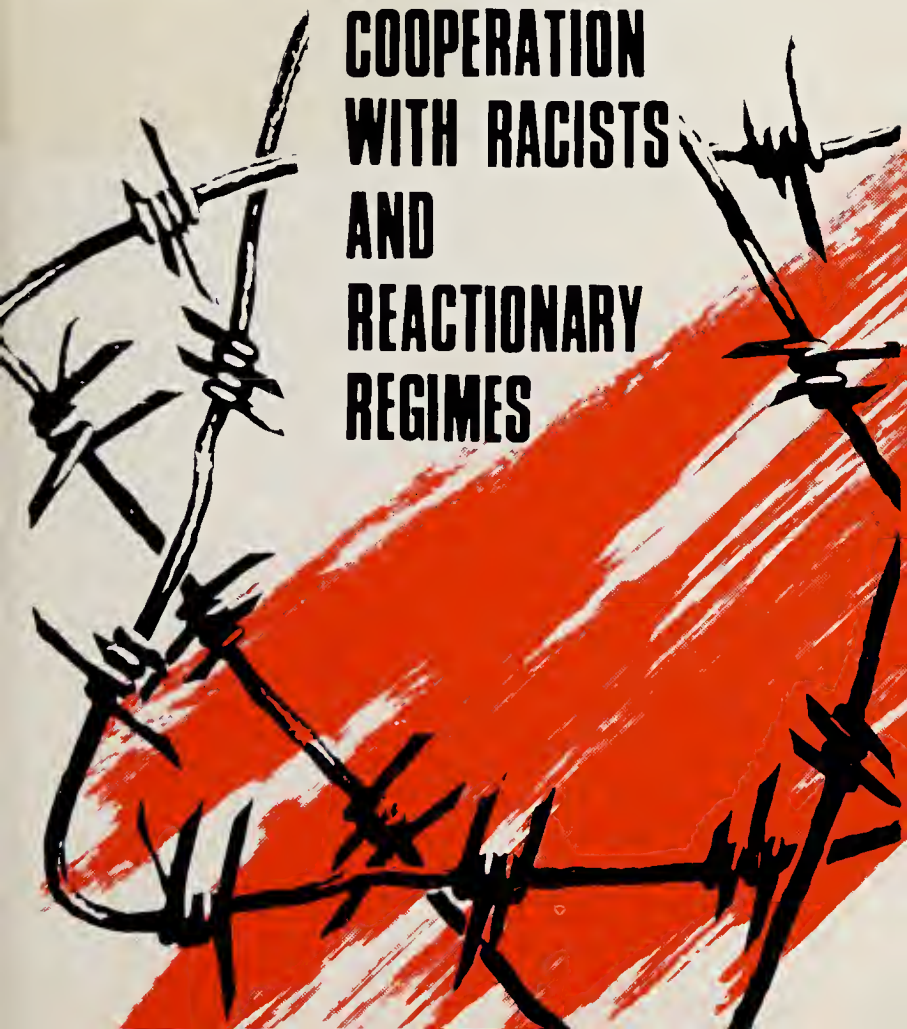



Anatoli Agaryshev

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DEMNERED
BY HISTORY
ISRAEL'S
COOPERATION
WITH RACISTS
AND
REACTIONARY
REGIMES





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CONTENTS

Introduction	3
Chapter I	
The "Unholy Alliance" in Action	9
Chapter II	
Hands in Glove with Nazi Criminals	34
Chapter III	
Under Washington's Guidance	51
Conclusion	62

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Introduction

The question of Israel's cooperation with racist and dictatorial regimes in Africa and Latin America is not a new one. There is convincing documentary evidence exposing Israel's role as a US agent with whose help Washington, bypassing UN resolutions and often US legislation and disregarding public opinion, supplies anti-democratic regimes with arms and helps them suppress their own people.

In July 1983, in accordance with a UN General Assembly resolution, an international conference against the alliance between the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and Israel was held in Vienna. At the conference, organized by the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid together with the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) and the World Council of Peace, numerous reports were presented citing irrefutable evidence of this criminal alliance. They unanimously stressed that although major Western powers were chiefly to blame for the preservation of apartheid in South Africa, a "special responsibility" rested with Israel which, in defiance of numerous UN resolutions, was expanding cooperation with the South African racist regime, es-

pecially in the military and nuclear fields, and had virtually entered into an alliance with it. The conference also strongly criticized Israel's cooperation with Latin American dictatorships.

Thus, Israel not only pursues an expansionist course in the Middle East but is also engaged in large-scale militarist activities outside the region. For example, in December 1981 details of one of Israel's so-called annual plans became known. In a speech at the Centre for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon said that "Israel's interests were not confined to the Arab countries of the Middle East, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea," that "for the sake of ensuring security in the 1980s they should be extended to Turkey, Iran and Africa, in particular to the countries of North and Central Africa."

So how true are Israel's propaganda claims that Israel is a "small power" and its role in international affairs is "undeservedly exaggerated" in the light of the above statement? Indeed, Israel has long disguised its imperialist activity in the international arena by posing as a "small state". But its aggression against the Arabs in June 1967 and subsequent occupation of Arab lands exposed the Israeli Zionists as enemies of peace and progress. People all over the world were horrified by the rapacious acts of this really small but extremely aggressive state, which enjoys unlimited US support and patronage.

The US-Israeli "strategic" cooperation agreement has shown that the above-mentioned statement by former Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon only partly reflects the Israeli Zionists' expansionist designs. In actual fact, the tasks assigned to them by US imperialism are much broader in scope. Israel is carrying out its bosses' social order and

acts as a striking force in the struggle against the national liberation movement and the forces of peace, progress and socialism.

Over many years the Zionists, who are at the helm of state in Israel, have disguised themselves as champions of "democracy and progress".

The Israeli aggression against the Arabs has caused Zionism to unmask itself in this respect, too. The world's nations have seen that the Zionists, closely cooperating with South African racists, share a common ideological platform with the latter. The UN General Assembly, the largest international forum, has defined Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination.

It is also becoming increasingly obvious that Israel is playing the role of an ally of dictatorial regimes in Latin America where the US is waging a struggle to preserve its positions, ignoring the interests of the Latin American peoples. Wherever the United States renders support to forces seeking to crush the popular anti-imperialist movement—in Chile, Nicaragua or El Salvador, Israel acts as a middleman of US policy.

In recent years Israel's role as an agent of the United States has grown, especially under the Reagan Administration, so much so that this country, situated thousands of miles away from the American continent, enjoys the status of observer in the Headquarters of the Organization of American States (OAS), whereas Cuba, a Latin American state, has long been deprived of OAS membership on Washington's instructions. By helping Washington to make Latin Americans shed their blood in El Salvador and on Nicaraguan borders, Israel is, so to speak, paying for the blood of US soldiers killed in Lebanon. By allocating billions of dollars to Israel for the purpose of supplying Latin

American dictatorships with arms, the Reagan Administration can thus step up its interference in Central America without having to pay heed to public opinion and the US Congress.

Israel's claim to being a "developing" country that offers to share its experience with other nations is utterly false. The very existence of Israel is based on unlimited US support and assistance. African countries could never hope to receive such generous financial aid from the United States. Priority development of the war industry, the production of weapons designed to meet the US militarist needs in countries of the Middle East, Africa and Latin America, are a decisive element of Israeli economy.

From arms sales and related services Israel earns more than a billion dollars a year. But this is not just lucrative business; it is a definite policy coordinated with the United States. A look at the list of Israel's clients confirms this. Among them are El Salvador, Chile, Paraguay, Guatemala, Honduras and the Republic of South Africa. Fearing public opinion, Washington is trying to camouflage its military cooperation with these states. The "dirty job" is invariably handed over to Israel.

The two countries agree on the size and destination of military supplies to regions of special interest to Washington. While condemning state terrorism in words, the United States is practising it on a large scale in international relations, interfering in the affairs of sovereign states and giving support to the most odious dictatorships. Israeli military exports are playing a special role here.

The militarist machine of the Zionist state, created with Western assistance, is above all aimed

at pursuing an aggressive policy towards the Arab peoples. But weapons bearing the mark "Made in Israel" carry death and destruction not only in the Middle East. The Israeli-made Usi submachine guns are used to execute Chilean patriots; Israeli aircraft drop bombs on the positions of Salvadoran rebels; and South African racists "flatten" Namibian soil with Israeli tanks. Wherever a struggle is under way against the forces of progress and freedom, Tel Aviv is "at hand", giving out arms to the reactionary forces and acting as imperialism's zealous accomplice.

When the Director-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, David Kimche, held talks in Washington, the two sides discussed the setting up of a joint fund to finance Israeli "technical aid" to Central America. But this is only a mask. The real goal is something else: to increase Israel's role in US "clandestine wars" in the region.

The not very noticeable "Israeli card" is convenient for the Americans. Washington has used it on more than one occasion in the past when, owing to various reasons, the US had to stop supplying arms to puppet regimes. In Nicaragua, in the last months of the dictator's rule the Somoza army had received 90 per cent of its arms and ammunition from Israel. Tel Aviv has re-equipped the Guatemalan army with small arms and is supplying military hardware to El Salvador. As the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* has noted, together with the US Israel is building up arms reserves for Nicaraguan "contras" in Honduras. It is also helping the anti-Sandinista Pastora grouping operating from Costa Rica.

Washington and Tel Aviv are satisfied with each other. The former hands over "dirty jobs" to Israel, which makes money on arms exports.

This "division of labour" is claiming new victims and brings untold suffering to the peoples of Central America.

Noting the false character of Israeli and South African propaganda, the international conference in Vienna stressed the need to disseminate truthful information about the role of these states and their cooperation.

It is the purpose of this booklet to look into the various aspects of this cooperation.

Chapter I

THE "UNHOLY ALLIANCE" IN ACTION

In September 1979 the captains of ships sailing round the Cape of Good Hope registered unusual luminescence over the Kalahari Desert. Some newspapers hastened to publish sensational reports about "flying saucers" and "newcomers" from outer space. Alas, the sensation proved to be of an entirely different kind, though its confirmation indeed came from outer space. A US reconnaissance satellite registered a nuclear explosion over the South Atlantic. The explosion was confirmed by ground stations in various countries operating twenty-four hours a day. They also registered a radiation increase in the upper layers of the atmosphere as a result of the explosion.

It became clear that nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere had been carried out in the south of Africa. Such tests are prohibited under the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, signed in Moscow on August 5, 1963. As is known, the RSA, Israel, as well as France and China have refused to sign the treaty.

Soon afterwards the organizers of the "experiment" were named in the press. There was no doubt that the racist South African regime carried

out the experiment in defiance of world public opinion. But it turned out that the South African racist regime did not act alone. Together with it Israel took part in the development and testing of nuclear weapons. It was also reported that some NATO countries, in particular West Germany and France and later the US, helped the RSA in this.

That was how one of the aspects of the close cooperation between the racist RSA and Zionist Israel was revealed.

But there was nothing surprising about it.

Israel has long been developing nuclear weapons. One of the first press reports of such development dates back to 1961, when *The New York Times* wrote that in September 1957 work had got under way in Israel on building a nuclear reactor, producing heavy water and accumulating uranium. Britain and France helped Israel in the production of heavy water. According to the *Ha'aretz*, the US had agreed to transfer to Israel three stations to investigate radioactive dust. Some time later *The New York Times* reported that the Israeli government had set up a nuclear research company with a capital of 50 million Israeli lire (17 million dollars).

Levi Eshkol, then Israeli Finance Minister, said in the Israeli Knesset that three out of the nuclear research company's 13 major shares were owned by Defence Minister David Ben-Gurion, three by himself and the rest by private individuals. Also among the shareholders was a foreign company operating in the RSA.

On May 6, 1963, *France-Observateur* published an article entitled *The Israeli Bomb* in which the author, Gilles Martinet, said that work was in full swing in Israel on making a nuclear bomb.

On June 24, 1964, Shimon Peres, Israeli Deputy Minister of Defence, said that an agreement on nuclear cooperation had been reached between the United States and Israel. This was reported in Israeli and US newspapers the next day. On August 2, it was reported that the US Atomic Energy Commission had agreed to supply 1.5 tons of natural uranium to Israel.

There had also been press reports saying that the RSA was expecting to obtain nuclear weapons. The explosion in the Kalahari Desert was evidence of Israeli-RSA cooperation in their striving to have nuclear weapons of their own.

The "unholy alliance" of South African racists and Zionists has been in existence for a long time. Way back in December 1973 it was condemned by the UN General Assembly. In November 1975 the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 3379 (XXX) denouncing Zionism as "a form of racism and racial discrimination". The resolution, along with a corresponding document adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in Kampala, noted that "the racist regime in occupied Palestine and the racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being."

The organic link in the policy of the two regimes, similar in character, as well as their strategic orientation towards the United States acting as the guiding force in the system of imperialism, determines the close cooperation between Israel and the RSA, including that in the military field.

Israel and the RSA are linked by a common racist ideology, dependence on big monopoly capital and imperialist states, an aggressive policy towards neighbouring states, the struggle against national liberation movements, hatred for communism, and anti-Sovietism.

Israel's close cooperation with racist and dictatorial regimes bears out what Lenin said about the alliance of the exploiters of the whole world. Addressing young revolutionaries, Lenin wrote: "If you are oppressed and exploited and think of throwing off the power of the exploiters, if you are determined to carry this to its logical conclusion, you must understand that you will have to contend against the onslaught of the exploiters of the whole world. If you are ready to offer resistance and to make further sacrifices in order to hold out in the struggle, you are a revolutionary; if not, you will be crushed." Cooperation between Israeli Zionists and South African racists should be regarded as an aspect of the world alliance of reactionary forces.

As is known, the National Party came to power in the RSA in May 1948, at the time when the state of Israel was founded. There were many Israeli leaders who had worked for Nazi Germany. As soon as they came to power, the South African racists established close relations with Israeli Zionists, who described themselves as "victims" of Nazism. What was most important was the essential similarities of the ruling regimes in the RSA and Israel which based their policy on the principles of racist ideology: the RSA—towards the black and "coloured" population, Israel—towards the Arabs, the country's indigenous population.

It was apparent that the two regimes had identical class interests, and this accounts for the ra-

pid development of economic, political and military ties between the two countries.

The theses put forward by the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel pointed out that there existed specific and extremely intensive military ties, including cooperation in the nuclear sphere, between Israel and the RSA. The close relationship between the two countries is in no small measure promoted by a large and rich Jewish community in the RSA.

Israel and South Africa cooperate on a broad scale. There have been numerous press reports saying that Israeli specialists cooperate with South African scientists in the development of the technology of making nuclear weapons. In particular, close cooperation in this field has been established by the Nuclear Physics Research Unit of the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel. Amos Horev, former Deputy Chief of the Scientific Department of the Israeli Ministry of Defence, has publicly admitted his participation in joint nuclear research conducted by Israel in South Africa. Finally, it became known that the RSA, in cooperation with Taiwan, is developing cruise missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads over a distance of 2,500 kilometres. The Israeli firms Koor Industries Ltd. and TADIRAN, which have subsidiaries near Bantustan Transkei, make electronic equipment and chemicals which can be used for military purposes.

Of course, cooperation at such a level is not reached overnight. For this, not only common ideologies and political aims but also some experience are necessary. The Israeli Zionists and South African racists have all these. The contacts between the two countries have deep roots going back

to the joint activities of well-known Zionist figures such as the President of the World Zionist Organization and Israel's first President, Chaim Weizmann, and leaders of the South African racist regime who had worked in the system of British imperialism. The South African racists gave considerable support and assistance to their Zionist colleagues at the time of British domination over Palestine. Shmuel Katz, who was once active in the Begin government but later left it and joined the Tehiya party, which is even more extremist than the Likud bloc, recalls in his memoirs that in the 1930s he had worked on Palestine territory enjoying diplomatic immunity as the South African Consul in Jerusalem.

In 1949, soon after it was founded, Israel opened its Consulate General in Johannesburg. Relations between the two regimes were particularly strengthened after Israel's June 1967 aggression against the Arabs, which led to the Israeli diplomatic mission in South Africa being upgraded and turned into an embassy in 1969. In 1975 the RSA opened its embassy in Tel Aviv. In the light of these facts, there is nothing surprising about the fact that General H. Van den Bergh, Secretary for Security and Intelligence in the RSA, after a visit to Israel, said he was satisfied with his entire visit. Upon his return, he told the Prime Minister that as long as Israel existed there was hope for the RSA, but that if Israel were destroyed there would be a threat to its existence.

Particularly important is the military cooperation between the two countries. The *Armed Forces Journal* confirmed earlier press reports that Mirage aircraft belonging to the South African Air Force had been used in the June 1967 Israeli war against the Arabs.

Apart from Mirage aircraft and spare parts, the RSA sent to Israel its specialists who served in the Israeli army.

South Africa rendered even more significant aid to Israel during the October 1973 war.

The South African Zionist Federation set up a special fund of 2.5 million rands. All in all, starting from 1967, the RSA transferred to Israel more than 21 million rands. During the October 1973 war 91 doctors and 1,500 officers and men were sent to Israel from the RSA. Of them, 800 were part of the troops which crossed the Suez Canal. A squadron of South African fighter-bombers was transferred to Israel in a roundabout way—via the Azores. In November 1981 the RSA delivered to Israel 200 tanks to replace those damaged in battle.

Israeli-South African military cooperation gradually grew into a real alliance. Between 1976 and 1983 Israeli Generals Weizman, Dayan and Herzog, as well as whole groups of officers of various arms and the General Staff, who had taken part in the October 1973 war, paid visits to the RSA. They passed on their experience to their South African colleagues. Israeli experts on combatting "terrorism", i.e. the national liberation movement, also visited the RSA. There is constant cooperation between Israel and South Africa in their efforts to modernize their armies and armaments. They supply each other with strategic goods, build joint military facilities and develop new types of weapons.

For example, the South African armoured corps is wholly equipped with Israeli armour. South Africa receives from Israel Reshef warships, fighter aircraft, self-propelled 105-mm howitzers, anti-tank infantry missiles and air-to-air missiles, the latest

Gabriel missiles, anti-submarine torpedoes, detection systems and electronic facilities for deflecting enemy's missiles.

The South African racist regime financed the building of a new generation of Israeli warships; South African engineers and technicians underwent training at Haifa shipyards. Israeli specialists took part in the building of a radar system on South African borders.

Special mention should be made of the fact that Israel and the RSA cooperate in the development, production and use of weapons of special types, intended for carrying out terrorist and subversive operations and suppressing masses of the people. On April 30, 1971, *The New York Times* wrote that way back in 1960 Israel had allowed the RSA to make through a Belgian company Israeli Usi short-barreled submachine guns, which could be easily carried under one's clothes. For its part, in 1968 the RSA granted Israel a licence to make napalm bombs.

In the military field exchange of specialists, information and technologies is carried out at all levels. Israelites serve in the South African armed forces. South Africans have more than once fought on Israel's side. South Africa supplies strategic raw materials to Israel, finances arms production in Israel and receives various weapons systems from it.

* * *

Israel is also helping the Pretoria regime to step up militarization of the pseudo-states the latter has established—the Bantustans. As is known, all attempts by South Africa to have the “independent” Bantustans internationally recognized have

failed. Tel Aviv hastened to the aid of its South African ally. It began to develop relations with Bantustan Ciskei. The "President" of this "independent state" made three visits to Israel during 1983 alone. A Ciskei trade mission has been opened in Tel Aviv. Israel has offered its services in the training of several airplane pilots for Ciskei. Under a secret agreement between Tel Aviv and Pretoria, Israel started activities in the other Bantustans. According to *Diario de Moçambique*, during one of the visits by "President" Lennox Sebe of Ciskei to Israel, a military alliance was virtually concluded between this "independent Bantustan" and Israel. The Israeli intelligence service Mossad and the South African National Intelligence Service, which virtually controls the activities of special secret services of the puppet Bantustans, have in fact entered a qualitatively new stage of cooperation. Its principal aims are to suppress the anti-racist movement in South Africa and on the territories of the Bantustans, where resistance to the apartheid regime is growing, as well as to gather intelligence about the neighbouring African states.

The *Jeune Afrique* magazine published in Paris has reported that Israeli "specialists" have been assigned the task of forming police forces in the puppet "states"—Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei and Venda. One hundred and fifty Israeli officers have been assigned this "mission" and work in close cooperation with the South African intelligence service. According to *Jeune Afrique*, a certain Israeli general under the assumed name of David Isaakson acts as a technical adviser to the puppet President of Bophuthatswana. The Bophuthatswana "trade representation" in Israel is headed by an Israelite, a former adviser to the Israeli Prime Minister. In late 1980 Israel received "Pre-

sident" Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, who had come to ask Israel for more specialists in espionage, subversion and repression. In this connection it is only natural to recall the "Bantustan" set up by Israel on the Lebanese territory it had occupied—the puppet state headed by Major Haddad, who had betrayed the Lebanese people. One also recalls Israel's attempts to establish similar Bantustans under the guise of Palestinian "autonomy" on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River and Gaza Strip.

Apparently, South African racists and Israeli Zionists have a good deal to learn from each other. The exchange of experience is carried out systematically and regularly. Specially selected groups of South African officers have more than once went to Israel to study the latter's war experience of 1967 and 1978.

In developing political and military contacts, the RSA and Israel pursue common imperialist interests in Africa based on the joint activities of monopoly capital of the two countries. The joint Africa-Israel Investments Ltd. commission not only controls an insurance company in Israel and is a major building contractor but is also active in Africa, closely cooperating with the "empire" of Harry Oppenheimer, the diamond king, and has even extended its activities to Latin America.

The closure of the Suez Canal following the Israeli aggression of 1968 brought the RSA large profits since cargo and passenger ships started going from Europe to Asia via South African ports. Like Israel, which seeks to perpetuate the occupation of the Arab lands, the RSA was interested in dragging out the Middle East conflict.

In connection with the visit of Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion to the RSA in 1969, the

newspaper *Die Vaderland* pointed out that the establishment of Israeli control over the Suez Canal brought the RSA "significant material and strategic advantages".

Israel and the RSA also cooperate closely in the processing and sale of diamonds. Israel is one of the world's major buyers of South African diamonds and the world's second largest centre for diamond cutting and polishing. The diamond king Harry Oppenheimer has a dual citizenship—South African and Israeli.

The two countries' economic cooperation in the military field has grown noticeably in recent years. In July 1983 the President of the Israeli Chamber of Commerce visited the RSA. He declared that Israeli-South African relations had entered a "new era" and called on Israeli firms to make more investments in the South African economy. The Israeli firms Iskoor-Steel Services Ltd., Koor Industries Ltd. and TADIRAN immediately responded to this call and considerably stepped up their activities in South Africa.

* * *

Tracing the history of Israel's relations with African states, it can first of all be noted that Tel Aviv opposed the granting of independence to them. In 1956 it voted against a UN draft resolution calling for the granting of independence to Algeria. Even in 1960, after the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had been adopted, Israel abstained when the concrete questions of granting independence to Burundi, Rwanda, Tanganyika and other countries were raised.

Since 1973, Israel has more than 20 times voted against UN resolutions condemning apartheid or abstained in the voting.

After establishing diplomatic relations with a number of African states, Israel concentrated its attention on several strategic regions of the continent. It supported the most reactionary, pro-imperialist circles in African countries. The Zionists tried in every way possible to oppose the African countries to the Arab world. Cooperating, for example, with the CIA as well as acting through various Zionist-controlled organizations, including the General Federation of Labour in Israel (the Histadrut), Israel helped the United States in influencing the independent African countries.

After African countries severed diplomatic relations with Tel Aviv during the Arab-Israeli war in October 1973, Israel found itself in a difficult situation. In that period it had diplomatic relations only with the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, as well as with Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland, which followed the lead of South Africa. But as soon as the storm, caused by the Arab countries' "oil embargo" subsided, Israel again began to "build bridges", seeking to regain the positions it had lost in Africa.

For many years, acting hand in glove with the United States, Israel extended military aid to pro-imperialist African regimes, delivering arms to them and training their specialists in putting down "disturbances", i.e. national liberation movements. For example, Israeli advisers were active in the Congo during the 1960-1961 civil war and trained several units of commandoes to fight against the legitimate Lumumba government.

Kwame Nkrumah, former President of Ghana, accused Israel of taking a direct part in the ac-

tivities of pro-imperialist circles aimed at overthrowing his regime. Tel Aviv also backed the separatists in Nigeria who sought to set up an "independent" state of Biafra for the benefit of imperialist oil monopolies.

Separatism was condemned by the non-aligned movement and the OAU. In its attempt to restore relations with African countries, Israel launched a vigorous propaganda campaign and declared itself a "non-aligned" country. Israel is doing everything it can to win Africans' favour. In recent times Israeli musicians, folklore ensembles and "lecturers" have become frequent visitors to Africa.

The United States actively supported Israel in Africa—this was a concerted policy. The United States was more than anyone else interested in Israel's "successes". With US help, Tel Aviv has managed to persuade several African countries with pro-Western regimes to restore diplomatic relations with Israel. According to the US journal *Middle East International* at present there are about 4,000 Israeli experts and consultants in Africa. In November 1981 Israeli General Sharon made a tour of Gabon, the Central African Republic and Zaire. And wherever he went, he sought to impose on Africans Israeli arms and military advisers.

Israel's incursion into Africa is fraught with a danger of the establishment of neo-colonialist domination. When African countries refuse to follow the advice of Israeli experts working in the states which have "friendly" relations with Tel Aviv, Israel does not hesitate to resort to pressure, threat and blackmail or even to organize conspiracies against the existing regimes in these countries. A special role in Israel's penetration into Africa is played by the Histadrut.

Through the Histadrut the Zionists have attempted not only to establish contacts with reformist-minded African leaders but also to recruit and train in Israel people who, according to their plan, were later to occupy key posts in their native countries and promote Israeli penetration into Africa. But developing countries have come to realize that Israel's political line is essentially aimed at undermining the national liberation movement. Israel has not been admitted either to the community of Afro-Asian countries or to the non-aligned movement.

On the one hand, Israel has helped to establish and strengthen imperialist influence in Africa, and on the other hand has tried to enlist the African states' support in the struggle against the Arabs, thus splitting their joint anti-imperialist front.

Americans, Frenchmen and Englishmen often acted as "Israeli specialists" and representatives of Israeli companies in Africa. By so doing, they have managed to penetrate the army and police in a number of African states. Another method of securing a foothold in Africa was the setting up of so-called "joint companies". The biggest of them, Solel Bone, which fulfils building contracts, belongs to the Histadrut. The Israeli trade unions acted like imperialist monopolies in Africa. In their pursuit of profits Israeli companies had no scruples about engaging in criminal operations. For example, in 1971, an Israeli diamond-mining company was thrown out of the Central African Republic for smuggling and swindle.

Various courses conducted by the Histadrut were also engaged in pro-Zionist propaganda. They called for renunciation of class struggle, "cooperation" between workers and employers and "class accord".

There are companies in Israel which export South African goods to Western Europe and the United States. A considerable part of this business, which amounts to tens of millions of dollars a year, is concentrated in the hands of Koor Industries Ltd., which is registered as a "private" company but is virtually owned by the Histadrut.

During the visit of South African Prime Minister Vorster to Israel in 1976 new cooperation agreements were concluded between Tel Aviv and Pretoria, aimed at strengthening the alliance between the two countries.

The United Nations has declared a boycott on trade with the racist RSA and imposed an arms embargo against it. These measures have made it more difficult for the United States and its NATO allies to cooperate openly with the racist regime, although they continue to provide Pretoria with military hardware by various illegal ways.

In an effort to cover their ties with the RSA and avoid openly challenging the world community, the United States and Western countries are looking for middlemen through whom they could trade with the RSA. Not infrequently Israel offers its services. Acting in the interests of international imperialist monopolies, it helps the RSA to preserve its domination in Namibia, whose right to self-determination has been supported by the UN General Assembly which has called for the withdrawal of South African troops from this country.

During his visit to Pretoria in early 1979 the Israeli Finance Minister, Simcha Ehrlich, offered the RSA his country's services in the export of South African goods to the Common Market countries, which formally observe the UN trade sanctions against the RSA. In this connection the newspaper *Maariv* wrote on February 7, 1979, that

South African goods could be shipped to Israel to be "modified", furnished with a "Made in Israel" label and exported to Europe and the United States. It is worth noting that numerous protests have been reported in the Western press regarding the sale of South African goods carrying an Israeli label, but Tel Aviv has denied all such instances.

* * *

Israeli-South African economic cooperation pursues far-reaching political ends. This alliance poses a danger to both the Arab and the African nations. Israel and the RSA have already managed to break a link in the bloc of Arab and African states through the establishment of diplomatic relations between Kinshasa and Tel Aviv.

Zaire undoubtedly realized that in restoring diplomatic relations with Israel it ran the risk of losing aid from some oil-producing Arab states and complicating its relations with African countries. Nonetheless, the Mobutu regime, frightened by the popular movement in the Shaba province and the growth of anti-imperialist sentiments in the country, decided to take this move, obviously thinking that this alone would enable it to remain in power. Mobutu, who had close personal ties with Israel and had been awarded an Israeli parachutist's badge of honour, believed his move would be facilitated by the fact that Liberia, a neighbouring country with a reactionary regime, had already exchanged ambassadors with Tel Aviv. Moreover, Israeli President Herzog had made visits both to Zaire and Liberia. In establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, Mobutu obviously hoped that the whole of Africa would follow in his footsteps. Earlier Auwar

Sadat had hoped to lead the Arabs onto the path of cooperation with Israel and the US when he signed the Camp-David accords. But their hopes were fated never to come true.

A Pentagon group of 10 military advisers sent to Zaire in September 1981 found total incompetence at all levels, widespread corruption and complete demoralization among junior and non-commissioned officers. The soldiers did not receive their salary regularly and had to rob peasants and urban dwellers to obtain the means of subsistence. The Pentagon officers noted that the President did not trust his own soldiers. Senior officers were treated with great suspicion and constantly transferred from one military district to another. The Pentagon inspectors concluded that a man living in constant fear of a coup d'etat could not afford to have a competent and efficient general.

When the Israelites learned of the results of the inspection, they promised Zaire military aid, adding that they would also get the United States to give such aid in order to strengthen the regime. Tel Aviv even specified the sum—20 million dollars. It turned out that this was equivalent to the amount of aid for Zaire which Reagan later asked from US Congress.

So, the restoration of diplomatic relations between Israel and Zaire in May 1982 cost the US 20 million dollars.

After restoring diplomatic relations with Israel, Zaire purchased from it 10 million dollars' worth of arms and military hardware, while Israeli experts immediately began to train a "special presidential brigade". As the Libyan Jamahiriya News Agency (JANA) noted, quoting informed sources, during the visit of the Israeli Minister of Defence to Zaire in January 1983 a number of secret agree-

ments were concluded which had been approved by the US and South Africa. Under one of the agreements Israel expressed its readiness to send 6,000 military specialists and instructors to Kinshasa to set up and service with South African help a US military base where the possibility of deploying US cruise missiles was not excluded. An agreement was also reached on opening in Kinshasa a mission of the Israeli Mossad intelligence service for the purpose of suppressing national liberation movements. It was planned to increase aid to the terrorist grouping UNITA for the purpose of organizing armed provocations against Angola, as well as to deploy Israeli airborne troops that were to be used in Zaire upon agreement with the United States.

Concerning the conclusion of such agreements, the London journal *West Africa* wrote: "For its diplomatic offensive on Black Africa it was entirely natural that Israel should choose Mobutu's Zaire. While not being a Frontline State, Zaire does not trade with South Africa. More important, perhaps, Zaire has an obsessively right-wing leader in need of protection from his own people."

Ties with Zaire promise dividends first of all to Israel. Tel Aviv gains an important reconnaissance post in the heart of Black Africa, from where it can monitor radio messages in ten adjacent countries. The intelligence information thus gathered can be transmitted to Israel's allies—the US and other NATO countries, as well as to the Mobutu regime. As for Israel itself, it will have important levers for influencing Zaire and other African countries.

Recently the *Afrique-Asie* journal has described how the Kinshasa "window" is used by Israeli

special services for making inroads into neighbouring progressive African states. Operating from Kinshasa, the journal wrote, the Israeli intelligence services "inconspicuously infiltrate into Angola, the People's Republic of the Congo, Zambia, Benin, and São Tomé e Príncipe. Generally, for such operations use is made of Israeli embassy staff members from among Sephardi—Jews from African and Asian countries. Owing to their dark skin, and with the help of false passports, they succeed in carrying out the delicate mission assigned to them. In this way Israel not only monitors but also observes the neighbouring independent countries from Kinshasa." It also gains an economic springboard for making all kinds of economic deals to obtain precious raw materials, including strategic ones, such as uranium. Thus, Zaire also forms a breach in the so-called anti-Israeli defence line set up by the national liberation movement of African states in 1973 after they had severed diplomatic relations with Israel and unanimously sided with the Arabs.

The imperialists rushed into the breach. Whereas after the Pentagon inspection Washington temporarily froze military aid to Zaire, the restoration of diplomatic relations between Kinshasa and Tel Aviv made the United States feel more confident in Zaire.

Facts show that the United States and Israel use every opportunity to weaken the anti-imperialist front of the peoples of the Middle East and Africa. It is against this background that one should view, for example, the consent of the Habré regime in N'Djamena to the building of a military base in the Sarh region in the south of Chad, which is to be used by the United States and Israel.

It has always been the principal goal of US strategy on the African continent to strengthen the positions of the white racists in the south of Africa. The RSA's role has increased considerably in the Reagan Administration's schemes. The Pentagon regards the RSA as a convenient springboard for carrying out armed interference in the affairs of independent African states, in particular, for waging war against Angola and Mozambique with the use of the South African troops and Israeli weapons.

Israel had sided with the enemies of the Angolan people long before Angola's independence. It is well known, for example, that the Portuguese colonialists used Israeli arms in the struggle against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. The Popular Liberation Movement of Angola reported that four Israeli advisers had been killed in one of the battles in 1972. Fascist Portugal fully repaid Israel: it was the only country to allow the United States to use its territory for US arms deliveries to Israel during the October 1973 war.

The RSA and Israel have continued their cooperation in the struggle against the Angolan people after Angola's independence.

In June 1980 the British newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* reported that there were "volunteers" from Britain, Israel and Chile among the South African troops stationed on Namibian territory. In December 1981 the Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon openly toured the positions of the South African forces illegitimately occupying Namibia and taking part in raids against Angola, thus demonstrating Tel Aviv's complicity in these actions.

"The South African racists' aggression against Angola has much in common with the Zionists'

acts of armed outrage in Lebanon," said Pedro Maria Tonha, a member of the Politbureau of the MPLA-PL Central Committee and Defence Minister of Angola. "There is no difference between the Israeli expansionists' genocide against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and the mass murder of Angolans by South African racists. With US backing Israel and the RSA closely cooperate in the military field. After the Reagan Administration came to power, military ties between the US and the RSA have grown considerably. ...Israel cannot pursue an expansionist policy in the Middle East, just as the RSA cannot pursue an expansionist policy in the south of Africa, without all-round US assistance and support."

It is clear to any unbiased person that without direct military, political and economic assistance of the United States, South Africa would not be able to defy world public opinion and commit one aggression after another against African states, above all against Angola and Mozambique, and refuse to carry out the UN Security Council's resolutions on granting independence to Namibia. NATO countries and Israel also act in unison with Washington.

The British newspaper *The Observer* has recently published a secret memorandum stolen from Zaire. It says that US and South African representatives held a secret meeting in late November 1983 to discuss the question of destabilizing the Angolan government, that present at the meeting were a special US envoy, three members of the UNITA movement, South African military and intelligence officials, and an Israeli military adviser who attended the meeting as an observer.

The meeting took place shortly before the RSA launched a large-scale aggression codenamed

Lotus-83 against Angola in December 1983. Pretoria had set itself the task, criminal in intent with regard to freedom-loving Africa, of seizing the southern regions of Angola and setting up there an "independent" buffer state headed by the leader of the counterrevolutionary UNITA grouping Jonas Savimbi, one similar to the puppet state, created in the south of Lebanon several years ago with Israeli help and headed by the traitor of the Lebanese people and deserter, Major Saad Haddad.

The purpose of the meeting was to analyse the military and political situation in Angola and consider the measures to be taken to extend necessary help to the counterrevolutionaries and to give them advice as to the most effective methods of action. In particular, it was suggested that the leaders of the counterrevolutionary groupings form a common front. A special US representative called upon the UNITA and other groupings active in the south of the country, which had been set up and equipped by the United States, the RSA and Israel, to speed up the implementation of social and political measures aimed at stirring up the people's dissatisfaction with the government and with the Cuban and Soviet presence and destabilizing the situation in the capital, organize subversive acts against major economic facilities and seize strategic points and important roads.

In violation of its own legislation, the US has long been extending financial and military aid to the Angolan counterrevolutionaries. In recent years it has allocated 100 million dollars for the maintenance of Savimbi himself. There are no figures on US aid given through Israel, which closely cooperates with the RSA in the struggle against the national liberation movement in Africa.

The acknowledgement of interdependence forms the basis of relations between Israel and the RSA, between Zionism and apartheid. These are the two outposts of imperialism: one in the Eastern Mediterranean and the other in the south of Africa, where imperialism's economic and strategic interests in Africa, the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic merge. Each of them acts in its region as an economic and military puppet of its bosses. Israel and the RSA cooperate not only with imperialism but also with each other: they strengthen racism, assist each other in acts of aggression against neighbouring countries and extend each other military and financial aid so as to ensure the existence of their regimes.

On December 14, 1960, the UN General Assembly adopted a historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Resolution 1514/XV/).

Throughout the past 25 years the African continent has been one of the most dynamic regions of the globe. Within the lifetime of one generation the colonial system which had for centuries dominated the continent collapsed.

But today the forces of colonialism operate in Africa in the form of racism.

Just as Israel in the Middle East, the South African regime presents itself as a bastion of the "free world" in Africa, a stronghold of struggle against "communist penetration" into the continent. The policy of expanding contacts with the outside world proclaimed by the RSA several years ago and its attempt to start a dialogue for the purpose of establishing diplomatic relations with African states are intended to erode the anti-apartheid

movement. The United Nations has resolutely condemned these attempts by South Africa.

The existence of the racist regime in the south of Africa is not an internal issue, one which concerns that country alone. It constantly aggravates international tension, poses a threat to the freedom and independence of the neighbouring states and provokes conflicts and wars. Even more unacceptable is the alliance between Israeli and South African racists, which is a threat to the whole of Africa, to all the peoples of the Middle East, and which significantly exacerbates international tension.

Geologists believe that there was a time when Africa was a scene of violent underground processes, as a result of which diamond fields appeared on the surface of the earth.

Today no less violent processes are taking place in the life of African peoples, who have thrown off the colonialists' yoke. Islands of colonialism, such as the racist RSA, no longer represent the face of Africa. No matter how hard the imperialists may try, they will not be able to restore their past domination; whatever props they may use to bolster the South African regime, they will not succeed, for history is irreversible. The question of liberating Namibia which is now occupied by the RSA and eliminating the racist regime in the RSA itself is already on the agenda. This regime is doomed, and no alliances with reactionary forces can save it.

However, confidence in the historically inevitable collapse of reactionary regimes should not lull the vigilance of peoples, who have begun a struggle against imperialism. Zionism and racism have always acted as tools of imperialist circles. But these forces can become much more menacing if they are armed with nuclear weapons, if they man-

age to get more African states, which might fall victim to the alliance of reactionary forces, to join the imperialist bloc headed by the United States. That is why the struggle against Zionism and the racist South African regime, partners in Washington's global strategy, is becoming a vital necessity today.

Chapter II

HANDS IN GLOVE WITH NAZI CRIMINALS

Condemned by the French court for crimes against humanity, Klaus Barbie, the hangman of Lyon in the years of Nazi occupation during the Second World War, had been in hiding in Latin American countries and enjoying US patronage. In one of his interviews published in the West he said that he had for a long time headed an underground organization of Nazi fugitives engaged in arms trade. Barbie noted that he had dealt chiefly with Israeli officials. In the 1970s he had contacts with them as a leading adviser of the Bolivian government. He also named other Nazis who were his "business" partners.

Among them were Hans-Ulrich Rudel, hailed by the former Nazi press as the "hero of Germany" for the crimes he had committed during the Second World War. Together with Barbie, Rudel extended the "business interests" of death traders to the whole of Latin America. Fritz Schwend, a former Nazi and Reich officer, maintained contacts between the arms trading concern and the US army intelligence service.

Today it is common knowledge that the United States had for many years maintained business contacts with Barbie, using his experience in the

struggle against the French Resistance. The Israeli special services could not have been unaware of the Nazi past of their arms trade contractor either. The very fact that despite the sentence passed by the French court Barbie and his assistants had for many years hidden in Latin America shows that both Israel and the US badly needed them in their new jobs. As was noted by ABC correspondent John Martin, this network, known for its rabid anti-communism, had been in operation for a long time.

The facts just cited provide yet another glimpse into the activity of the Zionist regime. But what interests us most in this case is not the moral aspect of the cooperation between the Zionists, who declare themselves "victims" of Nazism, and former Nazis, but what that cooperation in fact signifies. It means that there is a sinister alliance between the forces of imperialism and reaction operating under the banner of anti-communism. As will be shown below, in this alliance Israel plays the role of executor of the will of the biggest imperialist power—the US. This role can be clearly seen in the case of Latin American countries.

The United States finds it necessary to mask its aid to dictatorial regimes in Latin America because in recent years Latin American countries, especially Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and Peru, have been making increasing efforts to strengthen their sovereignty and exert their influence in the international arena.

The consolidation of the positions of Latin American countries in the world arena is a result of the strengthening of their independence in the struggle against imperialism, against the hegemonic aspirations of the US which is seeking to dictate its will to countries in the region. This pro-

cess reflects a shift in the balance of world forces in favour of socialism.

The peoples of Latin American countries have before them the example of Cuba, which put an end to US domination and became the first socialist state in Latin America.

* * *

The reactionary dictatorial regimes in Central America have close contacts with the Zionists.

“We are under a great obligation to Somoza,” said former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, when reproached for Israeli arms deliveries to the hangman of the Nicaraguan people. Begin’s statement confirms recent press reports in the West to the effect that contacts between the Zionists and the dictators in Central America began to develop even before the establishment of the state of Israel.

In the mid-1940s, on Zionists’ requests, Somoza purchased from West European countries weapons allegedly intended for Nicaragua. In fact it was the Zionist organizations which got hold of these weapons. According to the US journal *Covert Action*, in 1948 Yehuda Arazi, Somoza’s special representative in Europe, purchased, in Nicaragua’s name, 200,000 dollars’ worth of arms and delivered them to Hagana, a Zionist terrorist organization of which Begin was a member.

Since the 1960s the partners changed their roles. Israel was now buying, for example, US Sherman tanks and reselling them to the Nicaraguan junta. Large quantities of weapons were shipped from Israel to Nicaragua, and since mid-1978 weapons were sent directly to terrorist groups whose task

was to wipe out the political opponents of the dictatorial regime.

At present, in agreement with Washington, Tel Aviv supplies weapons to Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica and other Central American countries that follow the US policy course. A part of these arms falls into the hands of counter-revolutionary bands conducting subversive activities with US backing against Nicaragua.

Now that the US Administration has openly declared Israel its "strategic ally", it is increasingly involving the latter in its military ventures in Central America. According to US sources, David Kimche, Director General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, has discussed with Washington officials the idea of permitting Central American states that receive loans for the purchase of US arms to use the money for buying Israeli weapons as well. He has also suggested that Israel sell back to the United States its outdated and surplus military hardware to be shipped to third countries.

The White House is doing everything it can to justify its clandestine aid to the dictatorial regimes and counterrevolutionary bands. To this end it resorts to provocative propaganda. On July 20, 1983, addressing American Jewish leaders, Reagan accused the Sandinists of having attacked the synagogue in Managua. The next day *The New York Times* reported:

"Israel, at the request of the United States, has agreed to send weapons... to Honduras for eventual use by Nicaraguan rebels. . . .

"The arms shipments... include artillery pieces, mortar rounds, mines, hand grenades and ammunition."

Of tremendous importance for the whole of Latin America was the victory of the revolutionary move-

ment in Nicaragua, which smashed the reactionary military Somoza dictatorship despite the fact that it had enjoyed US-Israeli backing. The revolution has strengthened the country's prestige as an independent state, which the United States is seeking to destroy, as it did small independent Grenada.

People all over the world follow with close attention the struggle of the courageous people of El Salvador against the US-backed corrupt regime in that country. These examples of courageous struggle waged by the peoples of Latin America for their freedom, against US hegemonism, strengthen the positions of Latin American states in the world arena. The peoples of Latin American countries reject US interference in their domestic affairs.

But US imperialism refuses to surrender. On September 11, 1973, the world learned of the bloody events in Chile. The overthrow of the Allende government with CIA help and the massacre of the civilian population strongly stirred mankind's conscience. These events have shown that the forces of imperialism and reaction are capable of committing the most horrendous crimes for the sake of preserving the monopolies' domination on the continent.

Imperialist conspiracies against states with revolutionary-democratic regimes are not so infrequent. But the military fascist coup d'etat in Chile occupies a special place in the list of US imperialism's crimes. It was carried out in a country whose government of working people was the first one in Chile to assume power as a result of general elections. The government set itself the task of implementing deep-going social transformations and took a course towards the building of socialism. The Chilean people had voted for the parties which had long before the elections proclaimed their goals

and the ways of attaining them within the framework of the existing bourgeois constitution. During its three years in office, the Popular Unity Government strictly adhered to the norms of legality stipulated by the constitution. On the basis of a constitutional reform unanimously approved by parliament, the government nationalized the property of two large companies: Anaconda Copper and Kennecott Copper, most of whose capital belonged to the United States. Banks and other companies owned by foreign monopolies were also nationalized and latifundism was abolished.

It was the international monopolies and imperialist intelligence services, above all the CIA, that carried out the plot against Chile. The Israeli intelligence service also took an active part in the plot.

With their help the fascist military clique, which included quite a few people having links with Nazis who had entrenched themselves in Latin America after the Second World War, murdered President Allende, dissolved the Chilean parliament and banned political parties, the Single Centre of Chilean Workers, and strikes. Thousands of Chilean patriots were executed in the streets and torture chambers, imprisoned and sent to concentration camps. Immediately after coming to power, the junta invited foreign imperialist companies which had earlier operated in the country to return to Chile. US banks reopened their doors and granted credits to the junta.

But apart from money the fascist junta badly needed weapons, especially those designed to break up demonstrations, tap telephone lines and apply tortures during interrogation. Pinochet's hangmen also needed "specialists" to carry out provocative activity in trade unions and mass organizations and

train the police in the use of sophisticated methods of interrogation. Such "services" to the Chilean junta were immediately rendered by Israel which by the time of the fascist coup in Chile had had six years of experience in suppressing unrest among the inhabitants of the occupied Arab lands—the West Bank of the Jordan River and Gaza Strip.

Cooperation between Israel and the Chilean junta has been growing with each passing year, although today Tel Aviv does not like to talk much about it, knowing that it will bring it no prestige in the world. Nonetheless, there is plenty of evidence that Israel secretly backs the Pinochet regime to which it sells arms and special equipment for breaking up demonstrations and for carrying out interrogation and torture. Moreover, several high-ranking Israeli politicians and generals have openly expressed support for the Pinochet regime. For example, after a visit to Chile in August 1980 the former Israeli Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Mordechai Gur, said in an interview that "press reports about Chile do not reflect the real situation" in Chile and therefore Israel had a moral right not only to continue but also to increase its arms sales to that country.

Faced with the problem of declining US prestige in Latin America, Washington often has to "review" its policy. In his address to the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States on April 14, 1977, President Carter spoke of his country's "high regard" for the individuality of each Latin American country and of a "wider and more flexible approach" to its southern neighbours. However, Washington's rhetoric is contradicted by its practical deeds. The United States launched a human rights campaign while giving support to the most reactionary regimes on the continent. The

Pentagon has increased its arms deliveries to the dictatorial regimes in Chile and Paraguay. But Washington cannot always extend its aid directly and openly. In Nicaragua, where the people rose up against the Somoza regime, the United States backed the regime and supported its mass repressions. But the dictatorial character of the Somoza regime was so obvious that the United States, having launched the human rights propaganda campaign, found itself in a difficult situation.

Of course, in these circumstances the United States could not extend effective military aid to dictatorships. And Washington decided to shift at least a part of its burden onto its ally—Israel.

Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador, Thailand, Taiwan, the RSA—this is far from a complete list of countries where Israeli-made weapons are used to suppress peoples whose aspirations run counter to the interests of transnationals and US ambitions.

Despite the fact that Israel carefully conceals its aid to the Chilean regime, it is known, for example, that in one of the deals 1,500 Israeli Shafrir missiles equipped with infrared guidance systems have been supplied to the Chilean regime.

Israel plays a definite role in imperialist strategy. It usually appears where and when the imperialist powers for various reasons find it undesirable to cast off their masks.

In the last months of Somoza's rule in Nicaragua, when the United States was compelled to stop arms deliveries to the dictatorial regime, the Israeli war industry worked without respite in order to meet 98 per cent of the regime's requirements in military hardware formerly met by the US.

Israeli Galil rifles were used by special punitive detachments led by Somoza's son. Israeli Arava aircraft bombed Nicaraguan cities and towns.

Goods supplied by Israeli industry to the Somoza bands accounted for 40 per cent of all Israeli exports. During the last two years of Somoza's life, 50,000 Nicaraguan civilians were killed chiefly with Israeli-made weapons. But Somoza suffered a complete defeat in his war against the Nicaraguan people. Neither Israeli weapons nor US backing saved him.

Quite naturally, the revolutionary regime in Nicaragua did not and could not have any sympathy for Zionism and Israel. It broke off diplomatic relations with Israel and established relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), whose mission was granted the status of embassy in Managua. But Israel could not reconcile itself to a limitation of its influence in Latin America as a result of the Nicaraguan events. Together with the United States, it organized and trained counterrevolutionary bands in order to prepare the ground for aggression against Nicaragua, and helps prop up dictatorial regimes on the continent.

In this connection the Nicaraguan government has expressed concern over the fact that some Latin American countries are deepening their ties with "the most bloodthirsty and terrorist regime since the time of Hitlerite fascism".

As is known, in January 1983 the Non-Aligned Coordinating Bureau strongly condemned Israel's growing support for US policy in Central America.

In launching an unprecedented arms race, taking a course towards confrontation with the Soviet Union and starting a violent attack on national liberation movements throughout the world, the Reagan Administration has finally cast aside all norms of morality prohibiting support and aid to reactionary dictatorial regimes. On October 22-23, 1983, at a conference of leading officials of the US De-

partment of Defence held in Honduras, which was also attended by representatives of Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Panama, a plan for a large-scale intervention against Nicaragua was worked out. This plan, published in *The New York Times* on November 11, 1983, calls for the seizure by mercenaries of at least a small strip of Nicaraguan territory and the setting up of a "government" there which would ask the United States for military aid. It has long been known that Israeli instructors are taking part in training Somoza bands to be sent into Nicaragua with the aim of destabilizing the situation in that country. While working out a plan of overthrowing the revolutionary government in Nicaragua, the United States drew on its experience of cooperation with the Israeli occupation force in Lebanon. In accordance with the plan, the US forces are to come to its ally's "aid", as was done in the summer of 1982 in Lebanon, after Honduran troops have crossed Nicaraguan borders.

Having gained a firm footing in the economies and defence ministries in several Latin American states, Israel impudently interferes in their internal affairs and even shouts at Latin American statesmen. Even such a big Latin American country as Argentina has not been able to avoid Israeli interference.

In the last months of his rule Begin sent one high-ranking official after another to Latin America. As is known, in 1982 and 1983 the United States increased its aid to regimes assigned the task of overthrowing the revolutionary government in Nicaragua. Coordinating its activity with Washington, Begin sent Defence Minister Yitzhak Shamir to Costa Rica in October 1982, and in December of the same year former Defence Minister Ariel

Sharon came to Honduras. Shortly before that General Gustavo Martínez, Commander-in-Chief of the Honduran armed forces, visited Israel. Commenting on these visits, the opposition papers wrote that Washington apparently hoped that Tel Aviv would act as its right-hand man in Latin America.

During his visit to Honduras in 1982 Israeli Minister of Defence Sharon signed a Strategic Cooperation Treaty with the dictator of that country, General Martínez, Commander-in-Chief of the Honduran armed forces. The very name of the treaty shows the US striving to standardize its foreign policy ties. A year before the United States concluded a similar treaty with Israel. In this connection it should be noted that the United States and Israel coordinated the visit of their state leaders to Honduras.

On December 4, 1983, two days after President Reagan's visit to Honduras, General Sharon arrived there and went into detail on the question of military aid to Honduras, which the Honduran rulers had already discussed with the US President in principle. Sharon offered Honduras 12 Kfir aircraft (the Israeli modification of the French Mirage V), radars, small arms, equipment, as well as 50 advisers.

Earlier the Honduran rulers had repeatedly asked Washington for F-5 jet fighters. Israel proved more "compliant" and sold warplanes to Honduras.

For 1984 Honduras allocated 45 million dollars for military purposes, while the country's trade deficit has reached 260 million dollars and external debts amount to two billion dollars.

As is known, the Reagan Administration is placing its stakes on the Honduran junta in its attempt to suppress the national liberation move-

ment in Central America and to prepare for a war against Nicaragua. To camouflage its subversive activities, Washington again resorts to Tel Aviv's services. During his visit to Honduras the Israeli Defence Minister promised to deliver to Honduras 25 million dollars' worth of weapons.

It is significant that Israel and Honduras concluded their treaty after the Falklands crisis, during which the United States gave direct support to Britain in its colonial war against Argentina, a move that aroused indignation in Latin American countries. In these circumstances the conclusion of the Strategic Cooperation Treaty between Israel and Honduras was an indication of the former's increasing role as a US middleman in Latin America. This role grew especially after the Reagan Administration came to power and directed its efforts towards heightening international tension. Reagan needn't have worried about the House of Representatives officially opposing military aid to the dictatorial regimes in Latin America. For it voted for increasing military aid to Israel from 500 to 850 million dollars. The US legislative bodies prodded the Reagan Administration to make this move. Extending military aid to dictatorial regimes through Israel made it possible for the United States not only to attain its principal aim of propping up these regimes but also to help Israel overcome its diplomatic isolation in which the latter found itself after invading Lebanon and particularly after the massacre in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila.

There is another reason why Washington readily entrusts Israel with carrying out some of its functions in Latin America: Israel's efficiency.

Guatemala is a major importer of Israeli weapons. Apart from a variety of US arms, Israeli

military advisers and "security specialists" were sent to this long-suffering Latin American country. General Ríos Montt, who assumed power in Guatemala in March 1982, said that Israeli experts who had trained Guatemalan officers had ensured the success of his coup d'état. General Oscar Mejía, a rabid anti-communist, who overthrew Montt in August 1983, at once declared his "adherence to friendship with Israel". After he came to power Israeli arms deliveries to Guatemala doubled.

The military dictatorial regime in Guatemala received Arava and Kfir aircraft, speedboats, bazookas and small arms from Israel. In 1983, in the Alta Verapaz department, where peasants were often treated cruelly and banished from their native land, a plant to make Israeli rifles and machine-guns was put into operation. The Chief of Staff of the Guatemalan army, General Héctor Lopez, said rather frankly on this score: "Israel is our major arms supplier and friend number one."

Recent events have shown that the Guatemalan tyranny could not remain in power a single day without help from Washington and its ally—the Israeli militarists.

The United States and Israel have long agreed on the roles they are to play: the United States is to be the human rights champion and may, under public pressure, even temporarily discontinue arms supplies to the most bloodthirsty regimes, at which point Israel appears on the scene. Such was the case with Guatemala in 1977. As was noted by *The Washington Post*, Israel had earned the reputation of an arms supplier sufficiently removed from Central American conflicts so that it was not necessary to take them into

account when selling arms to governments that pay cash.

A similar situation existed in El Salvador. Playing the role of a human rights champion, President Reagan had pretended for quite some time that he had allegedly had to overcome congressional opposition to escalating US intervention in El Salvador. In this connection, Jacob Meridor, Israel's Economic Coordination Minister, told an employers' meeting that Israel would like to act in Washington's interests in Central America and the Caribbean, in South Africa and Taiwan. And Israel did come to Washington's aid. In the 1972-1977 period 81 per cent of the arms purchased by the Salvadoran junta came from Israel. On January 3, 1982, the *Davar* newspaper published some sensational "news": the economic adviser of the Israeli Embassy in Washington had admitted that in 1981 Tel Aviv had given a 21-million-dollar loan to the Salvadoran regime and had taken this amount of money, on Reagan's demand, out of the aid it had received from the United States. In recent years Israel has supplied 25 Arava military transport aircraft, 18 Ouragan fighters, 6 training aircraft and 200 missile launchers to El Salvador.

High-ranking officials in the Reagan Administration had revealed, according to *The New York Times*, that Israel had agreed to meet the US request and sell to the Honduran dictatorial regime the arms captured from the Palestine Liberation Organization during the summer 1982 invasion of Lebanon. These arms were purchased for use by Nicaraguan rebels.

The New York Times also reported that Israel had delivered 290 tanks, 216 armoured cars, 215 artillery pieces, 24,000 rifles, 11,000 mines, 18,000

grenades and other military equipment and ammunition to the Honduran military clique. The Mexican press noted that there were Israeli instructors in Honduras along with US "advisers".

Apart from military aid, Israel often helps Latin American dictatorial regimes politically. Murderous Latin American dictators like to be photographed with visiting Israeli politicians. They know very well what such pictures are worth. Once they are published in the Israeli press, they are usually reprinted in the US where the strong Zionist lobby regards them as a signal for pressing Washington to increase its financial, military and political aid to a "highly honoured" dictator.

Although Washington does not advertize its cooperation with Israel as regards arms deliveries, the training of army personnel and advising Latin American governments on intelligence matters and sabotage, once in a while such information is leaked to the press. Confirming US-Israeli cooperation in supplying arms to Central American dictatorships, *The New York Times* reports, for example, that this cooperation is developing in conditions of general coordination of efforts between Washington and Tel Aviv.

As is known, in recent years the Israeli war industry has grown considerably. This has become possible owing to US investments and technical aid as well as the use of US-made components of weapons at Israeli munitions factories.

In 1981 Israel manufactured 1.6 million USi submachine guns. The Israeli armed forces number 169,000 regular servicemen and 252,000 reservists. These figures show that Israel is armed to the teeth with small arms. In that year it supplied arms to 40 countries and was the world's seventh biggest arms exporter earning nearly two

billion dollars from arms exports. Israel Aircraft Industries, Israel Military Industries, TADIRAN, Soltam and about 100 small workshops are on the list of Israeli companies engaged in the production of weapons. Soltam alone makes about 460 types of military hardware. Since 1981 Israel has moved from seventh to fifth place in the world in arms exports.

A prospectus of an Israeli exporting firm offers friendly foreign states battle-tested military hardware for ensuring security, armoured vehicles, warships, radar detection instruments, ship-to-ship missiles, fire and arms control systems—everything from plastic magazines to supersonic multi-purpose warplanes.

Camouflaging its role in provoking conflicts in the region, the United States shifts a part of the “responsibility” onto its strategic ally and junior partner.

According to the Mexican telegraph agency Notimex, the yearly sale of Israeli arms to Central America has increased to 250 million dollars.

As reported by the newspaper *Ha'aretz*, the United States has worked out a plan of setting up a special fund for Latin America. Under the plan Israel is to give military aid to pro-US dictators, above all to the Salvadoran military clique. The paper also reported that David Kimche, Director General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, was going to Washington to discuss the plan.

Such is the role of Tel Aviv—a tool of US policy in Latin America.

* * *

Although many aspects of Israel's cooperation with dictatorial regimes in Latin America are kept

sécret, it has become known that members of the Israeli special services have taken part in persecuting progressively-minded Latin American citizens and suppressing the progressive student movement on the continent.

In late 1983 a symposium on Zionists' interference in Latin American affairs was held in Havana. It was attended by more than 40 delegations from most of the countries of the region. The delegates voiced concern over Israel's growing cooperation with dictatorial regimes under US patronage. It was underlined that the alliance of US imperialism and Zionism was a strategic one and that Israel was turning into an instrument of the US military-industrial complex.

Today the contour of the US-Israeli alliance whose activity is directed primarily against the national liberation struggle is becoming increasingly distinct.

The United States is keeping a close watch over developments in countries of Latin America, in particular, the processes leading to a strengthening of their national independence. Washington cannot reconcile itself to the fact that it is losing its positions and ceasing to be the master in the region, which it has tended to look upon as its own private domain.

The events of recent years, such as the growing struggle against the puppet regime in El Salvador, clearly show that the United States can no longer suppress the will of the peoples fighting for their rights, either through its own efforts or with the help of mercenaries, not even when such an experienced assistant as Israel is among its hirelings.

Chapter III

UNDER WASHINGTON'S GUIDANCE

The former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, responsible for many crimes, including the murder of several thousand innocent people in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila, had been forced to retire. He has almost become an anchorite and grown a beard, and rarely leaves his home and communicates with the outside world.

What made such a well-known Israeli figure, political leader number one, accustomed to appear before journalists and cameramen, change his lifestyle and retire?

The Israeli and the US press let out a secret once in a while: they said that Begin had become an "odious" personality and could no longer implement the US foreign-policy line with "sufficient subtlety". Then Yitzhak Shamir became Prime Minister.

What was the matter, why was it necessary to change one horse for another?

It is not difficult to find an answer to this question if one takes a closer look at the events in the Middle East.

In the summer of 1982, with Washington's blessing, Israel invaded Lebanon. It intended to occupy a part of Lebanese territory, eliminate the

Palestinian liberation movement, and, by intimidating Syria, finally pave the way towards resolving the Middle East problem on the basis of the Camp-David accords and in US and its own interests. But Israel miscalculated. Instead of a blitzkrieg, a long-drawn-out bloody conflict followed. Washington came to Israel's aid. The United States had to extend direct support to Israel and land its marines in Lebanon under the guise of the so-called Multinational Force (MNF). At the same time, Washington came out with the notorious Reagan plan*, which, just like the Camp-David agreement, was nothing but an attempt to ensure "peace the American way" in the Middle East. And just like the Camp-David accords, it suffered the same fate. The Arabs did not want to tie themselves to the Reagan plan, which would settle the Middle East conflict in the interests of the United States and Israel. They realized that Washington was relying chiefly on Israel. The new US-Israeli strategic cooperation agreements concluded in late 1983 attested to this.

In concluding the new agreements the United States realized of course that it was still further complicating its relations with Arab states. But the Reagan Administration had subordinated all its activities to US global foreign-policy interests

* On September 1, 1982, President Reagan put forward a plan for a Middle East settlement. There was nothing new, however, about the new initiative. The United States continued to ignore the Palestinians' right to self-determination and sought to ensure Israel's qualitative and quantitative superiority over the Arabs with the alleged aim of ensuring the security of the Jewish state. At the same time, it sought to strengthen its own positions in the Middle East. It called for the withdrawal of all forces from Lebanon, equating Syria, whose troops were in Lebanon at the Lebanese government's request and by the decision of the League of Arab States, with Israel.

and believed that a strengthening of the "strategic" alliance with Israel was more in keeping with these objectives. It had to sacrifice Begin, with his hands stained in blood, so as to somewhat "calm down" the Arabs, who saw a danger for themselves in the new "strategic cooperation" agreement, and lull their vigilance. What was more, the Israeli political leader, who stood at the origins of the Camp-David course together with Presidents Carter and Sadat and was known throughout the world as the butcher of the civilian population in the Arab village of Deir Yassin and later of thousands of Palestinian women, children and old men in Sabra and Shatila, could only further discredit with his past record the anti-Arab US policy. With US backing, the narrow-minded terrorist Begin was replaced by another Prime Minister—Shamir, also a terrorist but less known as such. Apparently, Washington considered Shamir a more fitting candidate for the solution of Israel's strategic tasks, who would be more persistent and at the same time flexible in implementing US policy in the region.

The US-Israeli agreements, statements by high-ranking state and military leaders of both countries as well as documents published in the press indicate what strategic tasks Israel is to carry out.

When giving Tel Aviv enormous military and financial aid, the United States usually talks about its moral commitments to Israel. But obviously the United States would not be spending billions of dollars on economic and military aid to Israel purely out of feelings of moral commitments or under the pressure of two per cent of the country's population.

Claims by US politicians that the United States

needs to have Israel as an ally in order to deter "Soviet penetration" into the Middle East are totally groundless.

It is said that the US strategy in the Middle East is based on the need to limit the "Soviet presence" in the region. But is it really so? Anti-sovietism is only a convenient cover behind which the United States conceals its real objectives and the real reasons why it has put its stakes on Israel. Economic factors no doubt always occupy a significant place in determining policy. In this connection it would be apt to recall a statement by the former Israeli Defence Minister General Ariel Sharon, who wrote in the newspaper *Yedioth Aharonoth* on December 3, 1974: "The Americans regard Israel as a bastion; relying on Israel they could solve the problem of Arab oil through military means. For our part, we conduct business with the Americans as a poor client rather than an equal partner." The seeming contradictions between Israel and the US thus essentially come down to Tel Aviv's desire to sell at a higher price the blood of its soldiers, who are constantly ready to enter into war for the sake of upholding US interests.

But oil is not the only objective, and economic interests are not the only reason why Washington puts its stakes on Israel.

Here it would be pertinent to look at an article published in the influential US journal *Foreign Affairs*, giving a detailed analysis of Israel's capabilities in implementing US policy in the Middle East. The author, Israeli General Aharon Yariv, former chief of the Israeli intelligence service and currently head of the Centre for Strategic Studies, believes that Israel is being assigned a new role in US plans, a role based on Israel's ability to do

much for the Western alliance owing to its location, internal stability, complete reliability, the population's high intellectual level, and the large capabilities of its ground, naval and air forces. Moreover, it is planned to use on a large scale the strategic "defence" front of the West, including the use of a landing force with limited heavy equipment on a small territory. As the author notes, such a force, available near the critical region at all times and provided with good naval and air support, can serve as the Rapid Deployment Force. The early arrival at the place of conflict, possibly together with forces provided by the local partner, and the immediate entry into action can resolve a "crisis situation" which might otherwise escalate and require the participation of large military forces with all the ensuing dangers.

The author believes that in this case the Rapid Deployment Force could act with a surgeon's precision, flexibility and determination, which was demonstrated in the Entebbe operation.*

Yariv concludes that in view of this Israel can make its own contribution to the Western alliance.

The Israeli air bases, including the two recently built in the Negev desert, can be used in joint operations with the US Air Force. They can also be used in operations by the Rapid Deployment Force.

Yariv's article leaves no doubt that the strategic cooperation between Israel and the US pursues the aim of involving Israel in the implementation of US global plans, which are directed against the

* In 1976, under the pretext of freeing Israeli hostages-passengers of an Air France airplane allegedly seized by Palestinians-Israel carried out an aggressive act against Uganda, landing its paratroopers in the Entebbe airport.

USSR and the national liberation movements. It is noteworthy that the United States does not limit Israel's sphere of activities to its usual functions in the Middle East.

Recently an Israeli newspaper published a detailed summary of Israel's strategic tasks. The article openly speaks of Israel's striving to be an imperialist power, its plans of methodically splitting the Arab world and taking possession of its natural wealth and labour force.

In the light of such statements, Israel's activities in the south of Africa and in Latin America become understandable. It is quite obvious that under the aegis of the United States, which is seeking to oppose the forces of peace, progress, socialism and national liberation movements on a worldwide scale, an alliance of reactionary forces, dictatorial and racist regimes is emerging, in which Israel is assigned a significant role of manager and chief US agent.

In this context peace-loving forces throughout the world cannot ignore Israel's role as a trusted agent of the United States. Sometimes such agents are assigned quite delicate and often dangerous and treacherous missions. As regards Israel, not infrequently it acts as a fuse provoking armed incidents and wars, which threaten to grow into large-scale international conflicts. Israel's cooperation with dictatorial and racist regimes in the nuclear sphere is especially dangerous. Its cooperation with South Africa became still closer after the visit of the South African racist leader, Balthazar Vorster, to Israel in April 1976, when military and economic agreements were signed, one of which provided for cooperation in the nuclear field.

It is noteworthy that both Israel and the RSA receive US nuclear technology. As is known, the

United States, the USSR, Britain and the overwhelming majority of other states of the world signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which entered into force on March 5, 1970. Since then the commitment not to proliferate nuclear weapons has been one of the most important norms of international law.

Nonetheless, factual material published in the world press makes one take a closer look at what is going on in the field of controlling the development and manufacture of nuclear weapons.

US newspapers recently carried reports about the mysterious disappearance of 770 kilograms of highly enriched uranium, sufficient to make 85 atom bombs, from a top secret government plant making nuclear ammunition in Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

Who has stolen enriched uranium? This is the first question that comes to the reader's mind.

An official investigation of the incident has been carried out in the United States, but it has provided no intelligible answer to this question.

However, it is now known that uranium began to disappear from the plant from about 1979.

In this connection, another question arises: Why didn't the plant's management and the US authorities do something about it then?

It is clear from documents obtained by the information service of the Scripps-Howard newspaper trust that the loss of uranium at the Y-12 plant is the biggest known instance of theft of this strategic raw material. Here a third question arises: Is it really theft? Can it be that the "disappearance" of such a large amount of a strategic raw material in fact conceals an attempt to bypass the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which bans the supplies of such a "product"? Even after "stricter" control and accounting

measures were introduced at Y-12 five years ago, 80.7 kilograms of uranium were found missing between 1979 and 1982, which is enough to make nine atom bombs. The biggest losses were registered in 1972, when a study of relevant documents and a check of the actual amount revealed that the quantity of uranium sufficient to make 13 atom bombs was missing. Nevertheless, the authorities did nothing to prevent the "disappearance" of uranium from the plant.

It is significant that the Department of Energy and the Union Carbide Corporation, a private contractor for Y-12, did not even try to uphold their reputation when asked by newsmen whether the loss of uranium could be due to technical causes. They merely refused to discuss the question.

Such US press reports call to mind the cases of theft by Israel of submarines and warplanes from French plants.

Maybe something like that also happened at the Oak Ridge plant making nuclear ammunition.

After all, the fact that Israel and South Africa are working on the development of nuclear weapons is no longer a secret.

There is still no explanation for the "disappearance" of 770 kilograms of highly enriched uranium at the top secret US plant. This is perhaps not surprising. The United States, a signatory of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, does not want a new international scandal that might seriously undermine its reputation. However, such "thefts" of enriched uranium, the basic component for making nuclear weapons, cannot but arouse anxiety among the world's nations.

If Washington did not display adventurism and disregard for international treaties and the norms of international law, hardly anyone would doubt

whether the United States strictly adheres to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. But since Washington nurtures dangerous plans of nuclear war, carries on an unbridled arms race and shows disregard for the United Nations by, for example, refusing to facilitate the implementation of UN resolutions on granting Namibia the right to self-determination or on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab lands, openly violates the norms of international law, which in particular found expression in the US invasion of Grenada and the occupation of its territory, the world's nations and all peace-loving forces must closely follow the development of cooperation between the United States, on the one hand, and South Africa and Israel, on the other.

Because of the US stand, the Geneva talks on nuclear weapons have broken down. Earlier the United States unilaterally discontinued the talks on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, on the Indian Ocean and on anti-satellite weapons.

Together with European states, the US signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, thus assuming the obligations to participate in efforts aimed at reducing the level of military confrontation and work for a lessening of the war danger. The US Administration's calls for a "crusade" against the USSR and other socialist countries and its plans to carry out "pre-emptive" nuclear strikes in a "local" nuclear war in Europe do not at all accord with these obligations.

All this indicates that the United States is seeking to evade its legal and political commitments, to circumvent or openly violate existing international agreements.

is impossible to uphold independence and safeguard peace without the united struggle against imperialists and vigilance, and solidarity with the forces of peace, progress and socialism.

The abolition of racist systems, provision of conditions necessary for the free and independent development of the Nicaraguan people, cessation of aid to the anti-popular junta in El Salvador and an end to Israel's cooperation with racist and dictatorial regimes are indispensable for ensuring a lasting and durable peace and security for all peoples and states.

Анатолий Аркадьевич Агарышев

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Anatoli Agaryshev (b. 1937) is a scholar and writer on international affairs.

From 1969 to 1975 he was the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* correspondent in the Middle East.

In 1975 his book *Nasser* appeared in the *Life of Outstanding People* series put out by the Molodaya Gvardiya Publishers. The book was awarded the Nasser prize in Egypt and translated into several foreign languages. He has also contributed to the following collections of articles: *The Damask Strings*, *The Abyss of Patience* and *Echo of Hellas*. His last book, *From Camp-David to the Tragedy of Lebanon*, was published in 1983.

Anatoli Agaryshev takes an active part in the work of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Palestinian People and the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa and is a member of the board of the Syria-USSR Friendship Society.

