

The Penetration of Israel in East Africa Motives, Objectives & Means

تغلغل إسرائيل في منطقة شرق إفريقيا: الدوافع، الأهداف والوسائل

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Abstract: This study is about the Israeli penetration in the region of East Africa, which is near to the so-called the state of Israel. The study analyzes the motives behind the Israeli concern with this region, the objectives and the interests of Israel from this penetration. Finally, the study looks at the means used, and the policies followed by Israel to achieve these objectives and interests.

The study is very important, as it uncovers this penetration, and unveils the Israeli objectives and interests in this important region, and finally, it shows the means which are used to realise these objectives and interests, because this penetration represents a big

الملخص : تدور هذه الدراسة حول تغلغل إسرائيل في منطقة شرق إفريقيا القريبة من ما يسمى بدولة إسرائيل ، وذلك بتحليل دوافع اهتمام هذه الأخيرة بهذه المنطقة ، وكذلك التعرض لأهدافها ومصالحها هناك وكذا الوسائل المستعملة والسياسات المتبعة لتحقيق هذه الأهداف والمصالح.

وهذه الدراسة التي أمامنا مهمة ، لأنها تقوم بكشف خبايا هذا التغلغل ، وإمارة اللثام عن الأهداف والمصالح الإسرائيلية في هذه المنطقة الهامة ، وكذا الوسائل التي تستخدمها إسرائيل هناك ، لتحقيق تلك الأهداف والمصالح ، ولأن هذا التغلغل يشكل خطورة كبيرة ، وتهديدا عظيما على

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| <p>danger, and a great threat to the other African countries, and notably to the Arab countries, to their national security and to their strategic interests in the African continent, which is considered to be an extension of the Arab World.</p> <p>Keywords: Penetration, Israel, East Africa, objectives & Interests, Means.</p> | <p>الدول الإفريقية الأخرى ، وعلى الدول العربية ، بصفة خاصة ، على أممها القومي وعلى مصالحها الإستراتيجية في القارة الإفريقية ، التي تعتبر امتدادا للعالم العربي ،</p> <p>الكلمات المفتاحية: التغلغل، إسرائيل، شرق إفريقيا، الأهداف والمصالح، الوسائل.</p> |
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Introduction:

The penetration of Israel in the region of East Africa is the result of an Israeli strategy that began early, just after the first Zionist conference in 1897, and implemented shortly after the emergence of the Israeli entity in 1948, in an attempt to confront the Arab hostility. This strategy has emphasized on strengthening ties with non-Arab States, surrounding the Arab countries, it has also called for launching efforts to stir up sectarian, ethnic, and religious conflicts in the African and Arab societies, in order to distract them from the Arab-Israeli Conflict, and to deplete their capabilities in other problems and conflicts.

This Israeli strategy was clearly demonstrated by Israel's role in many cases in Africa, the recent one, was in the Sudan, with the support for the popular movements installed in Kenya and Uganda. The other example is the Israeli role in Darfor, in the Sudan as well, without mentioning many other cases.

In fact, this strategy constitutes part of the so- called the Arab-Israeli Conflict, and part of the Israeli security doctrine, based on legitimate acquisition, dominion and control of the region. It also is based on encircling the Arab countries, as well as depriving them of the influence with any region considered promising in many fields: trade and investment & other sectors.

Indeed, the Israeli penetration in East Africa is posing enduring threats to the so- called the Arab National Security, and to their strategic interests there, in light of Arab governments' negligence toward this region, which has given Israel a valuable opportunity to engage in broad activities there, and to establish security, military and economic presence in a region considered very important in many aspects.

The questions to be raised here are: Why is Israel penetrating in the region of East Africa? What are her objectives and interests there? What are the means used and the policies followed to achieve these objectives and interests?

To give answers to these questions, the study will be divided into three parts:

The first part will be looking at the motives & the reasons of the Israeli penetration in the region of East Africa. The second will be concentrating on the objectives & the interests of Israel in this Region. The third will be dealing with the means used by Israel, and the policies which she is following in her penetration, to achieve her objectives and interests.

To treat this subject scientifically, two methods are used: the descriptive method in one side, and the historical one in the other.

Theoretically, the Realist theory, which focuses on realising the national interest, by using the power (hard or soft), is the most convenient one to be applied in this subject, because the most

important reason which pushes Israel to penetrate in the Region of East Africa, is to achieve her national interests, whether security, economic, or political, by using different means of power.

1. Part one: Motives and Reasons of the Israeli Concern with the Region of East Africa :

First of all, it can be said that the Israeli concern with the region of East Africa is due to the importance of this region, because of its distinguished location on the geopolitical level. The region enjoys important maritime passages, either it is the Red Sea, the Gulf of Eden, Bab El Mandeb Strait, or the Indian Ocean. By its location, this region is considered to be the most important trade passage at the world level, because from here the oil of the Gulf is transported to many countries of the world, and different trade exchanges between the East and the West, the North and the South are crossing this Region as well.

This location of the region of East Africa, allows the domination of the Red Sea, by controlling of Bab El Mandeb Strait. Also, from this region, it is possible to dominate the World commercial movement in peace times, while during war time, the region represents an important passage of any military movement coming from the West and the North, (Europe and the USA), to the Gulf Region and to both the Middle, the Far East and the opposite.

Indeed, this geographical location of the Region of East Africa, renders it to be a region of great distinction at the world level, as it links between three continents: Africa, Asia and Europe. Also because the borders of this region are extended to a long distance, the contact with all world regions, becomes very easy and very fast⁽¹⁾

(1)- جلال الدين محمد الصالح، القرن الإفريقي، أهميته الإستراتيجية وصراعاته الداخلية، قراءات إفريقية، عدد 5، أكتوبر 2005، ص 21.

The geographical importance of this region comes also from its geographical connection with the Nile Basin Region, which is dominating the Nile sources, as well as its connection with the most important region in the world, the Middle East, where there are huge reserves of oil in the Gulf and in the Arab Peninsula, in addition to the Red Sea, with its strategic characteristics, as mentioned early. All these factors render the region of East Africa more and more important.

In addition to its strategic importance, due to its distinguished location on the world map, by its domination of the Red Sea, which is an important maritime artery that links the North and the South, the East and the West, the Region of East Africa is distinguished by the plurality and the diversity of its resources and wealth. It is very rich of Timbers (Woods), as forests cover a large surface of its areas. It also is rich of Agricultural and Animal Wealth. The region also processes considerable mineral resources of great significance, as Gold, Uranium, Silver, Copper, Diamonds, Tin, Iron, Gas, Oil...etc. Finally, it is representing a large and an important market for the world's products and goods.

Because of this importance of the Region of East Africa, Israel has given a big concern to it. This concern goes back since the calling by the Zionist Movement to establish a national homeland for the Jews. In the process, and at the end of the 19th century, the leaders of this movement oriented their look directly toward Africa to establish this homeland. When the first Zionist Congress held in 1897 in Basle in Switzerland, under the leadership of (Theodor Hertzl), many places were suggested, among them an area in East Africa.

After the establishment of the so-called the State of Israel in Palestine in 1948, Israel started moving towards Africa, by making relations with its states. These relations have changed over time, vary between convergence and disruption, detente and rapprochement, due to regional and international political events.

As it is known, after the war of 1973, the African countries, including the East Africans, ended their diplomatic relations with

Israel, a change in African perceptions of Israel's image appeared, which went from being viewed as a young and peaceful state, to being seen as a strong, aggressive and expansionist. But by the 1980's, Israel succeeded in restoring these relations, her perception in Africa shifted gradually to its positive image as a model and a successful state⁽²⁾.

As a result, Israel finally succeeded in securing a foothold in the African continent in general, and in the Region of East Africa in particular, by targeting various areas: strategic, military, political, Economic and Cultural...etc⁽³⁾.

Many motives and reasons have pushed Israel to be concerned with the Region of East Africa, and to penetrate into it deeply, notably its geographical and strategic location, as it has just mentioned, in addition to military, economic and political motives and reasons. This concern has been going in accordance with the Israeli hope to achieve many objectives and interests in this region, because, in one side, the region is the nearest one to Israel, which is surrounded by hostile Arab countries, this pushes Israel to look for an exit in the most important point in this region: the Red Sea, then to Bab El Mandeb Strait, and to the Eastern Coast of Africa, in the other side, this concern will also fulfil Israel's economic objectives by bringing in raw materials, through exploiting the resources of the region, and exporting of her products to the large markets of this region. This enables Israel to break up the blockade, the embargo and the isolation imposed on her by the Arab countries, and to realise many benefits and advantages.

Indeed, Israel is trying to get out of her political isolation, and to obtain more political legitimacy, in order to guarantee and to secure her existence and survival in the Palestine in particular, and in the Middle East in general, through secured internationally recognised

⁽²⁾ . Kamel Ibrahim, Israel's Return to Africa, 1980-1990, **Journal of Palestine Studies**, Vol.1, N°. 2, Spring 1990, p 237.

⁽³⁾ Bishku (M), Israel's Relations with East African Countries, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, from Independence to the present, **Israeli Studies**, Vol. 22, N°. 17, 2011, pp 76-100

borders, by establishing diplomatic relations with different States, including those of East Africa, as a prelude to perform other activities and to achieve many objectives: security, military, political, economic, and Cultural, also to deny the racist and the bad image of Israel in the world.

In fact, Israel has departed from values and principles of the Zionist Movement which compose the theoretical and practical bases of her activities. For this reason, she has sought to achieve strategic objectives which are linked to her internal and external spheres, as expressed by her leaders: “The security of Israel surpasses the Arab States, to cross to Turkey, Pakistan, Iran and Africa”. Africa is considered to be important in these activities, because it allows Israel to carry out an effective role in the Red Sea, and in the whole area as well.

The closeness of the region of East Africa to the Arab Countries, constitutes also to its importance for Israel to secure the maritime lanes and routes in the Red Sea, which are the conduits for her trade to Asia, the Far East, South Africa, and to other parts of the world. This is why this region is introduced by Israel into her national security system.

There is also the political and the diplomatic importance of the States of the region of East Africa, as they represent a voting power in the international meetings, especially at the United Nations, this gives the Israeli diplomacy the opportunity to put pressures and influences on the decisions of the international institutions and organisations to her side, at the same time, it enables her to release the political isolation which imposed on her by the Arab countries, through wining these African voices and supports.

Finally, Israel looks at the States of this Region as they are underdeveloped countries, which are liable to Israel’s economic penetration, to invest in its huge resources, and to sell her products in

its large markets. All this, benefits the Israeli economy enormously, in addition to other benefits and advantages⁽⁴⁾.

So, the region of East Africa with its great geographical and strategic importance, its proximity to the red sea, its location on the cost of this sea, Bab El Mandeb, the Gulf of Eden, and the Indian Ocean, its resources and wealth, its closeness to the Arab countries, and finally its political and diplomatic importance, all these give this region a great importance to Israel and it deserves her concern.

From what it has been said, it is obvious that the region of East Africa is presenting an important concern in the foreign policy of Israel, for this reason her decision makers have adopted a special policy to deal with it, according to firm plans well prepared and well implemented, to penetrate inside it and to achieve many objectives and interests, by using different means, as it will be seen later.

2. Part Two: Objectives and Interests of Israel in the Region of East Africa:

In this part the study will be focussing on the most important objectives of Israel in the Region of East Africa, which push her to penetrate into it deeply. These objectives are ranging from security and strategic, to military and political, to economic and trade objectives⁽⁵⁾.

2.1, Strategic and Security Objectives

These are the most important objectives of Israel. The strategic concern of Israel with the Region of East Africa, as mentioned earlier, goes back since the establishment of the so-called the state of Israel in 1948, in the heart of the Arab world, because this region enters in

⁽⁴⁾- عشاب سعاد وشتوان كاميليا، السياسة الإسرائيلية تجاه القارة الإفريقية، دراسة حالة اثيوبيا، مذكرة ماستر، جامعة مولود معمري، تيزي وزو، 2016-2017، ص ص 114-117.

⁽⁵⁾ -Hamdi Abdel- Rahman, **Israel and its Soft Power in Africa**, **Khutabaa**, 30 Dec. 2009.

what is called the vital strategic space of Israel, as Sharoune, when he was defence minister, said before the security and external committee of the (Knesset): “In order to establish our great state as a Jewish identity and as a regional power, we have to secure the vital space of our country, in a region that contains the strategic interests of Israel, which includes all near regions, in addition to Iran, Turkey, North and East Africa”⁽⁶⁾.

Without going into big details, it can be said that the most important Israeli strategic and security objectives in the region of East Africa, are the following:

Securing the Red Sea, obtaining the Nile River Waters, limiting the Spread of the Islamic Movements in the region, and moving the Falasha Jews into Palestine.

2.1.1, Securing the Red Sea

The political and economic geography, helps us to understand clearly the strategic meaning of the Red Sea to Israel. The great importance of the Red Sea comes from sets of old realities and new variables. The location of this Sea is very important, because it overlooks the eastern coast of Africa, and the western coast of the Arab Peninsula, then there is the Suez Canal at the beginning of the Mediterranean Sea, and Bab Al Mandeb Strait as a gate to the Indian Ocean, in addition to the important resources existed in the countries of the region, as well as the resources existed in the floor of the Red Sea itself.

In fact, Israel wants to make herself a great regional power, this wish is based on her Zionist principles and on her expansionist plans. Many internal, regional and International available factors have helped Israel to express this desire and to realise it perfectly, the role of the Red Sea is based on this Israeli expansionist policy, which is linked to the Zionist ideology, in which according to the Jewish historical and

⁽⁶⁾- وفاء عباس أحمد، السياسة الإسرائيلية تجاه القرن الإفريقي ما بعد الحرب الباردة (1990-2017)،

بحث تكميلي لنيل شهادة الماجستير، قسم العلوم السياسية، جامعة الخرطوم 2018.

religious claims, the borders of the Great Israel extends from the Euphrates to the Nile River, which means that the Red Sea is included within these borders, therefore, the Red Sea naturally has an important place in the Israeli strategy.

More than that, this importance of the Red Sea, has doubled notably since it has had a significant role in all Arab-Israeli Wars (1956, 1967, 1973...etc.). It also is of special importance in the Israeli strategy, because it forms a field of any Arab-Israeli possible confrontation in the future.

In addition, the Red Sea is essential to Israel's commercial interests and activities, because 20% of her trade passes through this Sea and Bab El Mandeb, Strait, upon which Israel depends for her exports and imports with Africa, Asia, Australia and with the other countries. Because of that, the Red Sea as a road of Israel to the world, serves and refreshes her economy very much⁽⁷⁾.

As a consequence, in order to achieve her strategy in the Red Sea, Israel has always been aiming at following the coming strategic objectives:

1. Extending her military presence in the Red Sea, and fixing it, as well as securing her interests there, which can give her the possibility of a direct attack against the Arabs at Bab El Mandeb Strait.
2. Finding strategic depth in the Red Sea, which allows Israel to observe and to detect any Arab military activity and movement in the region.
3. Using her superiority to break up any blockade against her forces and her ships in the Red Sea in the future, in case of any Arab Israeli confrontation.

⁽⁷⁾- كيلاني هيثم، الإستراتيجية الإسرائيلية في الجزيرة العربية، مجلة الوحدة، عدد 56، المجلس القومي للثقافة، الرباط، ماي 1989، ص 10.

4. Guaranteeing the communication movements and the security to preserve her ships, either military or civil, between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, from Eilet to Haifa and on.
5. Breaking up the isolation circle imposed on her by the Arab embargo and blockade economically and diplomatically.
6. Protecting Israel's external trade with the Afro -Asian countries, by preserving the freedom of trade movement and navigation in the Red Sea⁽⁸⁾.

To realise her strategic objectives, Israel has even used military actions under the pretext to secure herself and her interests. For example, during her war on Gaza in 2008-2009, she waged an air raid against a convoy of Lorries in the Sudan, with the pretext that they were carrying war materials, to be sent to Gaza later. She also waged an air raid in 2012 against (El Yarmook) factory in Port Sudan, with the pretext that the factory produces middle range missiles, to be launched on Israel or on her interests in the Region.

2.1.2, Obtaining the Nile River Waters

Among the determinants of Israel's policy in the region of East Africa, is her objective to get part of the Nile River Waters.

In fact, the Nile River represents in the Jewish thought and heritage, part of the land of Great Israel, which according to the Jewish allegation, Allah promised the Jews in the (Torah). Because of that, they claim that they have historical and religious rights in this important River.

From this, it looks as the desire of Israel in the Nile Waters is old and well known, because of this, the water problem becomes and is considered to be part of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, the nature enduring

⁽⁸⁾-السلطان عبد الله عبد المحسن ، البحر الأحمر والصراع العربي الإسرائيلي ، مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية ،

بيروت 1995 ، ص 18.

of this conflict confirms that the water problem has become one term of it, this is due to the Israeli suffering from water problem. That is why she has been seeking to be supplied with water since her existence, because her water resources are limited, adding to the increase of the Jewish immigrants coming to Israel, as well as the economic and agricultural developments, all create more needs to waters.

As a consequence, Israel has been trying to get water by any means, even stealing it. This idea of stealing the Arab waters has gone in parallel with the Israeli policy of occupying the Arab territories. In this context, Israel has changes the courses of the three Rivers of Lebanon: (El Wazzani), (El Hasbani) and (El Litani), to the Nakave Desert. More than that, some reports revealed that Israel seized and plundered 80% of the Arab waters resources to guarantee about 40% of her needs. This has also been executed by stimulating the non-Arab countries to play a negative role, concerning the water security, in encountering the Arab Countries participants in the rivers basins⁽⁹⁾.

In the process of the Peace Settlement with Egypt, after Camp David treaty and concerning the distribution of waters, Israel has put two projects models:

-The first, (Yashaa Kelly Tahal) Model, which stands on the base that the Israeli water problem can be solved by using 1% of the Nile Waters, and that this project would solve the Egyptian and Arab waters problems, by irrigating the North of Sinai and supplying Gaza Strip, Israel, and the West Bank by waters from the Nile.

- The second project, called the Blue White Nile Model, put by the former vice director of the Israeli Water Agency (Shaol Abrozof). This project can be executed by digging tunnels under the Suez Canal, to push the Nile Waters to Sinai, then to the Nakave Desert. But this

⁽⁹⁾ سليمان عطية راندا، المياه وقود حروب المستقبل (1999-2004)، قراءات إفريقية، عدد 2، مركز دراسات الراسد، الخرطوم سبتمبر 2005، ص 68.

project was suspended because of oppositions in Egypt and in the Arab and African countries⁽¹⁰⁾.

After the failure of her projects, Israel moved away from the direct line of confrontation, to the second line of waging a long cold war against the Arabs, especially Egypt and the Sudan, by using non-Arab neighbouring countries, who participate in the Nile Basin, as a front attack line, by following strategies and actions that go in accordance with Israel's policy and demands, under the pretext of her national security interests and her development projects, at the time while she has been penetrating into these countries, under the cover of technical military aids and other activities.

More than that, Israel has entered as a direct and essential partner in many water projects, notably in the Ethiopian water projects, through many studies done by Israeli experts, to construct dams on the Blue Nile, as well as other important projects and activities of irrigations and agriculture⁽¹¹⁾.

The most important project is the Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD), in which Israel has been encouraging Ethiopia to complete it. She supported Ethiopia even with the Egyptian disapproval, and the failure of negotiations between Egypt and Ethiopia, in an attempt to guarantee her own future water security, and to get share of the Nile Waters. Israel went even more in helping Ethiopia to benefit from the water resources in developing agriculture and supplying the country with Israeli technology of irrigation and other benefits. More than that she sold to Ethiopia very advanced anti-planes Missiles, to encounter any possible Egyptian air strike against the Dam.

⁽¹⁰⁾الأحمر عبد الرحمن، أزمة المياه في الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي، دراسات استراتيجية، عدد 8، الرياض

1999، ص 155

⁽¹¹⁾ نفس المرجع، ص 156

2.1.3, Limiting the Spread of the Islamic Movements in the Region of East Africa:

In this objective, Israel seeks to limit the influence of the Islamic Groups, because she looks seriously at their rise and the increase of their expansion in this Region. For this purpose, she aims at deepen alliances, especially with those Christian countries of the region, in order to stand up against this increasing and expansion. Israel wants from this to achieve two objectives:

- First, presenting herself to the USA and to the western countries, as the first defender of the democratic values, by fighting the international terrorism, through confronting the Islamic Movements in the Region of East Africa.
- Second, she looks at the expansion of the Islamic movements in this region, as a danger which threatens her national security and her interests in this region. By limiting their expansion and spread, she can preserve and protect all these.

As a consequence, East African Countries, especially Kenya, Ethiopia, and Uganda, have become bases for Israeli Intelligent Services, provided with the latest monitoring devices, in order to have information about what is going on in the region and to act accordingly. This aims to reduce the spread of the Islamic Groups in East Africa, which are considered to be a direct threat to Israel's national security and to her interests and those of her allies in this region.

This raising concern of Israel about the threat posed by these movements on her interests in the region, a subject which becomes a major focus in her relations with the East African Countries. Her

objectives in this regard, are to confront these movements and to prevent any threat on herself and on her interests in the Region, because many arms attacks and operations have been executed by these groups, against Israeli and western targets & interests in this region. In particular threats posed by (Al Qaeda) and the Somali Islamic Movement (Al Shabab), which have carried out many operations, such as the operation attack on the Westgate Mall in Nairobi which is owned by a Jewish business man, that led to a military intervention by Israel.

Because of that the Israeli Intelligent Services are active in the region, their activities reached their peak in 1976, when an Israeli commandos raided an Air France plane at Antebi airport in Uganda, after a Palestinian group hijacked the plane which was carrying 83 Israelis, out a total of 229 passengers, in order to demand that the Israelis on board be exchanged for Palestinian prisoners.

In 1998, after the bombarding of US embassy in Nairobi and Dar El Salem, the Israeli Intelligent Agency (Al Moussad), became very active in the East African Region, under the pretext of combating terrorism. Israeli Intelligent Services have continued their operations in Africa to the present day, notably in Kenya. For example, in 2013, during the attack on the Westgate Mall in Nairobi, by the Somali Group (Al Shabab), as already mentioned, Israeli forces intervened in support of Kenyan troops to regain control of the Mall. More than that, Israel assisted in building a coalition between Kenya, Ethiopia, South Sudan, and Tanzania, to combat Somali and other Islamic Groups which threaten them.

Consequently, the security pressures faced by these regional countries, such as exposure to the threat of (Al Qaeda) and (Al Shabab), and other groups, provides a fertile environment for coordination between Israel and East African Countries and the strengthening of security efforts aimed at curbing these movements.

In this context, during the visit of the Israeli prime minister (Netanyahu) on July 8th.2016, to East Africa, which included visits to Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, & Rwanda, he indicated that Israel and the Countries of the Region, would work together to counter terrorism. His talks with African leaders focused on security issues and the promotion of security cooperation between the two sides. This indicates that the terrorism factor is a significant Israeli motive with regard to consolidating relations with countries in the region and her penetration there.

2.1.4, Moving the Falasha Jews to Palestine

The subject of moving the Jews to Palestine has occupied the principal axe on which the world Zionism has relied upon. This idea appeared during its first congress held in Basle in 1897. The Zionist Movement made efforts aimed at introducing the idea of the return of the Jews to the so-called the (Promised Land), to become the essential base of the Zionist consideration and thinking.

When the first Zionist dream was achieved in 1948, by the creation of the so-called the state of Israel, the Zionist Movement got ready for the second stage, to gather the Jews of the (Diaspora) in the (Promised Land). For this purpose, the relations of Israel with the states where Jewish groups live, have been focusing on the execution of moving these groups to Palestine.

In Africa, Israel has consecrated a great part of political, economic and military efforts, especially toward Ethiopia, to move the Falasha Jews⁽¹²⁾.

In fact, the Falasha Jews regard themselves as the 13th Jewish lost tribe in the Jewish history, although some thinkers say that they are Christians, but some Jewish elements had infiltrated them.

Whatever the mater, the Falasha Jews in Ethiopia are divided into two tribes, the first, lives in the north of Ethiopia, the second, called

(12)- Sorour Abdel-Nassir, Israeli policy in Sub-Saharan Africa after the Cold War, **Hebron University Journal**, Vol.5, No.2, 2010, PP 155-173

the Mora, which there are doubts about it being Jewish, the Israeli (Rabbis) say that this tribe entered into Christianity two centuries ago, as a consequence, they refused the immigration of its members to Israel, because of that, but they accepted them later, for political and demographic reasons, (the need to reinforce the demographic factor)⁽¹³⁾.

Concerning relations with Ethiopia, there is an Israeli myth which pretends that these relations went back to the 3rd century BC, and that the son of Salomon, (Menilik) from his wife the (Queen Belkiss), is the founder of (the Habasha), which used to be called (Mekda), and that his nationalism is (the Amhara), to which the Ethiopian emperors belong, till their last one (Hayli Silassi), who has always been proud of his ancient link to the Jewish history, by regarding himself as the grandson of the prophet Salomon, which has facilitated many matters.

Now concerning the moving of the Falasha Jews, however, in the period between 1975 and 1985, Israel supplied Ethiopia with huge quantities of sophisticated arms and weapons, in return Ethiopia should fulfil the Israeli desire, to move the Falasha Jews to Palestine. After many attempts, and as result of many efforts, the real beginning of this action was in 1983, when thousands of Falasha Jews were transported by an air bridge through the Sudan to Palestine.

Moving the Falasha Jews to Palestine reached a great level in 1985, when a biggest operation of collective movement has been completed, known as the (Moses Operation), in which more than 15000 Ethiopian Jews were moved to Palestine by an air bridge as well.

In 1991, the moving of the Falasha Jews from Ethiopia, came back again, by a great operation called by the Jews themselves, (the King Salomon Operation), in which 18000 Ethiopian Jews, were transported to Palestine, by a great air bridge also.

⁽¹³⁾عبد القادر ياسر، التغلغل الإسراني في إفريقيا، دار جامعة إفريقيا للطباعة والنشر، الخرطوم 1998.

By 1997, the number of the Falasha in Israel reached 57000, their relation with Ethiopia is still going on, they always travel to this country, to buy goods, many of them have financial and trade relations of imports and exports between Israel and Ethiopia. Some of them have bought large agricultural lands financed by the World Bank to cultivate cotton and other crops.

Whatever the number of the Falasha Jews moved to Palestine, and whatever their situation inside the Israeli society, and their relation with Ethiopia, the Falasha subject remains as an important link of Israel with Ethiopia, and then with the Region of East Africa, used by Israel to serve other objectives⁽¹⁴⁾.

2.2, Political and Diplomatic Objectives

Israel has been seeking to get out from the political isolation, to obtain more international legitimacy, and to establish diplomatic relations with the largest possible number of African states. She has also aimed at weaken African support for the Arab issues, at the same time, at winning the support of these states and their public opinion. These efforts would cause the Arabs to lose important assets in political support, by shifting the votes of the African continent in international organisations to the Israeli side.

In fact, the aim of Israel to establish diplomatic relations with the States of East Africa, represents a prelude to realise her objectives, and to perform other activities, as well as to deny racism and other negative descriptions and images on Israel.

When going back to the beginning of the Israeli diplomacy, it shows that Israel has come across many events, which pushed her to reconsider her policy towards the African states, among them there are two important events:

⁽¹⁴⁾العبيدي مهدي صالح، يهود إثيوبيا (الفلاشا)، والعلاقات الإستراتيجية الإسرائيلية الإثيوبية، المجلة القطرية للعلوم السياسية، 26 (1)، 2002، ص 98.

The first, in 1947 at the United Nations, with regard to the partition resolution of Palestine, the Ethiopian Emperor (Hayli Silassi), showed sympathy toward Israel during the meetings debates about the partition plan, but he was fearful to establish relations with countries which have many enemies, for this reason, Ethiopia abstained from the vote about the partition, as many other African countries did⁽¹⁵⁾.

The second event and perhaps the most important one, which led to the great change in the Israeli diplomacy toward Africa in general, and toward East Africa in particular, is the holding of the Ban Dung Conference in 1955, Israel was not invited to attend it. More than that, the conference, in its final declaration, condemned the occupation of the Arab territories by Israel which was looked as a non wishful entity.

These two events and others, have contributed to more isolation of Israel in the world, a situation which shocked her decision makers, in the word of the Israeli foreign minister at that time: "The Ban Dung Conference represents a big diplomatic upside down to us, more than 2 billion people stood against 1.8 million Israelis. This is a moral decline to us in our foreign policy"⁽¹⁶⁾.

For this reason, Israel has perceived of the necessity to move politically and diplomatically towards the states that present great voices in international meetings and conferences, especially the African countries, at the time when she was in great needs of all international support. In this mater, the Israeli first president (Ben Gourioune) declared: "The African states are not powerful, but their voices in the international meetings equal in their value the voices of the states which have more power and more influence in the world". The Israeli officials always say: "We need Africa to vote for us in the United Nations".

⁽¹⁵⁾ سند وليد سعيد، سياسة التغلغل الإسرائيلي في منطقة القرن الإفريقي، السياسة الدولية 1992، ص

⁽¹⁶⁾ المرجع نفسه، ص 268.

This Israeli perception came in the sense of her awareness about the reality of the dimension of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, and the extent of the possibility to benefit from the African States in this subject. This became certain notably after the adaptation by the General Assembly of the United Nations of a resolution in 1975, which described Zionism as a sort of racial discrimination.

This resolution created a world uproar, when the USA criticized it strongly and threatened to leave the United Nations, and to reduce her financial contribution to the international organisations. While Israel realized why the states of Africa have supported this resolution, especially Ethiopia and Uganda, because of the non- movement of the Israeli diplomacy in one side, and the activity of the Arab petroleum states, by providing aids to these states in the other⁽¹⁷⁾.

All these events, pushed Israel to make big diplomatic efforts, to have good and strong relations with the African countries in general and the countries of East Africa in particular, through using different means, as it will be seen later⁽¹⁸⁾.

2. 3, Economic and Trade Objectives

Israel has built her relations with the Countries of East Africa, also on the base of the economic cooperation, by sinking these Countries' markets by her exports, notably weapons and arms, technological materials, and different products. She has seen that these countries are more suitable markets, because of their dependence on her in providing these things, as well as technical experts, the means of extraction of prime mineral and agricultural resources, in building dams for irrigations...etc. For this reason, she has been seeking to reinforce and to consolidate her economic position in these countries, through benefiting from her political relations with the states of East Africa.

⁽¹⁷⁾ حمدي ع. الرحمن، إسرائيل وقوتها الناعمة في إفريقيا، المرصد للدراسات الإستراتيجية، مركز الجزيرة

2011، ص 25

⁽¹⁸⁾ Kamel Ibrahim, Israel's Return to Africa, (1980-1990), **Journal of Palestine Studies**, Vol. 1, No. 2, Spring 1990, P 237.

In order to succeed, Israel presents herself to these states as a friend, and as a model to be imitated in her level of power and progress, and that she is looking for creating positive changes towards the development and the advancement of their societies, in order to convince them to deal with her and to open the ways to penetrate more into the region, this time from the door of the economy.

This Israeli economic strategy has been serving Israel in many points:

1. Gaining the supports of the States of the region, because they benefit from the Israeli aids in both military and civil sectors, and because of their increasing reliance on the Israeli expertise, etc.... This would put the African countries in an embarrassing situation, if they take a hostile attitude toward Israel.
2. The region of East Africa gives Israel a large opportunity to employ great number of her technical expertises, which are over of her needs, because she has benefited from large Jewish well educated and well-formed immigrants coming from advanced countries notably the USA, Europe and Russia.
3. The region supplies Israel with raw materials and resources, which are of a great need to her industries, notably, because their prices are cheap. This means preserving Israeli's advanced industrial development, necessitates to get raw materials, that allows to produce more goods, and to sell them in the large markets of these countries and others, because exports are of vital element for economic development and maintenance of military and civil industries, since the Israeli local market is small and limited, when compared to external markets, such as in Africa. The central element of the economic aspects, is the sale specially of knowledge, security equipments, as well as weapons systems, which contribute greatly to the Israeli economy.
4. Any success achieved by the Israeli economy, means a new step toward breaking up the Arab economic boycott imposed on Israel, this

would even result in imposing the Israeli presence in the Arab region⁽¹⁹⁾.

More than that, Israel's deep economic penetration in the Region of East Africa, reached a level that gives Israel the privileges to explore for oil and other resources in these countries, and to establish many companies there, notably in Ethiopia where Israel has hundreds of them.

Adding to this, and in order to achieve her economic objectives, Israel has even restored to twisted and suspected ways, notably with the African countries which refuse to recognise her, or to deal with her, such as Somalia, for example Israel transferred big sums of money by Jewish traders who hold Somali nationality. She also did this with Djibouti, when she seeks to be present in this country, through French experts, who have loyalty to Israel⁽²⁰⁾.

Netan Yahu's visit to the four countries in 2016, mentioned before, reveals Israel's broad economic ambition to further and to strengthen trade and investment relations with Africa. In addition, Israel wishes to diversify her economic partnership, ending what is viewed as her current over reliance on American and European markets.

3. Part Three: Means of Israel's penetration in the Region of East Africa:

Israel has been using many channels to infiltrate her activities into the African continent and to penetrate into different sides of life, especially into the important sectors in the African Countries. She has always decided to create new channels in order to intensify her activities, and to develop them more. Among these means, we

⁽¹⁹⁾ مجموعة باحثين، *العرب والقرن الإفريقي، جدلية الجوار والانتماء*، المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات، بيروت 2013، ص 87.

⁽²⁰⁾ المرجع نفسه، ص 270

mention: Diplomatic, Military, Security, The Media, Technical and Humanitarian Aids, and finally the Employment of Arab-African Contradictions in one side, and African Ethnic Conflicts in the other.

3.1, Diplomatic Means

At the time when the majority of the African States were under colonisation, except Ethiopia, Africa was Unknown to the Israeli diplomacy, but after the independence of these Countries, the Israeli policy has become aware about them, and her diplomacy has become very active. Since then, Israel has sought to establish strong relations with them. At the beginning and since 1953, she aimed at establishing a web of diplomatic relations with 33 African States. In many times, this web had prepared and helped linking her different activities, and establishing relations with the other African countries.

In some African Countries, Israel has formed close ties with African Leaders. Her cultivation of these ties, shows an emerging trend whereby the state aims to develop a broad base of loyal supporters among members of the African Political Elites, many of whom have been educated and trained in Israel.

Then the diplomatic representations and the Israeli diplomats have been used as channels to perform the Israeli activities in different sectors. Israel has emphasized to choose those diplomats who have the ability and the knowledge to perform these activities in Africa perfectly. Their missions have not been limited to deal with these countries as traditional diplomats only, but they have also been as soldiers, assigned to accomplish other missions in Africa.

In the process, Israel has resorted to sign agreements of friendship, and agreements of aids in different fields with the African

Countries. These agreements necessitate sending Israeli experts and receiving Africans in Israel⁽²¹⁾.

All these diplomatic activities resulted in establishing strong political and diplomatic relations between Israel and the African countries in general and the countries of East Africa in particular, and helped her to penetrate more and more.

3.2, Economic Means

The economy of Israel is deprived of self potentialities to develop, because of shortage in natural resources, as well as, because of the small local market. As a consequence, this economy depends on the external world in many levels. It is in need of the means of production, notably raw materials, it also needs markets to dispatch the surplus of her products; the civil as well as the military products.

For this reason, Israel has established strong economic relations with the states of East Africa, these relations include several sectors. In the financial sector, Israel has seized the opportunity of the African countries' needs of money, by offering them loans not for their interests, but in order to realise many objectives, among them, these loans would give the adequate and the suitable opportunity for more infiltration. These loans are often provided as a form of goods or different materials. This of course would help the Israeli activities to infiltrate more and more into different sectors⁽²²⁾.

The African Countries look at Israel also as the essential bond to get western economic, financial aids and technologies, especially the Americans, because of the nature of the special relation between Israel and the USA.

(21) - شمس الهدى إبراهيم، التدخل الإسرائيلي في السودان، كيف ولماذا؟، شركة السودان للمطابع والعملة المحدودة، الخرطوم 2005، ص 66.

(22) - الزغبى عبد الكريم، مخاطر التغلغل الصهيوني في إفريقيا، دار كاظمة للترجمة والنشر والتوزيع، الكويت 1985، ص 7

Israel also provides the desirable technical experts to the African Countries, at the same time, her companies are exercising many economic and development projects, which are financed either by western countries, or by international institutions, as well as by Israel herself, through executing many projects by a direct Israeli financing.

Despite the severing of diplomatic ties with the African countries in the 1970's, economic relations between Israel and Africa remained unaffected, while Israel sought to restore diplomatic relations, notably the years 1980-1981, were the last period of wholly severed diplomatic relations, and perception of Israel in Africa shifted gradually to its contemporary positive image as a model and successful state, which prevails to this day. As a result, Israel succeeded in securing a foothold in the Region of East Africa, by targeting various areas in need of support, such as agriculture and technological development and others⁽²³⁾.

In another side, there are thousands of Israelis who are working in significant economic centres in East Africa, especially in the areas of agriculture, trade, Management and Project Services...etc. In these areas Israeli companies monopolise many of the economic activities, especially in Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia, as is demonstrated by the number of Israeli companies working in the region. Examples of these companies; the Israeli company (Solel Bonch), which works in the construction sector, establishing air and sea ports, and constructing residential and government buildings. (Agrotip) company, engages in the development of agriculture. (CORE) company, which produces electronic equipments and metal devices, (Mortola) Israel, which is involved in extending electricity and water networks, and importing water control devices. While Israeli firm (Charmel Chemicals), specialises in chemical productions, has a number of projects in East Africa.

In this process, and during Natan Yahu's visit to Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya and Rwanda, in 2016, mentioned before, he signed

⁽²³⁾ Sorour Abdel-Nassir, Israel Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa after the Cold War, **Hebron University Journal**, 5 (2), 2010, PP 155- 173.

cooperation agreements and memoranda of understanding with Ethiopia in the fields of agriculture, tourism, and investments. Israel also concluded agreements with Kenya in the fields of health and immigration, and in the fields of agriculture and irrigation.

More than that, the Israeli cabinet approved a proposal to open offices of Israel's Agency for development cooperation (MASHAV), in all 4 countries during the visit, & announced the allocation of 13 billion Dollars, to promote economic relations and cooperation in the region. This coincides with a period of rapid growth in Israeli investments in Ethiopian market, especially in the areas of floriculture and agriculture processing. The number of Israeli projects in Ethiopia has reached 187, with a combined value of 58.4 million Dollars.

With Rwanda the Israeli firm (Ebony Enterprises Limited), signed a contract with the Ministry of Agriculture of this country, to carry out a major irrigation project. Israel is also involved in a massive joint project with Germany and Kenya, to clean up the waters of Kenya's Lake Victoria, which covers an area of nearly 69000 Km², and is the main upstream source of the Nile River.

In fact, in the last few years, Israel has formed active relations with East African Countries in the fields of trade and investment, Joint cooperation in trade is shown by the presence of Israeli offices and commercial companies, notably in Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya, which serve to reinforce trade between Israel and these countries, given the increase in Israeli exports to countries in the region over the past years. In 2008, for example, Israeli exports to Ethiopia reached 18 million Dollars, while the imports from Ethiopia, reached 45 million Dollars. Israel exports chemicals, industrial machinery and soft ware to Ethiopia, and imports agricultural products and tobacco from this country, with the level of both exports and imports rising steadily between 1990 and 2008, the value of Israel's annual exports to Ethiopia more than tripled, going from 1.9 to 5.8 million Dollars a year. In 2007, the value of Israeli exports to Kenya, reached 97

million Dollars, while Israel imported 22 million Dollars, worth of goods from the country⁽²⁴⁾.

3.3, Strategic, Military and Security Means

In the field of the Strategic Means, it has already been demonstrated the importance of the Red Sea to the strategy of Israel, which started in 1949, just after the establishment of the Israeli presence in the (Aqaba Gulf), with the aim to have contacts and relations with the external world through this sea. Since this year, the Red Sea has also become part of the strategic field of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

After the 1956 war, Israel came out with a big gain, manifested in opening the (Tiran Strait) to her navigation from Eilat, and entrance into the Red Sea itself. But when Egypt declared on May 1967, to return to the state before the 1956 war, and applied that, by closing the Gulf of Aqaba, and Tiran strait, Israel used this action as a pretext of being suffocated, and waged the 1967 war, which resulted in a big victory of Israel, and a great defeat of the Arabs. Since that time, Israel started establishing trade and military relations with countries of East Africa, the Far East and Australia, through the Red Sea. These relations have enlarged to reach Iran, from where Israel has been importing the majority of her oil, shipping through this Sea to Eilat in Israel⁽²⁵⁾.

To realise her aims, Israel started establishing her presence in the Red Sea, the first step was to dominate this Sea itself, she started that by occupying the Arab territories in the north, and occupying the Islands of the Red Sea in the south, with the aim to secure her freedom of movement and navigation, which according to Israel, is linked directly to her national security.

⁽²⁴⁾ Butime Herman, Shifts in Israeli- African Relations, Strategic Assessment, 17 (3), October 2014.

⁽²⁵⁾ Levey. Z, Israel's Strategy in Africa 1961- 1967, International Journal of Middle Studies, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2004, PP 71-87.

Because the Red Sea is characterised by this vital and strategic importance to Israel, she has been following 3 types of actions to achieve her domination over this Sea: first, consolidating her military power and presence there, second, establishing friendly political relations, especially with Ethiopia and Eriteria, and third, exploiting the Islands of the Red Sea.

In the 1973 war, the conflict moves from the Gulf of Aqaba, and the Suez Canal, in the northern part of the Red Sea, to the south part, where there are Bab El Mandeb Strait, Eriteria, Ogaden, the Gulf of Eden and the Indian Ocean⁽²⁶⁾.

In fact, the policy of Israel in the red Sea wishes to confront the Arab strategic objectives, and establishing a special strategic depth in East Africa and the whole region. Because of the organic link between this strategic depth, and the security of Israel, and her capability to extend more and more.

Because of this, Israel has performed intensified efforts since the 1950's up to now, to reinforce her relations with the African states, especially Ethiopia, which does not have an exit to the Red Sea. More than that, in order to obtain advantages economically, politically, and militarily, Israel has aggravated conflicts in the Red Sea Region, to deny it to be Arabic. As example, she operated shipping harbours and surveillance station in Eriteria. She has also built a military base near Mompaza Airport in Kenya⁽²⁷⁾

With Ethiopia, the relations between Israel and this country, are very important, Ethiopia is regarded by Israel as the most significant ally in the African continent, which is necessary to preserve relations with. The essential element of this choice is that Ethiopia is the regional country most fearful of the Arabs, and the most hostile to them, because she is the only non-Islamic country which overlooks on the Red Sea. Therefore, establishing special and strong relations with this country represents the only guarantee that this Sea would not

⁽²⁶⁾السلطان عبد الله عبد المحسن، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 200

⁽²⁷⁾.سند وليد سعيد ، مرجع سبق ذكره ، ص 261.

become an Arabic Lake, a situation that threatens Israel's influence and limits her freedom in the region.

Indeed, Israel is regarding Ethiopia as the most important country, which is linked to her security in the red Sea, because of that she has been supplying this country since the 1950's, by different military aids; arms, weapons, spare parts, as well as constructing military schools and others important cooperative activities in the projects of constructing dams, irrigations & in agriculture.

The influence of Israel in the region of East Africa resulted in her domination of the Red Sea and its exits, Bab El Mandeb Strait, especially because of her presence in the Eriterian coasts and islands in this Sea, where she has established military bases, and becomes able to close this Strait at any time. This gives her the power to be the essential player in the courses of events in the region.

Concerning the military and the security sectors, this field has acquired a big concern by Israel, this manifested in her activity in the military field in the African countries, which can be divided into direct trainings of the military men, and providing military materials, either to the African states, or to the opposition parties: the armed milices, and the tribal movements⁽²⁸⁾.

From the beginning of her contacts with the African countries, Israel was aware of the importance of establishing friendly relations with their leaders, or with candidates to be leaders in the future, taking into consideration the big role which the armed forces play in Africa. The principle was to train the African officers before the independence of their countries and after. Among the African officers who took military training in Israel, (Joseph Mobuto Sise-Sico) of Congo (Zaire), and (Aidi Amine Dada) of Uganda, both took over the authority later, each became president in his country. This policy is still applied up to now.

⁽²⁸⁾الدحال محمد والنعمي فارس، تطور الاستراتيجية الاسرائيلية في القرن الإفريقي والبحر الأحمر ، شركة

مطابع السودان للعملة المحدودة ، الخرطوم يناير 2003 ، ص 16.

Concerning the activity in the military fields, we can mention that during the Eriterian revolution against Ethiopia, Israel has provided military support of arms and experts and officers to Ethiopia, at the same time, she established two Military Schools in this country, one to train on the Guerrilla warfare, & the other, to train on maritime commandos. After good training, these Schools have given graduation to many Ethiopian cadres, who fought against the Eriterians, under the supervision of the Israeli officers and experts, who even participated directly with the Ethiopian army, in extermination and devastation of entire villages in Eriteria.

But when Ethiopia lost this war, and got out of Eriteria in 1991, Israel went quickly to conclude military agreements with the last one, in which she was committed to provide all defence reserves to this country, so as she can build up a national army and a big military force, able to encounter the threats from the Sudan, Yemen and Ethiopia. And in 1995, Israel established a bilateral team work with Eriteria, which includes experts in armaments and training, as well as, intelligent services. In this deal concluded between the two sides, Israel supplied Eriteria with war vessels, 6 helicopter planes, ships of medium size, and also training a group of Eriterian maritime forces. The matter has exceeded this level, to a real Israeli participation with the Eriterian Army in the operation of occupying the Yamani Hamish Island by Eriteria. The Israeli war vessels were seen carrying operations side by side with the Eriterian army this time⁽²⁹⁾.

So, since the establishment of her state, and even during the year of diplomatic estrangement between Israel and East African Countries in the 1970's, Israel has been providing military services to these countries, especially Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia and then Eriteria, by various means, such as training the police, the armed forces, the presidential guards forces and other means. In addition to that, a large number of Israeli consultants and experts, work in the ranks of the armed forces of these countries, to provide trainings and weapons, particularly air force munitions. All these countries are having Israeli manufactured weapons, especially aircrafts, gunboats, artillery,

⁽²⁹⁾ المرجع نفسه، ص 38.

electronic devices and communications equipments, costing huge sums of money, which go to the Israeli treasury. Israel is classified 8th in the list of the world's ten largest weapons exporters, with a share of 3.1% of all security exports worldwide⁽³⁰⁾.

From this, it looks as the East African markets have represented the most promising markets for Israeli arms manufacturers and traders, notably since the break out of racial, ethnic, and religious conflicts and civil and internal wars in these countries. Israeli arms have appeared in a number of African conflicts, including the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the Ogaden war between Ethiopia and Somalia, the (Hanish) conflict between Eritrea and Yemen, and the bloody civil war between North and South Sudan, and so on. The Israeli weapons were also the primary reason for the steadfastness of South Sudanese president Silva Kiri's forces against the armed opposition led by his deputy (Rick Mashar)⁽³¹⁾.

From the cooperation with the East African Countries in the military and the security fields, Israel is coming out as the winner, by securing her military presence in these countries, by establishing control stations and surveys, and by placing rapid intervention forces in case of events that necessitate her direct and rapid military intervention to protect her interests⁽³²⁾.

In fact, the development of the military cooperation, has been linked to the realisation of the Israeli objectives, which themselves have been linked to stages of development of the Israeli relations with Africa. In the first stage, Israel has concentrated on the extension and advancement of her national interest before the other interests, in order to gain control of the military governments in the African states, and the second has been providing military materials to these countries.

⁽³⁰⁾ Yaron Salman, The Security Elements in Israel-African Relations, **Strategic Assessments**, Vol. 24, No. 2, April 2021.

⁽³¹⁾ Hamdi Abdel- Rahman, **Israel and Africa in Changing World**, Al Jazeera Net. <http://www.aljazeera.net/specialities/pages/44979588-9C7A-413B-8CE9-B863CBB9BEB> , seen on 28.09.2016.

⁽³²⁾ عبد الظاهر أحمد سعيد، التغلغل الإسرائيلي في إفريقيا، مركز زايد للتنسيق والمتابعة، يناير 2002، ص

Today, Israel is seeking to reinforce her presence and penetration in East Africa.

3.5, Information and Communications Means

On this subject, Israel has been practising many means of advertisement and propaganda at once, in order to be nearer to the States of the African Continent, by ameliorating her image, and making herself accepted and even admired by these countries, at the same time, she has endeavoured to repel the African countries from the Arabs, and to render the Arab's image unpleasant and hateful to these countries.

Although, Israel is not belonging to Africa geographically, she has sought to bring other factors, real or depicted, or even mythical, to justify the role she plays there. In this matter, the Israeli Means of Information and her Media, have performed their role, to affirm the Israeli- African link, in order to elevate the Israeli personality, to show Israel as a model state, and to demonstrate how the Jewish talent and genius played a role in building this model which can be repeated in Africa through cooperation of these countries with Israel, at the same time, she focuses by her means of information and media, in eliminating and removing out such image about Israel's personality of being selfish, exploiter, cupid of money, and isolationist. The Israeli war victory in 1967 in fact, helped to market the good image of Israel as being courageous, and successful nation.

The Israeli means of information and her media also focus their efforts to link between the Jews and the Africans, under slogans of the unity in historical experience, the unity of suffering and the unity of interests and so on.

In fact, the Israeli means of information and her media have also penetrated in Africa, this penetration has been helped by the existence of the mass media which are sympathised with Israel, due to the

western culture of these media, and also because most of them are owned by foreign companies, notably western and even Jewish⁽³³⁾,

In addition to this, Israel has also followed through her mass media, the Public Policy way, with many African journalists, Personalities and elites. She has opened centres of journalism and information in African Countries and in their capitals, concentrating on the issues of minorities and the common interests and objectives, the unity of suffering and other issues. This helped in ameliorating Israel's image in Africa. In parallel and in order to deform and to falsify the Arab image, Israel has sought to pretend that the Arab belonging to Africa does not stand up to any base, and that the beginning of the Arab contacts with Africa, came through the slavery trade, and that the Arab's behaviours toward Africa, have always been dominated by looking for and after their own interest only, by following the ways of opportunism & the oppression⁽³⁴⁾.

In using the means of information & the media, in order to realise the objectives of Israel, the Israeli Trade Union (Hestedrot), played & still plays a great role in order to extend the activity of Israel in the African Continent, and to help her penetration in all aspects of life: military, political, economic, social, and cultural and so on. This Union has played this role since 1957, when Israel began her movement toward Africa. The first step it took, was by exchanging visits, and sending persons to the African countries which just got independent, with the purpose of helping them materially, and executing projects by the Hestedrot's own companies through training African cadres and workers by organising study sessions & establishing institutes of work studies for the African students.

In fact, the role of the (Hestedrot) has been of multiple faces, it has been playing an essential role, not less important than that of the

⁽³³⁾ الزغبي حلبي عبد الكريم ، مرجع سبق ذكره ، ص 73.

⁽³⁴⁾ عبد الظاهر محمود سعيد، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 23

other Israeli organisations, because this role has become an important channel to help the presence and the penetration of Israel in the Region of East Africa.

3.6, Technical Training and Humanitarian Aids:

The concern of Israel with East Africa and her penetration into the African continent in general, and into East Africa in particular, necessitate to establish and to develop organs which would be in charge of pursuing and completing the plan of penetration there, and to execute this plan according to stages which have been drawn perfectly. For this purpose, Israel has established many institutions and centres in Africa, under the cover of giving technical training, and providing technical aids. These institutions and centres have played important roles, their missions have been perfectly done in strengthening and consolidating the activities of Israel in the continent⁽³⁵⁾.

Those who are in charge of these organs, recognise that the objectives of bringing the Africans to join these institutions and centres, which have been established to train African students, are in reality not to serve these countries, but their objectives are to gain agents and supporters in different organisations in the African countries. They also see that the decision to provide Technical Programs to the African countries, are done for Israel's interests, that is to realise political results wished by Israel, that these persons who are trained, would reach power in their countries in the future, and then they will become the axes of Israel's activities & her penetration

⁽³⁵⁾ حمدي عبد الرحمن، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 25.

in their countries, and they will be bonds and supporters of Israel there as well⁽³⁶⁾.

For this purpose, Israel has reserved and designed a great number of experts and technical persons to work in the African continent. They have been considered to be ambassadors to Israel, and they have to put into consideration to achieve Israel's interests there, to serve her objectives, and to bring their activities to all areas in Africa, according to a plan well drawn⁽³⁷⁾.

The experience of some African countries with these experts and technical persons, proves and affirms that they exercise destructive and damaging roles in Africa. For example, the Centre of International Cooperation at the Israeli Foreign Ministry, established in 1958, apparently it plays a prominent role in developing bilateral cooperative relations with the countries of Africa, it concentrates its activity on developing human skills notably ,for young people and women, especially in areas where there are gatherings of Islamic and Arab people, who oppose the policy of normalisation with Israel, with the purpose to convince them to change their attitudes toward Israel and to accept her.

Concerning the humanitarian aids, Israel has followed another way to facilitate her missions in East Africa, it is by the humanitarian aids, through World Humanitarian Organisations, which are working in the region. Israel ties and seeks to orient these organisations to work to achieve her own interests. In Somalia for example, Israel provides aids which have been completed through the Case of Development, backed by the American State Department (Foreign Ministry), the Zionist Organisation, and the Jewish Congress, to push this Arab country to deal with Israel normally. Another example, during the second International Congress of Coordinating the Humanitarian Aids, held in

⁽³⁶⁾ Hamdi Abdel- Rahman, **Israel and its Soft power in Africa**, Khutabaa 30 Dec 2009.

⁽³⁷⁾ الزغبي حلي عبد الكريم، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 83.

Addis Ababa in 1993, Israel proposed to provide direct aids to Somalia for the same purpose.....etc.

Israel has also provided civilian aids in medicine and agriculture to African Countries, which have been largely linked to Israel's efforts to enhance her international image as a liberal democratic and humanitarian country, to achieve her objectives, and to penetrate deeply in these countries.

So, the aids provided by Israel to the African countries are considered to be the front, which hide behind the real Israeli intentions and plans. This appeared in many examples, such as the aids provided to Darfor Refugees and the official campaigns held in Israel to collect donations to them, in order that Israel finds a foothold in this region, which is very rich in natural resources in one side, and as a beginning to divide the whole Sudan in the other.

These aids provided, enter in what once the Israeli first president (Ben Gourioune) clearly declared in front of the Israeli Knesset: "These aids which go to the African continent, are not a benevolent or a charitable work, but they enter into the Israeli interests"⁽³⁸⁾.

3.7, The Means of Dispersion and Disintegration

Among the means used by Israel, to achieve her objectives, and to penetrate deeply in the region of East Africa, is benefiting from some existing problems in the region, notably the contradictions between the Arab and the African Countries in one hand, and the Ethnic Conflicts in Africa in the other hand.

Concerning the first point, among the means used by Israel, is playing on the string of the Arab-African Contradictions, which she has endeavoured to flame and to blaze them more and more, with the purpose of course, to achieve her interests and objectives in the region.

⁽³⁸⁾ الشيمي محمد حسين، القارة السمراء، حضور إسرائيل غياب عربي، إسلام أون لاين نت،

In fact, Israel has been following many means to guarantee permanent presence in the region of East Africa, these means manifested in that the Israeli intelligence services prepare great number of their personals in the region, with the purpose to shake the stability of the states in this region. This explains the flaming of the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea over the regional leadership, in addition to many factors of conflicts between both of them over a number of issues: Political, Ethnic, and Border Conflicts⁽³⁹⁾.

Israel has also oriented toward Ethiopia to support her against Somalia. This created big tension between the two countries over Ogaden⁽⁴⁰⁾.

With Eritrea, in order to guarantee her domination on this country, which is considered to be nearest to the Arab Countries, Israel continues to make secret contacts with her, she agreed to increase many co-operations with Eritrea in agriculture and security, in turn, Eritrea should allow the Israeli Agents to visit her, in order to perform their intelligent and spy activities, and to obtain military and security information about some African and Arab Countries neighbouring to Eritrea. By this, Israel can also succeed in removing Eritrea away from the Arab World.

Israel has also exploited conflicts between many Arab and non Arab countries in Africa, She has exploited the conflict between the Sudan and Ethiopia, between the Sudan and Eritrea, between Egypt and Ethiopia and so on.

In the Nile Basin, Israel is carrying out actions to stimulate and to incite the states of the Nile Basin against the Arabs (Egypt and the Sudan), in order to notify these states that they are oppressed and exploited by the Arabs through extravagance and wasting of waters, then she provides economic and other supports to these countries, to push them to be anti- Arabs.

⁽³⁹⁾ المرجع نفسه

⁽⁴⁰⁾ شمس الهدى إبراهيم إدريس، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 262

The visit of Netan Yahu in 2016, to the 4 Nile Basin Countries: Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Rwanda, corresponds with Israel's relentless efforts to turn upstream countries, against downstream countries, especially Egypt and Sudan. Israel can achieve this by feeding and fuelling disputes with the Nile Basin Countries, in an attempt to increase her influence among the states governing the Nile's source, with a focus on establishing agricultural projects designed to draw water from Lake Victoria, which is co-owned by several East African Countries. Moreover, Israel seeks to portray Egypt and the Sudan as the only countries benefiting from the Nile's waters⁽⁴¹⁾.

All these destructive activities are to achieve Israeli objectives in the region of East Africa, and to penetrate deeply in this region.

Concerning the second point, which is related to the employment of the African Ethnic Conflicts, Israel has also endeavoured to flame these conflicts more and more, in order to achieve her objectives and interests. This employment has been followed through creating a net of tight relations and alliances with some African Countries, against the others⁽⁴²⁾.

In fact, the role of Israel in exploiting the ethnic conflicts in the region, is not new, she has provided the African milice groups by Arms, she has been supporting the secessionist movement in South Sudan since its departure until she succeeded in dividing the Sudan into two countries. Israel has also trained the popular movement for the liberation of Eriteria when the movement was near to its victory against Ethiopia, while she was supplying Ethiopia against Eriteria during the war.

Israel has also supported the movements of opposition in Africa, such as the (Babanda) in Uganda, and the (Amhara) movement in

⁽⁴¹⁾ الأحمري عبد الرحمن سليمان، أزمة المياه في الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي، دراسات دبلوماسية، عدد 8، الرياض 1999، ص 155.

⁽⁴²⁾ عبد الظاهر أحمد سعيد، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 12.

Ethiopia. She even has established new relations with some Tribes in Africa, such as the (Kamba) and the (Copoli), in order to encourage them to revolt against their own governments, she has even supplied some of them with weapons and arms.

The first Israeli president (Ben Gourioune) has shown clearly, the destructive role of Israel in the Arab as well as the African societies, when he said: “We are a small people, our capabilities and our resources are limited, we have to overlook this situation in front of our enemies in the Arab countries, by knowing and diagnosing their weakness points, especially the relations between the sectarian and the ethnic groups, until these points become greatest, to the extent that they would be transformed to an intricate problem, which would be difficult to solve or to contain”⁽⁴³⁾.

Conclusion:

This study has analysed the penetration of Israel in the region of East Africa, because it is very important in many aspects, especially to her national security, the region is also the nearest to Israel. and because of its importance strategically, economically, politically, etc...

Because of that, the study has concentrated on looking at the objectives and the interests of Israel in this region, and the means used and the policies followed by Israel to realise these objectives and these interests.

In fact, Israel’s concerns with the region of East Africa, is not of today, but there is an agenda which is not vacant from ambitions and desires toward this region. These ambitions have translated this concern through tight relations with the countries of the region in many fields: political, economic, military, security and cultural...etc.

⁽⁴³⁾- تهاامي أحمد عبد الحى ، إسرائيل في مناطق ساخنة ، هضبة البحيرات ملعب إسرائيل ، إسلام أون لاين

نت،

This enables Israel to penetrate into the region, and to stretch her domination in its vital and strategic areas.

Indeed, Israel has rushed to the region of East Africa according to a strategic plan well prepared, and based on a theory of stages and graduation, in establishing relations with the countries of this region, in order to create areas of influence, and to invest in the human & economic resources of Africa, through Israel's efforts to command and to dominate the African economy and to orient it, by using the policy of technical aids as well as by sending trainers and experts in different fields, especially the military, the agricultural and the technological...etc.

This strategic plan comes from the purpose of the Torah project, which seeks to establish the great state of Israel, that extends from the Nile to the Euphrates, and also to weaken the African support for the Arab causes, as well as to gain the sympathy and the support of the African Countries and their public opinion to the Israeli side, notably in the issue of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

From her presence in the region of East Africa, Israel has given attention to establish and to build up military bases and citadels of control in the Red Sea, to eliminate its Arab character, and to dominate Bab El Mandeb Strait, and the whole area, in order that she can play a pivotal and central role in the whole region.

The penetration and the presence of Israel in the Region of East Africa, have dangerous consequences, because it touches the national security of the neighbouring countries, and their strategic interests, especially the Arab counties, because Israel is present in areas which overlook directly on the Arab depth.

This study demonstrated that Israel has realised great success in her penetration and in her activities in the Region of East Africa, at the expense of the objectives and the interests of the Arab countries, which have lost a lot. But the reason which leads to the Israeli penetration into this region, and to her great success there, in fact, is the absence of the Arabs in the African scene and their big negligence.

More than that, this success would help Israel and push her to penetrate into other parts of Africa, not only into the non-Arab African Countries, but even into Arab African Countries. After Egypt in the North East of the continent, this time is Morocco in the North West, a situation which brings a great danger and a big threat to Algeria, and to the rest of the Arab Countries as well.

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