



TRANSAFRICA NEWS

Vol. 6, No. 3

The Black American Lobby for Africa and the Caribbean

THE LEGISLATIVE BATTLE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA **ROBERT DOLE. ONE OF THE FACES BEHIND APARTHEID.**



The anti-apartheid movement has suffered a number of setbacks in the 100th session of Congress. After winning the first major foreign policy victory against the Reagan administration through the enactment of the first, (though limited) U.S. sanctions against the apartheid regime, TransAfrica joined in the effort to have Congress:

- 1) Aid the nine Frontline/SADCC nations (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe);
- 2) Terminate U.S. covert aid to UNITA (the South African sponsored forces fighting the Angolan government);
- 3) Support the end of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the Reagan Administration's policy of "linkage";
- 4) Impose global comprehensive sanctions against South Africa until apartheid has been dismantled and the illegal occupation of Namibia has been terminated.

However, the organized right-wing has so far successfully combatted our effort to win more Congressional support for

the people of southern Africa. Through conservative U.S. organizations and South African financed lobbyists, forces opposed to a genuine liberation process in southern Africa have begun to win a number of legislative victories. Instead of directly challenging our attempts to strengthen the Frontline States and isolate South Africa, our opponents have successfully maneuvered to change the parameters of debate. No longer is the debate one of how to best express anti-apartheid commitment, but instead of how to advance the right-wing anti-communist agenda.

Weakening the Supplemental Appropriation

Congressional supporters of Frontline State aid were generally confident that the supplemental appropriation of \$50 million for SADCC nations would move swiftly through the House of Representatives. However, no one anticipated that an amendment to strike the entire Foreign Operations section of the Supplemental would pass by voice vote late one night when relatively few members were on the House floor. As a result of this successful parliamentary maneuver by House conservatives, the House supplemental contained no southern Africa funding at all. Supporters of southern Africa aid could only hope that the Senate would include SADCC funding in its supplemental appropriation bill; the conference meeting to reconcile House and Senate versions would issue a report containing SADCC aid; and that such conference report would then be accepted by the full Congress.

The Senate did pass a version of the supplemental complete with the \$50 million for southern Africa; but with dangerous amendments and resolutions attached. Senator Larry Pressler (R-SD), an ardent opponent of South African sanctions, authored an amendment restricting U.S. aid to all SADCC nations unless they: 1) Publicly condemned necklacing and other forms of terrorism; 2) Certified that no practitioners of necklacing or terrorism were within their national borders; and 3) Allowed U.S. officials to verify such certification. This amendment passed by a vote of 77-15. A non-binding resolution urging the President to impose trade sanctions on Angola was offered by Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ), and passed 94-0.

(Continued on page 7)

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

Foreign Aid Legislation FY '88

Discussion on the foreign assistance bill is at a standstill in both Houses. The Senate bill provides the African continent with \$500 million in development assistance (DA) and \$60 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF); \$50 million of the above mentioned DA is reserved for SADCC.

The House bill which was passed by the Foreign Affairs committee provides \$475 million in DA and \$110 million in ESF funds; \$50 million of the DA is reserved for SADCC. Some Republican members of the House have offered an alternative bill which slashes aid to Africa. In light of this, it is likely that instead of a foreign aid bill, both Houses will provide foreign assistance through a continuing resolution. TransAfrica will do its best to ensure that the nations of Africa and the Caribbean are provided for in the continuing resolution, and that right-wing amendments (such as those in the supplemental), are not attached.

Items To Raise When You Call or Write to Your Congressmen:

- Senator Dole attempted to attach two amendments to the trade bill which targeted Angola and Cuba (formerly S.1228). The amendments' provisions:
 - a) Prohibit trade with Angola;
 - b) Make it unlawful for any vessel which has made a call on any port in Cuba to call on any port in the U.S. within six months;
 - c) Encourage U.S. trading partners to eliminate or restrict trade with nations that are deemed inappropriate by the U.S.;
 - d) Make income from certain countries ineligible for tax-free status as foreign earned income;
- Angola is also under attack by the initiatives proposed by Congressman McCollum (H.R. 1074) and Senator DeConcini (S. 174) which seek to impose comprehensive sanctions on Angola. Your representatives need to be convinced not to impose sanctions against either Angola or Mozambique.
- Urge your Congressman to oppose any efforts to finance UNITA or RENAMO--the South African sponsored forces operating in Angola and Mozambique, such as the Danemeyer bill (H.R. 340) which would provide \$27 million in military assistance to UNITA.
- Oppose the amendments to the State Department Authorization Act which would: 1) restrict ANC and SWAPO members from traveling more than 25 miles from their New York offices. 2) restrict U.S. contributions to U.N. agencies which support the ANC and SWAPO. TransAfrica will not support any anti-liberation movement legislation because the ANC and SWAPO are usually included in such language.

- Express your support for global sanctions against South Africa and Congressman Dellums' bill H.R. 1153 which calls for total disinvestment.

- Support Congressman Dellums' bill which will terminate aid to Zaire unless and until they meet stipulated human rights conditions.

- Support Congressman Dymally's bill H.R. 131 which calls for the independence of Namibia.

- Hearings on the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) are being scheduled for later this summer. Now is the time to educate your community and congressmen on the need to strengthen the CBI and thereby improve trade relations with the Caribbean.

For more information, call a member of the Lobby staff at (202) 547-2550.

The following 38 Senators voted against tabling the Dole/DeConcini Angola Trade Ban Amendment (61-38).

(20 Republicans):

Hatch (UT)
 Hecht (NV)
 Tribble (VA)
 Wallop (WY)
 Wilson (CA)
 Armstrong (CO)
 Domenici (NM)
 Gramm (TX)
 Helms (NC)
 Humphrey (NH)
 McClure (ID)
 McConnell (KY)
 D'Amato (NY)
 Dole (KS)
 Grassley (IA)
 Kasten (WI)
 Rudman (NH)
 Symms (ID)
 Pressler (SD)
 Thurmond (SC)

(18 Democrats):

Bentsen (TX)
 Byrd (WV)
 Chiles (FL)
 DeConcini (AZ)
 Melcher (MT)
 Mitchell (ME)
 Proxmire (WI)
 Sasser (TN)
 Exon (NE)
 Heflin (AL)
 Nunn (GA)
 Dixon (IL)
 Ford (KY)
 Graham (FL)
 Hollings (SC)
 McCain (AZ)
 Reid (NV)
 Shelby (AL)

The following statement was prepared by the steering committee of the Free South Africa Movement in response to foreign aid allocations.

"Africa Aid Levels Are Unacceptable"

-Free South Africa Movement

The Free South Africa Movement finds the proposed FY'88 economic aid allocation for the African continent to be outrageously insufficient. Africa, a continent that has always been funded at disgracefully low levels, will be cut further while some countries remain secure. Allocations for Pakistan, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Ireland and the Philippines enjoy special Congressional protection. In FY'87, for example, Congress appropriated \$3.55 billion for the general Economic Support Fund (ESF) account. Of this, \$2.83 billion was earmarked for the above mentioned nations leaving a paltry \$720 million to be divided among the remaining ESF recipients.

Thus, while the entire continent of Africa receives only \$0.96 per capita in U.S. aid, Israel is granted \$750 per capita; Egypt: \$44; Cyprus: \$25; Ireland: \$9; Pakistan: \$5; and the Philippines: \$5.

The nations which receive special treatment are said to be of strategic importance, or strong allies of the United States. They retain this status despite the fact that Pakistan is in the process of developing nuclear weapons in defiance of global standards against nuclear proliferation, and Israel has admitted to breaking the arms embargo against South Africa. Yet aid to Africa has been systematically cut every year since FY'85. In FY'85 the continent received \$759 million, which has been reduced to only \$486 million in FY'87, a cut of more than 37% over three years. This compares to a cut of only 11% sustained by the Middle East.

The U.S. government's assessment of its interest in this regard is fundamentally short-sighted. The U.S. depends on African strategic minerals and, over the decades to come, African markets will become more and more important to this country. All of subSaharan Africa is aware of the trauma in South Africa and Namibia, the acute economic crisis South Africa is causing for the Frontline States, and the broad developmental needs in the rest of the region. America's responses to these crises will shape African attitudes toward the U.S. through a good portion of the next century. For the U.S. to conclude that these interests cannot be met by a modest aid reallocation in the order of \$300 million to Africa—and conversely, that its other aid commitments are so important that they are immune to any modifications whatsoever—is absurd.

The Free South Africa Movement has campaigned over the years for the U.S. to commit significant funds to projects endorsed by the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Considering the severe political and

economic crisis South Africa's aggression is causing in the region, such a commitment is more urgent than ever. It is a necessary complement to the anti-apartheid policy Congress has been developing over the last two years. However, the aid to SADCC must not be drawn from previous aid allocations to other African countries. For the policy to be coherent for all of Africa, SADCC must be adequately funded and the decline in assistance to the rest of Africa must be reversed. Only then will the U.S. have taken a step toward developing a more humanitarian foreign aid policy. □

Top Ten Worldwide Recipients of U.S. Economic Aid

Country	Aid	Per Capita
Israel	\$1.2 billion	\$285.00
Egypt	\$ 1 billion	\$19.88
Pakistan	\$347 million	\$3.41
El Salvador	\$304 "	\$59.55
Philippines	\$277 "	\$4.70
Bangladesh	\$137 "	\$1.30
India	\$137 "	\$0.17
Honduras	\$134 "	\$29.13
Costa Rica	\$120 "	\$44.44
Guatemala	\$120 "	\$13.95

Top Ten African Recipients of U.S. Economic Aid

Somali	\$34.7 million	\$4.45
Kenya	\$34.0 "	\$1.62
Senegal	\$30.8 "	\$4.46
Liberia	\$28.8 "	\$12.52
Sudan	\$18.5 "	\$0.98
Niger	\$18.5 "	\$2.76
South Africa	\$15.7 "	\$0.47
(for the victims of apartheid)		
Malawi	\$10.8 "	\$1.49
Mozambique	\$10.0 "	\$ 0.71
Chad	\$ 9.0 "	\$1.73

* Please note that these figures reflect economic aid only.

SOUTH AFRICA: CHILDREN UNDER ATTACK

Electric shock, beatings, rape and brutal draggings through city streets are the fate of many black children in South Africa. Over the past 20 years, children have increasingly become the target of attacks by the South African Security Force and, under the state of emergency, are being detained without trial at alarming rates.

Today in South Africa, black children between the ages of 1 and 4 are 14 times more likely to die than their white counterparts. Upwards of 10,000 youths have been detained since the implementation of the June 12, 1986 state of emergency, which was reinstated for the second year on June 12, 1987. Some as young as 9 years old have been tortured by the security forces.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee, a civil rights monitoring group that has begun a "free the children" campaign, has estimated that since the state of emergency as many as 30,000 people have been detained, 40% of whom are between the ages of 9-18. The parents' committee reports that as many as 5,000-8,000 are currently imprisoned, 2,000-3,200 of them juveniles. The government, whose statistics grossly conflict with these figures, admits to a total of only 13,244 detained since June 12—2,779 of them children.

There is also a conflict between the government and the parents' committee on the treatment of children while in detention. The government has claimed that children are detained for their own protection. Law and Order Minister Adriaane Volk stated that children were treated differently from common adult criminals, tended to medically and fed nutritiously. The parents' committee disputes these assertions, and children who have been detained describe their incarcerations as those of torture and isolation. During his detention one schoolboy said he had been doused with gasoline and threatened to be burned alive if he didn't reveal the whereabouts of another youth. Cases of torture of juveniles while in detention have been documented by affidavits, medical reports, and court applications. There are also pending investigations into charges of mental abuse of child detainees.

Actions by the police are indiscriminate at best, as children who are not political activists also find themselves prisoners of the state. In a study by the parents' committee of 65 cases, only 10 children were found to have "organizational links and leadership responsibilities." Only 15 of the 65 made court appearances and were formally charged prior to their release.

South Africa's assault against black children has spread throughout the southern Africa region in the apartheid regime's attempt to destabilize neighboring black states. The annual report of the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF) entitled "State of the World's Children" cited South Africa as directly responsible for creating the highest child death rates in the world in Angola and Mozambique. Infant and child mortality



rates of 325-375 deaths per 1000 births can be directly linked to the destruction caused by South African-backed insurgent groups, UNITA and RENAMO, operating in Angola and Mozambique respectively. Without assistance from the international community UNICEF predicts that 140,000 more children will die next year because of South Africa's destabilization efforts in the region.

South Africa's recent release of child detainees, seen by some as an indication by the government of a new attitude toward youth jailings, was described by Parents' Committee member Max Coleman as an action taken against what was becoming a very embarrassing situation in the world community for the apartheid regime.

Despite all the government's so called "reforms," black children remain convenient targets for the security forces and their proxies in and around South Africa as the struggle against the apartheid regime continues.

—Cassandra Butts

TRANSAFRICA CELEBRATES 10 YEARS OF COMMITMENT

This year's dinner, hosted by long-time activist and TransAfrica Board member Harry Belafonte, was unquestionably the most successful in the organization's history. More than 1400 guests attended to commemorate TransAfrica's progress over the last ten years and to support the organization into the next decade. Congressman Bill Gray (D-PA) delivered a thought-provoking keynote speech on the question of black American participation in foreign policy. He reminded the audience of the U.S. foreign aid disparities which exist between countries like Pakistan, Greece, Ireland, Israel and Egypt and the nations of Africa. Congressman Gray encouraged the audience to make their Congressmen and Senators accountable on issues of foreign policy generally and, particularly, on questions relating to increased U.S. aid for Africa. TransAfrica honored two extraordinary women: Mrs. Ethyl Payne was this year's winner of the Freedom Award and Ms. Kimberley Adams, of Wayland High School in Massachusetts, received the Paul Robeson Scholarship Award. TransAfrica honored Richard Gordon Hatcher, Chairman of the Board of Directors, not only for his contribution to TransAfrica, but also for his twenty year term as the Mayor of Gary, Indiana and his invaluable role in American politics.

Annual Membership/Chapter Meeting

Richard Gordon Hatcher chaired this year's membership/Chapter meeting which took place on June 6 at the Washington Hilton. Chapter representatives from several cities throughout the country were in attendance: Houston, Gary, Richmond, Washington D.C., Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Boston. Randall Robinson reported on the fiscal condition of TransAfrica and he is confident, at this juncture, about the institution's longevity. Chapter representatives were encouraged to foster relationships with local church, labor, NAACP and Urban League groups in an effort to inform a larger cross section of the community about U.S. foreign policies toward the black world. Over the last year, the chapters have been organizing fundraising events, educational workshops, symposiums and demonstrations and, as a result, many of them have increased their local membership considerably. Several chapter representatives were particularly helpful to the national office by purchasing tables and bringing local members to the annual dinner. The chapters each reaffirmed their commitment to continue to educate and mobilize individuals on foreign policy issues and to develop as financially secure institutions in their communities.

TransAfrica Forum Sixth Annual Conference

TransAfrica Forum's Sixth Annual Foreign Policy Conference held on June 5 on Captiol Hill in Washington D.C. marked a turning point in the institution's development. The

conference theme, "Shaping a Post-Reagan Foreign Policy toward Africa and the Caribbean," was echoed in speeches throughout the entire weekend and is now set as a priority agenda item through the 1988 presidential elections.

The conference was opened with a speech by Congressman Walter Fauntroy who described what the components of a new foreign policy should be. Assemblywoman Maxine Waters followed by stressing that black Americans should hold U.S. policymakers and black leaders accountable not only on domestic issues, but also on issues of foreign policy.

The first panel laid out the essential elements of a post Reagan foreign policy and included speakers Robert Browne, Locksley Edmondson, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and Congressman Howard Wolpe. The second panel discussed promoting black participation in the foreign policy process. The panelists were State Senator Richard Newhouse (D-IL), Congressman Walter Fauntroy, Eddie Williams and Roger Wilkins. Renee Poussaint of WJLA-TV served as moderator.

The luncheon this year highlighted Willie Brown, Jr., Speaker of the California Assembly. He passionately spoke about the increased role that black Americans must play in determining future U.S. foreign policies, particularly in relation to the nations of Africa and Caribbean. He also raised the question of accountability, charging elected officials with neglect or dismissal of our issues.

The afternoon followed with an address by presidential hopeful Reverend Jesse Jackson. He criticized the current U.S. policies toward southern Africa and emphasized the critical importance of improving U.S. policies toward the Frontline States and of demanding harsher measures against the South African regime. Following the Reverend's speech, the final panel appropriately focused on South Africa and the human toll of apartheid. The panel served as an absorbing and informative round table featuring South African speakers Namonde Ngubo, Sam Nolutshungu, Twiggs Xiphu, and moderator Sylvia Hill, coordinator of the Southern Africa Support Project.

The conference was closed by Dr. Joyce Ladner, TransAfrica Forum Board Chairperson, and Randall Robinson who reiterated the importance of standing firm on foreign policy issues and standing together during the 1988 election campaigns. As was stated throughout the weekend, "They might lose with us, but they can't win without us!" □

CHAD: FOREIGN INTERESTS FUEL THE FIRE

Since Chad gained independence from France on August 11, 1960, this huge landlocked country of only 5 million people has been struggling to find a solution to its continued political unrest. Characterized as one of the poorest countries on the continent, Chad has an annual per capita income of about \$130. Chad's economic underdevelopment, its internal political conflicts and pressures from external forces have all contributed to the country's overall instability.

For more than twenty years this Central African country has been plagued by one civil war or another, resulting in severe economic strife. Currently led by President Hissene Habre, the government in Ndjamen, Chad's capital, has obtained the assistance of France—the former colonizer—in combating local rebels and Libyan soldiers in the northern part of the country. Reports in American media have presented a somewhat skewed picture of the role that Colonel Muammar Qaddafi and the Libyan forces have played in this relentless war.

An observer could easily conclude that Chad's problems can be attributed more to its internal disputes among the leader-

ship, and less to the military interference of the foreign governments of the U.S., France and Libya. The Reagan administration, because it is ardently opposed to Colonel Quaddafi, sees the strategic importance of supporting the Habre government. Among all of Chad's leaders, Habre is the most likely to promote Western interests in the region. The U.S. saw the value in allowing Woddeye's GUNT to fail because of his strong relationship with Colonel Quaddafi at that time. This suggests that American reports characterizing the fighting as a Libyan invasion of Chad are dangerously biased. Former President Woddeye's troops currently fighting in the Tibesti mountains are, indeed, a credible rebel group.

The U.S. government does not publicly concede Libya's support for Woddeye and Colonel Quaddafi's strategic interest in his own backyard. Understandably, Libya, France and the U.S. have hidden agendas in Chad and, no one of these countries should be singled out for their equally imperialist posture toward Chad. If the U.S. and France can support Habre through substantial military aid and intelligence, Libya cer-

(Continued on page 8)

Key Political Events In Chad 1960 - 1980

1960- Government of Chad's first president Ngartha Tombalbaye.

1975 Formation of FROLINAT: national liberation movement. Start of armed struggle against Chadian government and French allies.

April 13, 1975 Coup in which Tombalbaye was killed. Ndjamen government assumed by General Felix Malloum.

1978 Agreement reached between Malloum and Hissene Habre in the Sudan. Habre appointed Prime Minister. Malloum-Habre alliance fell apart only two months after agreement. Primarily due to Habre's over zealous ambition

Fighting ensues between southern government troops and Habre's northern troops.

Goukouni Woddeye leads FROLINAT armies to several victories against the French.

1979 Nigeria hosts four meetings to solve Chadian discord. Representatives of major armed factions--Malloum, Habre, Woddeye--and neighboring countries attended.

Meeting resulted in a ceasefire, resignation of Malloum and Habre, and the offer of a Nigerian peacekeeping force. Provisional government formed:

President: Mahamat Shawa
Defense Minister: Habre
Interior Minister: Woddeye

Chad's neighbors were hostile to the Shawa government; Nigeria cut off oil supplies
Libya backed Ahmat Acyl's army and also funded and armed Colonel Kamouques's secessionist movement

1979 OAU Summit
Chad delegation was barred from participating
Second Lagos conference: Shawa government attended and met with eleven Chadian factions and representatives of neighboring countries. Several concessions were made.

New Chadian government formed by the factions
Government of National Unity (GUNT).
President: Woddeye
Vice President: Kamougue
Defense Minister: Habre
Foreign Minister: Ahmat Acyle

1980 Fighting erupted between Habre's troops and the other factions in the GUNT government. Habre retreated to central and eastern Chad where he won several battles against the GUNT forces. Habre dismissed as Defense Minister. GUNT enlisted the support of the Libyans to aid them against Habre's forces.

The Legislative Battle

(Continued from page 1)

Sadly, several Senators who voted in favor of Pressler (including Senator Paul Simon (D-IL), chair of the Africa subcommittee) later admitted that they had not understood its implications until after their vote. Attempts by such senators to then strike or amend Pressler from the floor were ruled out of order by the Senate Parliamentarian because no such objections had been made at the time the amendment was originally offered. Ironically, the State Department opposed the Pressler language, and offered its own alternative language. The DeConcini resolution's unanimous passage suggests that even senators who vote against aid to the Nicaraguan contras considered this anti-Angola provision to be a "throw-away" vote. With the House version of the supplemental void of any foreign aid provisions, and the Senate version contaminated by the Pressler Amendment and DeConcini resolution, hopes for another significant legislative victory had been effectively dashed.

Anti-apartheid activists redoubled their efforts however, and began to lobby for House and Senate conferees to strike the Pressler amendment and Deconcini language from the supplemental appropriations. The final conference report was modified, but did not strike the Pressler language, and left the DeConcini resolution virtually intact. While the House and Senate are expected to accept the conference report because of constituent support for some domestic aid provisions, anti-apartheid activists are less than enthusiastic about what we have been forced to accept for SADCC. Even as we attempt to protect the southern Africa appropriations within the supplemental, other dangerous measures are being proposed in both the House and Senate.

Attacking Angola Through the Trade Bill

In another apparent attempt to cater to the most right-wing elements of the Republican party before formally announcing his candidacy for the presidential nomination, Senator Robert Dole (R-KS) introduced S.R. 1228, a bill to impose a complete trade ban on Angola and to penalize countries which trade with Cuba. The anti-apartheid network immediately began to lobby against this legislation, but the bill was and is strongly supported by Conservative organizations, the anti-Cuban lobby, and representatives of South African sponsored UNITA. S.1228 has since been divided into separate anti-Cuba and anti-Angola amendments offered to the Senate trade bill.

Even if Sen. Dole succeeds in his effort to have these dangerous amendments attached to the trade bill, we will have a chance to have them removed through the conference process because the House passed its trade bill without any such provisions. We must lobby every member of Congress NOW to have them oppose these potential Senate amendments when the conference committee meets to resolve differences between the two versions of the trade legislation.

'Filibustering' Mozambique

Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Senator Robert Dole (R-KS) have joined in the use of a classic 'filibuster' to delay Senate confirmation of a U.S. ambassador to Mozambique and register their support for the South African sponsored RENAMO/MNR forces attacking the Mozambican government. The two senators are among those who want the Reagan administration to provide aid to the MNR in Mozambique as it does to UNITA in Angola and the Nicaraguan contras. Although Sen. Helms was once the only senator leading the attack on Mozambique, in the 100th Congress Sen. Dole sponsored a resolution that called for any U.S. assistance for Mozambique to be channelled through the MNR instead of the Mozambican government. The two have stated that they will delay the Reagan administration's nomination of Melissa Wells for the ambassadorial post.

Used to prevent an issue from reaching the floor of the Senate for a vote, the endless debate of a 'filibuster' can only be broken by calling for a special vote on 'cloture'. Three-fifths of the Senate, (60 votes), are required to invoke cloture and end a filibuster. Every senator must be lobbied to vote for a cloture vote on the Helms/Dole filibuster and then for confirmation of the Reagan administration's nomination of Melissa Wells as ambassador to Mozambique.



Restricting ANC and SWAPO

Amendments limiting the ability of ANC and SWAPO to travel and reducing U.S. contributions to U.N. agencies which provide the liberation movements with financial assistance have been passed by voice vote in the House. The amendments, sponsored by Reps. Patrick Swindall (R-GA) and Dan Burton (R-IN) were packaged in a provision targeting several liberation movements and governments that right-wingers consider hostile to U.S. interests. Two other familiar targets were the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Nicaraguan government. These amendments would end the American public's access to authentic representatives of the South African and Namibian people by prohibiting their representatives from traveling beyond the immediate vicinities of their offices. Given the South African government's ban on press coverage of events within South Africa and Namibia, restrictions on access to ANC and

(Continued on next page)

The Legislative Battle

(Continued from previous page)

SWAPO would considerably limit the exchange of information between our two peoples.

Because these amendments passed the House by voice vote, it will be relatively easy to have them deleted during the conference committee, IF there are no comparable measures passed by the Senate. We must lobby NOW to insure that the Senate does not add any restrictions on ANC and/or SWAPO travel when it considers the State Department Authorization bill. Mention your first amendment right to information when you lobby against any inclusion of such provisions by the Senate.

Defining the War: Understanding the Process

Some people attribute our recent string of legislative defeats to the limited victory won by the imposition of federal sanctions. Others might think the fact of Democratic Party control of the Senate in the 100th Congress made some of our legislative allies too optimistic about the possibility of changing U.S. policy toward the region. Whatever the reasons for our current difficulties we must recognize all the signs of an assault on our community. In the midst of Congressional hearings on the Iran/Contra arms diversion, the Reagan administration announced that at least another \$15 million dollars had been sent to UNITA. Our enemies have saturated the offices of local and state officials—not just Congress—with their slick propaganda for UNITA and MNR. They have financed not only elaborate receptions for the press, but trips by UNITA and MNR representatives into the churches of the Black community. They have demonstrated outside TransAfrica's office, and countered almost every one of our educational activities with one of their own. We must expand our coalitions and increase our access to the institutions of our community.

As citizens of the United States, we share responsibility for the actions of the U.S. government. If we do not make our opinions known to elected officials, and do not hold them accountable for their actions while in office, they will be able to ignore and/or confuse us. Every single one of the 435 members of the House of representatives must run for election in 1988. One third of the Senators—14 Republicans and 19 Democrats—must run in 1988. We must elect representatives who will learn and pay attention to the rules by which their branch of government is run. We must elect a President who will impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, and support global sanctions under Chapter Seven of the U.N. charter.

As the 1988 campaign intensifies we must make sure that our questions are answered and our issues debated. Each of us must attempt to keep abreast of the substantive issues which affect our areas of concern. No legislative victory should be considered enough to allow us to relax. Each legislative defeat should teach us lessons to be used as we try again. □

Chad

(Continued from page 6)

tainly can choose to support Woddeye. Intervention by these nations has escalated and prolonged what initially had been a relatively small scale conflict.

The accompanying chronology offers some insight to the political disagreements among the leadership and the civil wars that have virtually paralyzed the country. As indicated in the chronology, President Woddeye invited Libya's troops to remain in the country to guard against further attacks from Habre's forces. As a result, a strong alliance emerged between Woddeye and Quaddafi. Subsequently, however, the U.S. as well as several conservative African regimes attempted to persuade President Woddeye to disassociate himself from Quaddafi. The West repeatedly warned of Quaddafi's "expansionist intentions" in Africa. In early 1981, after the announcement of a Chad-Libya merger, the U.S. and France increased their pressure on Woddeye and promised support for Chad and an OAU peacekeeping force should the Libyans leave. Woddeye soon relented and asked the Libyans to leave. It is important to note that Quaddafi promptly recalled his forces within days of the request. The U.S., on the other hand, did not keep its end of the bargain. Sufficient funds were not granted for the OAU peacekeeping force and ultimately Habre's troops defeated the GUNT forces in June 1982.

Two Chadian delegations represented by Woddeye and Habre attended the 1982 OAU summit in Tripoli; however, Habre's delegation was thought to have more support. Since this time, Habre has assumed power in Ndjamena and is acknowledged as the legitimate President of the Chadian government.

It is evident that the Chadian leadership and their forces remain divided and that their quests for power have not benefited the people but, instead, have crippled the country. The current war in Chad is, indeed, a great tragedy for the innocent people in that land. However, if the American press is to condemn Libya's involvement in Chad, then so should they condemn the involvement of the U.S. and France. □

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