

# TRANS AFRICA NEWS

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The Black American Lobby for Africa and the Caribbean



*South Africa's army: prepared to invade any part of the region*

## SOUTH AFRICA'S WARS GO UNCHALLENGED BY REAGAN

The Reagan administration is requesting \$75 million in economic assistance to Zimbabwe, \$10.2 million for Lesotho, \$8 million for Tanzania, \$20 million for Zambia, \$10 million for Botswana, \$8 million for Swaziland, \$10 million for Malawi, and another \$40 million for the Southern Africa Regional Program for fiscal year 1984.

Yet this apparent U.S. commitment to invest in the economic development of Southern Africa is constantly being undermined by a systematic destabilization program directed by the white minority regime in South Africa against its sovereign neighbors.

The resulting battle between the African-ruled nations of the region and Pretoria is a contest in which the U.S. claims not to want to choose sides. The African states are seeking peaceful economic development and a lessening of their dependence on South Africa while the apartheid state is attempting to maintain its economic and military

predominance and to undermine its neighbors support for the liberation forces of Namibia and South Africa.

Critics of the Reagan administration maintain that the U.S. chose sides almost immediately in 1981 with the development of its policy toward South Africa, termed "constructive engagement." This policy argues that by having closer relations with Pretoria, Washington can quietly work to influence its behavior within South Africa and throughout the region. These closer ties, it is argued, have encouraged greater South African aggression in the region and have allowed Pretoria to crack down on all forms of opposition inside the country without fear of being censured by the U.S. There has also been evidence that suggests a possible cooperative U.S. intelligence role in some of South Africa's activities.

In its initial public articulation of constructive engagement in a speech by Assistant Secretary of State for Africa,

Chester Crocker, in August 1981, the administration pointed to the mere presence of some 15,000 Cuban troops stationed in Angola as the principal threat to stability throughout the region. Yet, the Cubans have remained inside Angola and reportedly have not been involved even in defensive combat against South African forces which routinely invade and occupy parts of southern Angola.

South Africa, however, has continued its illegal occupation of Namibia, maintaining some 70-100,000 troops there, it has launched attacks into Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and sponsors insurgents conducting economic sabotage missions in these countries as well. Pretoria is also held directly responsible for numerous other acts of economic sabotage, political assassinations and an attempted coup by a South African mercenary force in the Seychelles, all within the past two years. South African soldiers have also admitted to the existence of a special "destabilization center" inside the defense headquarters in Pretoria trying to weaken its neighbors economically, politically and militarily.

On February 5th, Crocker testified on the Namibia negotiations, before the Africa subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. In response to questions from Rep. Ted Weiss (D, L-NY) on whether the administration equated the occasional acts of sabotage and cross border raids by the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa to the massive destabilization campaign being orchestrated by South African forces throughout the region, Crocker simply responded that "We deplore all acts of violence from any quarter." No national troops of any of South Africa's neighbors have ever invaded South Africa.

Testifying before the Senate Africa Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee on March 8th, Crocker maintained that the Soviet Union, Cuba

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## EXODUS FROM NIGERIA: "THE DECISION WAS NOT MADE OVERNIGHT"

*On January 17, 1983 the Nigerian Minister of Internal Affairs, Alhaji Ali Baba, ordered all foreign nationals without proper permits to leave the country by January 31. Later he amended the order, allowing skilled workers to remain until February 28th.*

*The American press gave extensive coverage to the ensuing expulsion providing numerous images of the grueling trek from Nigeria to its West African neighbors. Yet it failed to give an objective presentation of the facts surrounding the expulsion according to most informed observers.*

*In an attempt to provide the missing information in the story, TransAfrica requested interviews with embassy officials from Nigeria and Ghana, the country of origin for most of those expelled. The Ghanaian Embassy declined to do an interview. What follows is an interview with Mr. M. F. Ekpu, the principal information officer at the Nigerian Embassy in Washington.*

### **What led to the expulsion order and how many people were involved?**

**EKPU:** The figure is put at 1.5 million people who were illegally living in Nigeria that were asked to go. What led to the expulsion was that these people had no papers to live in Nigeria or to work there and our immigration laws are very clear. So because they were not properly documented the government decided they should go.

### **What precipitated the decision at this particular moment?**

**EKPU:** There was nothing precipitating it. This action, from the Nigerian standpoint, was a culmination of efforts made since 1979. Nigeria had continuously, from 1979, made appeals to aliens, not only West African aliens, but all aliens who come into Nigeria and want to live and work there, to respect and abide by its immigration laws which provide that if you want to enter Nigeria you must have a passport and a visa; if you want to live there you must have a resident's permit; if you want to work there you must have a work permit.

### **What are the provisions within ECOWAS (the Economic Community of West African States) for travel between member states?**

**EKPU:** ECOWAS provides for movement between one country and another, but it is limited to 90 days. If after 90 days you want to stay in a country then you must abide by the immigration laws of that country. The action taken by the Federal government, which people think happened overnight, began in 1979. After the ECOWAS treaty was signed Nigeria discovered that it had too many aliens, mostly from ECOWAS countries, coming into the country and staying more than 90 days. So Nigeria called all the diplomatic missions in Lagos and put the matter before them and said that



*Expelled Ghanaians return home*

we do not know from which country these people come and how many are coming. We appealed to them to send returns to the Nigerian government of the citizens from their countries who enter Nigeria to enable Nigeria to keep records of who is in the country. In 1980, the Nigerian government made another appeal to the diplomatic missions and to ECOWAS. During the whole of 1980 this appeal was made at all ECOWAS conferences but there was no reaction, the number kept increasing. In 1981, in June, the Minister of National Planning addressed an ECOWAS ministers' meeting and spotlighted this problem again. He told them that Nigeria was having lots of problems because life was becoming very unsafe. Some of these aliens were not skilled so they couldn't find work, they had no homes so they were roaming the streets. Crime was rising and the western press was reporting that Lagos is impossible to live in because of the crime rate. Each time the courts tried a group of accused persons found committing one crime or another, about 70% of these people would be aliens. The Minister appealed again to our colleagues in the ECOWAS community. In 1982 the Immigration department made warnings and appeals several times. In 1982 we got into a terrible situation where there was increased armed robbery. And in 1982 we had the

religious rioting in the northern part of the country. It was proved that the leader of that sect was an alien who entered the country illegally. It was also discovered that a majority of those he called his followers were aliens. So the government made further appeals to countries that had citizens living in Nigeria and referred to these situations that were happening. Nobody did anything. So in October (1982) the Minister had a press briefing during which he said that the government definitely was going to ask aliens who were not properly documented in Nigeria to leave the country. Very unfortunately no country responded. On January 17, 1983 the Minister gave a deadline. He said, "We've come to the end of it. We cannot afford to allow other people to think that we are a nation of criminals," because crime was rising.

### **What were the details of the expulsion order?**

**EKPU:** The Minister said that all aliens would have to leave except if they were properly documented, but he said that all of them are not going at the same time, everybody was not involved, they were to go in categories. The first category was those aliens who have no livelihood, that were unskilled and that didn't have homes. Those people must leave within two weeks. The second group was the semi-skilled workers, drivers, artisans and all of that group of workers. These people were to leave the country after one month. The reason was to enable them to tidy up their own affairs where they were being employed. And if those who employed them came forward during this period and obtained a work permit and a resident permit for any of them, then they would not be designated as living in the country illegally.

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# AFRO-AMERICAN AMBASSADORS HONORED BY BOSTON TRANSAFRICA

**Question from the audience:** "If all of you present were to get together in Ambassador Young's room following this symposium to draft a letter to President Reagan, what aspect of current US foreign policy would be most critical of?"

**Ambassador Franklyn Williams:** "I can answer without hesitation, the policy toward South Africa and Namibia!"

**Ambassador Donald McHenry:** "I can also answer without hesitation, all of it!"

Since 1949, forty-four Afro-American ambassadors have been appointed to various countries and the United Nations, and since 1960 a handful have received appointments to countries other than those in Africa and the Caribbean. Yet the contributions of these Ambassadors have gone largely unnoticed by the American public including the Afro-American community.

Appropriately, on February 5, 1983, during black history month, the Boston Support Committee of TransAfrica simultaneously recognized and made black American history by hosting an "Ambassador Weekend" salute. According to the Committee president, MIT professor Willard Johnson, the weekend represented "the first time that anyone has publicly assembled that group of distinguished Americans of African descent who have achieved the rank of Ambassador in the service of the U.S."

The Boston affair was attended by 18 of the ambassadors honored, representing more than a third of all black ambassadors ever appointed. The weekend consisted of a symposium held at the Harvard Law School entitled "The Limitations of a Cold War Approach to the Third World" cosponsored by TransAfrica Forum, Tuft's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and the MIT Center for International Studies; a dinner at the Sheraton Boston honoring the Ambassadors attended by a crowd of 1300; and an Ambassadors' reception for TransAfrica members. Also part of the weekend was a press conference at Cambridge City Hall and another reception hosted by Boston Mayor Kevin White and attended by Governor Michael Dukakis.

During the Symposium, Walter Carrington, former Ambassador to Senegal, indicated that tension between the United States and Third World countries had escalated as a result of the Reagan Administration's East-West approach toward the developing world. Clyde Ferguson Jr., former Ambassador to Uganda, gave the opening presentation and said that President Reagan

had elevated the Cold War analysis of the world's problems to a level where it is held to be the only acceptable analysis. The problem, according to the Ambassadors assembled, is that this analysis ignores the real causes of the problems in the Third World and the legitimate aspirations of its people, thereby limiting U.S. influence and jeopardizing America's own interest in these parts of the world.

John Reinhardt, former Ambassador to Nigeria and Director of the United States Information Agency, pointed out



*Ambassador Franklin Williams with Boston TransAfrica's Marilyn Carrington.*

that American presidents are faced by a large number of foreign policy problems and are inclined to choose the easy ones to deal with since an overriding concern is often how many more years he has in office and re-election. "East-West problems are easier and neater for the United States to deal with" he said, "rather than North-South relations" which address the more difficult problems of economic development in the Third World and struggles for self-determination.

Reinhardt suggested that the United States needs a coherent foreign policy to meet the problems facing the Third World. This lack of coherence was the focus of many of the Ambassadors' criticisms of current US foreign policy.

Anne Holloway, former Ambassador

to Mali, pointed out that what is needed to change current policies is a visible and active constituency in this country advocating a more enlightened approach to the Third World. Franklin Williams, former Ambassador to Ghana said that "Blacks should be camped outside the White House door when issues affecting black countries arise, particularly regarding South Africa."

Discussing why Afro-Americans should be concerned about events in distant parts of the world, former UN Ambassador Andrew Young pointed to economic self-interest stating that "when cocoa prices and bauxite prices were high in Ghana, Ghanaians were buying American products," helping to create jobs for blacks here in the United States. "I'm absolutely certain that there is no hard line between domestic and foreign policy. If we ignore suffering of blacks in Africa, that is simply a reflection of how black people are being treated here," Ferguson added. Donald McHenry, also former U.N. Ambassador, said that events throughout the world can affect us directly in a life or death manner as we are shipped off to fight America's wars or as bombs destroy American interests or Americans—however far from home.

The Ambassadors seized the opportunity presented during the weekend to form an organization of Black Ambassadors that will seek to highlight the foreign policy interests in the Black Community and encourage young blacks to consider the Foreign Service as a possible career.

The following day the *Boston Globe* ran an editorial supporting TransAfrica's efforts to increase US knowledge of Africa and the Caribbean and to advocate more progressive US policies toward the nations of these parts of the world.

This event was the second major success of the Boston Support Committee. They recently played a pivotal role in the passage of Massachusetts state legislation that will remove state pension funds from banks and corporations doing business with South Africa.

# AFRICAN AND CARIBBEAN NEWS BRIEFS

## THE CIA AND GRENADA

(WASHINGTON) The Reagan administration considered covert intelligence operations against the government of Grenada in 1981 and is now closely monitoring "Cuban activities" on this eastern Caribbean island of 110,000 people, according to the Washington Post. The CIA developed plans in the summer of 1981 for the economic destabilization of Grenada in hopes of undermining the government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. The operation was reportedly scrapped due to opposition from the Senate Intelligence Committee which felt it was too small an island to be concerned with.

## MUGABE MEETS WITH AFRO-AMERICANS

(HARARE) During the annual conference of the African American Institute, hosted this year in Zimbabwe, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe held a private meeting with a small group of Afro-Americans including Randall Robinson, William Lucy, Percy Sutton and C. Payne Lucas. Also during the conference Zimbabwe's Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Witness Mangwende hosted a luncheon for the African and Afro-American participants at the conference.

## NO SOUTH AFRICA-ANGOLA CEASEFIRE

(WASHINGTON) On February 17 the Washington Post said a de-facto ceasefire was being observed between Angola and South Africa and that SWAPO forces would be moved north in Angola. It was speculated that an official ceasefire agreement was imminent and likely to be signed at the February 22 meeting in Cape Verde between Angola and South Africa. Days before the meeting it was reported that SWAPO had evaded South African forces and launched a major offensive inside Namibia, which South Africa illegally occupies. Over 600 SWAPO soldiers infiltrated Namibia and are believed to have broken up into small groups and merged with the local population. The delegations to the second Cape Verde talks (the first were held on Dec. 7, 1982) were down-graded and lasted for only about three hours reaching no agreement. The ceasefire proposed by South Africa would be against the interests of SWAPO and any progress toward Namibia's Independence, according to informed observers.

## US JOINS THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

(WASHINGTON) US membership in the African Development Bank was officially announced by President Reagan on February 8, 1983. Traditionally closed to non-African Nations, membership in the Bank was made available to the United States, among other nations, in May, 1982. Like the World Bank, the African Development Bank must obtain funding from the international capital markets. The participation of industrialized nations therefore strengthens the Bank's ability to raise capital. Non-African membership is limited to 33%, of which the United States' subscribed capital of \$359 million represents 5.68%.

## LAW OF SEA TREATY SIGNED IN JAMAICA

(MONTEGO BAY) The United Nations Convention of the Law of the Sea was signed by 120 delegations (down, due to US pressure, from the 130 which signed the New York treaty in May 1982) in Montego Bay, Jamaica, on December 10, 1982. It has been estimated that the world's seabeds contain more than 60% of the planet's mineral resources and Third World nations fear that without an international convention, the industrialized nations would plunder the seabeds at will. The US has threatened to thwart the pact by withholding its \$1 million share of the \$4.2 million Law of the Sea budget, since Congress forbids the use of American funds for the Palestine Liberation Organization and the South West Africa People's Organization, both of which participated in efforts to draft the convention. Thirteen African states declined to sign due, not to US pressure, but to domestic issues which must first be resolved.

## GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENTS IN WEST AFRICA

(UPPER VOLTA) A new military regime led by Major Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo removed the government of Colonel Saye Zerbo on November 7, 1982.

(CAMEROON) President Ahidjo announced on November 4, 1982 his intention to resign. This he did on November 6, handing power over to former Prime Minister Paul Biya.

(DAKAR) On February 27 Senegal's incumbent President Abdou Diouf won a landslide victory with 83% of the presidential vote. The ruling Socialist Party received 79% of the legislative vote. An opposition coalition of 11 parties has claimed the elections were fraudulent and its members who won seats in parliament have declared they will not take their seats in the National Assembly.

(LAGOS) Presidential elections are scheduled for August of this year, the candidates at this point being Tunji Braithwaite (Nigerian Advanced Party), Shehu Shagari (National Party of Nigeria), Oba Femi Owolowo (Unity Party of Nigeria), Nnamdi Azikiwe (Nigerian People's Party), Aminu Kano (People's Redemption Party) and Waziri Ibrahim (Great Nigerian People's Party).

## OAU TO MEET IN ETHIOPIA IN JUNE

(NAIROBI) In early February a special 12-nation committee of member states of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) met in Nairobi, Kenya to plan a final attempt at holding the 19th summit meeting of the organization. The first attempt to hold the summit in Tripoli, Libya, last August, failed because of Morocco's successful lobbying against the admission of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) as the organization's 51st member, several member states' unfavorable relations with Libya, and American efforts to persuade many African countries to oppose Libya's Muammar Qaddafi becoming the new OAU chairman by virtue of hosting the meeting. The meeting is now set for June-11 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere has warned that nations whose leaders decide to walk out on the reconvened summit may lose their membership to the continent-wide body.

# LEGISLATION AND POLICY UPDATE

**CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE**—The Caribbean Economic Recovery Act, frequently referred to as the Caribbean Basin Initiative (S 544), was reintroduced in the Senate by **Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kansas)** on February 21, 1983. Neither a sponsor nor a date for re-introduction in the House has yet been selected. Virtually all of the \$241 million in emergency aid attached to the omnibus supplemental appropriations bill in September 1982 and slated for the Central American nations of the region has been disbursed. However, more than half of the \$34 million appropriated to the Eastern Caribbean and Haiti has to yet to be disbursed. Unlike the other English-speaking recipient-states, Jamaica has received the \$50 million allocated to it. The remaining components of the bill, free trade provisions and US corporate tax credits for conferences held in the Caribbean have yet to be passed. Strong union pressure resulted in the investor tax credit provisions being deleted from the re-introduced Senate bill, and strong protectionist sentiment is expected in opposition to the free trade provisions.

**SIMPSON-MAZZOLI**—The sweeping immigration reform bill known as Simpson-Mazzoli died in the House on December 18 due to the prospect of 300 amendments, unenthusiastic House leadership, and inadequate time. The bill which aims to curb illegal immigration through employer sanctions, the granting of amnesty for millions of illegal aliens already in the country, and reforming antiquated asylum procedures generated much controversy and resulted in unusual alliances among affected interest groups. The bill (S 529) was reintroduced in the Senate by **Sen. Alan Simpson (R-WY)** and in the House (HR 1510) by **Rep. Romano Mazzoli (D-KY)**. Heated debate is expected between those factions favoring administrative efficiency and those placing greater value on due process and civil rights guarantees. Of main concern to TransAfrica are the provisions pertaining to summary exclusion, asylum and judicial review. Statements will be submitted to the House Subcommittee on Immigration as well as the House Judiciary Committee in this regard.

**RADIO JOSE MARTI**—The bill authorizing the creation of Radio Marti, an anti-Cuba propaganda station was reintroduced by **Sen. Paula Hawkins (R-FL)** on February 25, 1983. This bill became snagged in a filibuster led by **Sen. Ed Zorinsky (D-NE)** during the 97th Congress but was approved by the House Foreign Affairs, Energy and Commerce Committees. Construction of two broadcast towers in the Florida Keys prior to formal appropriation of funds had reportedly begun but liberals and mid-Western senators blocked efforts to attach Radio Marti funding to the omnibus continuing resolution for 1983. The bill has not been re-introduced in the House this year.

**FOREIGN ASSISTANCE (HR 1450, S 637)**—The President's foreign assistance request is now before Congress. Sub-Saharan Africa has been slated to receive \$969 million—a 7.5% increase over 1983. Again however, some of the African economies in greatest need of the immediate capital injections provided by Economic Support Funds (ESF) have been bypassed. Drought-stricken Chad, for example, with its \$120 per capita income and hundreds of thousands being threatened with famine, has been ear-

marked for none of this quick disbursing type of foreign assistance, receiving instead less direct, project-linked Development Assistance of \$9 million while Israel with its \$4,500 per capita income is slated to receive \$2.5 billion. This budget request earmarks the Sudan as the major foreign assistance recipient in the African Program, accounting for 20 and 30% of the region's economic and security assistance respectively. Severe economic crises have caused the Sudan to be in dire need of this economic assistance and so its provision by the US is commendable, however when viewed in light of US inaction vis-a-vis other African nations wrestling with the same economic frustrations, the link between US financial commitment and real or imagined strategic interests is once again made patently clear. Latin America and the Caribbean overall assistance for FY84 is targetted at \$910 million, \$60 million over FY83 but the net result of a \$42 million cut in economic assistance and a \$102 million increase in security assistance. The Caribbean islands have been allocated \$159 million of which Jamaica is to receive \$98 million. At \$244 million, El Salvador's foreign assistance package represents 27% of the region's total.

**SOUTH AFRICA LEGISLATION**—During the 98th Congress the following legislation has already been introduced regarding South Africa to be considered this year. For details please call our office.

**HR 1392**—introduced by **Rep. Bill Gray (D-PA)**—to prohibit any new US investment in SA; **HR 1693**—introduced by **Rep. Steve Solarz (D-NY)**—to ban US bank loans to SA government, to disclose US bank loans to private business in SA, to ban importation of SA Kruggerand, and to force US corporations in SA to comply with "fair workplace principles"; **HR 1020**—introduced by **Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY)**—to prohibit the export of nuclear material, equipment and technology to SA; and, **HR 1083**—introduced by **Rep. Julian Dixon (D-CA)**—to exercise the Congressional right to determine US votes in the IMF and specifically to prohibit US support for South African IMF loan requests.

**DIVESTMENT**—In 1982 state and municipal legislation on SA was passed that will force the withdrawal of up to \$300 million in public funds from companies doing business in SA. **Massachusetts, Michigan, Connecticut** and the city of **Philadelphia** all enacted divestment legislation last year. Their actions reflect a growing conviction that US investment in South Africa strengthens that country's system of racial oppression. This year similar divestment legislation is expected to be introduced in no less than 6 new states and several other cities. A divestment bill has already been introduced in **Washington, DC** and is expected to pass.

**CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES ON AFRICA**—The Africa subcommittees in the House and in the Senate for the 98th Congress are as follows: **HOUSE**—Rep. Howard Wolpe, Chrm. (D-MI), Rep. George Crockett (D-MI), Rep. Howard Berman (D-CA), Rep. Harry Reid (D-NV), Edward Feighan (D-OH), Rep. Ted Weiss (L, D-NY), Rep. Gerald Solomon (R-NY), Rep. Toby Roth (R-WI), Rep. Ed Zschau (R-CA). **SENATE**—Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, Ch. (R-KS), Sen. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R-MD), Sen. Charles Percy (R-IL), Sen. Paul Tsongas (D-MA), Sen. Chris Dodd (D-CT).

# TRANSAFRICA'S SIXTH ANNIVERSARY WEEKEND

TransAfrica will host its Sixth Annual Benefit Dinner at the Washington Hilton Hotel on Saturday, June 4, 1983 at 7:00 PM.

During the anniversary weekend, TransAfrica Forum will host its second annual policy conference at Howard University on Friday, June 3, 1983 from 9:00 AM to 6:00 PM. This year's conference theme will be "Establishing a Black Foreign Policy Agenda." TransAfrica Forum is the non-profit, tax-exempt research and educational affiliate of TransAfrica the lobby.

Another feature of the weekend will be the annual mem-

bership meeting on Saturday, June 4 in the morning and afternoon before the dinner. The general membership of over 10,000 and delegations from the 13 regional support committees will be invited to attend workshops on major foreign policy and legislative concerns and a general business meeting with the Board of Directors. Only current paid members can participate in the business meeting and vote in the annual elections for the Board of Directors.

For further information on all of the above call the national office at 202/547-2550.

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**Is one month enough time for obtaining proper documentation.**

**EKPU:** Intention, if there was a demonstrated intention to register or if your employer was already processing your papers you could stay. The third category: professionals such as doctors, lawyers, architects and engineers, who had been employed by Nigerian firms. The government said these people need not go in a stampede provided their employers would obtain for them work permits and resident permits. The fourth category of people were those people who were being employed by government agencies, teachers, nurses, etc. All these people needed to do was that each agency should send a list of their employees to the government so that they could regularize their stay. The government was not prepared to disrupt the schools, even though there were Nigerians who are teachers who could have filled their positions like they have today. The fifth category were the non-Nigerians living in the country since before the Immigration law of Nigeria came into existence in 1963. Anybody who lived in Nigeria before 1963 need not be bothered at all. All he needed to do was go to his embassy and register. The Minister had hoped that the governments who had citizens in Nigeria would want to make contact with Nigeria and discuss how these people should go, what should be done, whether there should be transportation provided and what can we do to make it easy. Nobody came forward. At this stage Nigeria did not even know the number of aliens that were in the country, it had no way of knowing the magnitude of the problem that was going to be posed by this situation. So it did not make provisions, and it did not behoove upon Nigeria to make provisions at all, because we were not deporting these people. Up until the last few days before the deadline, no country that knew it had aliens in Nigeria, came forward. Three days before the deadline Ghana made an announcement that it was sending ships to take its own aliens. I don't know if Ghana knew how many people they had in the country. This caused a stampede, all Ghanaians, in all of the categories I mentioned, stampeded to go. They went to the wharf expecting ships to come. Meanwhile, even while Ghana was sending ships, its borders were still closed. By this time it became clear that there was quite a number of aliens in the country, and at that stage there was nothing the federal government could do. The ships that came, 2 ships, each carried about

6,000 people. That was a scratch! That's how you got to hear of people being killed as they tried to board the ships. Of course in that kind of situation with 2 ships with a capacity of only 6,000 each to take the number of people that were massed at the beach, of course there was going to be suffering. Even at that stage, the Ghana government or any other government did not come forward to discuss the evacuation, even though they themselves had started evacuating. And yet Ghana kept its border closed until 3 days after the deadline had expired and that is what caused the problem along the roads.

**What do you think, possibly both positive and negative, are the implications for West Africa, ECOWAS or the idea of Pan-African Unity and the role of Nigeria as the most prominent spokesperson for Africa?**

**EKPU:** It does not tarnish the idea of Pan-Africanism or the image of Nigeria. Even the ECOWAS, on its own has said that Nigeria acted within its own authority. Nigeria did not do anything that could tarnish ECOWAS or the African peoples cause. What it did was what any other country, whether in Africa or in Europe or America, ought to have done. This is the stand of the ECOWAS. ECOWAS said that these aliens have infringed upon the protocol of ECOWAS. I think it will instill discipline into people about respecting the immigration laws of other countries. Nigerians are aware that they cannot afford to go and stay in another country without being documented. We were sent back from Ghana (1969) and nobody quarrelled because those people who were there were not properly living in Ghana. Ghana was acting in its own interest.

**Aside from the concerns of rising crime and loss of credibility, what other concerns did the situation in the country present?**

**EKPU:** People came and worked in Nigeria illegally—how do you tax them? 1.5 million people weekly probably sending something like \$5 a person out of the country every week (\$7.5 million weekly) that's an enormous foreign exchange. And on top of that you do not pay tax.

**Two other criticisms raised are—(1) It was the responsibility of the government to register aliens which it employed, and (2) Nigeria was involved in recruiting workers from other countries who later became the illegal aliens expelled. How do you respond?**

**EKPU:** Nigeria was not involved in recruiting. The ECOWAS provision for 90 days meant that a good majority of these people working in government offices came in first within this 90 day grace. They found work, they decided to stay and so Nigeria said O.K., go and get your papers. At that stage it was not the responsibility of Nigeria to scrutinize. After 3 months it could become, but bureaucracy is so large that to get the list of many people in separate places is difficult, but this was going on. That is why special provisions were made for people in this category. There still should be about ½ million Ghanaians working in Nigeria today because they are properly registered, and there are other aliens working there also.

**Within the context of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) or the idea of Pan-Africanism has Nigeria's action been accepted as legal and as not damaging to African unity.**

**EKPU:** Are you aware that Nigeria has just worked out an agreement that the 19th Summit of the OAU (twice postponed in 1982 in Libya) will take place in Addis Ababa in April or May. Nigeria's president was chairman of the committee that achieved this. While the western press was shouting, President Shagari was busy in Kenya trying to work with 12 other heads of state and they came out with an agreement that the OAU will meet. They would not have decided to sit with him if they thought he was a gangster or inhumane as the western press painted him.

**What is your feeling about how the western media, that had focused attention so greatly on this question, has suddenly dropped the issue altogether now that perhaps the last illegal alien has left Nigeria?**

**EKPU:** The western media is not interested in the affairs of the Third World, it cannot promote it. All they wanted to do was show the image of suffering, show how inhuman Nigerians were against people and that was what they wanted to show the world. They themselves are not reporting to the outside world what is happening in Ghana, is Ghana able to resettle these people? What can the international community do to help Ghanaians or other West African countries who have these people on their hands? They are not interested. All they were interested in was to flash across the board the tragedy of these people which they themselves are happy about, because if they were not happy about it they would still try to

*continued on next page*

whip the same international sympathy towards alleviating the suffering of these people as they are being resettled in their own countries. The western press doesn't see that and they don't see that Nigeria is still willing to accept any number of Africans that come into the country properly documented, its doors are still open, it hasn't imposed any quotas, the ECOWAS treaty protocol is not affected and people are still entering Nigeria for 90 days without hindrance. The western press wanted to whip up sentiments against Nigeria from one country to another but they failed. ECOWAS is still strong, the OAU is still waxing very strong and when the OAU meets in Addis Ababa the western press is going to be shamed. I don't expect that they will cover the Addis Ababa meeting because that is a step in the right direction, that is a positive thing, they would cover a OAU meeting that would fail in Libya. They did not even report the meeting in Kenya that made the OAU meeting possible. So that's the correct light on the western press, they are chameleons but toward Africa and the Third World—what is bad is what they want to spotlight.

**South Africa (cont'd from page 1)**

and Libya were the main threats to U.S. interests in Africa. Crocker said that "We are more than ever determined to resist designs of the Soviets and their Cuban and Libyan surrogates on vital western interests in sub-Saharan Africa." He went on to describe the region of Africa from Zaire to South Africa as the second most vitally strategic area of the world next to the Persian Gulf because of its vast deposits of strategic minerals.

Given this type of claim on the importance of the region, the question now being raised in Washington and the capitols of its western allies and of southern Africa, is why the U.S. has failed to respond to the substantially demonstrated principal threat to the region, that of South Africa's destabilization campaign. Also being questioned is the U.S. claim to support economic development in the region. While it offers only \$181 million in economic assistance to seven southern African states, Washington continues to support and promote American private interest in South Africa, already in excess of \$4 billion, and helped Pretoria obtain a \$1.1 billion loan from the IMF late last year.

The Frontline states responded by creating the Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC)

in 1980 to promote regional economic cooperation, thereby reducing their dependence on South Africa and their vulnerability to Pretoria's economic extortion. Angola was forced to respond in 1975 by inviting Cuban troops to help defend against a massive South African invasion, a fact that the Reagan administration refuses to acknowledge.

Western nations pledged nearly \$600 million to SADCC projects in 1980 and another \$180 million at a donors conference in Maseru, Lesotho in January of this year. But as the conference chairman, Botswana's vice-president, Peter Mmusi, stated, "It is not much use to develop ports and pipelines, roads and railways, and then watch in silence as they are blown up." The European Economic Community Development Commissioner, Edgard Pisani, said during the conference that South Africa must be "forced peacefully" to change its policies and that, "the game of building and blowing up must be stopped."

While the U.S. attended the Maseru conference, where it pledged an unspecified amount for transport, communications and training projects and even endorsed a SADCC communique condemning South Africa's destabilization policy, it has failed to apply pressure on South Africa to stop its aggressive activities. The result is that massive destruction and economic chaos, causing even greater human suffering, is being reaped in the region from the seeds of constructive engagement sowed by the Reagan administration. The situation also means that Western aid is being forced down the drain by Pretoria and that southern Africa is getting ever closer to a regional conflagration where many of the African states may have to seek external security assistance.

Thus the critics of constructive engagement feel that the real threats posed in southern Africa by Reagan's perceived adversaries are their opportunities for greater influence and presence created by Washington's tacit support for South Africa.

**SOUTH AFRICAN DESTABILIZATION CAMPAIGN**

*(The following is a partial listing of South Africa's destabilization activities against its neighbors since the Reagan Administration has been in office)*

1. January 30, 1981—South Africa commando raid on Maputo, Mozambique killing 12 South African refugees and members of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC).
2. July 17, 1981—ANC official Joe Gqabi is assassinated in Salisbury, Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe government claims Pretoria's agents are responsible. The C.I.A. had prior knowledge of creation of a South African hit squad designed to illimitate liberation group officials abroad.

3. August, 1981—South Africa launches its largest invasion of southern Angola since 1975 with massive bombings and ground assaults. Invasion was preceded by smaller attacks in July. U.S. vetos U.N. Security Council Resolution condemning invasion.
4. October 21, 1981—Saboteurs of the South African sponsored Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) attack two bridges on the Pungue River, disrupting links to Zimbabwe from the Mozambican port of Beira for more than six weeks.
5. November 30, 1981—An attack on the oil refinery in Angola's capitol causes serious damage and is blamed on a South African commando team. Evidence is found suggesting that this is true. The South African sponsored National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) claims credit while its leader, Jonas Savimbi, is visiting Washington.
6. December 18, 1981—A bomb blast kills six at the headquarters of Zimbabwe's ruling party. South African complicity is suspected and evidence of a South African intelligence connection is investigated.
7. March 16, 1982—South Africa invades Angola claiming 201 members of the South West African People's Organization killed.
8. July, 1982—South Africa launches massive invasion of Angola penetrating some 175KM in the country, killing an estimated 400 Namibian refugees.
9. July 25, 1982—Thornhill air base in Zimbabwe sabotaged destroying 13 fighter aircraft. Four top air force officials with alleged South African intelligence ties detained for questioning.
10. August 18, 1982—Four white South African Defense Force soldiers killed 20 miles inside Zimbabwe. Documents recovered indicate group planned to sabotage vital railway to Maputo.
11. August 17, 1982—Ruth First, an exiled South African writer and activist killed by a letter bomb at University of Eduardo Mondlane in Mozambique. South Africa is accused and several days later Pretoria launches small raid into Mozambique.
12. December 9, 1982—100 South African commandos dropped by helicopter into Maseru, Lesotho. They attack 12 separate sites destroying houses and killing 42 civilians, mostly South African refugees and Lesotho women and children.
13. January 6, 1983—MNR blows up section of vital pipeline supplying oil-starved Zimbabwe. Petroleum tanks had just been repaired from a MNR sabotage one month earlier and Zimbabwe was already short of fuel.
14. January 27, 1983—A water storage installation is bombed in Maseru shortly before the opening of SADCC donor's conference.

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