MPLA soldier guarding a factory against enemy sabotage

unions, even though it has itself practiced a similarly racist policy against Palestinians. Instead the Histadrut works to establish contacts with the black trade unions in South Africa, as a showcase example of "progressiveness" to counter the real phenomenon of close Zionist-Pretoria cooperation. Last summer's course in cooperative enterprises, the 52nd of its kind sponsored by the Histadrut's Afro-Asian Institute, was attended by participants from 21 countries which have no diplomatic relations with 'Israel'; half of these were from Africa.

Since the fifties, with and without diplomatic ties, military cooperation has also occurred. In fact, serious researchers on the subject contend that this is the most significant aspect of Israeli involvement in Africa, but the details are most often kept secret by both sides. It is known that 'Israel' trained Zaire's brutal secret police in the years when the two countries had no diplomatic relations.

More recently, Israel Military Industries (state-owned) supplied Nigeria's police with guns for supervising the fradulent August 1983 elections, after a deal with the US fell through because Nigeria lacked the hard cash for advance payment. The Israeli state backed this transaction with a £4 million export credit, showing the importance attached to the arms market in Africa.

Arab reaction's responsibility

The shallowness of the neocolonial African regimes' break with 'Israel' is also predicated on the hypocrisy involved in much of official Arab politics, due to the domination of Arab reaction. It is well-known that the Arab boycott of 'Israel' is not impecably observed by all, and some of the violations are deliberate. For example, one could read in the newspaper last year that Saudi Arabia is buying Israeli irrigation equipment through European dealers (*Los Angeles Times*, November 13, 1983). On what basis can a more stringent position be exacted from other countries, especially those whose economic and political maneuverability is much less than that of Saudi Arabia?

The other aspect of Arab reaction's responsibility lies in the policy of OPEC as led by Saudi Arabia. This has aimed at further integrating the oil-producing states in the imperialist system, and thus precluded any genuine 'third world' solidarity. It was the poorer African countries, much more than the capitalist ones, that suffered from the rise in oil prices. Though some Arab oil-producers committed substantial aid to African countries, this was never sufficient to offset the economic difficulties imposed by these countries' bottom-ranking in the imperialist hierarchy.

US imperialism's offensive

The most compelling force behind the Zionist comeback in Africa is, very simply, imperialism's increasingly aggressive global offensive, led by the US. It is telling that the two African leaders who stepped forward to publicly embrace the Zionist state are unconditionally pro-US. Liberia's Samuel Doe was trained by the US Special Forces in 1979, before taking power in the 1980 coup. Mobutu of Zaire is a virtual imperialist agent. His first coup was the 1960 CIA operation in the Congo (Zaire's former name), which ousted the popular nationalist leader, Patrice Lumumba. In 1963, Mobutu was trained as a paratrooper in 'Israel'. His 1965 rise to power was also CIA-sponsored, and CIA operative Robert Devlin "remains in Kin-

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