

SOUTHERN AFRICA

A New Vision

People cried openly with joy at the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as jets soared overhead, trailing jet streams the colors of the new flag of the Republic of South Africa.

The jets also might well have been dipping their wings to honor all the people throughout the region of Southern Africa. For more than 30 years the South African military brutally pounded the regime's opponents at home and in neighboring countries as rule by white minorities slowly gave way to African freedom in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and finally South Africa. The military salute to freedom at the inauguration symbolized a vision so new that many had to rub their eyes to make sure they were not dreaming.

As the people of South Africa completed their "no easy walk" to the political freedom that now provides the opportunity to address social and economic problems, the world's press focused on the person of Nelson Mandela. President Mandela, however, reminded the world of the countless heroes who sacrificed their lives or livelihoods so that freedom might come.

The countries neighboring the Republic of South Africa led the international community in the fight against apartheid and withstood relentless attacks. "The region sustained us during our struggle and, with our own, its people's blood was spilled to end apartheid. Our destiny is intertwined with the region's; our peoples belong with each other," proclaimed Mandela's campaign statements.

His election victory is a victory for all of Southern Africa. For its people, including both South Africans and their neighbors, now is the time to build on their achievements. The region's people and its material resources provide a solid foundation. The partnership which succeeded in winning freedom for the entire region can now turn to reinforcing regional identity and defining regional solutions.

With the end of Cold War intervention and the end of the apartheid government, millions can begin rebuilding their lives and communities. With a new



Paula Brannen / Impact Visuals

With South Africa's first democratically-elected government in place, citizens throughout the region have high hopes for a better future.

vision, Southern Africa can be a bridge between the hopes seen in pictures of the South African election and the scenes of despair so often televised from crisis spots around the continent.

THE WILL TO REBUILD

Apartheid's internal legacy of racial inequality is common knowledge. But the damage it did to neighboring countries is not widely known. Because of the lack of media coverage, many people outside the region don't even realize that South Africa is not the only country in that part of the African continent.

Eleven countries make up the region known as Southern Africa: the Republic of South Africa plus Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In the 1980s, South Africa's ten neighbors suffered economic losses estimated at over \$90 billion from that country's violent actions, a sum more than three times their total gross national product. Over two million people lost their lives, most of them from



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South Africa's military sponsorship of rebel groups in Angola and Mozambique.

Different countries played different roles in supporting one person, one vote in South Africa. Angola, Tanzania and Zambia provided military bases for the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. Every country received South African refugees. Tanzanians and Zimbabweans helped defend Mozambique, the most vulnerable of South Africa's neighbors. Zimbabwe and Malawi accepted hundreds of thousands of Mozambican refugees.

Even in areas not directly attacked, South Africa's assaults on refugees and transport links raised economic and personal insecurity to high levels.

In the 1980s, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe coordinated their efforts against the apartheid regime through a diplomatic alliance known as the Frontline States, and were joined by Namibia after its independence in 1990. The Frontline States, plus Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi made up the Southern African Development Community (SADC), originally set up in 1980 to collaborate on plans to increase economic independence.

In August 1994 South Africa became the eleventh member of SADC. With its original purpose of freedom from white-minority rule achieved, the Frontline States group joined with other SADC members in a new Association of Southern African States, to complement SADC's economic programs with a new focus on conflict-prevention and conflict-management.

Southern Africa's peoples now face many problems. Each country has its own challenges as it approaches the 21st century. Most of the 128 million people in

the region must deal with deepening economic crisis, as well as the effects of war and racial inequality.

South Africa's economy is over three times the size of all the rest of SADC. Its average per capita income of almost \$4,000 a year is many times the average among its neighbors, and that figure includes enormous disparities between whites and blacks, and between urban and rural black South Africans. Inequality between white and black within South Africa is four times greater than in the U.S. There are enormous demands to address this internal apartheid deficit.

Working together will not be easy. The threat of competition for scarce resources could easily aggravate inherited inequalities and tensions.

Fortunately, most Southern African policy-makers, civic leaders and community groups are committed to finding new regional solutions, including people-to-people initiatives to reverse economic and social decline.

The new Southern Africa, moreover, has many positive experiences to build on. There is the culture of problem-solving from the recent transition in South Africa, and the long history of grassroots mobilization and resistance. There is also a solid record of achievement elsewhere in the region.

Despite policy failures by governments and massive war destruction, SADC managed to maintain the region's network of ports and rails. The region has experience in sharing agricultural research, connecting electricity grids for rural electrification and promoting regional environmental controls. In health, education, and services for marginalized rural people, there are models of success spread throughout the region.

For example, in 1992 Mozambique—at the end of more than 15 years of war—95 percent of children under two years old in the capital city Maputo were fully vaccinated, a percentage higher than New York City! Despite the war, a small efficient governmental water program provided over two million rural Mozambicans with new access to safe water.

Southern Africa is not without its failures and conflicts. But from grassroots organizations to elected officials, thousands of initiatives promise a brighter future. The people of the region have achieved independence and survived one of history's most destructive decades. They are now looking forward to a period of peace and stability during which they can forge their Southern African identity and build a future for their children.

GOING HOME

*When I go back, I will continue my bakery.
My mother is still alive back home, and I
will now be able to look after her.*

Mozambican refugee in Zimbabwe,
planning to use her new business skills learned in exile.

As dawn breaks, the sound of buses starting up brings the camp to life. It is a special morning for 900 refugees who are returning home to Mozambique from Zimbabwe. At the border post they pass right through, for immigration formalities were completed ahead of time. In Mozambique, district committees await their arrival to provide basic tools and seeds.

Many refugees in Malawi have returned entirely on their own—sending one or two relatives ahead to verify peaceful conditions and availability of land. As word comes back, the rest of the family follows. Local non-governmental organizations (NGOs), along with international agencies, supplement their food supplies until the harvest.

Hundreds of thousands of refugees returned to their lands in time to plant essential crops in the first year following the peace treaty, and the total area of food crops increased by 10 percent in the 1993/94 growing season. Despite continued need for food aid due to delayed rains, most Mozambicans are again growing their own food.

Even in homecoming, there are emotional scars as well as material damage. In Mozambique alone, for example, an estimated 250,000 children were orphaned or separated from their families by the war. Thousands of child soldiers had been kidnapped and trained by the South African-backed rebel group Renamo.

Programs supported by several NGOs are actively involved in tracing families and reuniting children with relatives. Socio-drama based on traditional ceremonies is helping some children to come to terms with the violence they had participated in. The vast majority of homeless children have been absorbed by extended families or village communities, instead of being isolated in orphanages.

As in Southern Africa, so too in the U.S., millions of children are still growing up in an atmosphere of violence, if not from war then from the criminal violence of the streets. In finding the wisdom to heal these wounds, it is not necessarily the richest society that has the most to teach.

SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES

Southern Africa remains awash in arms. Absolutely essential for the region's viability is the successful demobilization of ex-combatants in South Africa, Mozambique and Angola as well as reduction of the size of the armies in Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Unemployed young people with ready access to arms are easy recruits for street gangs which perpetuate insecurity—in ways familiar to U.S. cities.

Zimbabwe and Namibia offer the region different successful examples of conversion of ex-hostile combatants into an integrated army. Zimbabweans are

*The wounds you cannot
see are the most painful.*

Nelson Mandela, 1994 visit to Robben Island

training Mozambicans from opposing sides into a single army. Namibia has begun converting its military expenditures into education and health care. A major source of funds for social investment in South Africa will come from cuts in the massive defense budget.

The success of integration of former enemies into one army depends on establishing a new culture within the military, in which protection of civilians and accountability to civilian control are uppermost. Successful demobilization depends on providing economic opportunities for ex-soldiers, so that they do not have to pick up their guns to survive. The complex task of downsizing the military after war, whether in Southern Africa or the U.S., has to involve non-governmental as well as government initiatives.



Antonio Madero / AP

As Southern Africa moves further into the post-apartheid era, its industrial production needs to shift towards better meeting the basic needs of the majority of its people.

In urgent need of international assistance as well as local initiative is the problem of millions of land-mines, which, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, may perpetuate destruction well into the next century. In Mozambique there are 32 different types of anti-personnel mines from 14 countries. Most of the mines in Angola are "Made in the USA."

International awareness of this issue is growing. While a 1992 U.S. statement claimed that mines in Angola were "too small a problem for us to get involved," a 1994 recommendation from USAID proposed giving high priority to technical assistance for mine removals. An international campaign calling for a permanent ban on land mines is demanding that the countries which produced mines (e.g., Britain, Belgium, China, Germany, Italy, Portugal, South Africa, USA, former USSR) should contribute to the cost of their removal.

In Mozambique, while several UN projects have been slow to get under way, a Norwegian NGO has trained over 300 Mozambicans in mine clearance. Even in Angola, a German group has worked with Angolans in mine-clearing in areas currently free from combat.

And Mozambicans have joined in the international campaign to ban land-mines. "We are getting 400 signatures a day," a disabled Mozambican told a reporter visiting Tete, a provincial capital in central Mozambique.

REGIONAL SOLUTIONS FOR REGIONAL PROBLEMS

Nelson Mandela, in a recent article in *Foreign Affairs*, stressed that "Southern Africa will only prosper if the principles of equity, mutual benefit and peaceful cooperation are the tenets that inform its future." He pledged that "democratic South Africa will, therefore, resist any pressure or temptation to pursue its own interests at the expense of the sub-continent."

South Africa's new leaders are serious about building a new relationship with the region. In practice, however, much still depends on the old apartheid bureaucracy and private South African business, overwhelmingly in the hands of whites.

Unemployment is a massive problem in South Africa and throughout the region; already there has been tension between South Africans and immigrants from Southern Africa and elsewhere on the continent. Some analysts see South Africa and its neighbors soon facing the same problems faced by the U.S. and its neighbors to the south: conflicts over immigration, the drug trade, environmental standards, and messy military interventions.

How to manage trade and immigration, how to work together to police the criminal trade in drugs and arms, how to plan joint projects in water, electricity, agriculture and wildlife—all require complex negotiations involving both governments and businesses. In order to insure accountability, debate on these issues must also involve the public throughout the region.

There are different perspectives on handling regional issues. One tendency, favored by much of the South African business community, officials of the previous government and many Western policymakers, is for South Africa to concentrate on its domestic problems. As South Africa grows and solves its problems, they say, it could be an "engine" for the rest of the continent. Free-market forces and ad-hoc arrangements with other countries could enable South Africa's success to "trickle-down" to its neighbors.

But grassroots groups and most African leaders say that relying on trickle-down alone would be a disaster for all but the most powerful economic actors. Trade deals that don't benefit both parties would build up resentment. Free trade without protection for workers would make it easier for employers to play workers from different countries against each other.

If the "business-as-usual" perspective prevails, the tendency will be for South Africa to play hardball in using its economic clout with its neighbors and to develop preferential bilateral relations with selected partners. Instead, notes the ANC's Macro-Economic Research Group, a sustainable program for regional cooperation must be pro-active and consultative.

This requires that South Africa become a good regional citizen within SADC. Governments must involve a range of key constituencies in both formulation and execution of regional programs.

There is much scope for expanding mutually beneficial trade within the region, for example. But simply adopting free trade would allow stronger South African companies to crowd out promising manufacturing ventures in other countries. When trade deals require economic adjustments, moreover, there



Zimbabwe ranks number one in Africa in the percentage of girls reaching fifth grade: 93 percent. This is only one percent behind the 94 percent rate of the United States.

must be plans to ensure that working people and the poor are not victimized.

Joint management of electricity grids, river resources, wildlife reserves and the combat against AIDS are imperative. Illegal as well as legal migration across borders, and smuggling, also demand coordinated policies. Renewed conflict anywhere in the region—and even in more distant African countries—will produce new refugee flows. Unilateral or bilateral solutions to these issues are unlikely to be effective.

The SADC model of regular consultation among both top officials and working-level officials does not guarantee that problems will be solved. But at minimum it gives a forum for sharing information and *carrying on debates in a climate of mutual respect.*

Kaire Mbuende, formerly deputy minister of agriculture in Namibia, and now the new executive secretary of SADC, stresses that cooperation must be multi-faceted. It must include market integration, he says, but markets cannot be the primary basis for integration. There must be continued development of a regional identity, and consultation among officials not only on economic and development issues but also on security and conflict resolution.

Inter-governmental institutions such as SADC can provide part of the framework for cooperation. Even more, the hope for success lies in a wide range of people-to-people regional networks.

In recent years SADC has sponsored regional meetings of non-governmental organizations as well as private business groups. Groups themselves have taken the initiative for regional consultations and regular networking on common problems. There is an active and growing dialogue across borders. Its continued growth is vital for holding governments accountable.



Africa Today / Impact Visuals

MAKING SURE OF FOOD AND WATER

The majority of Southern Africans remain dependent on rain for their livelihood. The amount of food varies drastically with the season. When drought hits, dinner is provided only if sufficient grain has been stored or if women can gather wild tubers or fruits.

SADC has emphasized achieving greater food security by diversification of small-holders' output, promotion of rural storage and processing, and income generation, such as carpentry and construction work. In many instances, small-holder agriculture is more efficient than large commercial farms, which in South Africa and elsewhere in the region received

Zimbabwe, the "bread basket" of Southern Africa, is generally an exporter of grain and plays a key role in efforts towards greater regional self-sufficiency in food supplies.

WATER, A PRECIOUS COMMODITY

Flushing a toilet once in the U.S. uses up more water than many rural Southern Africans have for all domestic uses for an entire day.

A woman (traditionally the water carrier) often spends one-third of her time and energy simply fetching water. She may travel as much as several miles to fill her bucket and carry the 50-pound load back home on her head, just to give the family water for drinking, cooking, bathing and washing clothes.

Compound that scene with drought, which occurs somewhere in the region each year, and you

have a crisis. Yet, despite the worst drought of the century in 1992, there were no human deaths directly due to famine or thirst. Diarrhoeal diseases spread, due to poor water quality, while insufficient water meant poor hygiene. But people survived!

How? Dry shallow wells were deepened and protected to provide safe water. One indigenous NGO helped 100,000 people improve their wells in just two years. As needed, deeper boreholes for pumping water were drilled, with international assistance. In urban areas, voluntary water rationing was common.



Southern Africa has the capacity to produce enough food for all its people. However, international policies and institutions need to support African development initiatives within the context of the global economy.

preferential subsidies from white-minority and colonial governments.

Much of the region is dry. Due to irregular rainfall patterns, few areas are exempt from the threat of failed crops. But even in the worst years some areas do well. Some countries, such as Zimbabwe, can normally accumulate surpluses.

With proper planning and regional coordination, surplus food stocks can buffer the impact of drought. Zimbabwe can provide grain to food-deficit Botswana and Namibia. Over the long run, South Africa is ex-

pected to need substantial food imports from its neighbors; Zambia and Mozambique have significant potential for increased production.

Promoting regional solutions, however, implies planning and coping with obstacles such as dumping of subsidized food in the region by the U.S. and Europe, which deprives Southern Africa of an estimated \$350 million a year in regional trade. Powdered milk imports from Europe, for example, have reduced exports by the Zimbabwe dairy industry to its natural markets in neighboring countries. Food aid from Western countries, perversely, can undercut local farm prices and impede long-term food security.

The pattern of land ownership in South Africa is grossly unequal; similarly, *only a few thousand* commercial farmers in Namibia and Zimbabwe still control almost 50 percent of the land. In Mozambique, privatization is opening up much farmland to takeovers by big foreign companies. Throughout the region, women have no secure tenure over land, even where formal legal codes have been rewritten.

There is little chance of sustainable agricultural development and food security unless these problems are addressed. While governments struggle with the economic and political obstacles to advancing on these fronts, many NGOs work closely with rural communities in assisting women, who produce 70 percent of the food, to increase production, acquire credit and sustain the environment.

Demand for the region's scarce water is rising, not only for agriculture but for industry and expanding urban areas. Several major transnational water schemes are under way, including a Lesotho project expected to produce over two billion cubic meters primarily for South Africa. SADC pioneered the first regional study to coordinate management of the Zambezi river, and the first regional protocol on shared watercourses in the region was adopted in 1994.

Such macro-level coordination is being supplemented by a host of small-scale projects designed to minimize land degradation, increase water-table recharging, and promote more efficient use of water. Propagation of drought-resistant seeds, reforestation and reduction of the use of wood-fuel are just a few examples.

STILL NO PEACE IN ANGOLA

In one Southern African country, neither children nor adults can return home and begin to heal the wounds, because war continues. In Angola, after internationally applauded elections in September 1992, election loser Jonas Savimbi led his movement, Unita, back to war. His army, boosted by South Africa and the U.S. during the previous decade, had failed to demobilize as required by the May 1991 Angolan peace agreement.

In 1993, the mortality rate from war and starvation in Angola was estimated at 1000 per day; two to three persons per day were victims of land mines. While the media announced airlifts of casualties from Bosnia to European hospitals, and later watched the agony of Rwanda, most Americans heard hardly a word about Angola.

The international community failed to put effective pressure on Savimbi to stop the war, and much of Angola is still only sporadically open to relief supplies. With South Africa's freedom it is now possible that the channels for arms and fuel for Savimbi will be squeezed, and that a new peace treaty will be signed. But unless the world helps to put serious pressure for peace, and joins in with reconstruction, this deadly war may continue on and on.

RENEWING THE ENVIRONMENT

Absolute poverty is not only a threat to democracy but to the environment. The very poor often do not have alternatives to felling trees, planting on riverbanks, or committing other acts which harm the environment. In Zimbabwe, for example, the gov-

ernment has largely ignored the recent increases in the number of poor people illegally panning for gold in rivers. The resulting gullies hasten erosion.

The environmental costs of the wars have also been high. Internally displaced persons seeking firewood have deforested a 75-kilometer radius around Maputo, Mozambique. By 1992 there were three times more people in Maputo than it could support, resulting in pollution and dumping of tons of raw sewage into the ocean. Luanda, in Angola, is even worse.

South African-backed groups (Unita in Angola and Renamo in Mozambique), along with South African military men and other ivory smugglers, destroyed much of the elephant population of these two countries. Regional and global smuggling networks, now turned to drugs and arms as well, thrive on corruption and poverty.

Addressing environmental issues like these requires both government cooperation across borders and grassroots collaboration at the local level. Local people will only join in protecting wildlife and other natural resources when they themselves benefit from doing so.

In Zimbabwe, the government's Campfire program for wildlife management is designed to give greater control back to the villagers. Revenue from tourism goes to the local community rather than only to the central government and foreign hotel conglomerates.

Indigenous NGOs are also assisting local communities in reducing environmental degradation. Groups are teaching small farmers, for example, to intersperse selected plants for control of pests, water conservation, and sustaining nutrients in the soil. South African civic groups and labor unions are actively organizing against industrial polluters of air and water.

MAKING DEMOCRACY REAL

The social legacy of apartheid requires immediate housing, education, jobs—based on broad consultation of all the people. But South Africa, watch out, you are the only government on the continent now talking about jobs, education, health care. The rest of us are talking structural adjustment [required by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank]—which is anti-people, anti-education, anti-health, and anti-jobs.

Julius Nyerere, 1994, past-President, Tanzania

The new Namibian constitution (1990) and South Africa's interim constitution (1994) have been widely praised as democratic models. Both constitutions fully protect individual rights, such as the freedoms of speech, assembly, and religion found in the U.S. Bill of Rights. But they also go beyond that. Their bills of rights also enshrine social rights, such as equal rights of women and children, and the right of all to basic education. South Africa guarantees children's access to "basic nutrition and basic health and social services."

In so doing they parallel a growing worldwide consensus that every country has the obligation to address the full range of human rights issues.

Through elections in May 1994, Malawians ousted the long-lived dictatorship of Hastings Banda. Mozambicans hope that their October election will mean continued peace. In December, Namibia is holding national elections on schedule five years after independence. In 1995 Zimbabwe holds its fourth multi-party election since independence in 1980.

But elections in themselves are only part of the picture, guaranteeing neither stability nor real democracy. Stability also depends on assurance that minority parties, regions or ethnic groups will not suffer discrimination. Real democracy requires both governments that can deliver grassroots benefits and non-governmental groups that can hold them accountable when they don't.

The liberation struggles in Southern Africa emphasized the importance of education for all and primary health care. Tanzania, Mozambique and Zimbabwe all implemented exemplary primary health care plans, incorporating maternal-child health and preventive measures. Tanzania had reached 100 percent attendance of children in primary school; Mozambique significantly reduced illiteracy.

Not only the wars but also structural adjustment programs (SAPs) imposed by the IMF, the World Bank and individual foreign donors have destabilized these



Zambia, Tanzania, Lesotho and Zimbabwe were all cited by the United Nations

Children's Fund (UNICEF) for treating over 75 percent of childhood diarrhoea cases with Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT), the method most recommended by the World Health Organization. Most developing countries are only able to treat 38 percent on average. In the U.S., where ORT is not widely known or used, the estimated cost of inappropriate treatment by drugs and hospital admissions comes to more than \$1 billion a year.



Women, who make up the backbone of the agricultural and micro-enterprise sectors in many African countries, also need training in new skills.

achievements. Such programs typically impose budget cuts, devaluations and other macroeconomic measures without regard for their effect on living conditions or long-term development prospects.

Primary school enrollments in Zambia, for example, have declined from 96 percent in 1985 to 85 percent in 1992; the 100 percent enrollment in Tanzania declined to 73 percent. The Deputy Minister of Health called the Zimbabwe health system a 'national disaster,' after only three years of charging fees for primary health care, instead of providing it free as in the 1980s.

Economic conditions in Southern Africa, as throughout the world, make some belt-tightening necessary. The question is whose belt gets tightened. Creating favorable conditions for market expansion is a prerequisite for long-term economic advance. Those conditions, however, must include real opportunities for the majority to participate in the economy. Sustainable democracy and economic growth both depend on investing in human development.

The agenda is enormous. In rural Southern Africa where the majority live, 60 percent of the population live below national poverty datum lines, not only in war-torn Angola and Mozambique but also in relatively prosperous Botswana and Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, the minimum wage pays for less than half the cost of a basic basket of food for a family of four. Within South Africa itself, over 70 percent of the Gross Domestic Product is produced within the industrialized area around Johannesburg; some rural homeland areas are as poor as anywhere else in the region.

For governments to be responsive to the people as well as to advice and pressure from outside donors

and financial institutions, there must be active, independent and diverse non-governmental groups, who can put forward different perspectives not only during elections but also afterwards.

Whether the legacy of inequality is addressed, both within South Africa and within the region, will depend on the vitality of such networks as well as on governmental institutions. Economic desperation and unrestrained competition is pushing many to search for quick bucks through speculation and corruption.

But there is also an emerging culture of problem-solving, recognizing the need both for private initiative and for collective organizing for grassroots and wider public interests. Journalists across the region have set up the Media Institute for Southern Africa, with headquarters in Namibia, to protect independent media from threats both from government censorship and from commercial media conglomerates. Trade unions have met regionally to promote common standards for workers. Environmental groups are exchanging information on a regular basis. Women's organizations are comparing notes on the traditional and colonial legal codes and customs which deprive them of their rights.

In Southern Africa and in the U.S., people are confronting today's new problems while still living under the shadow of the injustices of the past. Communities here and there can benefit from mutual support and learn from each other's failures and successes.

In today's interdependent world, none of us can afford to go it alone. Just as the world joined in to end official apartheid, so the international community needs to join in now to help bury its legacy of inequality and underdevelopment. ■

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SOUTHERN AFRICA
A New Vision

BUILD ON SUCCESS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: GET INVOLVED AND MAKE A DIFFERENCE!!

- 1. Learn more about Africa**, through books, videos and films, magazines, computer networks and organizations which provide regular information and updates about the Southern Africa region. Check the resource lists in the SAEC organizing packet. To get your copy, see ordering information below.
- 2. Help others learn about Africa.** Involve your church, civic group, school, office, family and friends. Show them a video about African realities. Give them a book by a Southern African author. Create an educational event in your community. Invite Africans in your community, or those who have lived and worked in Africa, to speak about their experiences.
- 3. Contact your local newspaper, radio and television stations** to let them know that you want to see and hear more about Africa, from a variety of sources. Emphasize that you want to hear positive stories coming out of the region, as well as balanced analysis of problems and challenges. Identify people in your community who have some connection to Africa and ask your local paper to write about their experiences. The SAEC organizing packet includes more ideas about how you can help influence media coverage of Africa.
- 4. Write or call your congressional representative and key administration officials** to let them know that you care about Africa! You can start by signing and sending the "I Care About Africa" postcard included in the SAEC organizing packet and getting others to do the same.
- 5. Become a member of an organization which supports African development initiatives.** Many of the organizations sponsoring and endorsing the SAEC welcome members (see list on back of this sheet) and provide them with newsletters, action updates and other means of staying informed and involved.
- 6. Volunteer or study in Southern Africa, or for a U.S. organization working on African issues.** Living, working or studying in Southern Africa are among the best ways to understand the region — its people, its potential and its problems. There are many programs which help U.S. citizens find work and study opportunities in Africa. Closer to home, most of the SAEC members also welcome volunteers. Many of these already have or are developing national membership networks. Just call or write to them for more information.
- 7. Sponsor an African exchange student or intern in your community.** Host a student from Africa or help to arrange for a Southern African to intern in your business or community. Organize a sister city or sister community project (see resource lists for details).
- 8. Make a donation to an organization which sponsors or supports African self-help development initiatives.** See the back of this sheet for suggestions.
- 9. Order your copy of the Southern Africa Educational Campaign's kit for organizers**, which includes *Southern Africa: A New Vision* and many other useful education materials and resource lists. The kits are \$5.00 each. *Southern Africa: A New Vision* can also be ordered separately at the following prices: \$1.25 each for 1-10 copies; \$1.00 each for 11-100 copies; \$.75 each for 100-500 copies; \$.60 each for more than 500 copies.

JUST CALL, FAX OR SEND YOUR ORDER TODAY to: Southern Africa Educational Campaign, Tel. (301) 608-2400, Fax (301) 608-2401 or c/o The Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Suite 112, Washington, DC 20002.



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National Council of Negro Women* ‡
1001 G Street - Suite 800
Washington DC 20001
Phone (202) 628-0015
Fax (202) 628-0233

Oxfam America* ‡
26 West Street
Boston MA 02111
Phone (617) 482-1211
Fax (617) 728-2594

Southern Africa
Information Access*
3812 Fulton Street NW
Washington DC 20007-1344
Phone (202) 337-8554
Fax (202) 337-8911

Umtapo we Thembalethu* ‡
3367 18th Street NW
Washington DC 20010
Phone (202) 462-4055
Fax (202) 862-2613

United Methodist Church, General
Board of Church and Society
100 Maryland Avenue NE
Washington DC 20002
Phone (202) 488-5600
Fax (202) 488-5619

U.S. Committee for UNICEF
331 East 38th Street
New York NY 10016
Phone (212) 686-5522
Fax (212) 779-1679

World Vision ‡
919 West Huntington Drive
Monrovia CA 91016
Phone (818) 357-7979
Fax (818) 303-7651

World Wildlife Fund ‡
1250 24th Street, NW
Suite 500
Washington, DC 20037
Phone (202) 293-4800
Fax (202) 293-9211

ENDORERS

American Baptist Churches ‡
110 Maryland Avenue NE
Suite 511
Washington DC 20002
Phone (202) 544-3400
Fax (202) 544-0277

American Friends Service
Committee ‡
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia PA 19102
Phone (215) 241-7150
Fax (215) 241-7026

Baptist World Alliance
6733 Curran Street
McLean VA 22101-6005
Phone (703) 790-8980
Fax (703) 893-5160

Church of the Brethren ‡
Washington Office
110 Maryland Avenue NE - Box 50
Washington DC 20002
Phone (202) 546-3202
Fax (202) 544-5852

Church World Service ‡
110 Maryland Avenue NE
Washington DC 20002
Phone (202) 543-6336
Fax (202) 543-1297

Community Action International
Alliance ‡
110 Maryland Avenue NE - Suite 505
Washington DC 20002
Phone (202) 547-2640
Fax (202) 546-1545

Constituency for Africa ‡
1030 15th Street - Suite 340
Washington DC 20005
Phone (202) 371-0588
Fax (202) 371-9017

D.C. Student Coalition Against
Apartheid and Racism ‡
P.O. Box 18291
Washington DC 20036
Phone (202) 483-4593
Fax (301) 459-4998

Embassy of Swaziland
3400 International Drive NW
Washington DC 20008-3006
Phone (202) 362-6683
Fax (202) 244-8059

Friends Committee on National
Legislation ‡
245 2nd Street NE
Washington DC 20002
Phone (202) 547-6000
Fax (202) 547-6019

Investor Responsibility
Research Center ‡
1775 Massachusetts Ave, NW
Suite 600
Washington DC 20036
Phone (202) 234-7500
Fax (202) 332-8570/3

Islamic African Relief Agency - USA
P.O. Box 7084
Columbia MO 65205
Phone (314) 443-0166
Fax (314) 443-5975

Lutheran Office for
Governmental Affairs
122 C Street NW
Washington DC 20001
Phone (202) 783-7507
Fax (202) 783-7502

Maryknoll Sisters ‡
Maryknoll NY 10545-0311
Phone (914) 941-7575, ext. 5706
Fax (914) 923-0733

National Council for
International Health ‡
1701 K Street NW - Suite 600
Washington DC 20006
Phone (202) 833-5902
Fax (202) 833-0075

Organization of Rural Associations
for Progress
16 Boone Avenue
Richmond, Bulawayo
Zimbabwe

PACT
1901 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington DC 20006
Phone (202) 466-5666
Fax (202) 466-5669

Save the Children - U.S.
54 Wilton Road
Westport CT 06880
Phone (203) 221-4000
Fax (203) 454-3914

Southern Africa Network of ELCA ‡
1821 West Congress Street
Chicago IL 60608
Phone (312) 421-5513
Fax (312) 421-5762

TransAfrica ‡
1744 R Street, NW
Washington DC 20009
Phone (202) 797-2301
Fax (202) 797-2382

United Church of Christ ‡
110 Maryland Avenue NE
Washington DC 20002
Phone (202) 543-1517
Fax (202) 543-5994

Young Women's Christian
Association (YWCA) ‡
624 9th Street - 2nd Floor
Washington DC 20001
Phone (202) 628-3636
Fax (202) 783-7123

* Steering Committee

‡ Membership organizations