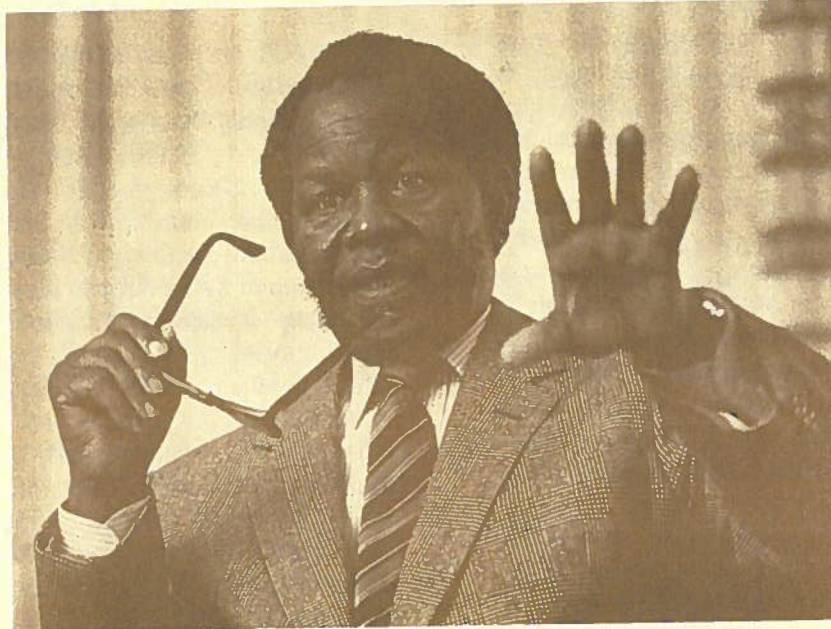


TRANSFRICA NEWS

Vol. 6, No. 2

The Black American Lobby for Africa and the Caribbean



ANC President Oliver Tambo speaks with press.

ANC BREAKTHROUGH

On January 28, 1987 the African National Congress (ANC) scored a diplomatic coup when its President met with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz despite strenuous right-wing opposition. Oliver Tambo visited the United States to attend various meetings with U.S. policymakers, businessmen, religious leaders, and trade unionists. Among the events on his itinerary were: a reception sponsored by the American Committee On Africa (ACOA) in New York; a dinner sponsored by the local Free South Africa Movement in Los Angeles (which raised \$40,000 for the ANC); an honorary degree ceremony at Morehouse College in Atlanta; and a welcome to Chicago by Reverend Jesse Jackson and Mayor Harold Washington (who presented Mr. Tambo with the "key to the city"). His meeting with Secretary Shultz was the first of its kind between an ANC leader and a U.S. secretary of state, and it is clearly an indication that the U.S. recognizes the ANC as a major player in the negotiating process for the future of South Africa.

During the 50 minute meeting, Shultz expressed the U.S. concerns about the number of communists in the ANC's national executive committee and about the use of violence by the ANC as a tactic toward liberation. Oliver Tambo responded by admitting that there were, indeed, members of his organization that were also members of the South African Communist Party (SACP); however, he emphasized that the ANC's political ideology is black nationalism with the purpose of liberating the black majority in South Africa. The SACP and the ANC have similar interests, in that they would both like to see the downfall of the apartheid regime. Mr. Tambo assured the secretary that the ANC was committed to establishing a non-racial, one person-one vote democratic system of government. When asked about violence, he conveyed the ANC's intransigent belief that it was the only alternative for a liberation group who had tried the non-violent approach for several years and had not been

(continued on page 6)

PUBLICATIONS OF NOTE

The Crisis in Zaire: Myths and Realities

by Nzongola Ntalaja

African World Press, NJ 1986

327 pp. \$11.95

With selected bibliography, notes on the contributors, and index

This collection of analytical essays--edited by Nzongola-Ntalaja, Associate Professor of African Studies at Howard University, and Executive Director of the Center for Research in Zaire--makes a major contribution to the debate on US foreign policy toward this crisis-ridden country. It contends that economic development has failed in Zaire since its independence in 1960, contrary to the popular notion that Zaire has succeeded in economic reform and policy liberalization under IMF and World Bank supervision. It goes on to assert that under the authoritarian rule of President Mobutu Sese Seko there has been a breakdown in the socioeconomic infrastructure, and as stated, "to reside in contemporary Zaire is to live in crisis." Nzongola-Ntalaja and the contributing writers--made up of Zairians and Westerners--present these and other views in a clear and carefully documented manner.

The War Against Children: South Africa's Youngest Victims

Lawyers Committee for Human Rights 1986 151 pp.

For bound copies of this report write:

Lawyers Committee for Human Rights

36 West 44th Street

New York, NY 10036

With a moving foreword by the Archbishop Desmond Tutu, this report on the state of South Africa's Black children is a chilling, factual account of the violence used against them by the South African Security Forces. The report focuses on the various methods used by the many departments of security in the schools and neighborhoods of the children; the conduct of the police in dealing with the children's protests; and, the treatment of children while in prison. The report includes both a study of the South African legal system's attempt to deal with these human rights abuses and an examination of US policy toward South Africa. Included throughout the report are personal accounts of violent interactions with government soldiers, police use of torture, and killings while in detention. □

ADMINISTRATION UNDERMINES CONGRESSIONAL SANCTIONS

As expected, the Reagan administration has done almost everything within its power to hinder implementation of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Officials of the agencies charged with execution of the law have, instead, worked to interpret the bill's provisions in ways most favorable to the apartheid regime. Without the continued vigilance of concerned attorneys, legislators, and lobbyists, the limited sanctions imposed by Congress might never have taken effect.

President Reagan ignored the Congressional timetable calling for initial enforcement action within ten days of the legislation's October 2 passage and, instead, waited almost 40 days before issuing the Executive Order needed to assign various federal agencies their enforcement responsibilities. Similarly, Department of Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole delayed the termination of South African Airways landing rights far beyond the legislated deadline for action. Other agencies have followed the President's example and are yet to publish regulations effecting their respective provisions of the law.

Another tactic of the administration has been to define prescribed categories as narrowly as possible, even when such definitions contradict normal U.S. business usage. The ban on South African iron imports has thus been ruled to exclude ferroalloys, a crucial iron derivative. Regulations exempting ferroalloys from the iron import prohibition were passed despite lobbying from the U.S. association of ferroalloy producers and despite the regular inclusion of ferroalloys within the iron listings of U.S. Tariff and Trade schedules.

Despite the act's prohibition of South African uranium imports, the Treasury Department claimed that the intent of Congress remained unclear, and issued regulations allowing such imports to continue until July 1, 1987. Ten other minerals, including chrome, platinum, and manganese, were exempted from sanctions through a ruling on their "strategic" importance. And although Congress clearly stated its desire to have the U.S. make a concerted effort to seek multilateral agreements on South Africa, the U.S. ambassador to the U.N. vetoed a Security Council resolution to have other nations match the limited sanctions imposed by the U.S. Congress. Actions such as these point to the need for an intensification of our effort to impose truly comprehensive sanctions and to elect officials who will respect popular sentiment and uphold existing law. □

HAITI'S UNSTEADY STRUGGLE

February 7, 1987--one year after the demise of the 29-year dictatorship of the Duvalier family--the streets of Haiti were marked by a different atmosphere than that of only one year ago. While February 7 was declared a national holiday by the provisional military government, and while businesses were closed in observance, government soldiers and armored trucks patrolled the streets in anticipation of public unrest. The spirit of celebration was conspicuously absent.

The preceding weeks were not without incident. On January 5, four key cabinet members--the Ministers of Justice, Health, Education and Foreign Affairs--were dismissed by the Namphy regime. Among them was Francois Latortuc, now former Minister of Justice, who had attempted to bring to trial those suspected of misappropriation of funds under the Duvalier regime. Ironically, very few officials have been tried and found guilty for crimes against the people in a country internationally criticized for widespread human rights abuse and corruption.

Approximately one month after the cabinet dismissals, the homes of two government opponents--Director of the Mobile Institute for Education and Democracy, Victor Benoit and President of the League of Former Haitian Political Prisoners, Robert Duval--were searched without warrants by government soldiers. When questioned on this issue, military leader Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy indicated that this breach of law was committed in response to the wave of violent crimes which plague the country and that similar searches would continue. This incident was followed shortly after by the arrests of 5 members of the Liaison Committee of Democratic Forces on February 6.

Positive steps have been taken, however, in the drafting of the new constitution to have been completed on March 9 of this year, followed by a referendum on March 29. The 60-member Assembly has included measures in the constitution to safeguard against the abuse of power as experienced under previous leaders. The constituent assembly appears to operate independently of the government, contrary to earlier suspicions of heavy government influence.

First Democratic Congress

The people of Haiti have steadfastly taken steps, independent of the government, toward the democratization of their country. In addition to the growth of independent trade unions and other associations, January 29-

February 1, 1987 marked the First National Congress of the Democratic Movements--a coalition of popular groups self-described as: "representing associations of peasants, workers, professionals, intellectuals, church members, voodoo followers, from all regions of the country and from Haitian communities overseas."

The conference had at least two noteworthy results: First, it brought together some 800 delegates--an estimated 65% from the rural areas--who produced a series of resolutions with the aim to push forward the goals of democratic, social, and economic justice. Second, a national committee emerged called KANOKOM whose charge is to begin the implementation process of the resolutions.

While the Congress has been criticized for failing to develop concrete strategies, the significance of this kind of broad-based organizing and of the efforts to encourage participation from the rural areas in particular cannot be underestimated.

• ACTION ALERT •

Under the "Special Foreign Assistance Act of 1986" (PL99-529), an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, Haiti may receive up to \$4 million in military assistance during FY1987--\$1.55 million of which is currently under consideration by the State Department. The Foreign Assistance Act contains several conditions which must be met before any funds may be dispensed. Among the provisions are: comprehensive reform of the armed forces; prevention of further human rights abuses; and, investigations into recent killings.

It is now clear that the Namphy regime has fallen short of meeting these and other conditions stipulated in the "Special Foreign Assistance Act." TransAfrica believes that until the Duvalier-styled army command is dismantled, US military training and aid will serve only to increase and perpetuate the kind of human rights abuses that the Haitian people have fought against for so long.

Please write your Representative and your Senators, Secretary of State George Shultz and the members of the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs committees requesting that no military aid or training be given to Haiti.

ANGOLA

U.S. Support for UNITA: Irangate Funds?

During the past several months the investigations resulting from the Irangate scandal have revealed that funds from the Administration's arms sales have not only been funneled to the contras in Nicaragua, but also to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)--the rebel group fighting to overthrow the Marxist government. UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, during his visit to Washington in January 1986, met with President Reagan and received a commitment for covert military aid in the amount of \$15 million. Through the secret congressional hearings, funds of more than \$500 million were discovered to have been raised in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Brunei, and kept in a Swiss bank account. Although it remains unclear just how much of these funds were given to UNITA, observers suspect that \$200 to \$300 million would be an accurate estimate.

These funds, raised over the past two years, may have been sent to UNITA before August 1985, which would have been an illegal violation of the Clark Amendment. Passed in 1976, this amendment barred aid--either overt or covert--to the warring factions in Angola, and it was later repealed in August 1985. It has been asserted that Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver North, formerly of the National Security Council staff, met with UNITA strategists at their headquarters in Jamba, Angola. North contends that one such meeting, "Democratic International", took place in June 1985 with "anti-Soviet insurgents" from Nicaragua, Laos, Afghanistan, and Angola. According to former Central Intelligence Agency colonel, John Stockwell, CIA case officers have been advising and training UNITA forces in Angola to use sophisticated U.S. weapons systems such as Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. It would be interesting to determine whether this training took place before August 1985.

U.S. Aid Transported Through Zaire

Shipments of arms to UNITA have been reported coming from the U.S. to Zaire and then to the rebel camp in Jamba, Angola. The CIA has been supervising the transport of weapons in C-130 and Boeing 707 cargo jets, marked "Santa Lucia Airways". Zaire's Kamina air base has been chosen as an adequate drop off point because of the length of its two runways which measure about 7,000 feet each. Several deliveries are said to have occurred between March and May, 1986. The CIA has indicated that, "any covert activity we might be conducting would be in support of U.S. policy and under appro-

priate authority." In the case of Zaire, however, that country's involvement with the transport of arms violates a mutual nonaggression pact with Angola. Although these clandestine operations have been verified by a number of witnesses, President Mobutu has denied that U.S. aid for UNITA passes through Zaire.

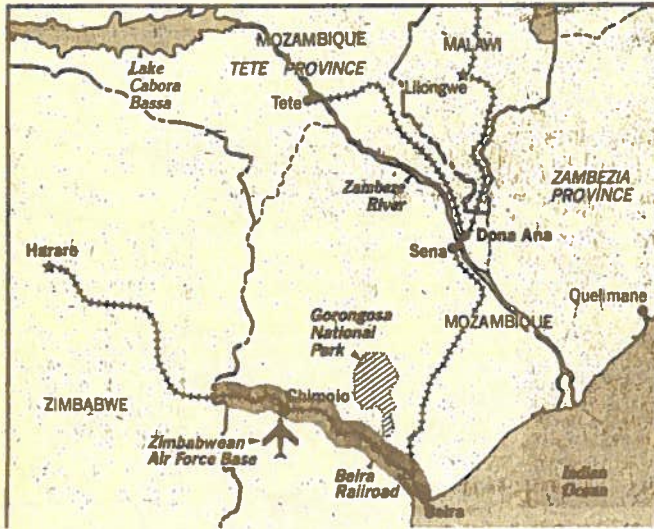
Chevron In Angola: A Thorn In U.S. Policy

The U.S. does not have diplomatic relations with the Marxist government of Angola; however, the American multinational, Chevron Corporation, pumps about 70 percent of Angola's oil--totaling a \$1.3 billion investment. Chevron's subsidiary in Angola (the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company), in conjunction with Sonangol (Angola's state oil company), produce 200,000 barrels a day, providing 90 percent of the Marxist government's revenue.

U.S. conservatives have been increasingly concerned about American corporate involvement in Angola because of the political ideology that it shares with the Soviet Union. Despite President dos Santos' assurances that Angola is a sovereign state and would like to develop formal relations with the U.S. government and despite its professed eagerness to increase American private sector involvement, the U.S. continues to help destabilize the country through sending military aid to UNITA. The U.S. has maintained that it will only discontinue sending aid to UNITA on the condition that the 35,000 Cuban troops leave Angola. These Cuban troops originally came to Angola at the request of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)--the legitimate government--in response to an invasion of South African troops in 1975 subsequent to Angola's independence from Portugal. The Cubans have aided the MPLA in their war with UNITA and have protected the country from the occasional raids by the South African military. It is ironic to note that the facilities of Cabinda Gulf (an American subsidiary) are being guarded by Cuban troops against incursions by U.S. supported UNITA.

Conservatives have urged the Reagan Administration to prohibit American businesses from operating in Angola. Thus far, the Administration has frozen all loans from the Export-Import Bank to American companies doing business there. Will M. Lewis, the manager of Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, has clearly indicated that Chevron will continue its operations in Angola. □

MOZAMBIQUE



The Beira Corridor: A Lifeline for the Frontline States

The port of Beira in Mozambique is a source of vital economic growth for not only that country but also for the neighboring countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana. 180 miles of dilapidated road, rail and pipeline form the corridor that can eventually revive the whole region and wean these landlocked countries from their economic dependence on South Africa.

The corridor is currently undergoing large scale rehabilitation through a \$280 million program funded by aid from the European community, particularly, the Nordic countries and the U.S. The Port Authority of Amsterdam is managing the reconstruction of the harbor and has committed to doubling the corridor's handling capacity to 2 million tons a year. A second stage of development, expected to take an additional three years, will deepen the harbor to handle larger ships, add new wharfs, install cold storage facilities, build new terminals for grain and sugar, and construct new water and sewage plants. The corridor will ultimately service 3.5 million tons a year.

In addition to the support of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (S.A.D.C.C.), the Beira corridor project is being managed by a group of businessmen, primarily from Zimbabwe, who have formed a company called the Beira Corridor Group (BCG Ltd.) The BCG, headed by chairman, Denis Norman, is interested in attracting business to Beira and in promoting increased trade, not only with the other frontline states,

but also with the West. The BCG will be involved in several ventures including hotels, warehousing, and car rentals. Edward Cross, the managing director of the Beira project, is hopeful about the corridor's future, but he intimates that the project will require a great deal of economic assistance if it is to be a viable alternative to at least some of the current trade through South Africa. According to the *New York Times*, "the countries bordering South Africa channel approximately 70 percent of their combined foreign trade through South African ports, a fact that leaves them vulnerable to serious economic dislocation in any sanctions war with Pretoria." The article further revealed that the corridor may only reduce the trade that the bordering nations send through South Africa from the current 70 percent to about 40 percent. The frontline states of southern Africa are, consequently, not only grappling with the problems of financing, but also with the threat of an economic war with South Africa.

Mozambique is currently engaged in a civil war between the legitimate Marxist government and the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR or Renamo)--a right wing surrogate of the South African government. Renamo recognizes the importance of the Beira Corridor and it has consistently attempted to destabilize the road and railway lines. Zimbabwe now sends 90 percent of its trade through South Africa. Zimbabwe, more than Zambia or Botswana, would gain considerably from the project's success and simultaneously become less dependent on South Africa. Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe has assigned more than 6,000 troops to guard the route and it has been reported that several farmers have returned to the bordering areas as a result of this increased security.

Mozambique's economy suffers most among the frontline states and, because of its proximity to South Africa, is in a position to lose the most in the event of a sanctions war with the white regime. The Beira Corridor is, indeed, Mozambique's only hope for future economic stability. □

REMINDER

The annual TransAfrica membership/Chapter meeting will be held on June 6, 1987 from 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. at the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C.

All members are advised to attend.

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

Aid To SADCC:

Congressman Bill Gray (D-PA) and Senators Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and Lowell Weicker (R-CA) are the principal sponsors of H.R. 1034/S 475. This bill provides for \$700 million in funding for SADCC over a five year period beginning in 1988; at least \$140 million must be allocated per year. Of the amounts available not less than 50% each year must be allotted to transportation projects; the rest is to be spent on projects in the following sectors: manpower development, agricultural research and training, energy, and industrial development. The bill includes language which urges the President to use diplomatic means to protect the security of the SADCC states, and it calls on the government of South Africa to refrain from aggression across its borders.

[The Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) was formed in 1980 by the black-ruled countries of southern Africa: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.]

Congressman Julian Dixon (D-CA) initially introduced H.R. 967, requesting an urgent supplemental for FY'87 of \$100 million to meet the critical development needs of the SADCC states. In addition, Congressman Mickey Leland (D-TX) introduced H.R. 776 requesting an urgent supplemental for FY'87 of \$144 million to meet the humanitarian and development needs of the southern Africa region.

On March 12, the House Foreign Operations subcommittee voted to essentially combine the two bills, designing a total package of \$50 million in urgent supplemental funds for SADCC and other humanitarian development programs in southern Africa:

\$37.5 million of the supplemental funds for southern Africa shall be available to assist SADCC projects. Not less than 60% of the funds must be used for transportation. The remaining 40% will be designated for communications and energy projects.

\$12.5 million of the supplemental funds for southern Africa will be available for humanitarian assistance to SADCC member states for refugee assistance, transportation of emergency food and medical supplies, and disaster relief.

Please call or write your Representative and your Senators urging them to support this legislation.

Comprehensive Economic Sanctions:

Congressman Ron Dellums (D-CA) and Senator Alan Cranston (D-CA) are co-sponsoring H.R. 1153--a

comprehensive sanctions bill against South Africa and Namibia. The bill mandates complete disinvestment of all U.S. corporations from South Africa and Namibia within six months of passage of the legislation, and it also calls for a total trade embargo with South Africa. H.R. 1153 is an updated version of H.R. 997--Congressman Dellums's original bill which passed in the House last July. It is expected to be considered by Congress in the fall of this year.

Development Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa:

Congressman Howard Wolpe (D-MI) introduced H.R. 1199 which would amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and establish a separate authorization of \$600 million for famine recovery and long term development assistance in sub-Saharan Africa from 1987 to 1992.

Legislation To Oppose:

Congressman William Dannemeyer (R-CA) introduced H.R. 340 which would provide UNITA--the rebel group fighting to overthrow the Marxist government of Angola--with \$27 million in military assistance in 1987.

Congressman Bill McCollum (R-FL) introduced H.R. 1074 which would impose comprehensive economic sanctions on Angola. The bill, Promotion of Democracy in Angola Act of 1987, prohibits loans, new investments, U.S. assistance, and both imports from and exports to Angola. □

ANC Breakthrough

(Continued from page 1)

successful in influencing the South African government to negotiate. According to Tambo, "If it was possible to achieve our political objectives without violence, I would renounce it. As of now, its not thinkable."

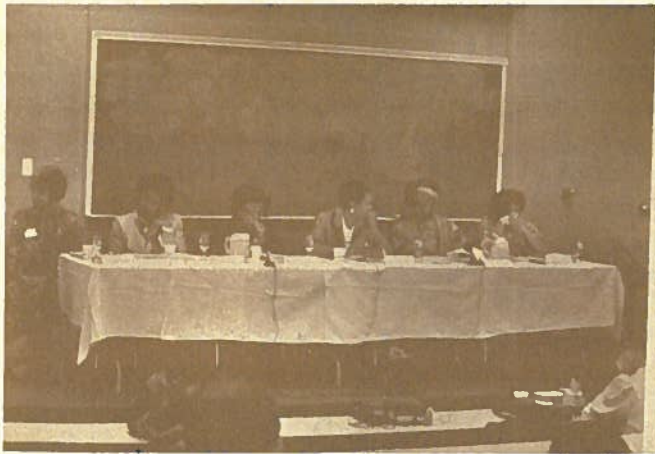
The South African military and police continue to enter the black townships in armored vehicles, terrorizing members of the community and, in many cases, leaving maimed or dead bodies behind. As long as the South African government continues to oppress and kill black South Africans, the ANC will persist in their quest for liberation.

Secretary Shultz promised to maintain communication between the U.S. and the ANC through the U.S. Embassy in Lusaka, Zambia. This meeting is symbolic of the new relationship between the U.S. and the ANC, and moreover, of the formal acknowledgement of the ANC's role in determining South Africa's political and economic framework in a post-apartheid system. □

SEMINAR

TRANSAFRICA FORUM HIGHLIGHTS BLACK WOMEN'S PERSEPCTIVES

On December 6, 1986, TransAfrica Forum hosted a seminar entitled "Development Policy: Black Female Perspectives." The issues raised included: the growing gap between North and South and the need for a new international economic order; women and political participation; the need for increased education and employment of women; population planning in the Third World and the double standard held by Western donors; and finally, African Development policies and the need to address the legal and political oppression of women.



The audience--representative of many women's organizations--was addressed by a distinguished panel of women development experts and political analysts. The speakers were: Dr. Herschelle Challenor, UNESCO liaison officer to the UN Development Project (UNDP); Ms. Vivian Lowery Derryck, Vice President for Programs of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs; Development Consultant Dr. Gloria Scott; Ms. Loretta Ross, Director of Women of Color Programs at NOW; and Ms. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Liberian opposition leader.

The seminar was chaired by TransAfrica Forum's Chairperson and noted sociologist, Dr. Joyce Ladner.

TransAfrica Forum has devoted its forthcoming Spring 1987 edition of the TransAfrica Forum Journal to the further examination of issues as viewed by women. The Spring edition also contains a transcript of the seminar and will be available beginning May 1, 1987.

For a copy of this special edition send \$5.75 (\$4.75 plus \$1.00 postage and handling) per copy or \$20.00 for a Journal subscription to the TransAfrica Forum office at 545 8th Street SE Washington, DC 20003. If you wish to be informed of upcoming seminars, send your name and address to TransAfrica Forum in care of Ms. Kelly Brown.

Vol. 6, No. 2

Spring 1987

TRANSAFRICA NEWS®
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CONFERENCE

TransAfrica is co-sponsoring the upcoming "Women of Color and Reproductive Rights" conference, which will take place May 15-17, 1987 at Howard University in Washington, DC. Registration fee is \$25.00. For more information contact: Loretta Ross, National Organization for Women, 1401 New York Avenue NW, #800, Washington, DC 20005, (202) 347-2279.

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