

WASHINGTON NOTES ON AFRICA

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WOA's Thirtieth Anniversary: *A luta continua*

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We began, in 1972, committed to work for legislation in support of the liberation struggles in southern Africa. By December our first Executive Director, Ted Lockwood, had launched a campaign to restore US compliance with international sanctions against then-Rhodesia through the repeal of the "Byrd amendment." (The effort failed in a 1974 vote, but the campaign was ultimately successful in 1977, with the advent of the Carter administration.) In WOA's early years we successfully opposed CIA intervention in Angola, and helped to secure the first sanctions against South Africa in 1978.

We will not, here, try to provide a history of WOA. Though sad for our Executive Director, trained as an historian, to admit, there is just too much in our current advocacy agenda to permit us the "luxury" of a good dose of historical research. Still, it may be of interest for us to highlight our origins.

It was an informal operation in our early days. In the 1960s the American Committee on Africa (ACOA)—based in New York—had established a Washington office, but it closed in 1967. At a conference on southern Africa in March 1972, representatives of four church denominational agencies undertook to re-establish a Washington-based office for work in solidarity with the struggles in southern Africa, and shortly thereafter Lockwood began on a voluntary basis, without much structure and even less money.

Five organizations "sponsored" WOA initially: ACOA, the Office of Public Citizenship of the Episcopal Church, the Board of World Ministries of the Presbyterian Church USA., the Board of World Ministries of the United Church of Christ, and the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church.

Despite close ties to the churches, WOA was not established as a religious organization. Rev. George Houser, the Executive Director of ACOA (1955-81), recalled that "the main purpose of [WOA] grew out of ACOA's: to back up the aspirations of the African people for freedom.

(Continued on page 2)

*Voices from our
past:*

*"We count on the
Washington
Office on Africa to
clearly articulate
our concerns
regarding US
policy toward
Africa."*

*Rev. Jose Chipenda,
then General Secretary,
All Africa Conference of
Churches*

*"The Washington
Office on Africa
has been at the
forefront of the
struggle for
majority rule in
southern Africa.
As the oldest
Africa lobby in
Washington, it has
been an important
resource for
policy makers
on Capitol Hill."*

Rep. Ron Dellums

WOA's thirtieth: *A luta continua*

(Continued from page 1)

For many churches and as an ordained minister for me individually the organization represented an extension of religious commitment, but that was not the thrust."

WOA from the outset claimed a diverse constituency. Africa's constituencies were not limited by race, ethnicity, religion or elite policy-making circles, WOA maintained, and neither should WOA's. According to a 1993 Ford Foundation study, "there continues to be a racial divide in [the Africa advocacy] field, mirroring that of the larger society.... Among the leadership organizations on Africa, only Africa News Service, WOA and the ACOA have truly racially diverse staff, Boards and constituencies."

In 1978 WOA established an educational affiliate, the Washington Office on Africa Educational Fund, to develop materials on the liberation struggle in southern Africa. The name changed to the Africa Policy Information Center in 1991. The two shared the same staff until 1998, when WOA and APIC negotiated a very amicable separation.

At this stage in our history, WOA is an ecumenical organization in the classic sense, with our Board consisting of official representatives from our sponsoring national churches. Even so, WOA remains keen to work in solidarity with others, especially through the Advocacy Network on Africa. Our supporters, and the activists who engage especially in our Rapid Response Network of action alerts, come from both within and without the churches.

With President Mandela in power in 1994, WOA realized that its own agenda would naturally evolve in post 1994 Africa advocacy. As regular readers will know, our recent Millennial Campaign for Africa directed considerable attention to economic justice issues—trade, aid and debt—together with health—particularly HIV/AIDS—and peace and reconciliation, continent-wide.

In a difficult political climate, much remains for us all. We can celebrate by continuing the struggle.

A luta continua.



from WOA... with thanks

We acknowledge, with deep gratitude, the many who have contributed to WOA in a rich variety of ways. Though perhaps unnamed here: *Thank you!* Here we cite the presidents of our board and its predecessor structure (a steering committee), and our executive directors:

Chairperson, Steering Committee

George Houser, 1972-1973

Everett Francis, 1974

Larry Henderson, 1975

Chester Marcus, 1976-1977

President, Board of Directors

Mary Jane Patterson, 1978-1984

Ted Hayden, 1985-1986

Ralston Deffenbaugh, 1987-1988

Archie LeMone, 1989-1990

Ben Chavis, 1990-1993

Dan Hoffman, 1994-1997

Barbara Green, 1997-1998

Nico Gourdet, 1998-1999

Mark Brown, 2000-2001

Jon Chapman, 2002-

Executive Director

Edgar Lockwood, 1972-1979, 1988-1989

Jean Sindab, 1980-1986

Damu Smith, 1987-1988

Aubrey McCutcheon, 1989-1990

Imani Countess, 1992-1997

Leon Spencer, 1998-

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HIV/AIDS: So what happened to the \$3 billion?

Updated from an article by Emily Bernier,
WOA intern.

On May 27 President Bush signed the *United States Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria Act* (HR 1298) into law. The Act authorizes \$15 billion over the next five years to fight HIV/AIDS and other health crises in developing countries, with \$3 billion for each fiscal year from 2004 to 2008. It calls for \$1 billion in 2004 in support of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. Of the total, \$10 billion is to be "new money" (in other words, not taken from other existing funding).

The financial authorization reflects the pledge President Bush made in his State of the Union address, focusing the \$15 billion on prevention and treatment programs in two Caribbean and 14 African countries. At least that was the original claim; now the White House is less clear. So, how this prioritization affects the rest of Africa, and indeed the world, remains to be seen.

HR 1298 limits the US commitment to the Global Fund by requiring that only one third of all total funds come from the US. Amendments to strengthen US commitment to the Global Fund failed.

The law also includes a provision requiring that one third of the bilateral HIV/AIDS money go to programs that promote abstinence until marriage. How that feature affects support of programs that teach not only abstinence but also "be faithful" and use condoms (the ABCs of prevention programs) may severely limit the direction and effectiveness of aid.

There is a disturbing (though non-binding) comment in the bill that countries with large AIDS populations should accept US food assistance, even if the food is genetically-modified and even if they object.

Happily, Congress did approve an amendment, in support of which we were actively engaged, to provide increased debt relief to highly indebted poor countries, on the basis that high debt payments will counteract health assistance. It provides that annual debt payments of countries

While the figures are not yet final, they fall close to the President's funding request, and most Republicans resist efforts to increase the 2004 commitment. Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-TN) traveled to Africa in August, stating the need to "look at the face of HIV/AIDS and to walk the halls and look at the hundreds of people lined up just waiting for treatment."

Only 50,000 Africans living with AIDS are receiving anti-retroviral drugs, of an estimated need

"How can this be happening, in the year 2003, when we can find over \$200 billion to fight a war on terrorism, but we can't find the money to prevent children from living in terror [of AIDS]? This double standard is the grotesque obscenity of the modern world."

Stephen Lewis, UN Special Envoy for AIDS in Africa
In the *Washington Post*, September 23, 2003

suffering from a public health crisis be no more than five percent of government revenues.

Appropriations: Where's the money?

The US Leadership legislation *authorized* funds. The task now is to *appropriate* them. In July the House and the Senate Appropriation Committees began work on the foreign operations bill for FY 2004, from which most of the global AIDS funds will come. (Some funds also come through Labor, Health and Human Services [LHHS].)

Despite the obvious urgency demanded by the AIDS crisis, and despite the implication that \$15 billion over five years means \$3 billion in 2004, Pres. Bush has asked for less than \$2 billion for the coming year. We calculate a total of around \$1.7 billion, discounting research funds—valuable, of course, but not properly attributable to AIDS programs in Africa and elsewhere.

of 4,100,000. Yet Sen. Frist has refused to fight for more than Pres. Bush's wants, saying we should not "just throw money at the problem."

Well, of course not. But the need is demonstrable, and the Global Fund is a key avenue to meet the need. Despite Sen. Frist's claims that the Fund "hasn't proven itself," this multilateral initiative is widely hailed as the most effective program around. Auditors at the Government Accounting Office have said that the key obstacle the Fund faced was lack of money.

Pres. Bush has only requested \$200 million for the Global Fund in 2004, down from \$350 million last year. In July the House and Senate Foreign Operations subcommittee went above his request, appropriating \$400 million and \$250 million respectively.

(Continued on page 4)

"No condition is permanent"

by Jennifer Davis, Member of the WOA Board
Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa (1981-2000)

*E*ating dinner in the home of very welcoming strangers (a young couple with a tiny new baby), I was answering the conventional questions about my origin and my work with a "light" (suitable for casual Sunday nights) reference to apartheid as a starting point—and was totally confounded by the question: "what is that?" (actually maybe a quite brave admission of ignorance).

All this to say how I am reminded again of the enormous importance of the campaigns of public education that so many of you are involved in—the ones I am closest to, like Africa Action and the Washington Office on Africa, and the many many more.... a list would be silly. My last thirty years tells me great changes are possible. In the seventies and eighties, when the news from South Africa of brutal repression, the beating back of student uprisings, the deaths and disappearances of activists made the Apartheid state seem invincible and US collusion embedded, my colleague Dumisani Kumalo used to come back from his countless organizing trips, to places as far afield as North Dakota, Alaska and Hawaii, with reports of small groups of local citizens determined to change US policy, to cut the links, to impose sanctions. And all those people out there, responding to the education we and others provided, did achieve extraordinary result... helping bring the end of formal apartheid, the ascendancy from cell block to Presidency of Nelson Mandela—you know the story. A friend once sent me a sketch of a Nigerian bus—they carry slogans, mostly religious but sometimes more profound, on their sides—mine read: "No condition is permanent." It's a good slogan—reminds us that oppression can be challenged but also that all victories have to be defended and EXPANDED.



President Marc Ravalomanana of Madagascar (center), with (from left to right) the Rev. Russell Ayers of the Episcopal Church; Fr. Michael Perry, Foreign Policy Advisor to the US Conference of Catholic Bishops; Lida Price of the Synod of the North East, Presbyterian Church (USA); Chris Hennemeyer, Director of Catholic Relief Services; Ray Copson of the Africa Roundtable associated with the Episcopal Diocese of Washington; and Dennis Frado, Director, Lutheran Office for World Community of the ELCA. WOA organized the meeting on behalf of the Presbyterian Church. Photo courtesy Russell Ayers.

AIDS money (continued from page 3)

Some members of Congress have been seeking increases in HIV/AIDS funding. In July, 116 Representatives, led by Rep. Barbara Lee (D-CA) and other members of the Congressional Black Caucus, appealed to the President for 2003 emergency funding that would bring the mark up to \$3 billion. Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY) translated this appeal into an amendment before the House Appropriations Committee, which failed 28-33. On the House floor, Reps. Carolyn Kilpatrick (D-MI), Jim McGovern (D-MA) and Ike Skelton (D-MO) unsuccessfully offered similar amendments. Sen. Richard Durbin (D-IL) tried to increase LHHS funding for global AIDS to \$3 billion; it was rejected. Sen. Robert Byrd (D-WV) asked that \$1.1 billion be transferred from defense to the AIDS initiative; also rejected.

Pressure is now on the Senate to complete their version of the foreign operations appropriations bill. Several senators, including Sens. Patrick Leahy (D-VT), Sen. Tom Daschle (D-SD), Durbin, and others, including some Republicans, are expected to try once more to raise the funding. But there is some doubt now if the bill will even reach the floor.

Affordable treatment

At the end of August the WTO announced agreement providing affordable access to medicine to those poorer countries which lacked the capacity to produce generic drugs, the final sticking point from Doha.

At least that's the claim. The US, always the obstacle to affordable access, has wrapped the agreement in red tape. Whether it ends up bene-fiting African countries facing the AIDS pandemic or not may depend heavily upon Randall Tobias, former Eli Lilly CEO, who is Pres. Bush's nominee to head his global AIDS initiative. Tobias' confirmation will come before the Senate in September.



The Millennium Challenge Account: Where's Africa?

*Edited from a paper
by Sherry-Lee Abrahams of South Africa,
a special WOA intern engaged in research
on US-Africa trade policy*

The Millennium Challenge Account (MCA)—Pres. Bush's initiative announced last year—promises a \$5 billion increase in US development assistance to the world's poorest nations by 2006. What's happened since our last update in Notes in 2002?

First is that the Millennium Challenge Authorization Act (*see HR 1950 for the text*) moved through the House in July and is now attached to foreign relations authorization legislation (§ 925) in the Senate. It establishes a corporation that would be largely independent of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and which would function unilaterally in the global development arena.

Once the MCA has been authorized, funds must be appropriated. Originally the Bush administration sought \$1.6 billion for fiscal year 2004. Cut to \$1.3 billion, it may, with the latest budget pressures, be reduced further. And, there remains the chance that foreign operations appropriations may not even be acted upon this year.

Are African countries even eligible?

For the MCA, the Bush administration breaks the world's developing countries down into three groupings based on per capita income indicators. In the first year, eligibility is limited to those countries that are eligible for funding from the International Development Association (IDA), the World Bank's lending facility for poorest countries, which effectively means a per capita income ceiling of \$875 per year. In the second year and thereafter this pool expands to include all countries with per capita incomes up to \$1,425 per year. In the third year countries with per capita incomes between

\$1,435 and \$2,975 would undergo a separate qualification analysis.

The administration has established an eligibility criteria—just governance, investment in human development, and progression towards market-based eco-

Sub-Saharan African countries eligible to compete for MCA funds in 2004, based upon per capita income as indicator of need	Sub-Saharan African countries eligible for MCA funds in 2004, based upon the Bush administration's criteria
Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo (DRC), Republic of Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tome, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Ghana Lesotho Senegal

Table based upon data from the Brookings Institution Policy Brief #123, September 2003.

nomics reforms—with sixteen determinative benchmarks attached. These standards are applied on a global basis. The result is that most countries in Africa, despite grave poverty, are excluded.

A recent policy briefing paper by the Brookings Institution on the potential impact of the MCA for Africa sug-

gested a way forward, namely to apply the standards regionally. Without such a step, the MCA—touted during Pres. Bush's trip to Africa—will have little meaning to anyone there.

The Brookings study, by Lael Brainard and Allison Driscoll, suggested that the corruption indicator, applied stringently to a country like Kenya, just emerging from more than two decades of authoritarian one-party rule and now confronting corruption, would render a harsh, unfair judgment.

Meanwhile...

Other contentious criteria include a country credit rating and trade policy stance. While understandable that a potential investor would want a guarantee against its investment, here too flexibility is warranted. And the danger that trade policy is judged by a US agenda reflecting narrow self-interest—which defines our current trade policy—keeps us uneasy.

Of course we support wise use of development assistance, but there are avenues that justify flexibility. Our colleagues at InterAction advocate working through humanitarian and development organizations, which have built relationships of trust and respect with African partners. There is a degree of self-interest in their position, but it is a positive way to confront poverty across the continent, rather than in such few places. Advocates have also urged a continued role for traditional aid distributors, including USAID; eligible countries' definition of *their* priorities for MCA funds; and a commitment to including civil society in the process.



A miscellany of Africa-related bills before Congress

Not surprisingly, we give greatest attention to those issues before Congress and the administration that, for good or ill, will have the greatest impact upon Africa. Nevertheless, it is worth noting from time to time other pieces of legislation—some peripheral, some valuable but unlikely to advance through Congress—that have been introduced. Here are some bills before the 108th Congress, compiled by Emily Bernier, a summer intern at WOA from Colby College.

Inheritance rights of African women: Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA) introduced a resolution *Recognizing the importance of inheritance rights of women in Africa* (HConRes 158) in April. It calls for greater attention to be paid to the way in which the denial of women's inheritance rights negatively affects economic development. It requests more HIV/AIDS prevention programs that focus on women, and proposes more support for the Annual Day of Action on Women's Inheritance Rights, developed by the International Human Rights Law Group. The resolution was referred to the House Committee on International Relations.

Sudan: A resolution *Regarding the importance of international efforts to abolish slavery and other human rights abuses in the Sudan* (HRes 194), introduced by Rep. Michael E. Caputo (D-MA), passed the House in July. It calls for the US to support the maintenance of the "Item 9" title given to Sudan by the UN Commission on Human Rights, under which Sudan is required to have a special Rapporteur, a position which was discontinued as of April. The resolution also calls for the US to encourage the UN to consider reinstating sanctions against Sudan. It was especially forceful in stating that the refusal of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to condemn slavery in Sudan "undermines any moral authority that the Commission might seek to exert in other areas."

The Congo Basin Forest: In May Rep. Clay Shaw (R-FL) introduced a bill *To authorize appropriations to carry out the Congo Basin Forest Partnership* (HR 2264), a regional initiative launched by Secretary of State Colin Powell in September 2002. The bill calls for \$18,600,000 to go toward the forest management and conservation project in each of the fiscal years 2004 and 2005. It was referred to the House Committee on International Relations.

Burundi: In April Rep. Donald Payne (D-NJ) introduced a resolution *Concerning the transition to democracy in the Republic of Burundi* (HConRes 154). The resolution calls on the President to significantly increase development and eco-

nomic assistance to Burundi, and urges the President to lift the restrictions that were imposed on Burundi after the 1996 coup. In addition, it urges the President to establish a USAID mission in Burundi that will focus on demobilization programs. The resolution was reported out of the House Committee on International Relations in June.

Food in the Horn: In May Sen. Russell Feingold (D-WI) introduced a resolution *Expressing the sense of the Senate that the international response to the current need for food in the Horn of Africa remains inadequate* (SRes 149). The resolution calls for a review of our commitment to food assistance programs in the Horn and for collaboration with international organizations, other donor countries, and governments in Africa to develop a long-term food strategy. The resolution was agreed to in the Senate.

The African Union: Rep. Gregory Meeks (D-NY) introduced a resolution in March *Concerning the Formation of the African Union* (HRes 155). The resolution calls for the President to encourage domestic and international support of the African Union, and the implementation of NEPAD. The main focus of the resolution is economic growth, and it requests more support for initiatives that strengthen transparent public-private partnerships. In addition, it highlights foreign and domestic private investment as necessary components of economic growth. The resolution has been referred to the House Committee on International Relations.

Fr. John Kaiser's death in Kenya: The investigation into the death of Fr. Kaiser, whose strong criticism of the so-called ethnic clashes in Kenya led many to see his death in 2000 as politically-motivated, will be re-opened. His death stimulated a congressional resolution of condemnation that year (SConRes 146) and a provision for a Fr. John Kaiser Memorial Fund in an appropriations bill (HR 1646) in the last Congress. The Moi regime called it suicide, but the new government of President Mwai Kibaki agreed in April to look into it again.



Board, staff, bishops, and a president...

Since our last update on the *people* in our work at the Washington Office on Africa, we have welcomed to our Board **Angela Balfour** of the Africa Office of the United Church of Christ/Disciples of Christ; **Gaylord Thomas** from the Division for Global Mission of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America; and **Jere Skipper** of the Episcopal Church. Sadly for us, **Clyde Anderson** of the United Methodist Church has left the General Board for Global Ministries, and thus our Board. His encouragement and support has been immense, and we shall miss him. **Tom Hart** of the Episcopal Church has moved on

to DATA, so we continue to relate to him through our shared debt cancellation initiatives.

Our office has become rather quiet recently. In May we bid farewell to **Sylvia Stern** from the Mission Volunteer Program of the United Methodist Church, and in August, to **Lia Testa** of the Lutheran Volunteer Corps. Both have been excellent colleagues, and we wish them well in their new adventures.

Not too quiet, though, as we were joined during the summer by **Emily Bernier** from Colby College and just back from Cameroon; and in September by **Sherry-Lee Abrahams**, a South African working on her MPhil thesis at St. Antony's College, Oxford, with spe-

cial attention to the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

Late last year our Executive Director, **Leon Spencer**, served on a panel at a Phelps-Stokes Fund gathering of some 13 Francophone African government and civil society leaders, on the Millen-

historic African-American college. In June he joined global partners in a course on globalization at the Summer Peacebuilding Institute at Eastern Mennonite University.

In May WOA and the St. Alban's Africa Roundtable hosted **Archbishop Pius Ncube** of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, thanks to the initiative of long-time WOA supporter **Russell Ayers**.

Our Executive Director, attending meetings in Boston in May, traveled to Falmouth to visit with our founding Executive Director, **Ted Lockwood**, whose commitment to Africa remains strong in retirement.

WOA also organized, at the request of our colleagues at the Presbyterian Church USA, a meeting with the President of Madagascar, **Marc Ravalomanana**. (See photo, page 4.)

The very successful Ecumenical Advocacy Days

in February, which WOA co-sponsored, included African partners **Rogate Mshana** of the World Council of Churches and **Yao Graham** of the Third World Network in Ghana as speakers. We were especially pleased that Congresswoman **Maxine Waters** (D-CA), a real friend of Africa, joined us as both speaker and host of our Capitol Hill reception.



Bishop Sumoward E. Harris of the Lutheran Church in Liberia opened the Senate with prayer on September 3rd. Shown with him on the Senate steps are, left to right, **Jackie Maddox** of the Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs (LOGA); **Pr. Robert Allard** of the Good Shepherd Lutheran Church in Woodbridge, VA; **Comfort Freeman** of the Lutheran Church in Liberia; **Bishop Donald Main**, Upper Susquehanna Synod, ELCA; **Pr. Joseph Allison**, also of Good Shepherd Church; **Adrienne Thompson** of Lutheran World Relief; **Pr. Dean Moe** of Grace Lutheran Church in Washington; the **Rev. Leon Spencer**, WOA's Executive Director; **Rev. Mark Brown** of LOGA; and **Nathan Ruby** of the ELCA World Hunger Appeal. Photo courtesy of LOGA.

niun Challenge Account and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and spoke at the Presbyterian Church (USA)'s national conference on HIV/AIDS in New York. At the African Studies Association (ASA) annual meetings in December, he joined **Kathy McNeely** of our Board and **Larry Goodwin** of the Africa Faith and Justice Network in a roundtable discussion on economic justice.

During Black History Month this February, he was invited back to Talladega College in Alabama, where he had taught for sixteen years, to speak at the



**"I will feed them
with justice."**

**Ecumenical
Advocacy Days
for
Global Peace
with Justice**

I will seek the lost, and I will bring
back the strayed, and I will bind up
the injured, and I will strengthen
the weak, but the fat and the
strong I will destroy.
I will feed them with justice.

Ezekiel 34:16

For details and registration information,
visit WOA's website, www.woafrica.org,
or go directly to www.advocacydays.org

March 5-8, 2004

Save the dates!

Come and participate in the second annual ecumenical gathering in Washington, DC, on urgent global issues. Once again we will have an Africa "track," along with tracks on Asia (Korea), Latin America, the Middle East (Israel and Palestine, Iraq), Jubilee and economic justice (debt and trade), and Nuclear disarmament.

The event will offer...

challenging speakers, issue briefings, and advocacy training workshops. Comprehensive briefings will help you prepare for effective visits with your Senators and Representatives or their key foreign policy staff. There will also be common times for fellowship and networking, a keynote address and banquet dinner, and a special ecumenical service of worship for participants and the public.

**Ecumenical Advocacy Days for
Global Peace with Justice**

Co-sponsored by the Washington Office on Africa

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