africa. The Jewish people from Europe and other parts of the world find it worth to emigrate and settle in these two main towns of South Africa and make future for them and their generations. The South African census data of 1911 counted the ratio of South African Jews, and it stated that almost 470000 Jews emigrated from Lithuania i.e. is almost more than eighty percent of the total population of Jews during that time. Jewish immigrants mostly came by ships and settled in Cape Town. However, some of them even entered into Durban, Lourenco Marques and Port Elizabeth (Ogus and Issroff, 2012).

As obvious, the timeline of Jewish history is associated with stories of communities that have fled and immigrated to the new and strange places and very soon these emigrants became agents of change in their respective host countries.in the same way, South African Jews also became agents of social and economic transformation within South Africa, as they were much learned and skilled people particularly in the field of business and other areas of social life. These experiences helped them to emerge as strong leaders seeking social-justice and other issues for the betterment of South African society (Chandler, 2012).One of the outstanding examples of success stories was Swamy Marks who arrived during 1868 as an itinerant peddler, known in Yiddish as Smous. Throughout the next decade mark got concessions from President Kruger, Marks developed many enterprises on the Rand and developed one firm with his fellow Jew Issac Lewis, which ultimately turn into Iscor, South Africa's largest iron and steel complex. Since South Africa was a frontier society, pre-industrial Jews from Lithuania created a viable environment for traders, daily workers, craftsman and other private sources of income. The majority of the

Jews came from Eastern Europe, wherein sprang the history of modern Zionism, Litvik Jews soon established the highly cohesive within the main cities and towns of South Africa and therefore facilitated strong sources of entrepreneurial incentives and business environment. Therefore the early Jewish settlement which started in the sixteenth century continued to increase with the passage of time and the Jewish community used the viable environment of South Africa for business. Not only this the Jewish settlement in South Africa provided a space to strengthen its Jewish heritage, and the presence of current Jewish community has been a major cause for Israel to develop its diplomatic relations strong enough with South Africa. (Marmot, 1998).

### **2.1.2 The Local Jewish community**

The South African Jewish community constitutes all those Jews who owe to the Jewishness in one way or the other. They assert their Jewishness through different ways, for example, an individual level or in a combination by associating themselves with any of the Jewish organization, or by admitting their children in a Jewish school and observe the Jewish rituals. The other means of showing their Jewishness is to associate itself with rest of the Jews and not questioning their Jewishness. The main motif of South African Jewish diaspora is like any other diaspora of the world to protect their rights and interests of their own community vis-a-vis the wider community and protecting the Jewish culture and faith through various religious and cultural organizations. They also would seek to maintain its connections with Israel and support for Zionism. But South African Jewish diaspora is a different kind of diaspora in the greater degree of its cohesiveness in their local organization, and in the degree of consensus and intensity regarding its Zionist obligation (Shain, 2005).the Orthodox Jewish community of South Africa, the United States, is predominantly high, 80 to 90 %of the Jewish community of South Africa considers themselves as orthodox. Although the homogeneous character of the South African Jewish community is changing in changing in the present times, because of the emigration to the US and other English speaking countries, like Australia, Britain, and Israel too. The Jews settled in South Africa had an extra privilege that they belonged to a white race, in a black majority country, the distinction between whites and blacks seem to be less. As noted by Helen Suzmen,s biographer that “Jews, by virtue of being White, were members of the

ruling elite.” Indeed influential Jews like Suzmen and anti-apartheid journalist Binjimen Pogrund was raised in the black community. The Jewish community of South Africa was mostly engaged in professional, managerial and other sectors of the economy. Most of the businesses and other sales sectors either belonged to them or were monitored by the Jewish community. The Jewish community was highly Zionist. It is funding to Keren Heren Hayesod, the main fundraising agency of Israel was second largest after USA. Indeed the communist leader from South African Jewish community Joe Solvo reveals that his community “tended to combine a passionate devotion to the Soviet Union with Zionism and vicious racism towards the majority of the South African population.”(Davidson, 1981). A 1998 attitudinal survey indicates that Jewish community in South Africa is a well-educated community by South African standards. It further shows that most people are engaged in professional and managerial positions. Only a few percent of them were involved in manual and jobs. Jews community is satisfied that it has not engaged itself in intermarriage and has it gives credit to Jewish communal organizations for the same. It still promotes the traditional content of Jewry called Mintagdim which has kept the community connected at larger level. While as in other Jewish Diasporas in west are not inclined to this orthodoxy (Herman, 2007).

### **2.1.3 Jewish community relationship with Blacks**

South African Jews and local black people have been living as a community since the sixteenth century. Both the communities have gone through severe oppression Jews in Europe and Blacks under the white Afrikaner racist regime. This shared oppression has helped both the communities to accept each other warmly. Regarding Jew black relations, Deborah, Golda, and Letty Cottin Pogrebin observe that Black-Jewish relationship rested on a common history of oppression. "Both blacks and Jews have known Egypt," she wrote "Jews have known it as certain death (the killing of the firstborn, then the ovens and gas chambers). Blacks have known it as death and terror by bondage". Another scholar Paul Berman also agreed on the same idea he argued that "Jewish attitudes toward blacks have developed within the context of this faith in a common history and destiny" (Shapiro, 1994). Mandela in his autobiography "Long Walk to Freedom" discusses the behaviour of his fellow countrymen Jews he says "I have found Jews to be more broad-minded than

most whites on the issues of race and politics, perhaps because they have historically been victims of prejudice". During his university days at Witwatersrand, met few Jewish people namely Harlod Wolpe, Ruth First, and Joe Slovo who became good friends with Mandela. They became close friends and then it later period became part of Mandela's anti-apartheid movement. After returning from the university with a law degree, it was Lazer Sidelsky who offered him a job as an articled clerk at that point in time when few firms would provide job to blacks. Sidelsky was also engaged in providing money for African education and schools (Adler, 2000). It was Jews only who offered much support and to Mandela in a time when he was a wanted man for the state, but Jews hide him. Most of the Jews are living in main cities of South Africa, for example, more than eighty percent of Jews are living in South Africa which associates them with orthodoxy. The next city which has a significant Jewish population in South Africa is Cape Town. There had been several changes in South African Jewry for instances many of them have become communists while others have adopted a liberal way of life (Frankentel, 2013). This has helped many Jews to go for cross-cultural or interreligious marriages within South Africa.

There are many Jews in Johannesburg which have started to go for interfaith marriages within South Africa, and it is expected to increase in the coming future. South African Jews who had an experienced the worst persecution in their homeland countries mainly in Europe were following a liberal way of life in host societies. In the same way, South African Jews find it difficult to assert any political stand in a country ruled by the racist regime. They always tried to maintain a balanced approach towards local black community by becoming part of different social welfare programmes for instance during apartheid time South African Jews were not allowed to go to premier educational institutions (Scherber,2017). In this regard, South African Jewish women contributed largely to offer home education to black women. Their shared history of oppression has helped to live harmoniously in South Africa.

## **2.2 Role of Jewish community in South African politics**

### **2.2.1 Early involvement of South African Jews in Politics**

The South African Jewish community has been living in South Africa since the sixteenth century till present time. The community is a tiny minority in South Africa the total strength of the community is around eighty thousand less than a total of 0.5 of the overall population of South Africa however, community's pioneering spirit, and an economically vibrant and robust society makes it an interesting to explore how Jewish community perceived itself in post-apartheid. There are several factors which need to be considered for examining the current position of the South African Jewish community, the ageing and decline in Jewish population and migration to Israel and other countries in post-democratic Africa (Stier, 2004). However, the Jewish community is a strongly established community in South Africa; they continue to remain active concerning their identity and are persistently supporting Israel with complete rigour enthusiasm and are consistently working to support for Israel.

The Jewish community was regarded as a privileged community in the apartheid period as all of them were whites although they never directly sided either with the apartheid regime or with the anti-apartheid movement but remained neutral. However, their position was quite satisfying during the apartheid days as most of them were part of a broader business community. The European tag was easy for Black Nationalist to counter the Jews of South Africa during that era. Since the onset of democracy in the country has undergone many changes particularly the establishment of democracy and end of racial government. The Jewish community who were in between apartheid and African national congress now started to develop close ties with the ruling party ANC. though there were ANC Members, who were critical of the Jewish community. To establish a Jewish identity in Palestine, South African Jews in the very beginning had to firmly with the new environment. They made a tremendous contribution for industrial development of the country (Marmont, 1989). They exploited this era of industrial revolution and made a massive contribution to the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestinian land. South Africa Jewish diaspora has been one the highest financial supporter of the establishment of

the Jewish state in Palestine. However, the magnitude of financial power of the Jewish people could not create a robust political space which is visible in most of the developed and industrialized nations of the world (Shain, 2008).

These people have settled in South Africa as permanent citizens of the country like any other citizen of the country and consider South Africa as their homeland. Their presence in South Africa has provided them with the opportunity to establish relatively better in political, social and particularly in economic affairs of the state. The community has developed itself highly in business as they were much guided by their experience. Indeed it is believed that the industrial revolution in South Africa was possible because of the presence of highly professional Jewish professionals who were well trained back at their homelands.

The Concurrent use of scientific technology in economic sectors was used by the influx of Jewish technology. (Marmont). There are some already wealthy families which have made an enormous contribution for the economy of the country, for instance, the samsons, Lubners, and many other which had a considerable influence in the economy of the state. Indeed, Wendy Appelbaum is regarded as one of the wealthiest women and highest philanthropist throughout the African continent (Katz, 2015). These stories tell us about how the South African Jewish community has emerged as a wealthy community in South Africa. Does Jewish community has followed this legacy in the political system of South Africa and if not what were the reasons that they could not emerge in similar strength in the political landscape of South Africa. The South African Jewish community is a minority community constituting only .05 percent+ population of overall population of the country. But they had a history of being an active community in the political sphere. They have played their vital and varied role from the beginning to the apartheid and post-democratic period of South Africa. Most of the Jewish community lives in main cities of South Africa, particularly in Johannesburg and Cape Town, which have been the main trading cities of South Africa. However, there was an era when Jewish peddlers were roaming in the whole country with hardly any work except transporting some goods from one place to another place to meet their necessities. To create a Jewish identity in Palestine, South African Jews themselves, have been involved in local and global politics of South



Africa from the nineteenth for instance South African Jews raised the huge amount for the establishment of Israel in its initial stage. They have fought in Anglo-Boer wars of the nineteenth-century and majority of them sided with British, and others fought on Boer side. South African Jews have been part of the local political system from the eighteenth century, as some of them were mayors and some even served in South African parliament, for instance, Helen Suzman was one of the earliest Jewish people who became Member of Parliament. She was the representing a Jewish dominated constituency called Hughton and was much closer to Mandela even she frequently visited Mandela when he was in jail. The most prominent part of Jewish activism was visible when the 1956 great treason trial occurred in which 23 whites were arrested and majority of them were Jews only and in the legal defence of the case was followed by the Jewish people for instance Israel Maisels, Sydney Kentridge and others (Abby, 2008) Nevertheless there were other Jews who participated in anti-apartheid activities, but they managed to escape from any detention carried out by the government forces. There were numerous Jewish people who went against the apartheid regime, but their role was not highlighted much. Females from Jewish community arranged private academic classes for blacks in their homes as most of the blacks had no access to schools. Operation hunger started by Ina Perlman was an excellent project reached out to millions of black Africans, and it covered the teacher training. South African Jewish union of women established another outreach programme in black townships. These activities of the Jewish community indicate the commitment of the Jewish community towards the political activities of the state whether it was apartheid or the overall political issues of South Africa, Jews engaged itself with those issues.

### **2.3 Political Activities of Jews in democratic South Africa**

Since the rise of ANC as a ruling party, it is anti-Zionism has not reduced entirely, because they have started to support those regimes which stood with them during apartheid time even if those regimes are authoritarian in their states and resentment towards the others were against them. It is the Marxist approach of ANC, S members who assess the world through its Marxist lenses and support Palestinians which according to ANC are similar to South African blacks. The end of apartheid has diminished the Zionism among secular South African Jews, but it has strengthened the religious Zionism among the young South

African people. This sort of change took place in the USA, where old secular Jews got replaced by the young religious Jews (Beinart, 2012).

Jews had been engaged in South African politics at every level from mainstream politics to local administration. In the mainstream politics Helen Suzman, has been part of South African politics from apartheid days had a significant place in South Africa's political history. She was a close associate of Mandela during the anti-apartheid movement. She has been an anti-apartheid activist throughout her political career. There were other prominent leaders as well like Tony Leon as well as Selma Browde and Henry Schwarz. The freedom movement of South Africa also had the support of some prominent Jewish leaders like Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils and Denis Goldberg. They played a significant role in declining the influence of apartheid regime. The Jewish community did not pay much heed to the on-going conflict between ANC and the Apartheid regime. They followed a policy of non-involvement at a community level, which was indirect support for the apartheid regime. This policy of non-involvement of the South African Jewish community was considered compromise by some of the liberal and Left minded Jews. However, the existing Jewish communist leaders continued their support for a race free South Africa. After the end of the apartheid period, many of these leaders continued their political activities in democratic South Africa. One of the main political leaders who joined the mainstream politics in democratic South Africa was Joe-Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Tony Leon, Harry Schwarz, Percy Yutur, Abba Eban. There were some other Jewish political figures as well, but these are some of the important Jewish political leaders who continued their political activism after the demise of the racist regime (Sifrin, 2013).

#### **2.4 Jewish Political Control over Local Administration**

Jews were also quite active in municipal politics, for instance in 22 years of Johannesburg's history among 120 mayors of 94 of them had been Jewish only.

Similarly, Cape Town had also been one of the strong holds of South African Jews, and till date, it has 13 Jewish mayors. However, Jews are not much into the South African politics these days. There are ample reasons for their absence from South African politics. One of the main reasons is the aging factor of Jewish politicians most of them are in their

old age, for example, Ben Turk who was one of the main leaders is in the 90s and the after in last three decades many people have emigrated to other countries most of them were skilled and professional people (Sifrin,2017). The Jewish community was playing its role in every essential way to build a new democratic South Africa. In earlier days those who were jailed or exiled played an active role after 1994 and are now out of politics, but their place has been occupied by the new Jewish leaders. The present bras of Jewish politicians are found in every aspect of politics, almost spread over every political party. The new wave of Jewish politicians in South Africa is Daren Bergman a veteran Johannesburg city councillor and is presently a sitting MP. He predicted that Jewish votes of Johannesburg would determine in South Africa's local government elections and it got proved when ANC got below fifty percent of the vote in the city, and Democratic Alliance (DA) got almost sixty percent of votes. A Jewish leader called Alana Baranov was running a strong campaigning titled with "Make Us Count". He started to an awareness camping in 2009 for the Jewish community and was much success in mobilizing the Jewish voters. The 2016 local government elections results showed its results when Jews made a significant contribution in defeating ANC and bringing in power DA (Shain, 2016).

## **2.5 Role of Jewish Communal Bodies in South Africa**

### **2.5.1 Role of South African Jewish Board of deputies (SAJBD)**

The Jewish community of South Africa was more or less homogenous in its characters. As most of them are Litvik in origin. Since the country was divided into ethnic and racial lines, Jewish started to organize themselves communally and established some communal organizations like A Board of Deputies for the Jews of the Transvaal and Natal (it was the period when South Africa was divided into four colonies) they were found in 1903 and 1904 and there was one more body established for cape colony Jews (Shain, 1978). But the SAJBD and SAZF are most significant organizations. South African Jewish Board of Deputies (SAJBD) came into existence in the early nineteenth century. It began as a small organization for local concerns of the Jewish community. Over the period the Board broadened its scope and responsibilities towards, and the primary objectives of the board are as follow:

- a. It acts as a representative organization of the Jewish community and its spokesperson
- b. It will mostly deal with the civil and religious rights of the Jewish people of South Africa
- c. It intends to assist in strengthening and prospering the Jewish communal life and to improve the overall functioning of the organization.

During its two decades, the board made it necessary to put forward its resolutions before the government so that the Jewish immigrants coming to South Africa will not be discriminated. This Board's policy was framed in its 1914 report which says that "to maintain the right of admission to South Africa of every immigrant who complies with the requirements of the law. The Board is as much opposed to the admission of undesirables as the Government". The main challenge emerged before Jewish community in 1930, when immigration act of 1930 came into existence which stopped the Eastern Europeans entry into South Africa, without naming Jewish in this act; it was directly had an impact in reducing the flow of migration from Eastern Europe to South Africa (Safron,1978). This Act affected the relationship between Jews and the NP, it had already shown its consequences in Transvaal Provincial Council elections in 1930, were a Jewish vote made the other party to lose the election. The animosity between Jews and NP rose to the level that in the coming year president Malan planned to take revenge on nationalists for Quota Act if there emerges any opposition to it. The main motive behind the Quota Act was to maintain the racial dominance in South Africa and not to make any change in its racial character. The other reason for implementing this act was political in nature which politicians will not reveal because South African Jews did not support the NP. They had a belief that South Africa already had many racial problems and did not support the policies of NP. The Jews were always considered as alien and did not fit racial standard of South Africa and will destabilize the cohesiveness of the society.

Jewish community consistently receives hate messages, bigotry and are considered as double loyalists as they continue to support and affiliate themselves with Israel (PMG, 2016). The Board consistently worked for the betterment of the Jewish community and was fighting against racism too. It regularly kept a watchdog on the policies

of the NP which was based on racism, although Jews were whites, but they were always regarded as aliens and outsiders by the NP. In these conditions, the board followed a strict strategy against all any of the policies which were discriminatory against the Jews. The board in its 10th and 11th Congress of the Jewish Board of Deputies collectively passed a resolution in urging the government to make it a criminal offence to defame any of nationality, race, colour, creed or any kind of racism. It was also demanded that parliament and government take action against those who disseminate the false propaganda which later on results into racism and division in the society (Meir). Until 1937 there were almost 37000 Jewish immigrants arrived in South Africa, these were the people who faced massive persecution at the hands of Nazi in Germany, and however, the South African government adopted a highly discriminatory policy on immigration the so-called Aliens Act which closed the entry of those persecuted eastern Jewish immigrants to South Africa. This discrimination worried the Board much as it was a matter of the immigrants who were facing much of persecution and alienation back in Eastern Europe and their destiny was South Africa as it already was hosting most of the immigrants from Eastern Europe particularly Lithuanian origin Jews (Mail and Guardian, 1997). In recent years the SAJBD has tried to negotiate all those organizations which are pro-Palestinian in nature, for instance, it had approached the South African Jews for a Free Palestine (SAJFP) and Boycott and Disinvestment Sanctions (BDS) whoever, both of these organizations are considered as anti-Semitic organizations by most of the Jewish community people (PMG, 2016). However, the Board took the initiative to negotiate with the opposite side which was a kind of new approach followed by the Board. Jewish community consistently receives hate messages, bigotry and are considered as double loyalists as they continue to support and affiliate themselves with Israel.

### **2.5.2 Role of South African Zionist Federation (SAZF)**

South African Zionist Federation (SAZF) which came into existence in the nineteenth century was a Jewish organization which works to connect the South African and Israeli Diasporas. The SAZF is a part of a global Zionist organization and it representative of the world Zionist organization. It is mandated to look into South Africa Israel relationship and works as an organization which works as a kind of indirect lobby in South Africa. It is an

organization which keeps Israeli phenomena in limelight in South Africa. Although it does not operate a direct lobby in South Africa, it persistently engages itself in portraying Israel as an ideal state+ and creates strong support for Zionism and Israel (SAZF). However, the question arises whether the Federation could really turn into a pure lobby for creating a pro-Israeli sentiment in the country and how far has it reduced the anti-Jewish phenomena in South Africa's political, cultural and religious spaces.

As South Africa was ruled by the apartheid government and everything was divided on the basis of race and colour. The Jewish community too had to face the discrimination under apartheid government as there were many right wing organizations in South Africa who were pro-Nazis, for example, the Grey Shirts and Fascist-like organizations. Over the period of time, the Jewish could manage to sustain themselves under this regime. Once the apartheid regime ended in South Africa, there started a new era of democratic South Africa, and Mandela came to power in 1994 elections. The Jewish community tried to find new ways in order to remain safe and build a humane type of relationship with the new multiracial government, but there was a kind of resentment among some sections of black majority community who treated Jews as equal to apartheid supports. The community went under difficult times even after the establishment of democratic government as many hate crimes rose. The ruling party ANC too started to develop close connections with Yasser Arafat which was a blow to the Jewish lobby in South Africa and particularly for SAZF whose mandate was to engage South Africa and Israel. The Federation had strived hard to engage South African Israel and develop an ambience of comfort where both the countries can do trade along with political engagements. The federation which represents the Jewish community of South Africa despite having deep sentiments about Israel it has tried to convey the message that South African Jews are first the citizens of this country and similarly will do every effort to work for the betterment of Israel through lobbying raising funds and more specifically will seek to bring both the states to strengthen their bilateral relations. They have conducted tours for South African students to visit Israel. In the recent past, there has been a rise in hate and bigotry towards South African Jews. The existence of BDS, SAJP and PSF other non-Jewish organizations have posed a challenge before the Jewish community. The BDS has disturbed the Israeli independent day celebrations in South Africa, and they did not allow

people to participate in the celebration, and they further try to disturb the theatre and the other programs which were celebrating Israeli's Independence Day at Gold Reif city theatre.

The BDS has attempted to silence the Jewish voices as they differ with them on Palestine-Israel issue. In an incident, the BDS activists were barred from entering into the Whits University where an Israeli Jazz quarter was playing. The protesters raised the slogans like "Dubla I, Juda" means kill the Jew. In the same year the "apartheid week" on UCT campus, BDS activists removed the posters and other literature displayed by the Jewish students and tried to beat them up (SAZFC, 2017). The federation had faith in South Africa to resolve the issue between Israelis and Palestinians. Since 1994 South Africa has been part of in resolving the issues between different countries, for instance, it has played its role in the democratic republic of Congo, Burundi, Zimbabwe, Lesotho Ireland and in many other parts of the world where it has had mixed experiences of success and failures. However, its aim was much clear to act as a responsible mediator and to bring peace in those conflicted states. However, in 2017 there has been a tension in South Africa Israel relationship in a diplomatic blow to blow to Israel, the current regime of ANC has decided to downgrade its embassy in Tel Aviv. The resolution which ANC adopted says "in order to give our practical expression to the oppressed people of Palestine, the ANC has unanimously resolved to direct the South African government to immediately downgrade the South African Embassy in Israel"(JP,2017). The Federation was very much disillusioned by this resolution of ANC and said that the downgrading of the embassy would not bring any positive results for both the countries. It will further affect the bilateral relations between both the countries. The Federation asserted that South Africa must continue its diplomatic ties with because South Africa will be more affected as Israel has much trade and commerce with many Asian and African countries and it is no more isolated as it was during apartheid days. The greatest cost of downgrading the embassy will be weakening of South Africa's diplomatic influence. The Federation questions South Africa regarding its diplomatic ties with other states who have weak records of human rights, but still, South Africa manages to build ties with them, for example, South Africa has revived its relationship with Morocco despite its illegal rule over Western Sahara who have a weak record of human rights, but still South Africa manages to build ties with them, for example,

South Africa has revived its relationship with Morocco despite its illegal rule over Western Sahara. So South Africa must reconsider its decision on downgrading its embassy in Tel-Aviv (SAZF, 2017). The Federation has been able to gain enormous support from South African Jewish community and among the other sections of the South African society. Its activities have been able to reduce the anti-Jewish sentiments in South African religious political and cultural spaces.

## **2.6 Complicity of Jewish diaspora in South Africa**

### **2.6.1 South African Jewish complicit in apartheid**

The South African Jewish community which has arrived in South Africa from Europe particularly from Eastern Europe had settled in main cities of South Africa. When South Africa's National party came into power in 1948 Jewish community in South Africa was worried about the same. It was worrisome for Jews, particularly from Lithuania and Latvia. Just after one decade, D. F. Malan became the prime minister of South Africa of the apartheid government. He wanted to put a strict ban on immigrants in a time when eastern European Jews were arriving in South Africa. It was a time refugees were entering South Africa from Nazi Germany. To ban refugees, Malan told to parliament that "I have been reproached that I am now discriminating against the Jews as Jews. Now let me say frankly that I admit that it is so". During the second war, John Vorster who was supposed to become the next prime minister of South Africa was caught for being a Nazi sympathizer. He was propagating Nazi ideology in South Africa. However, one could find the same person visited Israel and was received warmly by Israel. In a special report, Chris McGreal investigated the close and secret alliance between Israel and South African apartheid regime. It turns out to be a long friendship between the two European settler regimes one in South Africa and other in Israel (The Guardian, 2006).

The main representative body of the South African Jewish community was SAJBD which did not oppose the apartheid regime. They did not want to oppose the apartheid regime at a community level. They were apprehensive about the re-emergence of Pro-Nazi sympathizers. The board maintained a close relationship with the apartheid regime for the welfare of the Jewish community. Because in the early years of the nineteenth century the



National party was pro-Nazi and wanted to propagate it throughout South Africa. Prime Minister Malan wanted to gain political dominance of Afrikaners in South Africa. This campaign again was aiming to keep Blacks away from their previous positions and wanted to country to be governed by Afrikaners. It was because of this picture Jews supported the apartheid regime. Afrikaner nationalist found Jews a big hurdle in the fulfilment of their political aspirations (Shain, 2010). This became one of the prime reasons for Jews for not raising any voice against the same regime. This fear of national party made Jews remain silent on the issue of racism. Although there were some progressive-minded, who rejected the idea of racism propagated by a national party. The main Jewish leaders who rejected the racism of National party were Helen Suzmen, Arthur Gold Reich, Henry Kassrils, and many others who fought against racism till the establishment of a democratic political system in South Africa. Bu the overall average of these Jews was very minimal. Most of the Jewish community was in complete support of apartheid government policies (Pogrund, 2015). One can find it was during this period South Africa and Israel developed close ties and both the regime could find some similarity as they were fighting a majority community in their respective countries. In today's South Africa Jewish leadership is regrettable about its past. They face abuse in public, and they accept their complicity in the survival of the apartheid regime. At times they disassociate the Jews who went against the apartheid regime. Indeed South African Jews honoured the man called Percy Yutar who prosecuted Mandela for sabotage and charged him for life imprisonment for twenty-seven years (Shillon, 2013). He was chosen as head Johannesburg's largest synagogue. Though Jews have fought on both sides which mean some of them have opposed apartheid, at the community level, Jews were in support of the apartheid regime in South Africa. It was during the apartheid period South Africa developed its technological structure and military power, this all became possible once South Africa signed the defence and other bilateral agreements. There are allegations that Israel conducted its nuclear test in South Africa. The USA detected this news. In 1979 South Africa and Israel supposedly had conducted their joint nuclear test in 1979 in South Atlantic which was supposed to be detected by a US satellite called Vela reconnaissance satellite, but a panel of experts formed by President Jimmy Carter concluded that the signal was most likely because of a meteoroid hitting the satellite. The other panel of experts concluded that Vela had detected a nuclear detonation,

but it was not clear whether the originator of the test was Israel, South Africa or Russia (Ostroff, 2010).

### **2.6.2 Relationship of Jewish community with multiracial government of South Africa**

After the end of apartheid government South Africa witnessed a new change in its political system. The non-racial government came into power under the leadership of President Mandela. The sweeping victory of ANC in 1994 elections after all marked a climax of struggle that had been fought by Mandela and his members since 1912 when ANC was established. The ANC had started building a new South Africa called the “rainbow nation+” (Callinicos, 1996). This idea of rainbow nation was a symbol which indicates that South Africa belongs to every race, religion and ethnicity and it will not treat its citizens differently like apartheid did. South Africa constitutes a number of religious and ethnic minority groups like Muslims, Hindus, Jews, Whites and others. Since this part deals with the Jewish diaspora relationship it will focus on Jewish community and will see how Mandela and his successors dealt with Jewish community. Since the Jewish community was privileged community during apartheid regime and they did not collectively stand against apartheid government except few individuals. In this context it is specifically important whether the Jews have faced any sort of discrimination or has there been any change in their economic positioning.

When one looks at the relationship between Jews and the struggle of Nelson Mandela Jews were not a part of apartheid regime because the apartheid regime itself was a pro-Nazi in its initial years however, in later period of time and South Africa developed ties with Israel under D.F. Malan (Saks, 2017). South African Jews got support from apartheid regime and most of them supported it cleverly when they voted against Afrikaner nationalism. The SAJBD which was the main body of South African Jewish community did not criticize apartheid regime and did not stood behind the people who were arrested and exiled for opposing the apartheid regime (HAARETZ, 2013) It was from this era Jews could benefit from apartheid regime and South Africa developed close ties with Israel. South Africa and Israel agreed to do trade and business Israel received raw minerals and nuclear energy from South Africa and in return Israel was supplying arms and providing

training to South African troops. Indeed Israel was supposed to conduct a nuclear test which was not accepted in later period of time. On the basis of these events the Jewish community was considered as privileged community by most South African particularly by ANC and other blacks. Since the apartheid government was no more in power in South Africa after 1994. It was a new democratically elected government. Mandela had good relationship with most of the Jews and treated them with equal respect and dignity, but his relationship with the state of Israel was much complex. He recognized the right of Israelis to live peacefully but was much interested in fighting for the cause of Palestinians. On the name of reconciliation Mandela did not made any comments on the close ties between apartheid government and Israel. He equated the legitimacy of Zionism as Jewish nationalism. While receiving the Nobel peace prize Mandela stated that Yitzak Rabin was much deserving for the prize. David Saks is of the view that “Mandela always strove to be scrupulously fair to both sides, even though his inclination was very much towards Palestinian side”. He admired Palestinian cause and related it with his own struggle. He was very supportive of Palestinian movement, but never denied the existence of Israelis right to live with its secure boundaries. In 1961 one of the close associates of Mandela Benjamin Pogrud helped Mandela in organizing a strike call. He revealed how Mandela was close to him. He recalled his association with Mandela in David Sakes 2011 book called “Jewish Memories of Mandela” that “we had a system of sending messages to arrange to meet, which would either be at a friend’s house in Fordsburg, or when I would drive to a street corner at night, pick up Mandela his worker’s overall disguise did little to hide his tall, imposing figure and we would sit in my car in a dark street and talk about the strike again”. (TOI, 2013). In his book “Long Walk to Freedom Mandela talks of Jewish people he is of the view that “I have found Jews more broad-minded than most whites on the issues of race and politics, perhaps because they themselves have historically been victims of prejudices”. It was certainly true of the Jews Mandela could encountered while fighting against apartheid, but it was not applicable to all South African Jewish community. Nor does a legacy of prejudice adequately explain the heroism of the minority community (Isacowitz, 2013).

However, Jews who supported and encouraged Mandela and defended him in various judicial probes. The journalists played their role by writing about the

discriminatory policies of apartheid government. They hide him whenever, he had to hide from state detention. While studying law at the University of Witwatersrand Mandela met Joe Solvo, Ruth First, and Harold Wolpe, who became good friends and in the later period as comrades in fighting against the apartheid government. Helen Suzman is one of the main Jewish political leaders who were behind Mandela till end of apartheid regime. However, there were few apolitical people who also assisted Mandela in their own ways, for example Nadine Gordimer the 1991 Nobel Prize winner for literature donated her all money among the Congress of the South African Writers, an organization associated with ANC. Nadine also edited the famous speech of Mandela which was supposed to defend Mandela from the great Rivonia trial. Not only this South African Jews had sacrificed their lives at times, for instance, Ruth First was killed by a bomb placed by South African security forces, Albie Sachs was attacked by the same armed forces of the state and lost an eye and an arm. Mandela has seen both the faces of the Jewish community as some of them remained mute spectators during apartheid days while some of them took a stand against the government. However, Mandela was such a stature of leader who did not want to take revenge of those who sided the oppressive regime, in fact, Mandela wanted to make South Africa a country where no one was discriminated on the basis of religion, region or colour. Thus he did not made any of the policies which where discriminatory towards any minority group including Jews (Adler, 2000).

### **2.6.3 Safety and security of Jews in democratic regime**

In 1993 the South African Board of Deputies (SAJBD), the main representative body of the country's Jewish community, pledged to establish an organization precisely for the protection the Jewish community of South Africa. This organization was called Community Security Organization based on the model of British-based Community Security Trust which had been working for protecting the Jewish installations, documenting anti-Semitism and other issues with the help of British security agencies. Since the establishment of CSO it has claimed itself as securing Jewish life and strengthened its exist existence in British. It has been continuously working for providing security assistance to any event organized by the Jewish community in the country. CSO has provided security to almost more than 180 Jewish communal events (Katz, 2011). The

formation of CSO was not initiated by Jews itself it was a part of a larger self-help initiative put forward by South African police. In 1990s, senior police officers in South Africa called on white religious leaders to establish their own security agencies. The Board was one of the white communal bodies to develop their own security structure. It was an important and interesting message for white religious leaders. The main aim of the message was that “: white people will not be in control of the security forces for much longer and we do not trust our successors to look after you, so you had better look after yourselves”. Particularly Board of deputies was warned of a rise in anti-Semitism in South Africa (Steinberg and Marks, 2014).

In post-democratic South Africa the inadequacy of state services has been a severe problem particularly the law and order. After the political transition from minority to majority rule, the crime rates, which includes rape, murder, plundering has been very high across the world. Statistics related to car hijacking, home ransacking and other threats have reached to an unprecedented level in multiracial South Africa. a survey was conducted in 1998 on attitudes within Jewish community which shows that Jews were likely to migrate from South Africa specially in the coming years. Most of them cited personal safety issues as being the main or one of the important reasons for leaving South Africa. There is little doubt if such crime rates would have continued it would have certainly put the Jewish community in jeopardy. It was the success of CSO of Jewish community which has managed to keep the crimes rates against Jewish community to a very minute level. However, Jewish community did not remain confined to this type of organizations they have formed other type of security structures for instance Community Active control (CAP). The main motive of CAP was to provide security to Jewish concentrated areas or the areas were Jews had a considerable population. The CAP was intended to reduce the level of crimes and hijacking in the Jewish areas. The Jewish community was in close contact with the CAP agency to put an end in the Jewish populated areas. Just after the one year of its existence, violent crimes in the Jewish areas had dropped by seventy nine percent. This success has prompted the authorities to implement this model in other largely based Jewish areas. However in the recent past the security provided by these Jewish communal organizations raised some concerns for South African security agencies. For example in 2009 an event which was held at Wits University South Africa where CSO was

providing the security. It was found that the CSO was very displeasing for audiences particularly the blacks (JPPI, 2012). The Jewish community took action against the CSO so that there would not be any more such activities in the future. These security arrangements have resulted in improving the safety of Jewish people in South Africa.

#### **2.6.4 Jewish community's relationship with Israel**

Relations between Israel and South Africa were characterised from the start as cordial, except from the period of 1961-1967, in which relations were affected. The relations got deteriorated when Israel backed the United Nation's resolutions in 1961 and 1962 condemning the racial apartheid regime and the applying of sanctions on South Africa. Israel had an interest in supporting this resolution by gaining political support from African countries at international forum. This policy of Israel had an impact on the local South African Jewish community. The apartheid regime begins to identify Jews with double loyalty and wanted them to condemn the Israeli government's move of supporting UN, s resolution (Mualam, 1994). However, this severity of relations did not last long and one could see after few years Jews and the apartheid regime developed an understanding and Jews find it difficult to oppose the regime. The Jewish community had logic of supporting the regime because any Jew around the world associates himself with Israel. Israel itself considers herself as a home for all Jews and has a policy of granting citizenship to any Jewish community of the world. Apartheid regime also intends to use the Jewish community in connecting the two states so that they can continue their bilateral relationship. In the new atmosphere development oriented links were strengthened. There was a new beginning to increase the trade, raising aid for Israel increased and first step towards military collaboration were initiated. Apartheid regime appointed a Jewish engineer to look into the development of the trade relationship between South Africa and Israel. After taking the charge of the same he said that there is a much scope between two countries with regard to their bilateral relations. He said "Until now, Israelis have thought of South Africa in the context of South African Jewry, he said now Israelis have been shown forcibly that South Africa is a nation as a whole. There is now a genuine feeling for, if not closer, more active technical and commercial ties I would like to see a non-profit-making business group set up to establish closer commercial and business ties between the

two countries” (IOP, 1974). The history of South African Jews is intertwined to a larger extent with the historical processes of establishment of the South African Republic, and similarly the existence of Jews and their integration in South Africa. Gideon Shimoni, in his comprehensive study on the Jewish community and the Zionist Movement in South Africa, presents an extensive history of the Jews’ integration in this part of the world, since the beginning of colonization. Shimoni focuses on a number of important stages in the development of the South African Republic, which began with the first wave of Dutch settlers who arrived at the southernmost point of the African continent in 1652 as employees of the Dutch East India Company (Mualuam, 1973). However, Jews became close to the apartheid regime in order to raise funding for Israel which all of them consider their promised land. In these connections SAJBD and SAZF played a significant part in connecting Israeli and South Africans through different tours and educational exchange. Both of these organizations have organized different tours for both Jews and local blacks, sending them to Israel for leadership skills and exploring the socio-economic life of Israel. They have been doing this to present Israeli in a positive way before South Africa who has been criticizing Israel at every international forum. This severity of relations between South Africa and Israel have created a diplomatic rupture between them, as one could see South Africa called off its diplomats several times from Tel-Aviv. Both the states have tried hard to revive their diplomatic ties which go back to apartheid time when both the states have had close diplomatic relationship.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

Since the Mbeki took over the presidency from Mandela in 1999, there was a shift in nation-building plan, during Mandela it was the concept of rainbow myth which means a diverse and United Nation achieved by Mandela’s magic. It was a dominant discourse that glossed over the divided state of South Africa and prevented any sort of confrontation during its transition. The concept of non-racialism was an essential creed of diverse communities in South Africa. With Mbeki coming into power, the new idea of national development started in Mafeking in 1997. It was an idea which was more Africanist and was becoming hegemonic in a country which constitutes diverse ethnicities and religions. This idea was in itself an indication that South Africa was still a divided country where,

one rich and white and the other black and poor. However, during white racist rule in South Africa Jews had made tremendous progress in terms of trade and in particular they could assist Israel as apartheid regime encouraged them to do so, but after the end of the apartheid regime Jews became little apprehensive about the multiracial rule and started to migrate to other countries in search of security and good livelihood.



## **Chapter 3**

### **Changing Relationship of South Africa and Israel**

#### **3.1 South Africa Israel relations in the apartheid era**

Israel's relations with relationship with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are prompted by its interests, global image and an idea to remain connected with the world states. During its first two decades Israel presented itself as an important part of the world war second, and has aligned itself closely toward west both politically and economically. Israel's first world approach has been replaced by a very specific and utilitarian approach a policy of economic benefits and its misgivings with regard to many issues of the world. South Africa and Israel relationship was also motivated by Israel's interests particularly the presence of more than seventy thousand Jewish diaspora present in South Africa. The presence of this Jewish diaspora is not the only source of linkage between the two countries. The relationship between the two countries goes back to the time when Israel was established in Palestine in 1948. It was during this time South Africa was one of the first countries which recognized the state of Israel. The relationship between South Africa and Israel had always been at the odds. Although during 1960,s and 1970,s Israel condemned South Africa at UN and other international forms, for example in 1977 United Nations Security Council sanctioned arms embargo against South Africa which was supported by Israel. In 1987 Israel imposed by Israel on South Africa had directly affected the local Jewish community when the ten cabinet members of Israel decided to cut the military ties with South Africa. Just after this one could see a rise in hate crimes against Jewish community in South Africa. Israeli embassy in South Africa got threat warning on phone calls and the parcels coming from Israel were marked with Nazi symbols and other symbolic threats (Marmont, 1989).But it was the same time when Israel was South Africa's principle exporter of arms and ammunition, and by the time South Africa became the main importer of Israel's arms. The roots of this relation are connected to the time when apartheid praising emerged as victorious in 1948 in South Africa, the same year in which Israel was also established. This relationship was not a wise step as per many of the Jewish writers for example Peter Hellyer, the editor of the London Third world, says that it is very

strange that Israel is developing the relationship with those leaders many of whom were Nazi sympathizers and were core anti-Jewish before the world war two.

### **3.1.1 Soft Approach of National Party towards Local Jews**

In the early years of its rule NP leaders were Nazi sympathizers and wanted to stop immigrants coming to South Africa. They were highly influenced by the Nazi regime and did not want refugees to settle in South Africa. In order to stop the Jewish migration the interior minister of that time brought Aliens Act of 1933 to restrict the further immigration of Jews. Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, insisted in the 1930's that Jewish economic activity should be regulated by a quota system. It was a period of estrangement between Jews and Afrikaners (JTA, 1984). In 1948 most of the Jewish community's attitude towards Britain was very moderate. The National Party was also soft towards Israel in its initial days of its rule. South Africa was the first country to allow the recruitment of Haganah for Israel in South Africa (JOP, 1978). The relationship between the two countries was considered sometimes as an unholy alliance as both the states were at odds in international forums particularly at UN and UNSC and other forms. For instance Israeli ambassador at UN fully backed UN's resolution of sanctions imposed on South Africa in 1960s. But once the states begin to interact at political level by visiting each other's states, they could find themselves as partners in opposing one enemy which is to say Israelis had a threat of majority of neighbouring Arab states while as the white apartheid government was having the similar threat from black majority community of South Africa.

However in later period of time South African Jews were considered as others and faced the alienation from the state during Afrikaner rule. D.F. Malan the Afrikaner leader who was the prime minister said that that "Jewish problem hangs like a dark cloud over South Africa". The national party also called as Afrikaners used the same hatred towards Jews as Nazis did during holocaust. They wanted to put a ban on Jewish immigration which would prohibit eastern European Jews to enter into South Africa. Jews feared the Afrikaner nationalist might spread Nazi like anti-Semitism in South Africa (Braude, 2009). But Prime Minister Malan changed its attitude towards the Jewish community and started to work

with them closely as he saw them as a great source of human capital as most of the Jews were well skilled and professional people who can contribute a lot particularly in economic field. After one and half decade South Africa and Israel started diplomatic connections when Johannes Vorster visited Israel and laid the foundation of close diplomatic and military collaboration. It was this trip of prime Minister of South Africa which led to the strong military and economic ties between the two countries till the demise of apartheid regime in 1990s.

### **3.1.2 Political relations**

The political relationship between South Africa and Israel started their political relationship at a time when most of the countries were reluctant to engage with Israel particularly after the 1973 war. It was during this time that both the countries strengthened their relationship at diplomatic level. Both Israel and South Africa knew the benefits of developing close ties with each other. The Jewish economic and cultural interests could easily be served as Israel developed close relationship with South Africa. D.F.Malan who used to be Nazi sympathizer and wanted to ban the arrival of migrants coming from Eastern Europe which included mostly Jews was no longer an anti-Semite or had hate towards Jewish community. Once Malan became the prime minister under apartheid regime started to develop close connections with local Jewish community. In his first message he affirmed “he would not stand for discrimination against “Europeans,” and Kuper’s message was one of assurance “that Jewish citizen will co-operate fully in all policies aimed at bringing benefit to the South African population as a whole” (Gilbert, 2010).

There is a contradiction with regard to South Africa Israel connections between two schools of thoughts. One school of thought is of the view that Israel’s connection with South Africa is motivated by its relationship with western countries particularly by US. In order to support this claim the supporters of this view specify two reasons firstly many rumours about President Henry Kissinger supported the strong connections between Israel and South Africa as a way of avoiding the collective decisions to avoid any interference in the Angolan war. Secondly Henry Kissinger and Prime Minister Vorster, and foreign labour Minister of Israel Yigal Allon, were believed to meet in Bavaria in 1976 to discuss the mode of triangle relationship of US-Israel-South Africa. The purpose behind

connecting Israel with South Africa is supposedly found in the American wish to Israel as a secret way to connect with South Africa (Chazan, 1999). As was obvious South African Prime Minister Vorster was a sympathizer of the Nazis. But one could see the same Prime Minister visiting Jerusalem and beginning to develop close ties with Israel. The two countries developed political relationship in very secret manner which finally culminated in the form of bomb technology which is to say that South Africa received most its technology time from Israel during that time (Suransky, 2011). However, Israel which faced isolation at the world level wanted to gain sympathy from the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. To gain this political sympathy it criticized the apartheid regime during the 1950s and 60s as it wanted to be much closer with all the newly independent countries of Africa. But just after the 1973 Arab Israel war most of the African countries cut their diplomatic ties with Israel. This was a huge diplomatic blow for Israel as African countries had a substantial presence in UN voting. In between Israel found it worth to develop ties with South African apartheid regime.

### **3.1.2.1 National Party (NP) Close Connections with Israel**

The NP which was in Power in South Africa had been prime supporter of Nazi's in early Nineteenth century. Most of its political activists and leaders endorsed the racist policies of Hitler and wanted to implement them in South Africa. As the time passed on NP find it strategic to collaborate with the Israel. They developed common strategic interests and more importantly they find themselves as isolated states by most of the countries of the world in those particular days. NP wanted to Jews increase their trade and commerce as they could do better in this area and similarly wanted to develop strong political and economic connections with Israel (Daily Marvick, 2017). This process of bringing South African Jews in confidence started from Prime Minister Smuts. The relationship changed very drastically that South Africa which always label South Africa as Nazi sympathizers became close to South African regime and the relations became so warm that Israel forget to mention Vorster's support of Osse bendwang the right wing party which had close affinity with Nazis. During his visit to Israel, Prime Minister Vorster visited the Jewish memorial which indicates the killing of six million by Germany. At a state fest Rabi said "Israel and South Africa share common ideals which are the hopes for justice and peaceful

coexistence". He further argued that both the countries have faced "foreign-inspired instability and recklessness. It was the time when South African government forces were fighting in Angola. He told his counterpart that their countries have become victims of enemies of western civilization. Just after few months of time South African government's yearly book described south Africa and Israel fighting a common enemy and say "Israel and South Africa have one thing above all else in common: they are both situated in a predominantly hostile world inhabited by dark peoples". This visit of Vorster holds a significant place in south Africa Israel relations because it ultimately led to foundation of cooperation which ultimately led south Africa Israel axis into a large arms developer and a competitor in international arms trade (Mcgrael, 2006).the strength of diplomatic relations between south Africa and Israel reflected when south Africa supported Israel in its war against Arabs in 1967 war. South African government made some certain provisions to collect funding for Israel and other sort of material support in order to help Israel. This war helped them to find the ever growing recognition of their fundamental similarities between the two countries at international forum so that they could cooperate with each other. Die Burger, the other political wing of National party described the south African Israel cooperation in this way it says "Israel and South Africa have a common lot. Both are engaged in a struggle for existence, and both are in constant clash with the decisive majorities in the United Nations" (UNCA, 1977. It was this political connections and co-operation between these two countries which made them to support each other when both of them were isolated by most of the countries of the world.

### **3.1.3 Military collaboration**

South Africa and Israel had established their diplomatic ties to strengthen their security at the international level. They already had supported each other at international forums like UN, the UNSC, and other places. They further broadened their range of relationship by developing military and other defence exchange programmes (JPost, 2011). The first South Africa Israel military cooperation is regarded as an extension of the geo-political issues of strategic significance and to a pose challenge to the Soviet influence in Middle East and Africa. This itself was not new , its roots goes back to the 1967 war, when South Africa provided the spare parts to Israel for its French made fighter plane when the French has

imposed an arms embargo on Israel during the 1967 Arab Israel war. After this, the two countries so called as garrison states have established a small, but a different set of military exchanges. The very first published South Africa document of both the countries revealed the transfer of nuclear-capable Jericho Missiles to South Africa although this document could not provide evidence for any other nuclear cooperation. A missile transfer agreement which was signed between these two countries was revealed by a previous South African naval commander called Dieter Gerhardt, who is also of the view that the missiles could have been nuclear too (Lieberman,2004). The process of South Africa Israeli military connections was a secret in its initial phase. But as per the army officials it cannot be kept secret when there are hundreds, if not thousands, of jobs in Israeli military industry and it makes almost a hundred million dollars in revenue. The rising unemployment in Israel, specifically in military and other high technical industry sectors like, the long-term weaponry sector became a priority in Israel. Varieties of arms were sold to other countries from Israel particularly to South Africa. As per the press reports, Israel has provided South Africa with different military weapons which includes small weapons and communication gear and other vital Israeli technology.

The main weapons exported to South Africa were the Saar-class missile boat, the Gabriel Sea-to sea missile and other technology and the designing required for South Africa's cheetah aircraft. American military sources also confirmed that Israel has assisted South Africa in developing a KC-135-type surveillance air-to-air refuelling training to South African air Force (NYT, 1987). Both the states had a very strong military cooperation during the apartheid years and it was Israel which could receive minerals and other raw materials from South Africa, while South Africa received modern weapons and other technological assistance from Israel.

### **3.2 South Africa Israel Relations in Post-Apartheid period**

South Africa's and Israel's relationship is not new in itself. It dates back to 1948 when the state of Israel was established in Palestine. In the beginning of the 1990s, South Africa had no political relationship with any of the Middle Eastern countries except Israel. It was the time when South Africa was isolated by most of the countries of the world because of their racist government and segregation policies. At that point of time, Israel and South Africa

were chased by their majority population in their respective countries. Israel was surrounded by majorly by Arab countries and South African government was feeling a threat from the black majority. In such a condition, both the countries saw an opportunity to counter their enemies collectively by developing good political and economic connections. South Africa's and Israel's relationship has been at odds at different times. After the end of the apartheid regime, there has been a change in South Africa-Israel relationship. The demise of the racist government in 1990s South Africa has direct connections with regard to the bilateral relationship of both the countries. The first democratic election in 1994 saw the victory of ANC with Mandela as the head of the party who became the first democratically elected president of South Africa. He started to develop a new South Africa with equal opportunities for every citizen. He tried to connect South Africa with other parts of the world and even with the states which were supportive of the apartheid regime, but was mostly attached to the states and leaders which supported him and his comrades against the apartheid government.

Since the establishment of a democratic government in South Africa in 1994, President Mandela has been engaged in carving a new foreign policy to dismantle the many years of isolation from the international arena. He tried to connect South Africa with the rest of the countries of the world which were cut off from establishing their diplomatic ties with South Africa. It was a time when most of the countries of the world had rejected the idea of developing any political linkages with those states which were racist in its behaviour. South Africa was the worst affected by this policy which was adopted by all UN member countries. In order to overcome this international isolation of South Africa, Mandela started a new foreign policy which was based on freedom, equality, and justice, anti-colonialism, non-racial and supportive of all anti-colonial movements across the world. South Africa started to present itself as a democratic and a responsible international actor at the UN. It worked to correct its image which was maligned by the earlier racist regime of a in which it was condemned by almost every member state of the UN. After the end of the apartheid regime, the ruling ANC had to deal with many challenges. One of them was to deal with the bilateral relationship with Israel. There were many other pertinent issues but the relationship with Israel was a sensitive issue because of the presence of 75,000 Jewish diasporic people within South Africa. It was one of the challenging tasks before the

multiracial government because the apartheid regime had close ties with Israel during apartheid days.

South Africa has tried to connect with Israel at the economic level after the end of the apartheid government. As early as in September 1995, the South African Foreign Minister Alfred B Nzo visited Israel and signed a combined commission of co-operation with Israel. Indeed, the South African embassy in Tel Aviv has forty four foreign offices of the department of Trade and Industry. This office is dedicated to increase South African exports, foreign investment and also intends to encourage transfer of technology between South Africa and other countries of the world. There has been an increase in the trade ratio between the two countries, at least a 5% of increase in trade. For instance, in 2003 Israel was the most wanted destination in the Middle East for South African exports. The South African government is also intending to work to improve the trade relations with Israel. The South African ambassador to Israel in 2008 said, “We are also pleased to see that our exports to Israel increased by 14% last year in 2007, while Israel’s exports to South Africa increased by 24%. One can find that trade relations have grown during this time span. However, at the political level, both the states have strived to connect each other at diplomatic level. The South African government is of the view that Israel follows a racist policy towards the Palestinian people who have been denied access to water, electricity and other essential services. This approach of Israel has been condemned by South Africa, they equate this racist approach of the Israeli government with the apartheid government of South Africa. Israel and South Africa have engaged in several projects which include Israeli agricultural, water and medical technology. Israel is of the view that these projects will benefit the local population as it will create both jobs and improve health condition of the masses. The two countries’ mutual trade has increased by almost one billion dollars, and it is expected to help the economies of both the states. Israel is expected to work with South Africa and learn their way of developing democracy and other developments which occurred in the post-apartheid period (The Tower, 2016). However, the presence of the BDS movement in South Africa is deeply watching the moves between South Africa and Israel. The BDS has been an example of bringing down the racist regime of South Africa during Apartheid period in the same spirit South Africa has endorsed the BDS movement of Palestine in South Africa to put a ban on goods and services provided by Israel. One of



the important achievements of BDS was the resolution adopted by 150 Irish academicians to not accept any posts and recruitments in the apartheid state of South Africa. In 1971, the Council of Trinity College decided not to own shares from any company which traded in South Africa (The Guardian, 2010).

### **3.2.1 Diminishing Diplomatic Ties**

The foreign policy of any country is based on certain guiding principles and interests. Foreign policy behaviour is mostly based on the national interest of a country. Every country wants to conduct its foreign policy on both pragmatic as well as on ideological basis. South Africa emerged as a democratic country in 1994 and made several changes in its domestic as well as in foreign policy making. In apartheid regime of South Africa; most of the policies were based racist in nature which resulted in the isolation of South Africa from most of the countries of the world

The apartheid regime focussed much on its preservation by adopting racist policies which prevented the blacks from enjoying the social, political and economic opportunities. South African economy was relatively closed and had connections with Israel which at that point of time was seen as a model for technological development and arms production. South Africa and Israel had strong diplomatic relationship till the 1990s when South Africa was ruled by the apartheid regime. The white regime had been supportive of Jewish community in South Africa. It has a history from 1934 till 1970s when United Party was in power in South Africa under the leadership of John Smuts who strongly opposed to anti-Semitism and supported Jews specifically. This bonhomie of relationship was affected when Israel showed its aggression in 1973 Arab Israel war and most of the South African countries find it difficult to continue their diplomatic relationship with Israel. This aggression of Israel was also condemned by UN and it compelled UN to put Israel under sanctions. The two countries have been at odds with regard to their bilateral and diplomatic relationship. South Africa holds Israel responsible for the weak diplomatic relationship, as it continues to apply discriminatory or apartheid like policies against Palestinian and it also continues its illegal settlements in occupied territories. There has been a blow to Israel's diplomatic ties after the second intifada of Palestine which started in 2000. It was

a time when the Israeli Prime Minister visited the Mount Temple which triggered the second intifada of Palestine. The Israeli opposition leader also entered the Al-Aqsa mosque that was very provocative too for Palestinians. It caused a fight between the Palestinians protecting al-Aqsa and Israeli soldiers at that particular moment seven Palestinians got killed at the hands of Israeli forces (Al-Jazeera, 2003). Israel was condemned by most of the UN member states for its weak human rights record at UN. South Africa also labelled Israel as a kind of apartheid state specifically with regard to the Palestinian people living in its occupied territories. South Africa has warned to call back its ambassador from Israel if it would not stop its oppression against Palestinians. Indeed, it called back its ambassador during 2016. In the same year South Africa's ruling ANC party made a resolution to downgrade its embassy in Israel if Israel supported the recent announcement of President Trump, decision to relocate the embassy to Jerusalem.

South Africa has been asking Israel to stop its military oppression against the Palestinians and go for a moderate way to handle the issue of protests. However, Israel has continued its aggressive approach towards Palestine. It is the racist policies of the Israel which made South Africa to label them as the world's only apartheid state. At a standard review of Israel's human rights record at the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva, a South African official said that the term earlier used to describe black disenfranchisement in South Africa can be equally applicable to Israel as it still adopts the racist policies towards the Palestinians and other non-Jews. South African diplomat Clinton Swemmer called Israel as an apartheid state. He further went on say that we remained deeply concerned at the denial of the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people, in the absence of which no other human right can be exercised or enjoyed" (TOI, 2015). The two states still do not share a warm relationship. For instance the congress of South African Trade Union has started to boycott the Israeli goods since 2006 and it has also called back its ambassador from Israel after the 2010 Gaza killings by Israeli forces. Similarly, at the academic level South African universities have joined to boycott any academic exchange programmes with any of the Israeli universities. The university of Johannesburg cut its ties with Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in 2011 (TOI, 2016). The South African minister of Science and Technology Naledi Pandor has stressed that South Africa should cut its diplomatic ties with Israel as Israel continues to apply its

muscular and regressive policies against Palestinians. That was one of the reasons which made South Africa to downgrade its embassy to a liaison office in Tel Aviv in 2017. However, Israel has blacklisted most of the supporters of the BDS movement of South Africa which includes some ANC members of the ruling party as well (MEMO, 2018).

### **3.2.2 Palestinian Solidarity in South Africa**

South Africa was party to all those all those movements which were fighting against colonialism and other movements which sought liberation from external powers. In view of this South Africa's own anti-apartheid movement was supported by many other countries for instance Cuba, Egypt, Libya and Palestine, though there were other countries as well. However, these are some of the important countries which supported South Africa in its fight against racist the regime. South Africa was supported by the prominent leaders of these countries like Yasser Arafat, Fidel Castro, Mummer Gadhafi all of them gave an unconditional support to Mandela's anti-apartheid movement (Sun-sentinel,1990). All of these countries were fighting anti-colonial movements in their respective countries as well. When South Africa was fighting its battle against the racist regime it was backed by these leaders. After the demise of the apartheid regime and establishment of the democracy, South Africa found it obligatory to provide its political and moral support to all those countries which had supported it during anti-apartheid movement. Among these countries Palestine is one of the countries which is still under the occupation

Like the Gaza Strip and the west Bank. South Africa had been supportive of this movement from the beginning and continues to do so. South Africa had supported this movement both at societal level and at the political level (IOL, 2017). In 2017 a group called "Palestinian Campaign" in South Africa organized a programme to reject the US President Donald Trump's move of shifting Israel's embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem. This move was condemned throughout the world and was illegal as well in terms of several decisions of the UN Security Council and other international agreements and treaties of Geneva Convention. This group has also asked the African Union to put pressure on United Nations, European Union and other international organizations to implement suspension

of global financial tractions of Israeli banks and other businesses till Israel agrees to meet the following demands are as follows:

- To end the illegal occupation of the West Bank (along with East Jerusalem) and Gaza strip and remove the “apartheid wall”.
- To recognize the basic rights of Arab-Palestinians to complete equality in Israel Palestine
- To accept the right of return of the Palestinian refugees

This group called “Palestinian Campaign” believes that South Africa own battle against racism became successful only after a worldwide boycott against racist policies of South African white regime, especially its banks and other services (City Press,2017). In recent years South Africa has been making concrete efforts regarding the Palestinian solidarity movement. In 2014 members of South African Parliament and civil society members participated in a conference in Cape Town to show their solidarity with the oppressed people of the Palestine, Cuba, and the Western Sahara. They issued Cape Town declaration support. With regard to the Palestine, the resolution makes some vital recommendations. These recommendations were meant to end financial transactions with those companies, Banks working in Israeli occupied territories, mobilizing agencies to suspend Israel’s membership in membership in the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication, known as SWIFT, Supporting the campaign for releasing all the political prisoners of Palestine, including the Fatah leader Marwan Barghout from Israeli prisons (Srikanth, 2015). There is legacy of supporting the Palestinian resistance movement in South Africa from Mandela till the present regime. Mandela in an ABC-TV town talk taped before 1,000 people at City College in Harlem and broadcasted hours later, called Arafat “a comrade in arms and said it would be a grave mistake to change his view of the Palestine Liberation Organization leader on the basis of the interests of the Jewish community” ( Sun-sentinel,1990).

### 3.2.3 South African Policies towards Israel

The comparison between Israel and apartheid South Africa has become an essential part of the on-going Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It facilitates the way, both morally and practically, for those who embrace the comparison to buttress their opposition to Israel and its policies (PIG, 2006). Identifying the gist of country's foreign policy is not an easy task, as commentators have struggled to make sense of the country's foreign policy, seeing it as fraught with inconsistency, randomness, even incoherence. South Africa's foreign policy is driven by many factors like equality, fraternity, peace and particularly a strong anti-imperialist instinct. It is this anti-imperialist factor of South Africa's foreign policy which has prompted it to intervene in different conflict ridden states like Angola, Iran. South Africa has maintained its position as a third party mediator and similarly it has tried to develop a good ambience between Palestine and Israel. During apartheid period South Africa was much closer to Israel and Israel too supported it at various international forums (Alsheh, 1989). Since the end of the apartheid South Africa changed its position towards Israel. It developed solidarity towards Palestine unlike during apartheid regime. South Africa's policy toward Israel Palestine after the end of the apartheid was much sympathetic to the Palestinian people, particularly under the Mandela and the Mbeki regimes. They both attempted to show much interest in resolving the issue by stressing "two state" solutions through negotiations.

However, in the recent past South Africa has taken a very strong approach towards the Israel Palestine issue. It has continuously called Israel an apartheid state and condemned Israel for its role in Gaza strip. This approach has also hampered South Africa-Israel bilateral relations. Since that time, Israel considers South Africa a biased mediator between the two countries (JP, 2012). Mandela's policy towards Israel resembled a strong affinity towards Palestine. During his tenure he published an article in *Foreign Affairs* which would guide South Africa's foreign policy in his tenure. Mandela advocated human rights, establishment of democracy across the world, respect for international law, adopting nonviolent means for conflict resolution, and special treatment for African economic development. These principles made South Africa to adopt a stringent approach towards Israel whom it considered as a country which was supportive of apartheid government

(Jordaan, 2008). South Africa developed diplomatic ties with PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) and expressed its support for a viable Palestine along with Israel with secure borders.

In 1990 Mandela met Arafat and paid a visit to Palestine and asserted its strong commitment toward Palestinian cause. Regarding Palestine issue Mandela said that we lived under a unique form of colonialism in South Africa, as well as in Israel (AIDC). As the world recognized Mandela's fight against apartheid in South Africa, others have recalled his significant observation "we know too that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of Palestine". This special connection between the two countries and their national movements has helped in strengthening the efforts to oppose Israeli's violation of human rights and organized segregation (The National, 2013). It was this era when South Africa had started a stringent campaign against Israeli's organized discrimination of Palestinians. This approach of South Africa was mostly preferred by ANC and its affiliate bodies under the leadership of Mandela. This legacy was followed by the Mbeki and the Jacob Zuma governments also. Indeed, South Africa has tried to negotiate a dialogue between the two countries, for example in February 2003 in Spier Wine Estate. But very soon South Africa called back its ambassador from Israel during "Operation Cast Lead" in Gaza in 2009 which affected the bilateral relations between two countries. (JP, 2012). After the end of apartheid government, South Africa's policy towards Africa and the Middle Eastern countries has been guided by common political and economic interests and to stop any kind of conflict or to act as a peacemaker between the conflicts ridden states (Bishku, 2004).

### **3.2.4 Trade and investment between South Africa and Israel**

Although South Africa has been a supporter of the Palestinian resistance movement since the end of the apartheid government, its military trade has decreased over the past few decades though its security and surveillance systems trade has improved even after ANC's strong approach towards Israel. The continued trade links between South Africa and Israel raises questions about South Africa's ability to be a mere barking dog particularly while considering the early connections between south Africa during apartheid period. One can compare this approach with the recent developments between South Africa and Rwanda.

In a diplomatic fight between South Africa and Rwanda in 2014, three Rwandan diplomats were dismissed because of the attacks on Rwandan people living in South Africa. This raises a question as to why South Africa did not expel Israeli ambassador when it was clear that for a Carte Blanche expose in 2009, that Israeli army and intelligence services were responsible for detaining South African people in Johannesburg's O.R.Tambo International Airport (Ismail, 2014). There are a number of companies in South Africa whose products are used to build, secure and maintain the Wall and checkpoints in the West Bank and Gaza. This relationship involves Israeli companies, active in homeland security and other industries, with large contracts in South Africa as well as large South African firms with Israeli subsidiaries. South Africa's surveillance trade system is still used in Israel, for example Cape Gate Ltd. is a South African based company that manufactures and supplies steel and wire products (fencing, barbed wire, construction materials, etc.). Cape Gate has ties in Israel and owns Yehuda Welded Mesh. Eskom is South Africa's major electricity utility and is responsible for 95% of electricity supply, involving the generation, transmission and distribution and retail. The South African government urges through the homepage of the South African embassy in Israel to invest in Eskom. Eskom a wholly owned subsidiary of Eskom holdings, represents the investment arm of South Africa's Eskom holdings which provides the electricity (STW, 2006).

In December 2012, the ANC held its 53rd National Conference where the party decided to boycott Israel and adopted Resolution 35(g) which called on "all South Africans to support the programmes and campaigns of the Palestinian civil society which seek to put pressure on Israel to engage with the Palestinian people to reach a just solution". During the conference, Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, the Senior Deputy Foreign Relations Commissioner of Palestine's Fatah Party, delivered an official message of support to the ANC, and asked South Africa to support and advance the boycott of Israel on behalf of the Palestinian people and their representatives. Yet in spite of these policy decisions of the ANC, and the request by the Palestinian people for a boycott of Israel, South Africa still maintains full economic and diplomatic ties with Israel (Ismael,2014). Polakow-suransaky puts Israel's yearly military exports to South Africa between 1974 and 1993 at \$600 million, which makes South Africa as the third largest trading partner after USA and

Britian. Comparing the total export on military aircraft in 1980,s was around some \$billion, as per the sources. He further says that in the last few decades it has also been increasing though, there is a strong political pressure from the ruling ANC in South Africa, the trade connections have not been affected at larger level (Fpolicy, 2010).

### **3.2.5 Supports for BDS Movement in South Africa**

The BDS movement is commonly seen as a loose grouping of actors from various countries which support or engage in economic measures against Israel or Israel-related individuals or organizations, though defining precisely what may or may not constitute BDS activity is a debatable issue. Those who engage themselves with the movement are supposed to show their sympathy for Palestinian resistance movement. The BDS movement has been initiated in order to boycott Israel at global level and gain and international solidarity through it (Birnbaum, 2015).supporters of the BDS movement are of the view that the nonviolent movements have worked at global level to weaken any sort of repressive regimes. Historical struggles for equality, integrity, justice and freedom from colonialism are fought with the examples of nonviolent movements. Social movements in twenty century engaged itself with various strategies to create awareness among masses regarding their plight and put pressure on the colonizer to end its occupation. One of the strategies adopted by the social movements was boycott campaigns; it became one of the means through which social movements could expose the injustice and discriminatory approach of colonizers. It also exerts economic pressure as a means in the struggle for freedom, justice and equality and end to occupation.

Following this strategy of social movements South Africa started the boycott, divestment, and Sanctions BDS in 1950s which proved to be the best example of the efficacy of nonviolent tactics (Stefeno and Henaway, 2014). The boycott , divestment , and Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel got motivation from the south African experience which became a way to put an end to the Israeli occupation of the west Bank and the Gaza strip and ensure the rights of Palestinians within the Israeli territory. Earlier, it was regarded as a small movement and was mostly overlooked by the western media. It has become one of the main organizations which have preferred to cut relations with Israeli



companies and other non-Israeli enterprises that are working in the occupied areas. Members of several academic associations have voted to join the BDS movement in the United States, including the Association for Asian American Studies in April 2013, the American Studies Association, the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association in December 2013 and the African Literature Association in April this year (LSE, 2017).

In the recent past, the Presbyterian Church of America voted in June to divest from corporations who do business with Israel. It has created a rift between both countries; in particular Israel considers BDS propaganda as a means to malign the image of Israel at global level and restricts its trade networks. On the other hand South Africa has supported BDS movement to support the Palestinian solidarity movement and wants to use it as way to put pressure on Israel to stop its expansion policy in Palestinian territories. The ministry of strategic affairs of Israel has decided to put BDS in blacklist and will not allow its members to visit the country. The ministry also declared that the regulation “explicitly excludes political criticism of Israel as a criterion for consideration in maiming an organization”, it also says that anyone who is banned under these regulations will not be allowed to come to Israel. In response to this move of Israel, BDS South Africa is of the view that “it echoes the sentiment of our partner organizations, which have also been added to the Israeli blacklist, who have termed this latest move as a sign of regime’s increasing depression and a reflection of the BDS movement” (JPost,2018).

### **3.3 Broader factors affecting South Africa Israel relations**

#### **3.3.1 Palestine-Israel issue**

In the early years of the 1990s, just before the demise of apartheid government, South Africa had no political relations with any of the Middle Eastern countries except Israel, which itself had limited relations with its neighbouring countries till the end of the cold war. Before the recognition of Israel in 1948, the same year in which apartheid was legalized in South Africa, South Africa developed diplomatic relations with Egypt, which in the later period became a significant supporter of Africa’s liberation movements following emergence of Arab nationalist government of President Nasser in 1956 and continued till 1960s. Israel which had to face the sanctions levelled against her by the

United Nations and international community for its ill-treatment of its local blacks. However in 1980s, and 1990s, Israel was one of the very few countries which had warm relations with white apartheid regime. During, that time South Africa could benefit from the Israeli technology and

Was supported by Israel at international level. However, these warm relations came to an end once the apartheid government ended in South Africa. The establishment of democratic government in South Africa provided an opportunity for ANC to support the Palestinian movement of self-determination. The ANC which was supported by Yasser Arafat very soon started to campaign for a peaceful resolution of Palestine Israel conflict. South Africa tried to play the role of mediator between the two countries.

Just after Mandela was released from jail he paid a visit to Palestine and Israel on reaching to Palestine Mandela said “To the many people who have questioned why I came, I say Israel worked very closely with apartheid regime. I say I have made peace with many men who slaughtered our people like animals. Israel cooperated with apartheid regime, but it did not participate in any atrocities. My view is that talk of peace remains hollow if Israel continues to occupy Arab lands”. He further said “I cannot conceive of Israel withdrawing if Arab states do not recognize Israel within its secure borders”. This was during 1999 when Mandela visited both Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy (Haaretz, 2014). In the recent past, South Africa has continued its support for Palestine at political level particularly ANC has been instrumental in organizing solidarity for Palestinian cause. In 2010 south Africa’s international relations minister Maite Nkonana-Mashabane launched a strong campaign against Israel while asserting her voice for Palestine she said “ the struggle of the people of Palestine is our own struggle” and South Africa has decided to Slow down and curtail senior leadership contacts with Israeli regime”(TOI,2013).

### **3.3.2 Legacy of Apartheid**

The word apartheid means separateness or segregation in the Afrikaner language. It is an Afrikaner word for apartness. It indicates that some people are inferior to other. The white ruling class people set aside eighty seven percent of land for themselves. Afrikaners

wanted to identify people either white or non-white (Pambazuka News, 2010). It was used by the National Party ((NP) which came into power in 1948 in South Africa. The NP intended to make territorial divisions on the basis of race and colour between the whites and local black African peoples. They wanted to remain in closed society which would not be disturbed by the communities of the other races. The policy of apartheid or apartness was implemented by the NP to make them strong at political economic and social level as most of the blacks had no access to land, universities and other big professional jobs. This policy was a racist policy which gave most privileges to whites only during that era. A report by the United Nations Educational, and Scientific and Cultural organization (UNESCO) about the effects of this policy on education, culture, science it says that “the policy of apartheid is not only an inadmissible answer to racial and group conflict but is itself the major source of racial and group conflict there”. The report says that the effects of this policy in those areas is distracting and largely discriminatory (UNESCO, 1967) South Africa was a multicultural society which includes Black, whites, coloured, Muslims, Jews, Afrikaners Indians or South Asians. Did the Apartheid regime followed the same pattern for all these communities or races or why was it mostly applicable to blacks, these are questions which one must raise while debating the implementation or the apartheid rule in South Africa (UNESCO, 1974). Since South Africa was predominantly a black majority state, was mostly the target of the apartheid regime as they were the only people who could give a tough resistance to any alien race or any foreign regime. The regime mostly targeted the blacks in order to continue the dominance in political, economic and educational fields. This indicated another aspect of racism in which all other than blacks were also discriminated. The Jewish community worked closely with the apartheid regime though there were few right wing groups which had an animosity but they no longer hate Jews after the rise of NP.

### **3.3.3 Impact of apartheid legacy**

During the time of the Second World War South African Prime Minister John Vorster was termed as a Nazi supporter. Three decades down the line, the same person paid a state visit and was welcomed with wholeheartedly by Israelis. It was a shock for some of the strong Zionists and other orthodox Jewish people. In the second part of his report McGreal

reported about the secret relationship between South Africa and Israel and termed it the ultimate gift of friendship called A-bomb technology (The Guardian, 2006). On April 9, 1976, South African Prime Minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster arrived at the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem with full diplomatic entourage in tow. After passing solemnly through the corridors commemorating those gassed in Auschwitz and Dachau, he entered the dimly lit Hall of Remembrance, where a memorial flame burned alongside a crypt filled with the ashes of Holocaust victims. Vorster bowed his head as a South African minister read a psalm in Afrikaans, the haunting melody of the Jewish prayer for the dead filling the room. He then kneeled and laid a wreath, containing the colours of the South African flag, in memory of Hitler's victims. Cameras snapped, dignitaries applauded, and Israeli officials quickly ferried the prime minister away to his next destination. Back in Johannesburg, the opposition journalist Benjamin Pogrund was sickened as he watched the spectacle on television. Thousands of South African Jews shared Pogrund's disgust; they knew all too well that Vorster had another, darker past (Mondowesis, 2013). Israel was openly critical of apartheid through the 1950s and 60s as it built alliances with post-colonial African governments. But most African states broke ties after the 1973 Yom Kippur war and the government in Jerusalem began to take a more benign view of the isolated regime in Pretoria. (The Guardian, 2006).

### **3.3.4 Racist Nature of Israeli government**

The establishment of Israel in Palestine in 1948 was one of the mile stone in the Jewish history. The establishment of Israel has many reasons as per the Jewish point of view. on the one hand, the Jewish spiritual leaders believed it to be the land which they left before thousands of years and has a right to return to their homeland, while on the other Zionists are of the view that establishment of Israel should be based on ethnic basis. This debate has caught the attention of scholars from the establishment of Israeli state in Palestine. While looking at the aspects of these two claims after the completion of seventy years of Israeli state, one can easily find the latter claim is much dominant. Israel has followed the ethnic nationalism and institutionalized the inequality. Contrary to a wild held perception that there is no surety of complete equality for Jewish and Arab citizens as civil rights movement puts it this way "the right to equality is not yet enshrined in law regarding most

aspects of life”. In view of this inequality Aeyal Gross one of Israel’s academic legal expert says that “legality cannot be recognized at constitutional level since that would challenge the inequality created by the complete identification of the state with only one group” (White, 2016). Israel has been alleged of being an apartheid state on the basis of racist approach to other ethnic and religious groups for instance the Arab Muslims and Arab Christians particularly Arab Muslims. Israel has erected a wall which divides the Arabs from Jews and acts as a barrier to the free movement of Palestinians. The main source of this racism comes from the Zionism which is considered as a national ideology of Israel. United Nations has equalized the Zionism with “racism and discrimination” this charge was labelled against Israel for discriminating against its own Arab citizens Not only this there are number of scholars and leaders who have called Israel as a new apartheid state, for example, Richard Falk, Ben White, Ilan Pape, Asa Vanestany who have proved it in their scholarly works how Israel is a new kind of an apartheid state (Agrholm, 2017).

South Africa after its transition from a racist state to a democratic one has found it contrary to develop close contacts with a state which is based on the racism and discrimination. South Africa, s foreign policy clearly rejects any sort of racism in its foreign policy. Indeed the ruling part ANC itself was a part which was formed to end the racist apartheid regime is highly critical of establishing any sort of relations with South Africa (Najar, 2017). In 2017 Israel has adopted very severe steps towards refugees and other immigrants. Most of these refugees are from Eretria and Sudan who have taken asylum in Israel in 2000. They had fled their war torn countries in 2000 and did not want to go back to their home countries because most of those who have been deported from Israel were killed back in their respective states. But Israeli government is still not ready to give them asylum. This policy is also an indication of racism as most of these refugees are blacks and does not adhere to the ideology which Zionist did.

### **3.3.5 Regime change in South Africa**

South Africa was under apartheid rule for more than four decades. It was ended in 1994 when South Africa Prime Minister F. W Klerk decided to release the political prisoners including the veteran Nelson Mandela. Smuts decided to end the racial regime and allowed

all those political opponents to contest elections which desired to make a change in political system. Apartheid, an Afrikaner word for white –ruled South Africa’s national party which ruled the country from 1948-1990s. It was an institutionalized policy of racial segregation which came to an end in 1990 with the first democratic election. The sitting prime minister klerk announced to end the racist regime in South Africa and proposed a multiracial government in South Africa. In the next year South Africa conducted its first democratic elections in 1994 where every person without any discrimination was allowed to vote. In the first democratic elections ANC won the elections and the legendary leader Nelson Mandela was elected as the first democratic president of South Africa. Mandela who was in prison for more than twenty five years had all the memories of who supported their movement when they were fighting apartheid government. Once the government was established under the leadership of Mandela it wanted to develop a New South Africa where everyone would be treated equally without any race, color, religion or region which Mandela called Rainbow nation. While taking over as the president of South Africa Mandela regime adopted the new constitution with the consent of all the political parties and eminent jurists. The foreign policy of South Africa was big challenge before Mandela regime. During 1980s period South Africa was isolated by most of the countries of the world and had no diplomatic connections with them. The prime cause of this isolation of South Africa was because of the racist policies adopted by the white regime particularly against the blacks. Recovering from this isolation was not an easy task for the new regime. Taking the heed of this issue ANC engaged itself to adopt those policies which would lead South Africa to a world system as a responsible global citizen. Apart from this, the new regime was looking to forge actual professional diplomatic channels which would represent South Africa’s interest and indicate rich cultural diversity of South Africa. This approach of South Africa’s new regime was accepted by all those nations which wanted South Africa to be free from racism (Foreign Affairs, 1993).

The racist regime of Afrikaner was working closely with Israel and was engaged mostly in arms trade and provided other defence equipment’s to South Africa and in return South Africa was receiving the technological assistance from Israel. The South African apartheid regime and the Israeli regime had a close ties. Since the end of apartheid regime,

the new government had started provide diplomatic support to all those nations which have supported South Africa during apartheid regime, in this view Israel was considered as a sympathizer of apartheid regime. The regime change in South Africa had an impact on the already established relationship between South Africa and Israel. South Africa adopted a firm stand against Israeli's policies against the Palestinians. The new regime under Mandela government become sole supporter of self-determination of Palestinian people and extended its support at international forums and other world level meetings. Mandela in one of his famous sayings said "we know too our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of Palestine". Once the apartheid regime was abolished South Africa and Israel had not been able to transform its relationship into a purely diplomatic manner and are always engage in heated debate over Palestine issue. The Israeli government has find it very difficult to cultivate good diplomatic ties with South Africa because successive governments of South Africa does not endorse the racist policies of Israel and is only willing to mediate between the two states once Israel ends its occupation in Gaza and West bank and it also wanted Arabs to respect the secure borders of Israel. These suggestions are not in compliance of Israel who wanted to continue its control over the territories occupied during 1967 war. Therefore the regime change in South Africa has been not a well-wisher of Israel as it continuously wants to conduct self-determination for Palestine and has challenged Israel at UN for its bad human rights record specifically against Palestinians.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

South Africa and Israel had once been in close relationship once the Israel was established in Palestine in 1948, the same year South Africa legalized apartheid regime. The two countries developed ties in economy, military and in exporting arms and ammunition till 1990s. The trade and investment was significant during that time, Israel's yearly military exports to South Africa between 1974 and 1993 were \$600 million, which made South Africa as the third largest trading partner after USA and Britain. However, their diplomatic and economic ties could not continue since the fall of apartheid government which was in close relationship with Israel. After the fall of apartheid government Israel no longer was the main exporter of arms and ammunition and their trade relations were affected with the

emergence of the BDS movement which wanted to boycott all trading products from Israel. The new democratic government did not follow the same pattern of relationship with Israeli government as they found it very controversial with regard to the foreign policy and interests of South Africa. South Africa finds it ideologically wrong to continue with the policies adopted by the earlier regime of South Africa which was racist in nature. South Africa too was under racist regime and were discriminated in every field of life during apartheid regime. South Africa no more wants any country to live any country under those conditions but Israel has been following the same racist pattern in the occupied territories of the west bank and the Gaza strip which has been deeply criticized by South Africa at international forums like UN Security Council. Assessing the relationship of the South Africa from end of apartheid till 2017 the two countries have not progressed much in developing a strong relationship. For example, in 2014 South Africa highly criticized the Israel at UN when it killed hundreds of Palestinians. Indeed in 2017, South Africa's ruling ANC wanted to downgrade its embassy in Israel in order to provide the practical support for self-determination of Palestinians.



## **Chapter 4**

### **Impact of South African Jewish Diaspora on South Africa Israel Relations**

#### **4.1 Position of South African Jews during apartheid period**

The South African Jewish community arrived as common migrants into South Africa from 1800 till 1940. Most of the immigrants came from Eastern Europe and started to work and explore the business opportunities in the country. During its initial years of settlement the Jewish community started business at local level which is to say they were running small business units like the carrying goods from one village to another by a cart. It was a time when Jews were in its initial stage of trade and commerce. Over the period of time, Jews moved to the main cities of the country and started to expand its trade. Jews were mainly dominant in the professional, management, and sales sectors of the economy (Davidson, 2010). They gradually begin to migrate to urban areas like Cape Town, and Johannesburg to explore the business opportunities. The relationship between the State of Israel and South Africa has fluctuated through different phases since 1948, that has also has impact on the Zionist commitment of the Jewish community. The apartheid regime which was Nazi admirer in the first half of the twentieth century, but they had sympathy for Zionism and Jewish state as they too believe in Calvinistic genuflection to the Old Testament. South African Jewish community received much support particularly from Prime Minister Malan and his successors, to collect funds for Israel without being accused of double loyalty (Herman, 2007).

The relationship between the two countries was affected once Israel sided with other countries to condemn the racist regime of South Africa. But the 1970s isolation of both the countries at international level made them to develop economic and political ties, as most of the countries had already cut off their political and economic ties. South Africa supplied spare parts to Israel required for Jet fighters of Israel. South African Jewish community was allowed to send aid for newly established Israel by apartheid government of South Africa. South Africa's money became helpful for Israel to manufacture more arms and supply it to South Africa. It was a consensual business between both the states. It was

a time when most of the countries had already isolated these two countries. This trade helped both Israel and South Africa in whatever both the both were needed at that point of time. During this period of time Jews were allowed to go to Israel and collect the funding for the construction of Israel which was a new country at that time (AIDC, 2017). Jews were engaged in economic sector which helped them to grow economically strong. This was one of their main area which interested them most as they had a history of successful stories of Jews who were already in South Africa before the arrival of eastern Jews.

#### **4.1.1 No uniformity in Jewish community regarding Israel**

South Africa and Israel relations during apartheid time was significantly warm as both had decided to develop relations at diplomatic, economic and in defence sector. South African Jews were mostly orthodox and strongly connected to Synagogues. Jews were predominantly represented by SAJBD, SAZF, and other Jewish communal organizations. These organizations were based on the idea of Zionism which itself is a kind of racism. Although majority of Jews were orthodox which believed supported the idea proposed by these communal organizations. But there was other section of the people the progressive people who opposed the idea of establishing any political and economic ties with Israel because of its racist approach of Israeli government towards Palestinian people (Ostroff, 2013). It created a new rift within Jewish community because most of them were associated with progressive movement and with the reform policies of the state. Prime Minister Malan lifted the ban on Jewish migration and provided the way to end the anti-Semitic feelings from its party members. This approach of led to the concept what may be called as a dialogue of reconciliation between Jews and Afrikaners (Shain, 2003).

Indeed, for most Jews, as for most whites, blacks were almost unseen in social terms. Jews were by default a privileged community by virtue of being white, however status of Jews did not go entirely unchallenged over the years, but in the final analysis it was sustained in all major respects. South Africa offered Jewish immigrants civic freedom in all essentials, as well as upward economic mobility and ultimate prosperity. At the same time acculturation took its toll in erosion of Jewish religious observance and linguistic-cultural identity. In South Africa it was overwhelmingly the English segment that served as the reference group for acculturation. South African Jewry thus came to have much in

common with other New World Jewish communities. Yet in comparative perspective, a number of factors converged to confer a distinctive character upon the South African Jewish community. One of these factors was the nature of its religiosity a direct outcome of the extraordinarily homogeneous Litvak composition of the community. It is important to note not only the absence of reform Judaism in the Litvak region but also that it was the heartland of the Misnagdi tradition in orthodox Judaism, that is, the tradition of opposition to the mystic and sectarian manifestations of Hasidism. By and large, the Litvak immigrants had a traditionalist religious upbringing before coming to South Africa, although secularization had already made considerable inroads. Since South African Jewish community was mostly dominated Litvik but there were German and British Jews as well. The Jewish community begins to work for the betterment of South African Jewish community by starting Jewish schools and engaged itself with trading activities which helped them to organize themselves significantly. In initial years of apartheid the white regime of South Africa was not favourable to Jewish community. Even the apartheid regime itself was pro-Nazi and did not provide a comfortable ambience for South African Jewish community. There were offshoots of the right wing organizations within South Africa namely Gray and Black Shirts, who were following the ideology of Nazis and Fascists. They did not want European holocaust survivors to settle in South Africa. Although they were not main right wing groups but they could mobilize a section of society against the Jewish European immigrants (Shain, 2012).

But as the time went on apartheid regime became much closer to South African Jewish community. the regime find itself an opportunity to exploit the skill and professional experience of south African Jews who were best in doing trade and develop the entrepreneurs within south Africa. on the other hand Israel which was also facing a kind of isolation at world level find itself south Africa a partner who also had been victim of sanctions and boycott. These factors made South African Jews an important community before apartheid regime. Israel was also interested in collaborating with South Africa as South Africa had a considerable Jewish diaspora which was a prompting factor also for Israel to develop close connections with South Africa (Soske and Jacobs, 2011). Therefore Jewish community could flourish significantly across South Africa and became one of the richest communities of South Africa during apartheid time. They were controlling most of

the business firms and professions. During 1960s, South Africa could develop diplomatic and military connections with Israel. All these things indicate that South African Jews had a strong dominance in South African politics in economy particularly their economic condition was much better than other minority groups of South Africa (like, Muslims, Asian, coloured and other ethnic and religious groups). South African Jews had been living in South Africa since fourteenth century and many of them have been socialized and considered as white by apartheid regime. This labelling of South African Jews was levied upon them because they hugely got benefited from the racist policies which were abolished in 1990s. Even today South African Jewish community is still benefitted all those separate social and economic policies which were favourable to whites (Katz, 2015). The regime was helpful to South African Jewish diaspora in all aspects and they could easily develop their business and made a tremendous contribution for the newly established Israel. The South African government modified the currency export laws which helped Jews to send bulk of money of donations for Israel.

#### **4.1.2 Preservation of Jewish Identity**

For hundreds of years Jewish identity was associated with Jewish religion. People used to consider Jews on the basis of their religious heritage not by their culture. This idea began to change during seventeenth century as movement for political rights and equality spread in the entire Europe. Jews had opportunity to interact and mingle with other culture and societies and the concept about religion has changed over the period of time they have become more diverse in their way of life. As Jonathan Sarna is of the view that what made current democratic society specific is voluntarism “the principle that individuals are free to choose their religious beliefs and associations without political ecclesiastical or communal coercion”. Without telling Jews how to show their Jewish identity and with exposure to secular culture types of Jewish identity emerged (MJL,2002).They are the people who believe in staunch cultural Jewish identity that separated religion from the scene and hold the faith in liberal and fine arts across the Jewish world. This trend has been existing in English speaking world where Jews are in significant numbers for instances in US, Canada, Australia and others. In the context of South Africa where Jews hardly are more than 75000 thousand in numbers how have they perceived their Jewish identity and

culture in a country which was divided on different lines specifically on the basis of colour. During 1970s about a hundred and twenty thousand Jews were living in South Africa. Among four million white population Jews accounted almost three percent similar to that of American Jews of the overall U.S. population, although the statistical figures of the apartheid regime were not exact. Johannesburg was considered as a kind of New York for South African Jews as most of the Jews concentration was in Johannesburg. The other main cities where Jews lived were Cape Town and Transvaal. However, in the beginning the Jewish community settled in rural areas and started to begin their small sort of businesses. With the passage of time the Jewish community migrated to the cities particularly to Johannesburg and Cape Town which were considered as business hub and are still the same. Jews migrated enormously to these cities (Weiner, 2013).

The South African Jewish people were much organized, comparatively affluent compared to other minorities of South Africa. In 2001 the overall population of South African Jewish community was declined to the extent that it remains only less than two percent and 0.5 percent of overall population. The larger cities of South Africa like Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Pretoria are mostly Jewish concentrated cities, while as other cities like Durban and Port Elizabeth only have a less number of Jewish people. Most of the South African Jews in South Africa are Eastern European Jews having a Litvik origin. They believe in more orthodox and are highly attached to Jewish orthodoxy. In the earlier days of Jewish settlement in South Africa many Jews had to convert to Christianity as there was no religious freedom in those days. But in the later period of nineteenth century there was a choice to practice any religion in South Africa, and Jews started to organize themselves as a community in that newly settled land (Frankental, 2009).

The Jewish community established Jewish schools which impart both modern and Jewish education to its student's majority of the Jewish people prefer to send their children in those Jewish schools. It has helped the Jewish community to hold strong to their Jewish values and remain steadfast in its Jewishness. The two cities Cape Town and Johannesburg which are mostly Jewish concentrated cities has Jewish cultural food called kosher which has a cultural significance in Jewish community. South Africa's only orthodox umbrella organization called the union of orthodox synagogues maintains a single kosher certifying

agency called “Beit Din”. However, South African Jewish diaspora is not only maintaining its orthodoxy but it does give a preference to civility and tradition which other common South Africans follow. Though, South African Jewish community whose public face is orthodox, but many of its member actions are not orthodox in private (Lipman, 2011). The main concern for South African Jewish community was not the protection of its ethnicity but integration with the new society. Integration in terms of settling with new people, coping with language and adjust in a society which already was divided on the basis on race and colour. They were much concerned with rights and wrongs in the new society and wanted to ensure their livelihood and basic rights (Shain, 2010).

#### **4.2 Jewish Israel lobby in South Africa**

The invisible hand of Israel in Africa’s wars has long been suspected by many, but South Africa’s ‘Geopolitical Country and Intelligence Assessment’ of October 2009 paints a clear picture of just how far it stretches. Cables detail instances where Israel is “arming some African regimes and aggravating crises among others, including Somalia, Sudan, Eritrea and South Africa”. Israel, claim the cables, “ is looking for new markets for its range of lightweight weapons” and covertly supplies armaments to “selected countries inter alia India” including “nuclear, chemical, laser and conventional warfare technologies”(MRN,2013). As indicated above, by the mid-1980s Israel used various guises to start courting Black resistance groups in South Africa even meeting with people such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu. After liberation movements were unbanned and political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela were released in 1990, the Israeli charm offensive towards these movements took on a new urgency. Predicting a political victory for the ANC, Israel set about courting the organization and individuals within it. The result is a situation where, 15 years after South Africa’s first democratic election, Israel and South Africa have excellent diplomatic and trade relations – even if the military and nuclear relations do not exist as they did during the apartheid era. Although the ANC government professes support for the struggle of the Palestinian people, and despite the close relations between the ANC and the PLO in the past, relations between the two countries have grown strongly over the past 15 years. From 1999, when Thabo Mbeki became president of South Africa, he pursued a policy which, he believed, would facilitate South Africa’s playing a

mediating role between Israelis and Palestinians by sharing the experience of the South African transition. This was a doomed policy, mainly because the Israelis had no interest in having an African mediator when it had the superpower on its side. Nevertheless, the Israelis and the Zionist lobby in South Africa, having correctly read Mbeki's objectives, continued repeating that South Africa will not be able to play a mediating role if it criticized Israel (Al-Jazeera, 2010).

#### **4.2.1 Recent activities of South African Jewish community**

South African Jewish community has established itself in a much organized way. They had been significantly been able to made large economic contribution in establishing the Israeli state in Palestine. It was possible for them to send economic and financial support to Israel during apartheid regime which supported them. But once the apartheid white regime started to weaken Jewish community too had to find new ways to support for Israeli lobby in South Africa (Pogrund, 2012).The Jewish community of South Africa is regarded by majority of South African blacks as any other white who were supportive of apartheid regime. Jewish people who has a very pathetic history of back at home, are very concerned about their identity and integrity and don't want to be and are more into creating a kind of lobby for their existence in the host countries. In South Africa, though the community has emerged from very business community, has started been making efforts to made a lobby in South Africa for their own existence and Israel. The Jews started to make the efforts in way back 1967, when Israel and south Africa became very close diplomatically just after the Arab Israel war. Israel and Israeli lobby in south Africa has begun its lobby in south Africa in 1990s, the very first thing of doing lobby within south Africa was to approach south African politicians who always had a very bad image of Israel even sometimes called Israel an apartheid state. They started figure out the influential politicians, youth bodies and other social based groups to create a good impression of Israeli state among South Africans. They organize programmes and take these young leaders and students on visit to Israel and provide leadership skills in Israel (Al Jazeera, 2010).Apart from these activities of Jewish lobby similar kind of programmes are conducted to bring churches and other religious institutions and approach ANC, s youth young members personally who could be

instrumental in mobilizing the masses for supporting Israel. In the recent years they have been organizing programmes at high level in both the countries, for example in 2010 a group of black South African professional participated in a thirty days programme organized of the He,atid program at international institute in Kafar Saba Israel. The delegates came from different walks of life, majority of them were from private companies, and others came from government and no-governmental organizations. This month long-programme was started by the Mizrachi Organization of South Africa and KROK vision, established by the two influential Jewish businessmen called Abe, and Solly Krok. He,taid centers are engaged in various cities of South Africa providing assistance to black Jewish leaders (Shain,2001).

#### **4.2.2 Political approach of South African Jews**

South African Jewish community had been living in South Africa since sixteenth century. The earlier Jews found in South Africa were from Germany and British called Anglo-German Jews and were very less in numbers the huge flow of Jews to south Africa started in earlier nineteenth century when eastern European Jews made their way towards South Africa and settled there. The year 1948 was a significant event in the history of South African Jews as it was the same Jewish state was born and in the same year National party came into power in South Africa. South African Jews had a history of holding strong Zionist values, having inherited from their Lithuanian forefathers and strong commitment to Zion. Shimoni in his book called “in the American Jewish Year Book 1998 is of the view that “comparative perspective of the English-speaking countries, there is no more distinctive feature of South African Jewry than its overwhelmingly Zionist character” . There was an apprehension among South African Jews regarding the newly established state of Israel and its people at the same time were also worried about the racist policies of apartheid government policies. Jews became concerned much about the rise of national party as it was earlier anti-Semitic in early years of nineteenth century, but they shunned their anti-Semitic stand in later period. Jews have fought during Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902. Around 2800 fought from British side while some 300 sided with Boers. The Jews community was in between Boers and British which made them vulnerable in a society which was alien to them. In that case most of them sided with British which became helpful for them in later period of time when National party came in power in 1948 and started a



rapprochement towards Jewish community of South Africa (Raprobate, 2013). South African Jews involved itself with all branches of South African society. For instance, in the parliament, four Jews were members of the house of Assembly, and the one more Jew was a member of Senate. More than ten Jews were members of Provincial Council. David Bllomberg at the age of forty one became one of the youngest mayor of Cape Town, Joe Levy was re-elected mayor of Uitenhage for the eighth time and Solly Robin too was re-elected as mayor of other towns of South Africa. The other main Jewish people who served as deputy mayors during that time were Morris Egdes, Boris Kaplan. Edel Cohen and A.S Sher. In judiciary Jews also had a good representation for example seven judges have worked as judges of the supreme court of South Africa namely Namie Philips, Q.C., and Gerlad, Friedman, S.C, were the people who were appointed as acting judges in judicial system of South Africa (Bernstein, 1975). During apartheid days most of the Jews remain silent regarding the race issue. They had an apprehension that the national party which was earlier a Nazi sympathizer may turn again against the interest of Jewish community. In purview of this South African Jewish community was not in a position to develop a common stand against apartheid government. On the other hand Jews were an ethnic minority which also makes them vulnerable to take a common stand against the National government. The main Jewish communal organization called SAJBD was the main spokes body of South African Jews did not condemn the national government openly and remained silent. It urged South African Jews to take position on their own behalf. South African Jewish community did not want to take a position at community level. However, there were many South African Jews who took a stand on their own behalf against the apartheid government for instance, Helen Suzman, Joe Slovo, Arthur Goldreich and many other South African progressive Jews. South African Jews were called apologetic by many South African blacks and other minority groups because of their silence over racist policies of national government. But one must look at how other minority groups reacted to the racist policies of the same government for example, the Indians, Muslims, and other coloured people of South Africa.

### **4.3 Post-apartheid Jewish community in South Africa**

Since democratization in 1994, the South African Jewish community has been in a long and difficult self-reflection over its behaviour during the apartheid era. To some degree, a discussion about the community's inaction and complicity has been achieved, especially among younger Jews. But some have argued this reflection has not gone far enough. Some say the Jews' position on the edge of whiteness in apartheid explains both the collaboration of the Jewish communal structure and the difficulty in reflection today. But the opinions and attitudes of South African Jews really do not differ from most other White South Africans. Nor do their habits. Being on the edge of whiteness still makes you white you can still pass. Meanwhile, a dialogue of reconciliation and forgetting the past has been used by many white South Africans Jews included to detract attention from the continued racial segregation of the South African economy, one of the most unequal in the world. American Jews are assisting this unconsciously. Narratives of normalcy and reconciliation can so easily dismiss the very real continued pain and frustration of non-white South Africans (Ktaz, 2015).

Jews were very active at every level in South Africa, are gradually declining in their position. The Jewish activism which was started by member parliament Helen Suzman, of the progressive party was followed by former leader Tony Leon, and Selma Browde. The freedom struggle led by The South African National Congress which in later period of time became a ruling party was also supported by many prominent Jews like Joe, Solvo, Ronni Kasrild and Goldberg (Haaretz, 2013). These leaders and activists had an influence over the South African common masses particularly the majority Jewish community which was segregated by the white regime. This political activism of Jewish community was not properly followed by the young South African Jews and it created a gap between common South African masses and the Jewish minority community (Saks, 2010). However, there was other issue which diminished the Jewish activism in post-apartheid period for instance a large scale emigration during apartheid days created a problem for future generations of Jewish community. As most of the educated and skilled Jewish people left for to other countries which put the Jewish community in serious leadership crisis. This trend is still going on as most of the Jewish educated youths (JTA, 2011). The leaders which were active

are very old and the new generations is yet come make a beginning in political affairs of the state because they are also not encouraged by their families. South African Jews are also in dilemma as whether to stay in the country or not, as there is increasing employment in South Africa, around Twenty six percent of South African Jews are jobless. South African Jews did not feel ownership over the institutions of power, but they were involved in them nonetheless and the institutions were, of course, unfair. As in Europe, the South African Jews had no tradition in the civil service, and hence little influence on government policy. As Rabbi Bernard Casper, chief rabbi of Johannesburg's United Hebrew Congregation, put it, "In South Africa we are a small identifiable foreign body and we fool ourselves if we think otherwise, and we as a Jewish community should be careful not to act in such a way as to convey the impression that we can influence the course of events" (Beinart, 1996). This enfranchisement among Jewish community was an outcome of their silence during apartheid period. Just after the end of apartheid government, the South African Jewry has suffered heavily with two of its aspirations from its past. Firstly its main Jewish organization SAJBD was helpful of apartheid regime, indeed the regime violated the fundamental and human rights of all those Jews who were anti-apartheid and many were main supporters of arms trade with South Africa. Israel's secret and full military and security ties with the racist regime violated the United Nations Security Council ban. The Jewish Board supported the apartheid policies till 1994 when the new multiracial government came into power in South Africa. Secondly it is the legacy of SAJBD which has tried hard to reach new other main leaders of New South Africa (Braude, 2011). However, there arises a difference within Jewish community itself particularly between those who say it was the only to save their marginalized society, and others who called this approach of Board as immoral and resisted the apartheid. The latter also considered it as a compromise on Jewish ethics.

#### **4.3.1 Black majority rule and South African Jews**

The installation of democracy in South Africa was expected to provide each community its equal rights and end any sort of discrimination in South African society. South Africa was under the ruler of racist government for more than four decades. The racist regime ended in 1990 onwards when South African prime minister F.W. de Klerk announced to release all

the political prisoners including the great Mandela. The first democratic elections which happened in 1994 gave equal rights to every citizen of South Africa without any discrimination. From 1994 onwards South Africa has tried to build a new South Africa what Archbishop Desmond Tutu calls the “rainbow nation”. In the first democratic elections it was South Africa freedom fighting party ANC which won the election under the leadership of Mandela who became the first democratic black president of South Africa. It has tried to build democratic institutions like, a strong constitutional court which was headed by a Jew, chief justice Arthur Chaskalson. But still it faces the problem of poverty, land distribution, and has no strong democratic mechanism, which can pose a threat in near future. South African Jewish community is very small in population constituting less than 0.2 percent of the population. But its progressive spirit, autonomy, and isolation make it an interesting case for exploring the Jewish self-definition in the present times. The reasons for it is that there are different factors including the age factor and diminishing population of South African Jews in response to a need to describe itself against the background of a growing multiracial and democratic post-apartheid South Africa (Stier, 2008).

Jews lived joyous life during apartheid period compared to other minority groups of South Africa. There remained a huge gap between blacks and whites in terms of economic development. Once the blacks came to rule South Africa they started to minimize this wedge between blacks and whites and started affirmative action policies aimed at solving the apartheid’s sin’s against black people. Jews were seen like any other European white people by blacks because of their physical features and the privilege they had during apartheid regime. One of the important scholars on South African Jewery is of the view that the “The future of Jews in this country depends on whether the non-racial project succeeds. Rather than complain, we must acknowledge that corrective action is an essential part of redressing historical injustices and helping the non-racial project succeed”. Jews too wanted to uplift the underprivileged particularly the people who have been denied economic opportunities in previous racist regime. They have established an organization called Afrika Tikkun in post-apartheid period in 1994. It was founded by Mandela’s close friend chief rabbi Cyril Harris who was much determined about the “New South Africa”. It indicates South African Jews are hopeful of New South Africa. There was a survey done

by Kaplan center for Jewish Studies at Cape Town University in 2005 which found that seventy nine percent of Jews “were very likely to continue living in South Africa (Sifrin, 2006). But in the overall situation South African Jews have suffered like any other common South African, like they suffer from weak infrastructural development, whether mass electricity outage or disastrous school and the continuing rising crime rate has disenfranchised them to a larger extent (Pogrud, 2015). They wanted to have a safer future for their coming generations in South Africa. Although many Jews have left the country in search of a better livelihood and of the better future of their children in other developed countries of the world.

#### **4.3.2 Declining influence of South African Jewish community**

South Africa and Israel had a relationship which dates back to the time when Israel came into existence, and in the same year South Africa saw the victory of National Party in its general elections. The victory of national party was an era when South Africa had to face sanctions and criticism across the country. Their diplomatic relations with most of the countries of the world were ruined because of its specific policy called apartheid which segregated the whites and Blacks within South Africa. the regimes in both the countries had something in similar which is to say Israel which was established on Palestine was an establishment of an ethnic state a state for Jews and should be run by the Jews only. In the same manner South Africa which came under apartheid government was a racist state which believes in separate rules and regulations for whites and Blacks were blacks would by default at the receiving end and will not be entitled to dominate the economic and political power. This similarity became a binding factor binding factor between both South Africa and Israel. This bonhomie of relationship between South Africa and Israel was based on both on ideological basis and on the political strategy as both were alienated at world level therefore they started supporting each other at world leve, on the other hand Israelis technological advancement was an important aspect through which both could pursue their national interests. This relationship warm relationship remained for many decades almost up to 1980s, when both the states had signed so many agreements and the transfer of technology and other military equipment’s from Israel. Polakow-Suransky mentions in his book called “The Unspoken Alliance: Israel's secret alliance with apartheid South Africa”.

At the talks Israeli officials "formally offered to sell South Africa some of the nuclear capable Jericho missiles in its arsenal to South Africa" (The Guardian, 2010). However, the political reforms of 1990s, to organize it democratically. The ban on ANC was lifted and all the political prisoners were freed from jail which included the celebrated ANC leader Nelson Mandela. In later period when the general elections happened in 1994 in South Africa, ANC emerged as a victorious political organization and South Africa could see its first democratic elections where Mandela emerged the first president of South Africa. The rise of blacks into power was a worrisome for all whites including the Jews. South African National Congress started to maintain its bilateral and diplomatic relationship with rest of the countries of the world.

The strong connections between South Africa could not continue in post-apartheid period. The new multiracial regime of South Africa had a very anti-colonial and right to self-determination in its foreign policy which made Israel uncomfortable in continuing its relationship with South Africa. The Jewish community of South Africa also faced discrimination in post- apartheid period as the blacks would usually call them as supporters of apartheid regime. Although the new administration promised to establish a rainbow nation under which every South African is entitled to have an access to any political and economic position, but majority of the blacks' continuously ridiculed Jewish community for their past actions. This all led to the disenfranchisement of South African Jews and they started to look for other countries for their better livelihood and future. Therefore the South African Jewish community has not influenced the local blacks and ANC which is the ruling party in the country. Although there are some groups which support South African Jewish lobby, but at the larger level, South African Jewish community has not succeeded in creating a space, where it could assist in reducing the differences between the two countries (Haaretz, 2010). As one can see South Africa has consistently been at odds with regard to its bilateral relations with Israel. Jews have assisted in maintaining the apartheid out of all proportion to their numbers, because they were highly dominant in trade and commerce. They are apologetic about apartheid which also weakens their position as community in South Africa. In 2017 South Africa has decided to downgrade its embassy in Tel Aviv , it was decided at the headquarter of the ANC. South Africa view Israel as a country which

is working on the same pattern like that of apartheid. The South African Jewish community showed its dismay over this move of South Africa through SAJBD and SAZF the two vital organizations of South African Jewish body, but still failed to connivance the government over this move of downgrading its embassy in Israel (Al Jazeera, 2015).

#### **4.3.3 Jewish emigration in post-democratic South Africa**

After the end of racist or apartheid regime in South Africa there were many expectations from the multiracial government of South Africa. The concept of rainbow nation as proposed by archbishop Desmond Tutu was a kind of hope for among common South Africans. After the 1994 democratic elections of South Africa Jewish community was in apprehension about the emergence of black majority rule as were other whites of South Africa. Jewish which had enjoyed much rights and liberty in apartheid regime. They could flourish their trade and commerce in that regime with much ease and comfort. Once ANC came into power in 1994 with a thumping majority Jews and other whites became little worried about the rise of blacks in political system of South Africa. One needs to remember that Jews were not discriminated by the apartheid regime and on the basis of that South African majority community considered them as supporters of apartheid regime, though there were several significant Jewish leaders who sided with Mandela in his fight against apartheid regime. In democratic South Africa there has been rise in black middle class section of society even larger than white middle class. But South African Blacks condition is yet below the position of whites which includes Jews also. World Bank has identified South African society among the world's most unequal societies (Sifrin, 2015). The new democratic South Africa which was made an important transition in early 1990s from a minority dominated racist regime to a democratic "non-racial and non-sexist regime. This regime has significantly considered itself as a "rainbow nation" which means unity with its diversity. These arguments define itself the victory of ANC in its first democratic elections (Simeon, 2007). Emigration wave was very high during 1970s to the 1990s. Unusually there were large losses that happened in the late 1970s and mid-to-late 1980s, periods of internal political instability and violence. Even in the 1990s there has been no specific political instability and violence, but the levels of migrations were high during 1980s and 1990s. In these normal years, rates of emigration were around 1.5 percent or less than that

yearly. The data for 1990s is not clear. The average rates of emigration were around 1500- to 2000 per year the same numbers previous normal years but from a decreasing base population. The emigration was mostly occurring because of the political instability and unemployment of youths in South Africa and the increasing crime rates against women. It was becoming difficult for Jews to survive in those tough conditions. The main destination of all these emigrating people was mostly the English speaking world for instance, USA, UK, Canada, Australia and Israel. They had an image of these countries in their minds. This emigration had an impact on the South African Jewish diaspora who already were in weak in political scenario of South Africa. Most of these people who emigrated in the recent years were a loss for local South African Jewish community in terms of human capital. They were mostly educated and professional people. The emigration of many young people aged between, 25 to 40 has had a very serious effects on the economic and psychological well-being of their parents. The older people who are left behind in South Africa are living in apartments surrounded by smugglers and are always in threat of murder and theft. It has made local Jewish community much vulnerable and dependent on others as many of them could not find an immediate relatives. (Evan and Kaplan, 2013).

#### **4.4 Nature of Israeli policies**

The year 1948 was difficult time specifically for South African Jewish community. It was the year when apartheid government was established in South Africa and in the same year Israel also came into existence. The Jewish community which was already humiliated and persecuted in Europe where just settling in other parts of world including South Africa. South African Jews had always been staunch believers of Zionism which they inherited from their ancestors in their homeland Lithuania. As is rightly pointed out by Shimoni, in his the American Jewish Year Book 1998 found that “in the comparative aspect of the English speaking countries, there are no distinct features of South African Jewery than overwhelming Zionist character”. Therefore, South African Jews were very much worried about the racist policies of the apartheid government (Hellig, 2005). Israel and South Africa begin to develop diplomatic ties since the early days of their independence till mid-1970s. Both the states started to engage in political, economic and more specifically in military sector which was obvious when Israel provided nuclear technology assistance to South



Africa. Israel could find South Africa the only option during its isolation at international arena and started to develop its ties with South Africa when all other countries of African continent broke their ties with Israel. Since then there had been many up and downs between South Africa and Israel. Israel was aware of its Jewish diaspora present in South Africa and on the basis of that also it begins to develop its strong ties with South Africa apart from its main motive of importing precious resources of uranium and other important resources from South Africa.

However, after the end of apartheid regime, there was a change in bilateral relationship of South Africa and Israel. Israel and South Africa could no longer remain the important partner of Israel particularly after the emergence of democratization of South Africa in 1994. Israel's foreign policy makers are of the view that Israel's relationship with South Africa has put Israeli policy makers in dilemma. There are few who support to continue South Africa Israel relationship, and there are others who wanted to put an end to this bonhomie between the two countries. Israel also isolated by most of the countries mostly after its 1967 and 1973 wars with Arab countries. It started to make its presence in the newly independent states of Africa for its idealistic and realist purposes. Israel seeks support from all these states at international level specifically with regard to its Palestine issue.

Israeli's policy towards South Africa cannot be purely a realistic kind of policy; it is very complex and has to do with the other aspects of it like the neo-liberal approach which is to say the presence of Jewish community in South Africa makes Israel to behave in a neo-liberalist approach. The presence of more than seventy thousand Jewish diaspora in South Africa makes Israel to adopt this approach. Though the Jewish community of South Africa are predominantly from Eastern Europe, but Israel do consider any Jewish diaspora across the world as its own. In this way Israel would try to operate its policy in such a way so that the status and future of Jewish community of South Africa is safe. During apartheid era Jews could enjoy a high economic position, they were working as lawyers, company managers and doctors as well. This could be possible due to the positive political and social ethos towards Jewish community, which led them to live a very comfort and peaceful life. But during 1961 and 1962 Israel supported UN's move of condemning South Africa United

which directly affected the Jewish community of South Africa. (Maulam, 2012). During 1974 Israeli government started to reinstate its diplomatic representation in South Africa. In the same year Israeli government officials including Moshe Dyan and Haim Herzog paid a state visit to South Africa and discussed with South African leaders it was a new push of Israel South Africa relations. This exchange of diplomatic visits did not stop there just after one year the then minister of information Dr. Connie Mudler, visited Israel and this time both the states decided to resume their trade relations.

#### **4.4.1 The issue of Ethnic preponderance**

South Africa and Israel had a history of being close allies from 1948 till 1994. Although both the states have severed their bilateral relations at many occasions particularly during the 1961 and 1967 war .1961 was a time when UN wanted to put sanctions against the apartheid state of South Africa and Israel supported this move of UN this created a wedge between the two countries. The two countries could not remain constant in expanding their bilateral relationship after UN condemned the racist regime of South Africa. Israel was continuing its trade and other military projects with South Africa but at the international forum it had to condemn the South African regime as US too pressured Israel to cut its relationship with South Africa. It was during this time Israel's Ambassador at UN who unequivocally condemned the racist regime of South Africa she said we too had faced the segregation and persecution so we reject the racist regime of South Africa. Israel had a compulsion to criticize the racist regime of South Africa which could give them a legitimacy to develop its connections with the newly independent countries of Africa. However, this alliance between South Africa and Israel was not by chance or purely based on realistic terms, it had had an ideological base which was the ethnic predominance. Both the South Africa and Israel started developing their connections in 1948 the same era when racist government came in power in South Africa and Israel was established in Palestine. They could easily connect their regimes through this ideological base and developed all sorts of relations be it political economic or military collaboration .Although Israel was highly critical of south Africa in 1950s and 60s as it was more in alliance with the newly independent African states (Kane,2013). But the 1973 Yom Kipper war gave a blow to Israel when most of the African countries severed their alliance with Israel. In these

difficult conditions the government in Israel found it convenient to approach the isolated regime of South Africa.

The relationship changed very significantly that, in 1976 Israel requested South African Prime Minister to John Vorster a Nazi supporter and head of Ossewabrandwag a right wing group which favours Hitler to visit Israel. Israel gave a warm welcome to the prime minister who was an admirer of Hitler. This warm welcome given to prime minister Vorster was a direct reflection of the similarities between the two leaders who believed in a dominance of an ethnic state. Following are the similarities in Apartheid and Zionism which was common in both the countries. Both the countries were ruling over the local population of their respective countries when they themselves were settler regimes.

#### **4.4.2 Apartheid and its similarity with Israeli Zionism**

The system of apartheid started in 1948 started by the national party to create a racial segregation within South Africa. It was an ideology which asserted Afrikaner supremacy and privilege against British invasion as well as against blacks. Afrikaners had to bear the colonial rule throughout the nineteenth century. They could maintain their existence and survival by adhering to their language Afrikaans and religion through which they developed a sensibility of group nationalism. They believed in supremacy of race and wanted to remain separately in their specific territories without any other race or nationality. Their main desire was to come into power and run the political system of the country as per their wishes. They wanted take control of major political economic and academic institutions. To achieve these goals national party had to frame the policies of South African state in such a way that would elevate whites over all other races through economic and political dispossession (Mhlauli etl, 2015).The very first attempt of this regime was to institutionalize the clear-cut racial segregation. The prohibit mixed marriages Act (1949), and the immorality Act (1950) illegal marriage, and sexual intercourse between whites and blacks. The population act (1950) which bifurcated the racial groups and in 1966 ,it was obligatory for all citizens who were over 16 years old to possess identity cards and show them to any organized person. Under the terms and conditions of all these acts education for whites, blacks, Asians and coloured people was

administered separately (The Unesco Press, 1974). There was separate curriculum for all these educational institutions. This indicates that the whites wanted to have a separate land for themselves and there should not be any other race in their areas. This is how racism worked in South Africa under national party which believed a supreme race and denied most of the opportunity to local blacks.

#### **4.4.3 Zionism similarity with Apartheid**

South Africa and Israel were both settler colonies which is to say the whites were from Europe and Israeli was established in the land of Palestine. Both the states the minorities became the ruling class particularly in South Africa where as in Palestine the local s were driven out of the land during 1948. In South Africa the white minority started to rule the country and adopted the racial policies and segregated the local Black population of South Africa. Since Israel came into existence in 1948 they started to build a Jewish state in the name of Zionism which aims at establishing a Jewish state with a historical and biblical reference. Once Israel was established in Palestine there was huge dispersion of Arabs from the land, because Zionism wanted to create a state where Jews will be predominantly superior to local Arabs in all spheres of life and to achieve it they established the land in the name of Zionism. Is Zionism really an ideology like any other ideologies (Pogrund, 2010).According to Hebrew Encyclopaedia “is defined follows: a consolidated and systematic combination of ideas, understandings, principles and commandments expressing the unique worldview of a sect, party or social class”. As per this clear-cut definition of Zionism by Encyclopaedia Zionism cannot be and should not be considered any kind of ideology but it is racism which wanted to create a state in the name of race for which Zionism was used as an ideology (Haaretz, 2010). Zionism is a kind of racism which believed in a state specifically for Jewish people and the state of Israel has reflected this racist nature in its policy also, for instance any Jewish person across the world has the right to return to Israel and get full citizenship of Israel while on the other hand it continued to occupy the territories of Palestinian Arabs. Although, the commonalities and shared histories between South Africa and Israel definitely exists, for instance South Africa was dependent on blacks for its laborious work and still depends on them, but in Israeli Zionist state they don't depend on Arabs. The main employment for Palestinians is construction

which does not affect the income of Israeli's because settlement is not the main source of Israeli income. Similarly, Palestinians are captive markets for Israeli goods and produce, not the other way around (Peteet, 2016). Israeli state is always consider Israel as a promised land of Jews only which only would safeguard the Jewish identity. Since South Africa was applying apartheid policies in South Africa and was segregated its blacks in the same manner Jewish state drove the local Arabs from Palestine around 700000 Arabs migrated to other places of the world. This racism was applied on the local inhabitants of South Africa and Israel. Both South Africa and Israel wanted to create a state constituted of only their ethnicity and race denying the existence of locals into their society.

These similarities were seen in both South African apartheid state and in Israeli Zionist state. They find it quite easy to make alliance between the two racist based regimes that were controlling the political system of both the states. Following the racist regimes the international community took a very significant step against apartheid in 1960s and it was condemned by most of the world nations. During this time Israel was also isolated at international forums like in UN and other international forums. During this time both the states deeply developed their bilateral ties to a large extent. Both the states signed nuclear agreement in which Israel was providing nuclear technical know-how to South Africa and in return Israel was receiving nuclear raw material from South Africa. While looking closely at the overall relationship and collaboration between apartheid and Zionist Israel relationship, it indicates they were in a close relationship. Once South African political system changed from a racist to a multiracial government there has been a drastic change in their bilateral relations. South Africa after 1994 has become very critical of Israel and its treatment of Palestinians. The new multiracial government from Mandela to present regimes had been consistently struggling to develop close relationship with Israel, the reasons for this severed relationship is mostly because Israel still does not endorse the multiracial society of Israel which is very contradictory to the very fundamental principles of South Africa's foreign policy. Israel has just developed a so called security wall which actually prohibits Palestinians to get access to the resources available to them and divides Palestinians from Jews. South Africa calls this wall nothing but a modern apartheid of twenty first century which restricts the day to day life activities of Palestinians. Therefore

the existence of racism in Israel is one of the main issues which have impacted the south Africa Israel relations in the post-apartheid period.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

The South African Jewish community which has been living in South Africa since centuries has a history of being one of the affluent Jewish diaspora among the Jews living in the developing countries of the world. They have played their role in different ways, be it in trade and commerce of the country or providing social services to the poor people of South Africa. There is a legacy of South African Jewish diaspora in maintaining the silence during apartheid period which had put the Jewish community at crossroads because South African Jewish community has not raised its voice in a collective manner against apartheid government. This community based silence of South African Jews is considered by majority of the blacks as a kind of compromise with the apartheid regime. Therefore despite its economic dominance in the country it has faced strong resistance from the blacks. The existence of racial regimes in both South Africa and Israel had been the one of the important reasons for their warm relationship till apartheid regime. After the end of racial government in South Africa the relationship between the two states has been affected largely as it considers Israeli policies racist in nature. For example the construction of wall which divides the Israeli from Palestinians and the free citizenship to any Jew across the world. South Africa has continuously raised its voice against the Israeli policies particularly the treatments of its Arab citizens and construction of wall between Israelis and Palestinians. The presence of Jewish diaspora has been working constantly to work for Israel through different organizations for example the SAJBD, SAZF, South African friends for Israel. They have tried to mobilize the common blacks and particularly the ruling ANC which has labeled Israel as apartheid. South African Jewish diaspora has tried to access the churches too in order to develop goodwill among the religious leaders and common Christians. The Jewish diaspora had been arranging educational tours to Israel through which they have tried to mobilize them. However, these activities of South African Jewish diaspora has not much impact on South Africa Israel relationship as there is not much warm relationship till 2017. Though in trade and commerce the two countries have moved forward for example in 1994, South Africa's exports to Israel were only ZAR 1 billion, and imports from Israel

amounted around ZAR 620 million. By 2008, those figures had risen to ZAR 6.8 billion and ZAR 3.5 billion respectively. But at diplomatic level there has been no improvement in cultivating the diplomatic ties between the two countries. In 2017 South African government has decided to downgrade its embassy in Israel because of Israeli's continuous siege of Palestinian territories. South Africa has labelled Israel as an apartheid state as it continues to cut electric and water facility to the occupied territories of Palestine and does not provide them full economic, social and political rights.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

The two countries have undergone several ups and downs in their diplomatic ties, indeed during the apartheid years both the countries had strong political economic relationship. Indeed South Africa was able to develop its technological advancement with the help of Israel. But their relations were affected when Israel condemned the South Africa's apartheid regime at UN IN 1960s. It was a period when Israel and South Africa had strong economic and military connections. This condemnation of Israel towards South Africa had complications for local South African Jews who faced a different sort of treatment for few years. But after the end of apartheid regime the relationship between South Africa and Israel has not improved much and they continued the diplomatic deadlock. The prime reasons for South Africa Israel political deadlock has been the racist and discriminatory approach of Israeli government towards the Palestinians which has even been condemned by different international organizations including the UN, and Human Rights Watch. The earlier racist based bilateral relations between South Africa and Israel has been seen by ANC and the local black South Africans as endorsement of apartheid by South African Jews and by Israeli racist regime as well. In order to reduce this political deadlock South African Jewish community has attempted to bring down the differences at their organizational level. They have tried to pursue and gain the support of South African political and civil society leaders. the existence of different Jewish communal organizations like SAJBD, SAZF, SA Jews for Israel are some important means through which it has tried to gain support for Israel. South Africa itself has tried to play the role of mediator between Israeli and Palestinians from the times of Mandela till the current regime. However, in recent years South Africa has yet to provide a political space to its Jews who could play a role of a catalyst and develop a sort of confidence between South Africans and Israelis. South African Jewish community has gained an upward mobility like their American counterparts since they migrated to South Africa. They have surpassed other white people in educational and in economic sector, but in the foreign policy making they



hardly had any stake in it. Although there were some prominent Jewish political leaders who had been very close to Mandela and other ANC members but they were their proportion was very minimal as compared to those who supported apartheid regime. This legacy of South African Jews had a long lasting effect on South African Jewish community and could become politically strong in South Africa particularly after 1994 which was the beginning of the non-racial government. Therefore one could find that there is still a very weak role of South African Jewish diaspora with regard to bilateral relations between South Africa and Israel when both the states had seen a political and economic deadlock in post-apartheid era. The relationship between South Africa and Israel has not improved over the years particularly after the demise of apartheid government in South Africa. South Africa has shifted from rhetoric to practice with regard to its commitment on race and ethnicity which is one of the main features of its foreign policy. South Africa has recalled its ambassador in 2010 over the continuation of oppressive and racist policies adopted by Israeli government towards Palestinians. It further deteriorated the bilateral relationship between them. In 2017 South Africa ruling party AN has passed a resolution to downgrade its embassy if Israel continue to follow aggressive policies towards Palestinians and other minorities like the black Africans who have taken asylum in Israel in 200 when there was civil war going on in Eretria and Sudan. These kind of policies adopted by Israel has led may prominent scholars like Noam Chomsky, Ilan Pappé, Ben White and Binjamin Pogrund to equate Israel with the South Africa's traditional racist regime (The unique feature of most of these scholars is that they are mostly Jewish). This argument has even been endorsed by other IGOs, NGOs and other global institutions like the UN and others. The current South African regime is a democratic state which has a strong commitment towards the fulfilment of its foreign policy which is guided by anti-colonialism, antiracism, and support for oppressed nationalities. These foreign policy features forbid South Africa to develop any sort of relationship with a country which believes or is practicing racism. However, the Palestine-Israel issue has a severe complications for South Africa which has strong Jewish community within South Africa. For instance, whenever there is any kind of strife between Israel and Palestinian people the local Jewish community in South Africa becomes the main target in South Africa. The relationship between South Africa and Israel from 1994 has been ruined over the Israel's violation of international law, the siege on the

Gaza Strip and the occupation of Palestinian territories. There has been no fundamental change in their diplomatic relationship as South Africa continues to vote against Israel's at international forums like UN and the other transnational organizations. The Jewish diaspora inside South Africa has not been able to create a strong Jewish lobby in South Africa particularly after the democratization of South Africa.

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