

homelands as independent governments except South Africa. The Israeli Foreign Ministry and its South African embassy deny any dealings with the homelands. The leader of the Ciskei homeland, Lennox Sebe, visited Israel in March 1983 and on his return said Israel and Ciskei would have closer

cooperation, including «special weapons and know how», Sebe said that the Israelis had sold the Ciskei a twin engine jet previously used by Menahem Begin at a «nominal fee» and that Israel donated a police dog to his brother, Lieut. Gen. Charles Sebe, the chief of the security police.<sup>156</sup>

Jordan, incidentally, sold British-made weapons - 41 Centurion tanks and 54 Tiger cat missiles - to South Africa. Since France officially complied with the United Nations embargo on arms sales to South Africa in 1977, Egypt has served as a conduit for French arms to South Africa.<sup>157</sup>

## Bantustans A Zionist Dream

Israeli involvement in South Africa's bantustans deserves special note. It is an extension of the Zionist state's alliance with the apartheid regime in Pretoria, which enacted the 'independence' of Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda to finalize the disenfranchisement of South Africa's Black majority. Pretoria's final solution bears strong resemblance to Zionist plans for banishing the Palestinians - population transfer expulsion, 'autonomy' and 'civil administration'. Whether Pretoria or Tel Aviv style, the thrust is to control the land and resources, while reducing the inhabitants to a powerless, cheap labour reserve. In Ciskei, for example, half of the citizens are migrant workers in South Africa on temporary permits, while many others commute there for work on a daily basis.

'Israel', whose own economy relies heavily on labour from the 1967 occupied territories, has found new 'virgin soil' for high-profit investment. The residents of the bantustans are doubly vulnerable: Expelled from their country to tribal 'homelands' where land, resources and job opportunities are extremely scarce, they are also subject to the control of reactionary chieftains, whom Pretoria turned into 'presidents' of the artificially created 'republics'. These tribal chiefs, who have collaborated with Pretoria against their own people, have no qualms about cooperation with Palestine's usurpers. They play the role which the Zionists had hoped to assign to the village leagues in the West Bank and to Saad Haddad's militias in South Lebanon. Bophuthatswana's Manpower Minister, Rowan Cronje, was a minister

in Ian Smith's minority regime in Rhodesia. Ciskei's rulers have a special reputation for ruthlessness, and have transformed a sports stadium into a concentration camp for opponents of apartheid. Needless to say, trade unions are suppressed when not outright banned.

Along with firms from Taiwan, 'Israel' was first to respond to Pretoria's drive to gain foreign investment in order to give the bantustans a measure of credibility. In late 1982, the Ciskei Trade Mission opened in Tel Aviv, flying its own flag and staffed by two Israelis, Yosef Schneider and Nat Rosenwasser, who are employed by the Ciskei Foreign Ministry. Bophuthatswana also has a representative in 'Israel', Shabtai Kalmonowitz, who claims diplomatic status.

The Israeli government disclaims any official relations with the bantustans, which are recognized only by South Africa and its satellites, yet relations flourish in the name of business. As of March 1983, three Israeli companies had concessions in the bantustans for a total investment of £1.36 million. Later in the year, two Israeli firms signed a deal to establish the first Israeli-owned factory in Ciskei, while another landed a construction contract in Bophuthatswana.

Knowing the structure of the Zionist state, this 'private' business is not divorced from the Israeli political and military hierarchy. On the contrary, there are concrete indications that relations are actually state-to-state:

-In 1983, and quite officially, 'Israel' was visited by the rulers of both Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, as well as by Venda's entire chamber of com-

merce. This was the seventh visit for Ciskei's Sebe, who was received at the Israeli Ministry of Tourism and Tel Aviv's Trade Fair Center, which is partially owned by the municipality. On this supposedly private visit, Sebe secured a contract with the Israeli government to supply and train his armed forces. Initially, six planes - at least one a military helicopter- were sold to Ciskei, and 18 Ciskei residents arrived in 'Israel' for pilot training.

-During the May 1983 visit of Bophuthatswana's Education and Manpower Ministers, Israel Educational Television agreed to make a master plan for establishing and running an educational TV station in the bantustan, to begin operation in 1985. Ya'acov Lorberbaum, who manages the Israeli station, is also professor of communications at Bar Ilan University, which has had links with the University of Bophuthatswana since 1981. During their visit, the two Bophuthatswana ministers were also given a tour of Tel Aviv's schools by Mayor Shlomo Lahat. Surely, the apartheid politicians in Pretoria are happy to see the racist ideology of Zionism taking charge of brainwashing the African masses.

-Equally indicative of the official nature of Israeli relations with the bantustans is the status of the businessmen involved. These include prominent Likud politicians, at least two Knesset members, a National Religious Party activist and retired IDF officers; one of the latter, Tat Aluf (Brig. Gen. Res.) Efraim Poran served as military adviser to Prime Minister Rabin and later Begin.