

Namibia such projects would obviously target the unanimous mass support to SWAPO and its persist guerrilla warfare against occupation.

Along with Taiwan, 'Israel' is the only state to deal with the bantustans created by the Pretoria regime to finalize the Black masses' dispossession of their rights in South Africa. By 1985, there were about 60 Israeli entrepreneurs operating in Ciskei whose puppet rulers are known for their brutality and corruption; 200 Israeli citizens were working there as advisors, entrepreneurs or technicians, when a scandal broke out, revealing the depths of Zionist cynicism in these exploitative ventures. Charging corruption, the Ciskei government terminated the contracts of Yosef Schneider (former Kahane aid) and Nat Rosenwasser (member of Herut's Central Committee) who had served as Ciskei's trade commissioners in 'Israel' for three years; the trade mission was closed. Among the contracts under investigation, «many were awarded to shell companies which then subcontracted the entire contract to South African companies» (*Jerusalem Post*, July 31, 1985). In another case, a pilot training project was awarded to an Israeli company to the tune of \$10 million, which Ciskei officials claim would have been cheaper in South Africa.

WHO CONDEMNS APARTHEID?

In 1985, with emergency rule clamped on the masses in South Africa, eliciting broad international protests, the Israeli cabinet condemned apartheid for the first time - and for opportunistic reasons. Hoping to maintain its 'democratic' image in the West, and further its reentry into Black African states, 'Israel' offered a verbal condemnation for public consumption. Practice was something different as relations continued unabated. Zionist 'sympathy' for the anti-apartheid struggle was expressed in the official reception of Chief Buthelezi in 'Israel' in August 1985; he is the only Black leader in South Africa, with any following, who advocates a moderate solution with Pretoria, while directly attacking the historical leader of the anti-apartheid struggle, the ANC. Israeli aid was offered to Buthelezi's tribal homeland, Kwazulu, which Pretoria presents as an alternative to the ANC's struggle for genuine democracy and majority rule. In the same period, Prime Minister Peres asked Absorption Minister Tsur to «prepare a plan for the absorption of South African Jews seeking to escape the upheaval in their country» (*Jerusalem Post*, August 1985).

Also in 1985, as South African security forces shot down, beat and arrested anti-apartheid activists by the thousands, two delegations of South African security men were given red carpet treatment by the Israeli military and police forces who demonstrated smoke and tear gas grenades for them. A South African purchasing mission in November, 1985, was treated to a demonstration of the use of the electronic border fence in the Jordan Valley (*Israeli Foreign Affairs*, February 1986).

In July, 1986, the Cheetah, South Africa's new fighter bomber, was unveiled. PW Botha called it «our response to the imposition of sanctions against us,» and the defense minister termed it «a new iron fist.» The Cheetah is also a manifestation of the Israeli role in bolstering Pretoria's aggressive capacity. It is a remake of the Israeli Kfir (modeled after the French Mirage), based on an old Mirage overhauled with help from the Israeli Aircraft Industries. The engine is on the model of plans stolen by the Mossad from a Swiss company in 1968 (*Israeli Foreign Affairs*, August 1986).

In view of the continuing Israeli-South African cooperation, one can be highly sceptical about the effect of this year's Israeli

government decision to stop new arms contracts with South Africa. The decision was, of course, only made because US aid to 'Israel' might be jeopardized by its relations to South Africa, in view of the anti-apartheid sentiment in the US Congress (generated by Black legislators, not the Reagan Administration). This stoppage appears ironic since the formalization of South African-Israeli ties occurred under the impact of US imperialist strategy in the seventies, when President Ford upgraded relations with 'Israel' and Kissinger encouraged Israeli support for South Africa's invasion of Angola. The cooperation may indeed continue. It has always been kept secret and Iran/contragate has shown the extent to which the Reagan Administration, CIA and Israeli government will go to circumvent US congressional restrictions. The scandal has also dealt the imperialist and Zionist forces painful lessons which could spur them to find more foolproof methods of continuing their efforts to turn back the tide of history and stave off popular revolution. So ever more alertness is called for in monitoring Israeli-South African relations.

ARAB RESPONSIBILITY

The decline in official Arab policies has greatly facilitated the Israeli comeback in Africa. Hassan II of Morocco, as an example, is reported to have encouraged the Ivory Coast to restore relations with the Zionist state. Not only has the Arab position vis-a-vis 'Israel' weakened, but Afro-Arab solidarity is affected as well. Most serious is that some Arab reactionary states have been caught circumventing the boycott of South Africa and its puppet mercenaries. In connection with the Iran/contragate scandal, it has been revealed that the Saudi monarchy has been funding UNITA's subversive war on Angola. This dates back to agreements made with the US in connection with the AWACS deal in 1981. In their eagerness to please the US administration, the Saudi princes involved themselves in a larger project, helping Reagan get around US Congress restrictions on the CIA, by financing the counter-revolutionary forces fighting Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Mozambique as well. This places Saudi reaction on the same side as the Zionist state in the global confrontation between the imperialist forces and the forces of liberation, peace and progress.

De facto Saudi-Israeli collaboration has resulted in such dirty deals as that reported in *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, June 1986, whereby the Saudi businessman Khashogghi helped 'Israel' obtain 60 modern Gazelle helicopters as well as armoured cars, cannons and guns from Egypt. These were shipped to South Africa and Zaire, most probably intended for UNITA and the so-called MNR which is fighting the independent government of Mozambique. The important thing to the conspirators, aside from the weaponry itself, was the label «made in Egypt» for this should hide the real identity of those sponsoring sabotage against Angola and Mozambique.

Such facts serve to accentuate the importance of the PLO's role in maintaining Afro-Arab solidarity on an anti-imperialist, anti-racist basis, in the interests of the broad masses of both regions. The unifying session of the PNC in April stressed support to the struggle of the peoples in southern Africa, denouncing the Tel Aviv-Pretoria alliance. Based on its restored unity and nationalist program, the PLO must work to consolidate its relations with the national liberation movements and truly independent governments in Africa, especially those on the frontline of struggle against apartheid. This is the real meaning of Afro-Arab solidarity.