UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY ANC ARCHIVES German Mission Bonn and Austria RECORDS (1981 – 1994) 76 Boxes, 512 folders

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History

The ANC Mission for the Federal Republic of Germany and for Austria was opened by Tony Seedat in 1981 in Bonn. Although a separate office was not opened in Austria, a letter from Peter Fleissner in Vienna dated 19 November 1980, to Oliver Tambo suggests that the Austrian Chancellor, Mr Kreisky might provide some financial help for that. Austria had sent an agricultural machine and other financial support to the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) and in 1980 three concerts for Abduallah Ebrahim were sold out, but a separate Austrian mission was not considered.

A strong Anti-Apartheid base had been established both in Austria and Germany before the Bonn office opened. Tony spoke German and he was immediately occupied campaigning against a consortium including German, American, British, Swiss, French and Belgian bankers who gave South Africa a \$250 million credit. In an interview with Tony Seedat he related that from the beginning the Mission developed links with Church groups, with Afro-Asian solidarity organisations and that they won over anti-communists. These groups supported the office financially at first and then the Mission began to generate its own income. They produced postcards and posters of children, women and workers as well Indian Mogul art and Masai art, which they sold at meetings with the ANC literature sent from abroad. A poster 'Apartheid is War' became widely known. They sold silver chains and earring with the symbol of the ANC spearman, a popular item which brought a boost to their funds.

Ambassadors of all the embassies in Germany were invited by the ANC Mission to South African National Days, like Women's Day on August 9, and they received donations and assistance from countries such as Sweden. Vast amounts of medicines, educational materials, toys, musical instruments were collected and German visitors and workers were sent to Somafco in Tanzania. The office grew apace. They had 4 rooms with 5 or 6 computers, regular volunteers and a small dedicated staff.

After a year Dr. Aziza Seedat, his wife, joined Tony and her work as a doctor and writer became central to the Mission. She wrote a book '**Medicine under Apartheid**' in German, published by IDAF which sold widely and brought funds to the office. She collaborated with a German writer to produce a book of poetry written by South African women, illustrated by Dumile Feni. It sold out. Among other IDAF publications they were involved in were **Women under Apartheid** and **Workers under Apartheid**. At the same time they arranged for James Phillips (the 'South African Paul Robeson') to go to Germany where for two years he trained The Bremer Choir to sing African songs. The record they cut '**Amandla**', sold in thousands.

The South African Embassy tried to counter the work the Mission was doing, so Seedat appeared on television at least once a month, broadcasting to Germany, Austria and Sweden with "good statistics on poverty and health, and the simple message that racism is bad." As events unfolded with the destruction of Mozambique and Angola he said 'Apartheid is War'. From the beginning the Mission cooperated with the growing Greens movement, addressing conferences all over the country. A peace rally held against South Africa's cross-border raids was attended by 4000 people. They were addressing 10 meetings a week at all of which they mounted exhibitions of photographs, often supplied by Afropix. Slide shows were also popular. Money came into the Mission from 4 or 5 concerts a week. Abdullah Ibrahim gave 30 concerts in Germany which were packed out. Other musicians, Miriam Makeba, Dudu Pokwana, Julian Bahula came as well. A highlight was a concert for Winnie Mandela. 'Music from 5 Continents' an Italian conception, held in Hamburg drew and audience of 100,000.

Oliver Tambo forged links with German business and with Austrian Chancellor Kreisky who called a meeting of the business elite at the Renner Institute for Social Democracy. Kreisky who 'had never had a Black to speak' invited Tambo to do so. He impressed the gathering and became popular in Germany where he was always welcome. We are indebted to Tony Seedat for most of the above information.

At the end of 1989 Seedat had a mild heart attack and left the Mission . The first meetings with Afrikaners took place in Frankfurt and Wuppertal which he attended. On 1st January 1990 Sankie Nkondo was appointed Chief Representative at Bonn. On 2nd February 1990, she received a letter from Professor J Roelofse of the S.A. Embassy in Bonn congratulating her on the unbanning of the African National Congress. However by October 1993 Nkondo's place was taken by Don Ngakane who was dealing with the donation of Nina Hagen's royalties for her song "So Bad" and with the process of closing the Mission prior to the election and after.

The business of the Mission in Berlin in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was for the most part concerned with the South African span and training in East Germany. The office dealt with such cultural events as plays at the Bertoldt Brecht Theatre and



visits by South Africans to the GDR as well as caring for those who needed hospital treatment etc. The Mission was run by Tony Mongale before 1988 and after that by Sindiso Mfenyana until it closed in 1994.

Scope and Content Note

The German Mission papers of the African National Congress are stored in 76 boxes containing 512 folders.

The papers are divided into 11 series: Subject Files, Correspondence, Discussion Papers, Periodicals, Publications, News Clippings, United Nations Documents, Women's League, ANC Memorabilia, Exhibitions and Photographs.

The **Subject Files Series I** is held in 40 boxes containing 276 folders. Boxes 1 – 11 with folders 1 to 72 are ANC generated documents on campaigns, policies, discussions, conference reports and statements **inter alia**. Boxes 12 – 40 contain documents from solidarity organisations, information on meetings and conferences, news of the Mandelas, papers presented to conferences, projects, news of members, e.g. the murder of Dulcie September, sanctions and especially contacts with German organisations and supporters. The **Correspondence Series II** is in Boxes 41 and 44, folders 1 to 37 and consists of letters and faxes between missions, fund-raising appeals, cards, embassy letters, telex and telephone messages.

The **Discussion Papers Series III** in Boxes 45 and 46 has 12 folders. The discussion papers are, among other issues, around agriculture. COSATU, children, sanctions, South Africa's future.

Periodicals, comprising **Series IV**, are in Boxes 47 – 53, in 43 folders. These periodicals comprise some African monthlies, Democracy in Action, Focus on South Africa, Fact Sheets and other Research periodicals.

The **Publications, Series V** is held in Boxes 54 – 58, folders 1 to 37. Most are publications that were banned during the apartheid years, some concerning repression and torture, organisations, Women, Children, the United Nations, the role of the banks etc. The **News Clippings Series VI** in Boxes 59 – 68, folders 1 to 80, dates from 1981 (the murder of Joe Gqabi) to 1993 (Inkatha, negotiations, detentions).

The United Nations Documents Series VII in Boxes 69 to 70, folders 1 to 10 with most from the 1970s and 1980s.

The **Women's League Series VIII** is in boxes 71 and 72, folders 1 to 17. While doing the amendments and additions to the collection, a box with ANC Women's League papers was found marked Germany, which was previously not listed. The papers were as a result sorted thematically, and the series on the Women's League created. Most of the documentation is from the post 1990 period and concerns efforts at re-establishing the League after exile years. It also covers the League's submissions at CODESA.

The **Memorabilia**, **Series IX** are in Box 73 and consist of ANC Memorabilia such as flags, badges and African styled shirts. The **Exhibitions, Series X** are in Box 74 and consist of portable packs of Apartheid's War Against Africa, Mandela's Life in the Struggle, Namibia, and Women under Apartheid. There is an Exhibition on Workers in S.A. in Box 18, folder 123. The **Photographs, Series XI** are in Boxes 75 (i), (ii) and (iii). They comprise a miscellaneous collection, many of which have no uncaptioned.

The Sketches and Posters, Series XII are in oversize box 76 and consists of sketches of ANC school in Mazimbu, SOMAFCO and ANC posters.

Box 1

Series I – Subject Files

- 1. ANC Action Solidarische Welt Projects, 1982
- 2. ANC Anniversaries, 1982-1987
- 3. Department of Arts and Culture, n.d.
- 4. Department of Arts and Culture, 1980 1981
- 5. Department of Arts and Culture, 1982 -1984
- 6. Department of Arts and Culture, 1985 1987

Box 2

- 7. Department of Arts and Culture, 1988 1989
- 8. Department of Arts and Culture, 1990 1994
- 9. Department of Arts and Culture Publications
- 10. ANC Campaigns, 1982 1988, 1991
- 11. ANC Camps Atrocities, 1992

Box 3

- 12. ANC Conferences (1), 1991
- 13. ANC Conferences (2), 1991
- 14. ANCWL 1st National Conference, Kimberley, 24 28 April, 1991 (see also folder 61)
- 15. ANC Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic S.A., 1989
- 16. ANC Cadres and Credo: Right Wing Propaganda Paper, 1987
- 17. ANC Dakawa Development Centre, Vols I-III (Publication), 1984-1990



ANC Discussion Documents, (1) 1986-1990
 ANC Discussion Documents, (2) 1990-1991
 ANC Discussion Documents, (3) 1990-1991
 ANC Discussion Paper on Negotiations, 1989
 ANC Donors Conference, 1986-1991
 ANC Donations, 1982-1983
 ANC-Germany Relations, 1981-1990

Box 5

- 25. ANC Health Dept., Dakawa, SOMAFCO, 1982
- 26. ANC International Affairs Dept. 1986-1991
- 27. ANC International Conference Arusha, 1987
- 28. ANC Interviews, 1986-1992
- 29. ANC Memos/Circulars, n.d., 1984 1989
- 30. ANC National Consultative Conference, Kabwe, 1985
- 31. ANC National Preparatory Committee, 1990

Box 6

- 32. ANC National Negotiations Consultative Forum, 1992
- 33. ANC Papers Nature of South African Struggle, 1981-1984
- 34. ANC Position Papers on Cultural and Academic Boycott, 1989
- 35. ANC Policy Document Draft, 1990
- 36. ANC Policy Documents (1), 1990-1991
- 37. ANC Policy Documents (2), 1990-1993
- 38. ANC Policy Document Advance to National Democracy, 1991

Box 7

- ANC Policy Documents (3), 1990-1992
 ANC Policy Documents (4), 1990-1992
- 41. ANC Policy Documents (5), 1991-1992
- 42. ANC Policy Documents (6), 1992-1993
- 43. ANC Press Statements, 1981-1983

Box 8

44. ANC Press Statements, 1981-1992
45. ANC Projects
46. ANC – SIDA Educational Cooperation, 1988
47. ANC Speeches, 1976-1986
48. ANC Speeches – English and German, 1984- 1985
49. ANC Speeches in Germany, 1986-1987
50. ANC Statements (1), 1984-1987
51. ANC Statements (2), 1989
52. ANC Statements (3), 1989-1991

Box 9

53. ANC Statements (4), 1990-1991
 54. ANC Statements (5), 1992
 55. ANC Statements (6), 1992-1993
 56. ANC Statements (7), 1994
 57. ANC Volunteers, 1985-1986
 58. ANC Women's Conference (1), 1987



60. ANC Women's Congress, Luanda, 1981
61. ANC Women's League Conference, 1991
62. ANC Women's League, 1993-1994
63. ANC Women's Papers (1), 1977-1981
64. ANC Women's Papers (2), 1984-1985
65. ANC Women's Papers (3), 1986-1987
66. ANC Women's Papers (4), 1988-1989

Box 11

67. ANC Women's Section Discussion Paper, n.d.

- 68. ANC Seminar on Women, Children and the Family, 1989
- 69. ANC Workshops, n.d.
- 70. ANC Youth League, 1987-1992
- 71. ANC Youth Conference, Morogoro, 1982
- 72. ANC Youth Section, 1987 1992
- 73. Amnesty International, 1992
- 74. Afrika Verein Hamburg, 1992
- 75. Angola, 1987-1995
- 76. Anti-Apartheid Beweging, 1978-1983

Box 12

- 77. Anti-Apartheid Movement (1), 1982 1986
- 78. Anti-Apartheid Movement (2), 1981 1993
- 79. Anti-Conscription Campaign, 1987-1990

80. Apartheid's War Machine, 1978-1982

- 81. Armed Struggle, 1988-1990
- 82. Association of Ex-Political Prisoners (SA), 1991

Box 13

- 83. AWEPAA, 1992
- 84. AZAPO, 1983-1986
- 85. Banks and South African Government, 1981-1993
- 86. Bremen, n.d.
- 87. Bremen Development, 1984-1985
- 88. Calendar Project, 1992
- 89. Cards/Postcards, n.d. 1989 1990
- 90. Children, n.d., 1988 1989
- 91. Christian Democratic Union of Germany, 1986
- 92. Christianity and the Struggle in South Africa, 1981-1991

Box 14

- 93. The Church and Religion in South Africa, 1987-1989
- 94. The Church: South Africa, 1982 –1983
- 95. The CCB: Civilian Cooperation Bureau, n.d.
- 96. The Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence
- 97. Condolences re Chris Hani (1), 1993
- 98. Condolences re Chris Hani (2), 1993

Box 15

99. Conflict in South Africa – Papers, 1981
100. CODESA, 1991
101. COSATU (1), 1985-1987



102. COSATU (2), 1989-1991 103. COSATU (3), 1990-1992 104. COSATU (4), 1991

Box 17

105. Constitution, 1990

106. CASA Conference: Culture in Another South Africa, 1987

107. Death Row Prisoners

108. Declaration of the OAU Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa on the Question of South Africa, 1989

109. The declaration of the Non-Aligned Movement: The situation in Southern Africa-Belgrade, 1987

110. De Klerk F.W. - Speeches, n.d., 1990 - 1992

111. Democratisation in South Africa, 1991-1992

112. Detainees-Parents Support Committee, 1982

113. Development Cooperation in the Dakawa Refugee Camp, 1982

114. Ebrahim, Ismail: Statement to the Apartheid Court, 1989

115. Economic Means and Political Aids in the Freedom Charter: Problems in Interpretation and Assessment, 1986

116. Economy – ANC

117. Eighth International Congress on Child Abuse and Neglect, 1989

118. Election Manifesto, 1994

119. Elections: Foreign Voting, 1994

Box 18

120. Elections, 1994

121. Electoral Systems - Discussion Document, n.d.

122. Embassies

- 123. Exhibition on Workers in South Africa, 1987
- 124. Evangelische Kirche im Deutschland, 1982

125. FRG Solidarity Conference, 1984

- 126. FES-ANC Relationship, 1980-1983
- 127. Forced Removals

Box 19

128. Foreign Policy Concepts towards Africa, 1982

129. Foundations, 1991-1993

130. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), n.d., 1988 – 1990

131. German Economic Collaboration with South Africa, 1981 –1985

132. German Military Collaboration with South Africa, 1981- 1985

133. Germany – South Africa Relations, 1982-1984

Box 20

134. Govan Mbeki Fellowship Programme, n.d.

135. Government Reforms, 1991-1993

136. Human Rights - Discussion Papers, 1983-1993

137. The Impact of Apartheid, Destabilisation and Warfare on Children in South Africa - Paper, 1987

138. Inkatha, 1982 – 1985

139. ICFTU

140. International Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa, 1987

141. ILO (International Labour Organisation): Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration Concerning

the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa, 1987

142. Interviews with Wally Serote (New Nation) plus Translations, 1989

143. Invitations

144. Jele, Josiah - Interview, 1984

145. Joining the ANC, 1990

Box 21

146. Land Discussion Documents, n.d.

alysis of Nkomati Agreement, 1984

148. Legal Matters, 1990-1991

- 149. Local Governments, n.d.
- 150. Malibongwe Conference Documents (1), 1989
- 151. Malibongwe Conference Documents (2), 1989-1990

Box 22

- 152. Mandela N.R. Visit to Germany, 1990
- 153. Mandela N.R. Speeches, 1961-64
- 154. Mandela N.R., 1990
- 155. Mandela, Winnie Interview, 1982
- 156. Media, 1989
- 157. Medical Survey of Community Health in Oukasia, 1986
- 158. Medico International, 1982-1983
- 159. Minutes of Meeting of Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid, Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence and Soweto Parents Crisis Committee, 1985
- 160. Monitoring, 1992-1993
- 100. Monitoring, 1952-1955
- 161. Naidoo, Phyllis: Le Rona re Batho An account of the Maseru Massacre, 1992
- 162. Namibia Issues (1), n.d.
- 163. Namibia Issues (2), 1981, 1983 1988

Box 23

- 164. Namibia Issues (3), 1989
- 165. Namibia Issues (4), 1990 1992
- 166. Namibia Issues (5), 1993
- 167. National and Olympic Sports Congress of S.A., 1992
- 168. Negotiations Files, n.d.

Box 24

- 169. Ngakane, Don Speeches, 1992-1994
- 170. Nkobi, T.T. Speeches, 1992
- 171. Nkondo, Sankie (Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele) Speeches, 1991
- 172. NGO's and Development in Africa Paper by FES (See Box 19, folder 120), 1990
- 173. Notes Hand-written, 1990-1991

174. Nuclear Collaboration with S.A.- Papers, 1979-1989

175. Nzo, Alfred – Speeches, 1984

176. OAU, 1984-1989

177. Obituaries: Dadoo (see also Box 40, folder 274), Matola 12, Jenny and Katryn Schoon, Mogoerane, Mosololi, Motaung, 1983

Box 25

178. Oil Shipping Research Bureau (1), 1981-1985
179. Oil Shipping Research Bureau (2), 1986
180. Oil Shipping Research Bureau (3), 1987 – 1993
181. PAC, 1982-1988
182. Papers (1), 1977-1984

Box 26

183. Papers (2), 1985-1991
184. Papers on South Africa, 1977-1986
185. Papers – The Church and South Africa (1), 1981-1983
186. Papers – The Church and South Africa (2), 1983-1987

Box 27 187. Papers on the ANC, 1983-1990 188. Papers (3), 1988-1992 189. Papers (4), 1988-1992



191. Papers on South Africa, 1989

- 192. Papers on Regional Perspective, 1990
- 193. Photographs, n.d.
- 194. Photographs/Plan Lay out

Box 28

- 195. Pioneers/Masupatsela, 1986
- 196. Poetry, n.d.
- 197. Politics, n.d.
- 198. Press Statements, n.d.

199. Pretoria/ Groote Schuur Minute, 1990

- 200. ANC Projects Dakawa Development Centre (1), n.d., 1983 1984
- 201. ANC Projects Dakawa Development Centre (2), 1984 1985

Box 29

202. ANC Projects Dakawa Development Centre (3), 1986

- 203. ANC Projects Dakawa Development Centre (4), 1986, 1990
- 204. Papers Progressive Federal Party (PFP) (1), 1983
- 205. Papers Progressive Federal Party (PFP) (2), 1985

Box 30

206. Papers on regional Studies for International Affairs (1), 1984
207. Papers on regional Studies for International Affairs (2), 1984
208. Projects, n.d. – Includes budgets, budget proposals and project proposals
209. Projects (1), 1990 – 1991, 1993/94
210. Projects (2), 1982, 1987 – 1989

Box 31

211. Projects ANC, SA – School Buildings (1), n.d., 1979
212. Projects ANC, SA – School Buildings (2), 1980 – 1982, 1984 – 1985
213. Project Proposals (1) [Maps have been moved to oversized box 76]
214. Project Proposals (2)
215. Project Proposals – sketches
216. Ramaphosa, Cyril – Speeches, 1991 – 1992

Box 32

217. Release Mandela Campaign, n.d., 1980, 1983, 1986 –1988
218. Repatriation, 1991
219. Report of the Dept. of Political Education Workshop: The all-round intensification of struggle in the current situation, 1989
220. Reports, 1981-1991
221. Repression, 1989
222. Right Wing Organisations
223. Sabata, Dalinyebo – Interview, 1981
224. Sanctions (1), n.d.
225. Sanctions (2), 1981 – 1982, 1985
226. Sanctions (3), 1986
227. Sanctions (4), 1987
228. Sanctions (5), 1988-1989

 Box 34

 229. Sanctions (6), 1990-1992

 230. September, Dulcie – Condolences, 1988

 231. Short Stories (1), n.d.

 232. Short Stories (2), n.d.

 233. Sisulu, Walter and Albertina – Biographies, 1982, 1992

 229. Spotember, Ducker, Papers, 1987-1990



235. SOMAFCO, n.d., 1982 - 1983, 1986 [Maps moved to oversized box 76]

- 236. SDAJ (Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeitjugend), 1981-1982
- 237. SPD (Social Democratic Party), n.d., 1980, 1982 1983, 1985 1989
- 238. South Africa, A Country Profile, 1990-1991
- 239. S.A. Economic Research and Training, 1986
- 240. South Africa Visitors, 1983
- 241. SACP, 1983-1992
- 242. South African Development Community (SADC), 1989-1992

Box 36

243. SADF, 1984-1985

244. S.A. - German Cultural Exchange Programme, 1994

245. S.A. – German Submarine Deal, 1986-1990

246. S.A.I.R.R, 1986-1990

247. South Africa - A Land Divided, 1977

248. South Africa, Homelands/Bantustans, 1984-1991

249. South African Literature - Conference in the Protestant Academy, 1987

250. S.A. Literature Conference (First and Second Conferences on South African English Literature), 1986

251. South African Youth, 1992

Box 37

252. South Africa's Military Attacks on the Front Line States (1), n.d., 1982-1984

- 253. South Africa's Military Attacks on the Front Line States (2), 1985 1988, 1992 1993
- 254. South Africa's Police: From Police State to Democratic Policing Paper, 1992

255. South Africa's War Against Children, 1985

256. SWAPO (1), n.d., 1980 - 1983

257. SWAPO (2), 1987 - 1989

Box 38

258. Speeches - Solidarity Concert, 1982

- 259. Speeches Namibia, Zambia, 1984
- 260. Speeches Tambo O.R, 1984-1989

261. Sports, 1968-1992

- 262. Statement of the National Executive Committee of the ANC on Question of Negotiations, 1987
- 263. Summit Meeting of the Front-Line States, Arusha Tanzania, 1984
- 264. Towards a Non-Racial Society: The Role of the Progressive Federal Party, Bonn West Germany Paper, 1985

265. Trade Unions - 1984-1988

- 266. Umkhonto weSizwe- MK, 1982-1986
- 267. UDF, 1983-1987

Box 39

268. United States, 1978-1989

269. Western Countries – Military Collaboration with South Africa, 1978-1993

270. Speeches – Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), 1992

271. Women's Emancipation, 1990-1992

Box 40

272. Women's Struggles - Miscellaneous, 1988-1992

273. Women Under Apartheid (IDAF Folder), 1980-1986

274. Yusuf Dadoo - Obituary, 1983

275. XIX Congress of the Socialist International Conference, 1992

276. South African Passive Resistance Council [Includes *Memo to the United Nations Assembly October 1946; **Reply to the Durban City Council about the treatment of Indians in South Africa 1946]



Series II – Correspondence

- 1. ANC Circulars/Memos, 1983-1988
- 2. ANC Conferences, 1993
- 3. ANC Correspondence (1), n.d., 1981-1984, 1986, 1988
- 4. ANC Correspondence (2), 1983 1985
- 5. ANC Correspondence Letters sent to various bodies, 1983-1991
- 6. ANC Correspondence between Missions, 1985-1989
- 7. ANC Correspondence, Faxes to/from HQ 1992-1995
- 8. ANC Former GDR Correspondence, 1991-1992
- 9. ANC National Fundraising Conference Correspondence, 1985

Box 42

10. ANC Projects (1), 1982-1984
 11. ANC Projects (2), 1990
 12. ANC RWC, 1991-1992
 13. Anti-Apartheid Beweging, 1980-1983
 14. Appeals and Protest – Faxes, 1991
 15. Arnold Beigstraesser Institute Correspondence, 1981-1985
 16. Bremen Solidarity Price, 1987-1988
 17. Cards
 18. EIC, 1994

Box 43

19. Embassies (1), 1978, 1981 – 1986
 20. Embassies (2), 1989 – 1994
 21. Faxes between ANC offices (1), 1989 – 1990
 22. Faxes between ANC offices (2), 1991 – 1992
 23. Faxes between ANC offices (3), 1992 – 1994
 24. Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1987

Box 44

- 25. Foundations, 1989-1994
- 26. In-coming Correspondence, 1992
- 27. Kirchentag Correspondence, 1986-1993
- 28. Faxes, 1985, 1987 1991
- 29. Letters to Mandela from the Children, n.d., 1988
- 30. Mandela N.R Visit to Germany, Correspondence, 1991 1992
- 31. Mandela Visit to Bonn, 1990
- 32. Mandela Visit, 1993
- 33. Miscellaneous with German organizations, 1992 1994
- 34. Otto Beneke Stiftung, 1984-1993
- 35. SPD Correspondence, 1981-1982
- 36. S.A. Ministry of Home Affairs Letter on Subversive Propaganda, 1988
- 37. Telephone Messages, 1985-1989

Box 45

Series III - Discussion Papers

- 1. Agriculture, Food Scarcity and Land Reform, 1990
- 2. COSATU: Background Material for Cosatu International Appeal for Solidarity with the People of Natal, 1990
- 3. Children Papers, 1990
- 4. Discussion Papers, 1984-1993
- 5. Engineering, Sanctions, Computing, Communications, Manufacturing, Building and Construction Papers, 1989
- 6. The French Mixed Economy Experience Paper, 1991
- 7. Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), 1989-1990



- 8. No Peace Under Apartheid, 1984
- 9. Papers on South African Liberation Movements (1)
- 10. Papers on South African Liberation Movements (2)
- 11. The Economic Impact of Sanctions Against South Africa
- 12. Southern Africa's Future, Europe's Role; AWEPAA Conference Papers, 1988-1989

Box 47

Series IV – Periodicals

- 1. African Interpreter, 1986
- 2. Amnesty International, 1989
- 3. Africa Newletter, 1992 1993
- 4. Africa News Report, 1992
- 5. AWEPAA Twin Conference, Lusaka, Harare, 1987-1988
- 6. AWEPAA News Bulletin, 1985 1993
- 7. AWEPAA European Parliament Documents, 1982 1983

Box 48

- 8. AWEPAA Reports, 1989 1990
- 9. Battle-Front: Mayihlane, 1992
- 10. Backgrounder, 1991
- 11. Democracy in Action, 1990-1992
- 12. Development and Democracy Periodical, 1992
- 13. Focus on South Africa, 1992-1993
- 14. Front-File, 1990
- 15. Human Rights Commission, 1992
- 16. The Hungry Earth: A Play by Maishe Maponya, 1981

Box 49

- 17. ICSA Periodicals, 1982-1983
- 18. IDAF Focus, 1982-1993
- 19. Informationsstelle Südliches Afrika (1), 1977, 1979 1980
- 20. Informationsstelle Südliches Afrika (2), 1981
- 21. Informationsstelle Südliches Afrika (3), 1982 1984

Box 50

- 22. Informationsstelle Südliches Afrika (4), 1985 1989
- 23. Informationsstelle Südliches Afrika (5), 1990 1993

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- 24. Inter Nos, 1987-1990
- 25. Land Update, 1991
- 26. Negotiation News, 1992-1993
- 27. Research Education in South Africa, 1990
- 28. Sanctions Publication, 1988-1989
- 29. Sanctions Debate, n.d.
- 30. Searchlight South Africa, 1990
- 31. S.A. Dialogue, 1990-1993
- 32. South Africa Alert, 1989

Box 52

- 33. SACTU, 1976 1990
- 34. Südafrika-Rundbrief, 1977 1979, 1983 1986, 1988 1990
- 35. Southern African Perspective, 1990, 1993

36. Top Secret, 1992



38. UDF News, 1983-1984
 39. Workers Unity, 1982-1983
 40. Work in Progress, 1987

Box 53

41. ZISA - Factsheet (Zimbabwe Institute on Southern Africa) (1), 1990 - 1991

- 42. ZISA Factsheet (Zimbabwe Institute on Southern Africa) (2), 1991
- 43. ZISA Factsheet (Zimbabwe Institute on Southern Africa) (3), 1992

Box 54

Series V – Publications

- 1. The Autobiography of a South African Textile Worker: SACTU Publication, 1988
- 2. Bank Loans to South Africa, 1985
- 3. Black Grahamstown: Agony of a Community, 1986
- 4. Children Under Apartheid, n.d.
- 5. The Church and Apartheid (1), n.d.
- 6. The Church and Apartheid (2), n.d.

Box 55

- 7. Cosatu and the Second National Congress, 1987
- 8. Current Problems of the Southern African Region, n.d.
- 9. E Street, Grahamstown 9 November 1984: An Eyewitness Report of the Violent State of Action in South Africa, n.d.
- 10. Fighting for Apartheid: A Job for Life, n.d.
- 11. Forced Removals, n.d.
- 12. Frederich Ebert Stiftung, n.d.
- 13. Homelands: The Role of Corporations, n.d.

Box 56

- 14. Human Rights and Repression
- 15. Human Rights Update, 1988-1989
- 16. Various Publications, n.d.
- 17. Mother of a Spear: Liberation Poems by S.A. Students of the ANC School, SOMAFCO, 1982
- 18. Namibian Publications, n.d.
- 19. Namibia in Struggle, 1987
- 20. No to Apartheid Executions, n.d.
- 21. Oil Tankers to South Africa, 1980-1981

Box 57

- 22. Peace and Conflict Issues after the Col War, 1992
- 23. A Place Called Dimbaza, 1973
- 24. Privilege, Prejudice and Parties, Lawrence Schlemmer, 1973
- 25. Repression in a Time of Reform, 1984
- 26. Ruling with the Whip, n.d.
- 27. Shell US SA Strategy, [1987]
- 28. South Africa: African Rural Development, 1984
- 29. The South African Disconnection, AAM Publication, 1988

Box 58

- 30. South Africa: State of Fear, 1990-1992
- 31. Subverting Apartheid Education, Information and Culture under Emergency Rule IDAF, n.d.
- 32. Suppressing Apartheid Opponents, 1987-1989
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