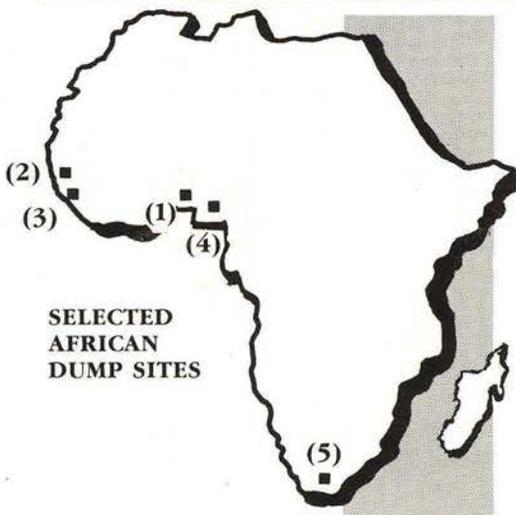


TOXIC DUMPING ALARMS AFRICA



- (1) **BENIN:** signed contracts to accept industrial waste containing asbestos and cyanide from Europe and North America as well as radioactive waste from France. Neighboring Nigeria and Togo were outraged. Evidence exists, however, that the scheme has continued at a new site near the border with Togo.
- (2) **GUINEA BISSAU:** cancelled two contracts that would have dumped half a million tons of industrial and pharmaceutical waste from Switzerland. A member of the European Parliament has alleged that as much as ten percent of the EC's toxic waste was being dumped in Guinea-Bissau.
- (3) **GUINEA (Conakry):** In February 1988, a load of garbage and incinerator ash from Philadelphia, which had been rejected by Panama and Haiti, was dumped on Kassa island, a short distance off-shore from the capital, Conakry. It "has caused trees on the island to turn brown and die."
- (4) **NIGERIA:** Italian toxic waste has been dumped repeatedly near the port of Koko in Nigeria. Containing PCBs and other poisons, the waste devastated the immediate environment.
- (5) **SOUTH AFRICA:** Sludge waste containing mercury has been shipped into South Africa from New Jersey.

In early 1988, a spate of news items reported that toxic waste from the U.S. and Western Europe was being dumped in Africa. The 16 African countries that so far have been linked to toxic dumping may be grouped into 3 categories as follows. The first group of 6 countries has rejected approaches or attempts to dump—Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Gambia, Morocco, and Senegal. Second, Cape Verde, where a rumored deal was in the works at the time of going to press. The third group is made up of 9 countries where dumping has actually occurred—Benin, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guinea Bissau, Guinea (Conakry), Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa, and Zimbabwe.

Simply because particular African countries have not been mentioned thus far, does not guarantee that such countries have escaped the toxic dumping menace. Consequently, it is likely that the 16 African countries so far named constitute only the tip of an ominous iceberg.

African reaction: capital punishment for "toxic terrorism"

African reaction to toxic dumping has been strong. At the May '88 OAU summit in Addis Ababa, Nigerian President Babangida ensured that toxic dumping became the most important agenda item. Most of the other leaders spoke of "toxic terrorism." and "a crime against Africa and the African peoples." The summit unanimously

adopted a resolution asking countries to refrain from "entering into agreements or arrangements with any industrialized countries on the dumping of nuclear and hazardous industrial waste on African territories."

Not satisfied, Nigeria called a special summit of the regional grouping of West African countries, (ECOWAS) in Lomé, Togo. The West African leaders initiated a program called "Dumpwatch" to monitor attempts at dumping. This was in addition to a highly significant state visit that President Babangida paid to Libya where he and Col. Gadaffi gave toxic dumping in Africa a lot of attention.

At the national level too, Nigeria has taken the strongest measures. Reacting to the Italian toxic waste dumped in its territory, Nigeria recalled its ambassador from Rome, demanded that Italy recall its ambassador in Lagos, seized an Italian ship, arrested 54 persons, and mandated the death penalty for subsequent toxic dumping.

Other African countries have also acted. Guinea, Congo, and Sierra Leone have arrested influential local officials and foreign nationals implicated in dumping schemes. Côte d'Ivoire has promulgated a stiff law against public dumping.

Western reaction

Western reaction offers several interesting contrasts to Africa's. Whereas African countries have passed stiff laws, the 100th U.S. Congress was unable to hold even

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U.S. RESUMES FULL U.N. FUNDING

On September 13, 1988, Mr. Reagan signed a "presidential determination" authorizing payment of arrears owed by the U.S. to the United Nations and its specialized agencies. This decision was dramatic in timing and appeared to break with Mr. Reagan's long standing hostility—both personally and as the policy of his administration—toward the UN.

A clear majority of the public reaction supported the President's decision. However, many conservatives—especially Alan Keyes and the Heritage Foundation—were against it.

Dimensions:

Thus far, there have been three separate payments.

- \$15.2 million was paid a day after the September 13 announcement.
- \$28.8 million was paid in early October (this constituted full and final payment of the \$44 million for FY88/calendar 87 that was to have been paid "immediately").
- \$85.6 million was paid on October 14 (part of the dues for FY89/calendar 88).

Arrears from fiscal years prior to FY88—totalling some \$520 million—are to be paid according to a multi-year plan that the State Department was ordered to design. The Department was given no deadline by which to submit its plan.

"I didn't know the {UN's cash} situation was so serious."

—President Reagan

It does not look as if the remaining portions of the arrears would be paid easily or soon. On October 14, the U.S. warned the UN that the remainder of FY89/calendar 88 dues—which it had promised to pay by October 1—would be withheld unless and until the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly made two specified decisions.

Additionally, the U.S. Senate on Saturday, October 22, rejected an administration request for \$150 million for UN Peacekeeping operations in Iraq/Iran, Afghanistan and probably Namibia.

Motives:

Why did the U.S. start withholding contributions? It is widely believed in the U.S. that the UN system is badly flawed and that it must be made—largely by the US—to mend its erroneous ways. For a long time, the Reagan administration and the Congress have seemed to be in competition to see which branch can display the greater hostility toward the UN.

Many reasons have been offered for the Reagan administration's decision to end withholding of UN dues. They include:

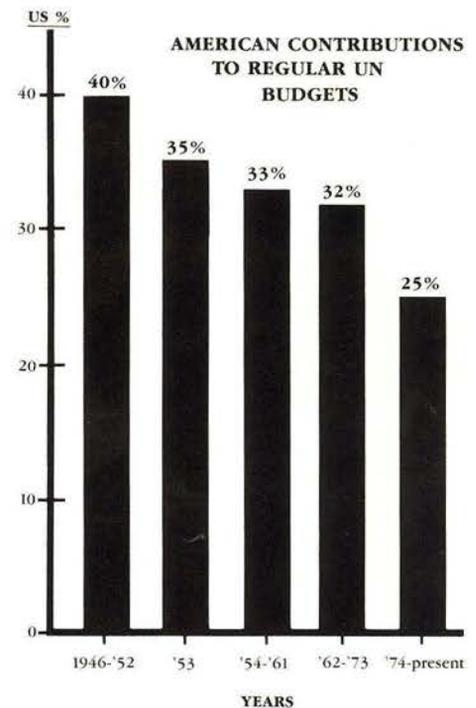
- Reforms recently undertaken by the UN.
- Recent high-profile achievements by the UN, such as ending the conflict in Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq war, as well as winning the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize.
- Subsequent advocacy by the U.S. media and by some segments of the U.S. Congress that the dues be paid.
- American rivalry with the Soviet Union—who had recently become more supportive of the UN and paid off most of its arrears.
- An election year desire to improve the chances of Republican presidential candidate George Bush.

Impact:

The drastic reduction of American contributions to the UN had serious consequences for the world body. So severe did the problem become that Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar went directly to the White House to convince Mr. Reagan himself to release the money.

What of the impact on the U.S.? Some observers see the following risks to American interests:

- Dues owed to the UN are international treaty obligations. As conservatives understand well when it comes to arms agreements with the Soviets, a reputation as a violator of treaties is damaging to a nation's image.



- Shrinking American contributions mean declining American power and influence within many UN agencies. Three specific areas come to mind: weighted voting and decisionmaking power; quota of staff reserved for American citizens; and purchase of American goods and services with multilateral money.

- Undermining of specific American goals and interests if the agencies pursuing such goals are hampered by the withholding of funds. Examples: AIDS research by W.H.O.; international protection of American copyrights; and peacekeeping in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Iran-Iraq border and Namibia, as well as withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, and withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

Prognosis:

The Reagan decision to resume full payment does not mean the UN's problems are over.

- First, the decision is limited; only a small fraction of the arrears is covered by the pledge to pay. For the much bigger, unpaid fraction of the arrears—at least \$520 million—Mr. Reagan is leaving it to his successor.
- Second, American dissatisfaction with the UN is widespread.
- Third, other nations—the U.K. and Canada especially—have either threatened or taken punitive action against the UN.

● Fourth, anti-UN pressures are not restricted to the withholding of contributions. In 1983 the Reagan administration publicly “invited” the UN to get out of the U.S.; and in 1984 the U.S. withdrew from UNESCO.

● Finally, Mr. Reagan's decision does not indicate the end of American distrust of multilateralism. As

“UN dues are treaty obligations. . . . {A} reputation as violator of treaties is damaging to a nation's image.”

“the United Nations turned into an anti-American anti-West soapbox in the 1970s. . . .”

—The Wall Street Journal

of late 1988 the U.S. had found fault with—and was behind in contributions to—almost all multilateral institutions: the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association, the International Monetary Fund, the Organization of American States, and the Inter-American Development Bank. □

continued from page 1

TOXIC DUMPING...

hearings on any of several anti-toxic dumping bills. The European Parliament in late May passed a resolution.

Perhaps the most interesting Western reaction has been in its media. In the face of the most incontrovertible evidence, a May '88 VOA broadcast denied that any toxic waste from the U.S. had been shipped to Guinea. In line with his jaundiced view of Africa, *The Washington Post's* Blaine Harden has equated Africa's need for hard currency with the West's “need” to dump toxic waste. Mr. Harden has called African criticism of dumping, “rhetorical venom.” *The New York Times' Philip Shabecoff* has claimed that “there is no evidence that widespread shipments of dangerous materials to poor countries have yet occurred.”

This skeptical American media reaction to toxic dumping in Africa stands in sharp contrast to their outraged crusading when the environment in Western countries has been threatened—as in the following selected cases: Chernobyl in the Soviet Union; Fernald in Ohio; Savannah River in South Carolina; Hanford in Washington; Rocky Flats in Colorado; or Oak Ridge in Tennessee.

DUMPED SUBSTANCES AND THEIR EFFECTS: A SAMPLE

ASBESTOS:	causes mesothelioma (a virtually incurable cancer occurring in the chest and abdomen) and asbestosis.
CYANIDES:	induce confusion, nausea, and slow gasping respiration. They attack the liver, kidneys, and central nervous system.
DIOXINS:	conditions associated with dioxins include spontaneous abortion, cancer, and chromosomal aberrations. One such aberration is suspected in epilepsy.
MERCURY:	causes tremors, insomnia, irritability, indecision, fatigue, irritation of eyes and skin and affects the lungs.
PAINTS: (LEAD)	paints containing lead can cause lead poisoning which (a) in children lowers IQ; (b) in pregnant women causes miscarriages, and (c) in middle-aged men causes hypertension.
PCBs:	carcinogenic, they're known to cause cancers (such as melanoma of the skin and liver tumors), jaundice, vomiting, anorexia, and nausea.
PESTICIDES:	external contact causes skin disease while internal injuries affect most frequently the lungs, gastrointestinal tract, and the central nervous system.
SOLVENTS:	short term exposure causes light headedness, nausea, and mental confusion; contributes to heart attacks; and is a potent carcinogen.

What remedies?

Many observers believe that Western nations must move promptly and aggressively to halt toxic dumping in Africa and the rest of the Third World. They argue that the toxic dumping hurts Western interests in 3 ways: First, in the on-going competition between the Western and Eastern blocs to win Third World hearts and minds, toxic dumping brands the West as “an enemy of Africa.” Second, Western companies and jurisdictions connected with toxic dumping could be subjected to crippling legal suits that may end in

bankruptcies. Observers point to Bhopal as an example.

The third reason has to do with environmental concerns—ozone depletion and the greenhouse effect—which many experts consider the gravest problems facing the entire globe as it enters the 21st century. The heavy Western pressure on Brazil and other tropical countries to stop depleting the rain forest will seem hypocritical and self-serving if the countries applying the pressure are simulatenously implicated in the poisoning and killing of the same rain forests through toxic dumping. □

AVRIL IS NEW HAITI CHIEF

2 Haiti Coups Replace Manigat, Then Namphy

On the night of September 17, 1988, Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy—who had headed the military regime after Jean-Claude Duvalier's downfall in February 1986—was forced to resign. Amid sporadic violence resulting in 4 deaths, Namphy was flown to the Dominican Republic. The following day, Commander Prosper Avril was named head of state by the coup leaders.

News reports maintain that the coup was staged in response to a September 11 incident in which worshipers, gathered at a church, were violently attacked. As many as 12 were killed and more than 70 wounded by armed thugs. This kind of random attack so outraged junior military officers that they staged the coup and started ousting top Duvalierists.

This coup followed the June 19 coup in which Namphy ousted the civilian Leslie Manigat. The June coup was reported to have been precipitated by Manigat's attempts to curb smuggling in which the military was deeply involved. Manigat got caught in the cross-fire between Namphy and Col. Jean-Claude Paul—who was indicted by

the U.S. for drug smuggling—and sided with Paul. His side lost. That Namphy assumed power with Paul by his side, and that Avril played a key role in restoring Namphy to power, suggest to some that the coup was rather a trap to get rid of Manigat and of civilian rule. [Paul has since died of poisoning.]

Since assuming power, Gen. Avril has named civilians to 11 of 12 cabinet positions, has stressed cooperation between the military and civilians, and has called for hard and honest work among public service workers. Many are hopeful that these actions are not mere gestures, but are indicative of positive change in Haiti's government. Whether these changes will prove to be lasting is not clear. A number of facts—Avril's Duvalierist background key among them—certainly dim the prospects.

U.S. response

The U.S. partially resumed aid to Haiti in mid-November 1988. In keeping with legislation which currently prohibits government to government aid, it has made available to Haiti some of the humanitarian assistance it had suspended

after the November 1987 election massacre. The aid is being channeled through non-governmental and private voluntary organizations.

Indicators

Key indicators that may signal whether or not Avril is moving in the right direction include these two: demonstrated efforts to restore the democratic process and government attempts to stem the use of Haiti as a transshipment point for drugs and other illegal contraband. Many observers agree that the extent to which the Avril regime moves on these issues should determine how supportive U.S. policy should be. □

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545 Eighth Street, SE Suite 200
Washington, DC 20003

Niikwao Akuetteh Senior Fellow
Maryse-Noelle Mills Research Fellow
Mwiza Munthali Librarian
Kelly Brown Administrative Assistant
Randall Robinson Executive Director

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