Congress and Africa: New Realities in a New Decade

Sweeping changes in the world political climate and in Africa, as well as organizational shifts in Congress, are profoundly changing the context for the anti-apartheid movement and all those concerned with a constructive U.S. role in support of justice and development on the African continent.

Some of the new developments, such as the moves away from the old apartheid order in South Africa, and the resurgence of grassroots demands for human rights and democracy throughout the continent, represent victories, albeit yet incomplete. Others, such as the end of the Cold War, have mixed implications for Africa. And yet others, such as the Gulf Crisis, seem unambiguously negative, reinforcing both a militaristic approach to world affairs and the low priority given to Sub-Saharan Africa on the U.S. agenda.

No one has yet sorted out what all the changes mean, but cumulatively they mark the most significant turning point since the beginning of Africa’s transition to political independence in the late 1950s. In this article Washington Notes on Africa surveys both the most important contextual changes and the shifts within Congress which may affect Africa policy.

FROM COLD WAR TO NEW WORLD DISORDER

Throughout the last three decades, the only issue that could consistently bring high-level U.S. attention to Africa was the “Soviet threat.” In the Congo crisis of the 1960s, Angola in 1975 and in the 1980s, the Horn of Africa in the late 1970s, and southern Africa in the 1980s, administration officials paid attention to Africa because they feared losses in the global competition with the Soviet Union.

As on most foreign policy issues, Congress generally followed the administration’s lead. On some issues, such as Katanga in the 1960s or Angola more recently, right-wing lobbies even castigated administration policy for lack of vigor in the anti-Soviet crusade.

Occasionally, other issues attracted momentary attention: the Biafra War, famines in the Sahel and Ethiopia, blatant human rights abuse such as in Idi Amin’s Uganda. The House Africa Subcommittee, particularly in the last decade under the leadership of Representative Howard Wolpe (D-MI), tried to focus attention on a variety of African concerns. But only the anti-apartheid movement of the mid-1980s drew the consideration of the full Congress, leading to the passage of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAA) of 1986. Even then many in Congress went along largely because of fears of Soviet gains from U.S. inaction.

The end of the Cold War has gains for Africa, perhaps the most significant is that African issues may be considered on their own merits, rather than as pieces in a Cold War game. But with the geostrategic interest in Africa diminished, there is little to counter the view that African countries are marginal to U.S. interest. With the possible exception of South Africa, U.S. economic interests on the continent are small. And humanitarian concerns — however morally compelling — are weak incentives for policymakers with other pressing concerns.

And so even former U.S. clients such as Liberia and Somalia can disintegrate into chaos with little notice from Washington. Despite Nelson Mandela’s release, even South Africa virtually disappeared from the news as first Eastern Europe and then the Gulf occupied the front pages and the evening news.

As a result of the Gulf Crisis, Sub-Saharan African countries are expected to lose an estimated four billion dollars this year, exacerbating already bleak economic prospects. But such distant victims attract little attention, even though the U.S. lobbied intensely at the UN to get the votes of African Security Council members Zaire, Ethiopia, Cote d’Ivoire and Zimbabwe. African opinion generally supported international condemnation of Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait, but many were also shocked at the indifference to human life shown by the U.S. bombing campaign. In some areas of continued on page 9
Message from the Director

This is my last opportunity to write to you as Executive Director of the Washington Office on Africa (WOA). But I hope to see many of you in the years that lie ahead in the struggle for non-racial development and social and economic justice in southern Africa.

I believe we have laid a new foundation for WOA, and this spring I will pass the baton on to a talented and experienced staff. I am personally delighted to be able to continue work which will constructively influence the process for justice in southern Africa through the Ford Foundation. But, I am sad to leave this organization which has played a truly historic role in the anti-apartheid movement in the U.S.

I am more than confident that this tradition of WOA will be continued. For our energetic staff, as for other groups in the anti-apartheid movement, 1991 is a year of rethinking and transition. The changes in Africa and in the world confront us with a new context. The struggle for U.S. policy that promotes justice and development in southern Africa and elsewhere is far from over. Apartheid is not yet gone, and even when it is, that will only signal the beginning of the struggle to overcome the legacy of centuries of entrenched unjust structures.

But soon — if not this year, then within a few years — South Africa can no longer claim the moral priority of being the only society with legally entrenched and blatantly overt racial injustice. Many who are eager to accept de Klerk’s promises for reality think this has already happened. The struggle for justice in the future cannot be fitted into the old molds of a clear and simple anti-apartheid mobilization.

In this context, WOA’s 1991 programs include two kinds of activities. The first is to continue with old priorities that in fact are still relevant: the fight to retain sanctions as long as needed and the effort to promote peace in Angola. But the second is to begin to conceptualize the agenda for the next few years, with respect to U.S. involvement in South and southern Africa, and to define the themes, whether in the southern African region or in the African continental context, which should orient WOA’s programs. The first is to continue to press unfulfilled elements of the old agenda; the second is not yet to press a new agenda, but to begin defining it.

With respect to broader program themes, particular issues must be confronted:

1) Does it make sense to continue the geographical focus on southern Africa, or is it necessary to expand to fit the name of our office and consider other areas of Africa?

2) What overarching conception (comparable to “anti-apartheid”) should orient WOA’s work? WOA’s concern with justice and human rights implies a broader concern, but to be useful it must be defined in more specific terms.

3) What criteria should govern the choice of particular program areas?

For the first time in WOA’s 19 year history, the 1991 Program Statement adopted by our Board of Directors authorizes the staff to fully explore those possibilities.

Although change is clearly on the horizon, we still need your continued support. I look forward to working with WOA and each of you on the difficult road ahead.

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Since its inception in 1970 under the leadership of Congressman Charles Diggs (D-MI) and 12 of his colleagues the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) has been an important legislative force for Africa. As individuals and as a voting block the Caucus and its members have been instrumental in developing legislation promoting humanitarian and development aid to Africa, sanctions against the minority regime of South Africa and cut-offs of aid to oppressive regimes like Mobutu's in Zaire.

As CBC members increase in both number and tenure given the seniority system which distributes key positions based on years in Congress their influence will be even more significant.

The November 1990 Congressional elections brought five new members to the Caucus, for a net gain of two additional Black seats. The newcomers include one Black Republican, a new member from the South and three vocal and active women, who are predicted to quickly become forceful advocates for Africa.

WILLIAM L. CLAY, (D-MO, 1): Chair of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and its Subcommittee on Investigations; ex officio member (with vote) of all its other subcommittees. Member of the Education and Labor Committee and its Subcommittees: Labor Standards; and Labor Management. Member of the House Administration Committee and Chair of its Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials. 2470 Rayburn HOB.

S.A. Aide: Michele Bogdanovich (202) 225-2406

BARBARA-ROSE COLLINS, (D-MI, 13): Freshwomen, member of the Committee on Public Works and Transportation and its Subcommittees: Aviation; Economic Development; and Water Resources. Member of the Committee on Science, Space and Technology and its Subcommittees: Science; and Technology and Competitiveness. Also a member of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families. 1541 Longworth HOB.

S.A. Aide: Dave Shuman (202) 225-2261

CARDISS COLLINS, (D-IL, 7): Member of the Government Operations Committee and its Subcommittees: Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs; and Legislation and National Security. Member of the Energy and Commerce Committee and Chair of its Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness; and member of the Subcommittee on Transportation and Hazardous Materials. Also a member of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. 2264 Rayburn HOB.

S.A. Aide: Sarah Matthews (202) 225-5006

JOHN CONYERS, JR., (D-MI, 1): Chair of the House Government Operations Committee, and Chair of its Subcommittee on Legislation and National Security; ex officio member of all other subcommittees. Senior member of the House Committee on the Judiciary and member of its Subcommittees: Economic and Commercial Law; Civil and Constitutional Rights; and Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration. Additionally he is a member of the House Small Business Committee and its Subcommittee on Small Business Administration, General Economy and Minority Enterprise Development. 2426 Rayburn HOB.

S.A. Aide: Rhonda McDuffie (202) 225-5126

RONALD DELUMS, (D-CA, 8): Chair of the House Committee on the District of Columbia and member of its Subcommittees: Fiscal Affairs and Health; and Judiciary and Education. Member of the House Armed Services Committee and Chair of its Subcommittee on Research and Development; also a member of its Subcommittee on the North Atlantic Assembly Panel; and ex officio member of the Subcommittee on the Defense Policy Panel. Also a member of the Select Committee on Intelligence and its Subcommittee on Program and Budget Authorization. 2264 Rayburn HOB.

S.A. Aide: Bob Brauer (202) 225-2661

JULIAN C. DIXON, (D-CA, 28): Serves on the powerful House Appropriations Committee which recommends funding for all federal programs. Chair of its Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, and a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense. 2400 Rayburn HOB.

S.A. Aide: Gwen Brown (202) 225-7084

MERVYN M. DYMALLY, (D-CA, 31): Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Chair of its Africa Subcommittee; also a member of its Subcommittee on International Operations. Member of the Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service, and its Subcommittee on Census and Population. Member of the District of Columbia Committee and Chair of its Subcommittee on Judiciary and Education; and member of the Subcommittee on Gov't Operations and Metropolitan Affairs. 1717 Longworth HOB.

S.A. Aide: Marva Jo Camp (202) 226-7807

MIKE ESPY, (D-MS, 2): Member of the House Budget Committee, Chair of its Community Development and Natural Resource Task Force, and member of the Budget...
Process, Reconciliation and Enforcement Task Force. Member of the House Agriculture Committee and Vice Chair of its Subcommittee on Cotton, Rice, and Sugar; also a member of the Subcommittees on Conservation, Credit and Rural Development; and Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition. Also chair of the Domestic Task Force of the House Select Committee on Hunger; Majority Whip at Large. 216 Cannon HOB
S.A. Aide: Mike Alexander (202) 225-5876

FLOYD H. FLAKE, (D-NY, 6): Member of the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, and its Subcommittees: Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; General Oversight and Investigations; Housing and Community Development; and International Development, Finance, Trade and Monetary Policy. Member of the Small Business Committee and its Subcommittee on Regulation, Business Opportunities, and Energy. Also a member of the Domestic Task Force of the Select Committee on Hunger. 1034 Longworth HOB
S.A. Aide: David Liss (202) 225-3461

HAROLD E. FORD, (D-TN, 9): Ranking Member of the powerful House Committee on Ways and Means which has jurisdiction over all tax and revenue-raising legislation as well as Social Security and Medicare, Chair of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources and member of the Subcommittee on Oversight. Also a member of the House Select Committee on Aging, and its Subcommittees: Housing and Consumer Interests; Retirement Income and Employment; and the Task Force on Social Security and Women. 2305 Rayburn HOB
S.A. Aide: Buffa French (202) 225-3265

GARY FRANKS, (R-CT, 5): Freshman and the only CBC Republican, member of the Committee on Armed Services and its Subcommittees: the Structure of U.S. Defense Industrial Base Panel, where he is the ranking minority member; Future Uses of Defense Manufacturing and Technology Resources Panel; Investigations; Military Personnel and Compensation; and Readiness. Member of the Small Business Committee and its Subcommittees: Exports, Tax Policy, and Special Problems; Small Business Administration, the General Economy, and Minority Enterprise Development. Also a member of the Select Committee on Aging and its Subcommittee on Retirement Income and Employment. 1609 Longworth HOB
S.A. Aide: Steve Beaujon (202) 225-3822

WILLIAM H. GRAY, III, (D-PA, 2): Majority Whip of the House of Representatives, the number three leadership post in that body. The Whip helps the Speaker and Majority Leader set legislative priorities and assembles the majority party to implement them. Member of the Appropriations Committee and its Subcommittees: Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs; and ranking member of Transportation and Related Agencies. Member of the District of Columbia Committee and its Subcommittees: Fiscal Affairs and Health; and Government Operations and Metropolitan Affairs. Member of the House Administration Committee and its Subcommittees: Elections; Libraries and Memorials; Procurement and Printing; Campaign Reform Task Force. 2454 Rayburn HOB
S.A. Aide: Hazel Ross-Robinson (202) 225-4001

CHARLES A. HAYES, (D-IL, 1): Member of the House Committee on Education and Labor and its Subcommittees: Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education; Health and Safety; Labor-Management Relations; and Postsecondary Education. Member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and chair of its Subcommittee on Postal Personnel and Modernization. 1131 Longworth HOB
S.A. Aide: Bruce Taylor (202) 225-4572

WILLIAM JEFFERSON, (D-VA, 2): Freshman, member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and its Subcommittees: Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment, and Merchant Marine. Member of the Committee on Education and Labor and its Subcommittees: Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education; Postsecondary Education; and Select Education. 506 Cannon HOB
S.A. Aide: Max Peltz (202) 225-6636

JOHN LEWIS, (D-GA, 5): Member of the Public Works and Transportation Committee and its Subcommittees: Aviation; Public Buildings and Grounds; and Surface Transportation. Member of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and its Subcommittees: Insular and Int’l Affairs; and National Parks and Public Lands. Member of the Select Committee on Aging and its Subcommittees: Human Services; Retirement Income and Employment; and the Task Force on Rural Elderly. 529 Cannon HOB
S.A. Aide: Kimberly Caskin (202) 225-3801

KWEISI MFUME, (D-MD, 7): Member of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs and its Subcommittees: Housing and Community Development, Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance. Member of the Committee on Small Business and its Subcommittee on Small Business Administration, the General Economy and Minority Enterprise Development. Member of the Joint Economic Committee, Resolution Trust Corporation Task Force and the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. 217 Cannon HOB
S.A. Aide: Mark Clack (202) 225-4741
ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON, (D-DC, Del.): Freshwoman, member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and its Subcommittees: Civil Service; and Postal Operations and Services. Member of the Committee on Public Works and Transportation and its Subcommittees: Public Buildings and Grounds (Vice-Chair); Investigations and Oversight; and Surface Transportation. Also a member of the District of Columbia Committee and its Subcommittees: Fiscal Affairs and Health; and Judiciary and Education. 1631 Longworth HOB
S.A. Aide: Gloria Johnson (202) 225-8050

MAJOR OWENS, (D-NY, 12): Member of the House Committee on Education and Labor, Chair of the Subcommittee on Select Education, and member of the Subcommittees on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education; Labor Standards; and Labor-Management Relations. Member of the House Committee on Government Operations and its Subcommittees: Fiscal Affairs and Health; and Judiciary and Education. 1631 Longworth HOB
S.A. Aide: Schuyler Rainey (202) 225-6231

DONALD M. PAYNE, (D-NJ, 10): Member of the House Committee on Education and Labor and its Subcommittees: Labor-Management Relations; Postsecondary Education; and Select Education. Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and its Subcommittees: Africa; and the Task Force on International Narcotics Control. Member of the Committee on Government Operations and its Subcommittee on Human Resources and Intergovernmental Relations. Member of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. Congressman Payne was also selected as a member of the U.S. Presidential Observer Delegation to monitor Namibia’s first election. 417 Cannon HOB
S.A. Aide: Frank Kiehne (202) 225-3436

CHARLES B. RANGEL, (D-NY, 16): Senior Member of the Committee on Ways and Means, Chair of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures, and member of the Subcommittee on Oversight. Also the Chair of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control; and Deputy Majority Whip. 2252 Rayburn HOB
S.A. Aide: Emile Milne (202) 225-4365

GUS SAVAGE, (D-IL, 2): Senior Member of the House Committee on Public Works and Transportation, Chair of the Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and member of Subcommittees on Aviation; and on Economic Development. Senior Member of the House Committee on Small Business and its subcommittees: Procurement, Tourism, and Rural Development; and SBA, General Economy, and Minority Enterprise Development. 2419 Rayburn HOB
S.A. Aide: Donnovan Dunkley (202) 225-0773

LOUIS STOKES, (D-OH, 21): Chair of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. Senior Member of the House Committee on Appropriations and its Subcommittees on Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies; HUD/VA-Independent Agencies; and the District of Columbia. 2365 Rayburn HOB
S.A. Aide: Alice Freeman-Harris (202) 225-7032

EDOLPHUS “ED” TOWNS, (D-NY, 11): Member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce and its Subcommittees: Commerce, Consumer Protection, and Competition; Energy and Power; and Health and the Environment. Member of the Committee on Government Operations and its Subcommittees: Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources; and Government Information, Justice and Agriculture. Also a member of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. 1726 Rayburn HOB
S.A. Aide: Suzanne Hutchings (202) 225-5936

CRAIG A. WASHINGTON, (D-TX, 18): Elected following the death of Mickey Leland and reelected in 1990, a member of the Committee on Education and Labor and its Subcommittees: Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education; Labor-Management Relations; and Postsecondary Education. Member of the Committee on the Judiciary and its subcommittees: Civil and Constitutional Rights; and Crime and Criminal Justice. Also a member of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. 1711 Longworth HOB
S.A. Aide: Darlene Taylor (202) 225-3816

MAXINE WATERS, (D-CA, 29): Freshwoman, member of the Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee and its Subcommittees: Consumer Affairs and Coinage; General Oversight and Investigations; Housing and Community Development; and International Development, Finance, Trade and Monetary Policy. Also a member of the Committee on Veteran’s Affairs and its Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations. 1207 Longworth HOB
S.A. Aide: Bill Azavarello (202) 225-2201

ALAN WHEAT, (D-MO, 5): Member of the House Committee on Rules which controls the flow of legislation and sets the terms of floor debate and its Subcommittee on the Legislative Process. Member of the Select Committee on Hunger and its International Task Force. Member of the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families. Also a member of the District of Columbia Committee, Chair of its Subcommittee on Government Operations and Metropolitan Affairs, and member of the Judiciary and Education Subcommittee. 1210 Longworth HOB
S.A. Aide: Sam Afridi (202) 225-4535

* HOB = House Office Bldg.; Washington, DC 20515
# Key Committees for Southern Africa: House

## House Africa Subcommittee

<table>
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<th>Name</th>
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*Staff Director: Adonis Hoffman*

## House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

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<td>Nicholas Mavroules (MA, 6)</td>
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<td>George Gekas (PA, 17)</td>
<td>1519 Longworth</td>
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*Staff Director: Dr. John G. Keliher*
# Key Committees for Southern Africa: Senate

## Senate African Affairs Subcommittee
446 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-4651

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Paul Simon (IL)</td>
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<td>Terry Sanford (NC)</td>
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Staff Director: Adwoa Dunn-Mouton

## Senate Select Committee on Intelligence
211 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-1700

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<tr>
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<th>CC</th>
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Staff Director: George J. Tenet

BOLD = Republicans

%BLK = Percentage of Blacks living in the Member's district as of 1990.

CC = Percentage of 54 recorded votes in 1990 on which the Conservative Coalition appeared and on which a representative voted against the Coalition's position. According to Congressional Quarterly, the Conservative Coalition is "a bloc consisting of a majority of Republicans and a majority of southern Democrats voting against a majority of northern Democrats."

AFL = Votes tabulated by the AFL-CIO which represent "votes for or against the interest of workers."
Writing Letters to Members of Congress

Many people feel intimidated about writing a letter to their representative and senators, or wonder if one letter can make a difference. Yet letters are easy to write and are important in guiding our elected leaders as they make decisions.

In congressional offices, your opinions will usually receive consideration proportionate to the personal attention you have given them. A personal letter as opposed to a preprinted postcard or a form letter will draw greater attention. A personal letter shows that you care enough to have thought about the issue and have taken the time to write.

When you and others write letters about southern Africa, you will be adding your voices to many others who are calling for peace, social justice and an end to hunger and misery in that region. Congressman Kweisi Mfume (D-MD) has introduced a non-binding resolution, H.R. 126, on South Africa sanctions that WOA urges you to support. The resolution urges the President to maintain sanctions against South Africa until the provisions of the 1986 sanctions law have been met and progress toward a nonracial democracy is irreversible. The resolution also calls on the South African government to:

- repeal all racial legislation that maintains apartheid;
- terminate the policy of detention without trial;
- cease all executions of political prisoners;
- grant all exiles the opportunity to return home;

and urges President Bush, through the Secretary of State, to:

- investigate the role of the South African government in township violence.

**LETTER WRITING TIPS**

**BE CONCISE.** Express clearly and briefly what action you would like. One or two paragraphs should be enough.

**REQUEST SPECIFIC ACTION.** Ask your Representative and Senators to work to pass House Resolution 126 introduced by Representative Mfume.

The Senate has not introduced similar legislation. Write your Senator, ask him to sponsor a bill similar to H.R. 126.

If your Members of Congress have already cosponsored the legislation, thank them and encourage their active support of it. Be supportive of your Members of Congress. If possible thank them for support on southern Africa issues.

**EXPLAIN WHY THIS LEGISLATION IS IMPORTANT.** Such an explanation may include that while change has been significant in South Africa, repressive laws remain on the books, all political prisoners have not been released and South African exiles have not been issued amnesty to return home. Rather than lift or modify sanctions now the U.S. should maintain the current law.

*Special thanks to Bread for the World*
Congress

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Africa pro-Iraqi sentiment was heightened: the Peace Corps was withdrawn from Tanzania, and State Department advisories were issued against travel in northern Nigeria and parts of East Africa.

Perhaps the most significant impact on U.S./African relations from the Gulf Crisis comes in the attitude it seemed to prefigure for post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy. Some hoped that initial appeals to the United Nations indicated a U.S. willingness to seek peaceful resolution to crises and to rely on the international community. Instead the turn to war was accompanied by renewal of the “arrogance of power” condemned by U.S. Senator Fulbright in an earlier era. The signal to African and other Third World countries was that there would be no new sensitivity to diversity of opinions, but rather renewed intolerance of any disagreement with Washington.

The attitude was demonstrated graphically in a mid-March telephone conversation between President George Bush and Nelson Mandela, in which Bush reportedly berated Mandela for an ANC statement which had criticized both the Iraqi invasion and the U.S. military intervention in the Gulf. In a later television interview with Mandela, TV journalist Leslie Stahl expressed her astonishment that the African leader dared to criticize the U.S. Neither Bush nor Stahl apparently noted the irony that last year Bush had lectured Mandela on the virtues of non-violence.

The end of the Cold War, then, has produced no international peace dividend that might alleviate Africa’s plight. Nor are the problems of Eastern Europe and the Middle East likely to be quickly resolved, to allow international attention to focus on Africa. The dominant assumption seems to be that Africa’s problems are either disappearing — like apartheid — or hopeless — like wars and famine in places with obscure names. In either case they are of marginal interest for top U.S. policy-makers.

SOUTH AFRICA:
THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY IN A NEW ERA

The signs of a new era in southern Africa and elsewhere on the continent are not just the derivative of global shifts or the end of the Cold War. The dramatic shifts in South Africa, negotiations for peace in Angola and in Mozambique, the grassroots demands for human rights and democracy that have swept the continent herald new possibilities.

The long era defined by seeking political freedom from European and white-minority rule is ending. In independent African countries the first generation of independence has definitively given way to universal demands that the rewards of freedom must reach the people—not just a small elite. South Africans—and their neighbors—are conscious that dealing with the inequalities left by apartheid will take more than a generation. Few are under the illusion that a new government by itself can solve the problems.

But moving into the new era means more than announcing it. And nowhere is the gap between simplistic outside perception and the precarious state of the transition more acute than in South Africa. While the European Community and the Western press seek to reward de Klerk for his reforms, on the ground South Africans are coping with the regime’s murderous two-track strategy. On the one hand de Klerk is moving ahead with legal changes and reforms to the apartheid structure, and speaking of a new South Africa. On the other hand he and his colleagues are determined to hold on to effective power for the white-minority.

Thus the proposed abolition of the Land Act would be accompanied by laws barring compensation to Blacks displaced from their land, and requiring that the transfer of land be determined only by market mechanisms. This would leave the estimated 2.5 million Blacks who were brutally uprooted to make...
way for whites still homeless in the new South Africa. Speaking to an international gathering in Cape Town in April, de Klerk angrily denied that any South Africans had ever been unjustly deprived of their land.

Most critical for the immediate future, however, is de Klerk's decision to tolerate—and take advantage of—security force involvement in violence in the Black townships that has escalated dramatically since he came to power. ANC demands for impartial policing, such as banning all weapons at public meetings and prosecution of those involved in murders, have been virtually ignored. The outside world sees "black-on-black" violence, while the government's role in instigating and prolonging the violence, documented in independent human rights reports, goes largely ignored.

Until the South African government addresses this issue seriously, the transition to democracy is likely to stall. Anti-apartheid activists in South Africa think there will be very hard times ahead, as most of the outside world accepts de Klerk's promises and turns a blind eye to the fact that a white-minority regime is still in power.

In the southern African region, despite the peace talks in Mozambique, the war still rages on. Even if cease-fires are concluded, as in the case of Angola, the scale of human and physical destruction is enormous. Food aid requirements in Mozambique alone are conservatively estimated at one million tons for the 1990-1991 crop year; only 190,000 tons were pledged by the end of 1990, as observers noted donor fatigue. Both countries have adopted multi-party systems, and elections are expected in 1992 or 1993. But even the physical obstacles to holding elections will be enormous.

The changes in South Africa should mean new opportunities for the entire region. But without systematic planning the primary result may be reinforcement of the strongest economic actors: white South African business interests. The Southern African Economic Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) faces major readjustments, which will depend in large part on willingness of a new South African government to be sensitive to historic regional inequalities.

Elsewhere in Africa the hopes for democracy and development depend on ending long-standing conflicts, such as in Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea, and on the willingness of entrenched leaders such as Mobutu of Zaire and Moi of Kenya to allow transitions to democracy. But overthrowing old regimes can as easily end in chaos—witness Liberia and Somalia—as in new hope. And even the best-intentioned of new politicians require continued pressure to live up to their promises and new resources to be able to implement changes.

It would be particularly tragic if new African initiatives for internal reform should founder for lack of genuine international support. It is easy to proffer general advice. But if Africa remains economically marginal, and resources are drained from the continent instead of being invested in the future of its people, even the best of policies have only slim chances of success.

As a result of lobbying by the House Africa Subcommittee, the 1992 foreign aid bill includes $1 billion in aid for sub-Saharan Africa. This is a $200 million increase over the administration's request, but still represents a small percentage of the total foreign aid bill, and is little more than the estimated cost of relief to the Kurds this year.

More significantly, while size of aid budgets is an indicator of U.S. interest, and the quantities are small given African needs, aid without sensitivity to African priorities and to local conditions may have little or even negative impact. Indiscriminate promotion of free-market plans or of U.S.-style election campaigns provides no solution for African problems, nor does favoritism to traditional allies such as Kenya or Zaire despite their human rights abuses.

There are no easy formulas for determining what is the best kind of aid, deciding the policies towards particular countries, or figuring out how to highlight human rights abuses or to pressure oppressive regimes to change while continuing to provide aid to people in need. What is certain, however, is that without informed Congressional and public scrutiny, sensitive to grassroots African opinion, human rights and genuine development needs will most frequently take second place to other interests.

THE CONGRESSIONAL LINEUP ON AFRICA

Foreign policy is traditionally dominated by the executive branch, and Congress normally reacts to the administration's agenda rather than taking the initiative. Nevertheless, by its diversity and its relative closeness to pressure from constituents, Congress is the place where public influence can be brought to bear. A group within Congress, or even a single member, can have an impact, if they give high priority to an issue. Other members may defer to their expertise or go along in order to get reciprocal cooperation on issues important to them.

Thus despite Africa's marginality for most members of Congress, a nucleus of concerned members can at least call attention to an issue. In exceptional circumstances, such as the Clark amend-
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efforts to stop U.S. aid to UNITA. But in recent years his favorable stand towards Zaire’s President Mobutu Sese Seko has been controversial, since other members of the CBC and the Africa Subcommittee have worked to block aid to Zaire on human rights grounds.

Dymally’s initial priorities, according to his staff, include legislation calling for the development of a U.S. Commission on Southern Africa which would provide for the training of South African

Blacks in public sector administration, maintaining U.S. sanctions against South Africa, and increasing U.S. trade relations with Africa while supporting opportunities for U.S. minority businesses.

Dymally has brought his own staff to the Subcommittee, and the senior members of the Wolpe team have all left. Most of the new staff worked with Dymally at the International Operations Subcommittee, where they dealt with international issues but did not specialize in African affairs. Although well experienced in the legislative process it will take some time before the new team acquires expertise in the region and defines in practice the new directions for the Subcommittee.

In other changes, the November 1990 elections brought five new Black Representatives to the House for a net gain of two new Black seats. Among the new members is one Connecticut Republican and California anti-apartheid activist Maxine Waters. With the retirement of Rep. George Crockett (D-MI) this means a net loss of one CBC Member on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The CBC also derives much potential influence on Africa issues from the seniority of its members, including House Majority Whip William H. Gray, III (D-PA).

Former CBC Chair Ronald Dellums (D-CA), one of the strongest anti-apartheid voices in Congress and an active opponent of covert aid to UNITA, was appointed to the House Select Committee on Intelligence. With David Bonior (D-MI) also newly appointed, the committee’s liberal component has been substantially strengthened, a deliberate construction by House leadership to compensate for the conservative biases of the committee Chair Dave McCurdy (D-OK). In the past McCurdy has been a prominent supporter of UNITA, and a critical ‘moderate’ swing vote on issues such as aid to the contras in Nicaragua.

On the Senate side, where advocacy for Africa has suffered from the lack of a Black caucus and the low profile of the African Affairs Subcommittee, reorganization promises somewhat greater potential for a focus on Africa. For the first time the Subcommittee will have a staff of its own (previously the staffperson assigned to Africa, Nancy Stetson, was responsible to the full Foreign Relations Committee rather than to the Subcommittee). The new staffperson is Adwoa Dunn, one of the veterans from the House Africa Subcommittee staff. It remains to be seen whether Senator Paul Simon (D-IL) will take advantage of this change to seek a higher profile for the Subcommittee.

In the absence of any highly publicized African crisis which catches the attention of U.S. opinion, there is little chance for a wave of Congressional response such as that which led to the 1986 anti-apartheid act. The political work needed to influence U.S. involvement away from indifference or the mechanical application of U.S. solutions to African problems is unlikely to be dramatic. But the seniority and expertise of some of Africa’s friends in Congress are assets that can make a difference, if the public constituency concerned with Africa refuses to succumb to the current climate of benign neglect.
Southern Africa . . . In Brief

NAMIBIA

As of February 1991, the United States ranked fourth in pledged development aid to Namibia for the period 1990-1993. The total U.S. commitment was $40 million, compared to $160 million from Germany, $66 million from Sweden, and $52 million from Finland. In grant aid alone for 1990-1992, already disbursed or firmly committed, the U.S. total of $2 million ranked ninth, behind the individual commitments of Germany, Sweden, Finland, United Kingdom, Norway, France, Denmark and Canada. The 1992 Bush administration aid proposal is $12 million.

Namibia is a newly independent country with a much-lauded model democratic constitution and a shortfall of over $600 million to meet its three-year development plan and deficit needs. In this context the token U.S. contribution signals how low Africa rates in comparison with other 'emerging democracies.'

MOZAMBIQUE

According to a confidential document obtained by Washington Notes on Africa, a right-wing U.S. businessman is appealing for $214,000 to provide advisors to Renamo in peace negotiations with the government of Mozambique. William H. Ball, Jr., of Indianapolis, a member of the Coors-founded Council on National Policy (CNP), sent the Renamo request to CNP members this spring, with Renamo’s assurances that their contributions would be “reimbursed with interest” once Renamo came to power. Cited by Ball as potential advisors were former Assistant Secretary of State Alan Keyes, Michael Johns of the Heritage Foundation and Howard Phillips of the Conservative Caucus.

Despite Mozambique’s adoption of a multiparty system, and the establishment of two small opposition parties in Mozambique, observers have noted Renamo’s reluctance to move from military action to political competition. A partial cease-fire agreement, applying to the Beira and Limpopo transport corridors, was signed in December at meetings in Rome. But Renamo has repeatedly violated the agreement, and threatened to suspend it.

Bruce Fein, conservative columnist and a former Heritage Foundation staffer, is reported to have agreed to advise Renamo in the talks. Mozambican sources say the government welcomes the move if it will give Renamo the confidence to negotiate seriously.

Call the Africa Hotline!

The anti-apartheid action hotline offers a three-minute taped message, updated weekly, providing current information and action suggestions.

Call (202) 546-0408