# **Guide to the Washington Office on Africa Records**

**RG 105** 



Compiled by Martha Lund Smalley

2000, 2015

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#### Collection Overview

**REPOSITORY:** Yale Divinity Library

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**CALL NUMBER: RG 105** 

CREATOR: Washington Office on Africa

TITLE: Washington Office on Africa Records

**DATES: 1966-1994** 

**PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:** 30 linear feet (66 boxes)

LANGUAGE: English

SUMMARY: Publications, correspondence, reports, statements, and collected material

document the work of the Washington Office on Africa and the issues addressed by its work. The Washington Office on Africa was founded in 1972 to support the movement for freedom from white-minority rule in southern Africa. Its activities have included the monitoring of Congressional legislation and executive policies and actions, as well as the publication of action alerts and other documentation designed to advance progressive legislation and policy on southern Africa. Supported by church bodies and unions, the WOA has worked in partnership with colleagues in Africa, the Africa advocacy community in the United States, and grassroots organizations concerned with various aspects of African affairs.

**ONLINE FINDING AID:** To cite or bookmark this finding aid, please use the following link: https://

hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/divinity.105

# **Requesting Instructions**

To request items from this collection for use on site, please use the request links in the HTML version of this finding aid, available at <a href="https://hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/divinity.105">https://hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/divinity.105</a>.

Key to the container abbreviations used in the PDF finding aid:

b. box

f. folder

#### **Administrative Information**

# **Immediate Source of Acquisition**

Gift of the Washington Office on Africa.

# **Conditions Governing Access**

The materials are open for research.

#### **Preferred Citation**

Washington Office on Africa Records (RG 105), Special Collections, Yale Divinity Library.

# **Processing Information**

Place names were modernized in the description, with the name originally used in the collection material or in an older version of the finding aid in parenthesis: e.g. "Beijing (Peking)" or "Benin (Dahomey)". Alphabetization of files according to the original names used has also been retained.

# Biographical / Historical

The Washington Office on Africa (WOA) was founded in September 1972 as a non-profit, church and labor union-supported organization to work with Congress on southern Africa legislation. WOA began by mobilizing around the issue of repealing the Byrd Amendment passed in 1971, which allowed the United States to break sanctions that had been imposed on Rhodesia. Issues that were the focus of WOA activities included:

legislation related to U.S. covert intervention in Angola passage of 1977 legislation making the U.S. comply with international trade sanctions against Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) a 1978 cut-off of U.S. Export-Import credits to South Africa passage of legislation restricting U.S. support for IMF loans to South Africa passage in the House of Representatives of the 1985 anti-apartheid act prevention of shipments of nuclear materials and technology to South Africa passage of state, local, and institutional divestment of over five billion dollars in public and institutional funds from South Africa U.S. policy toward conflict in Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique comprehensive sanctions against South Africa

WOA was established at the direct initiative of American churches, who felt the necessity for a Washington-based organization able to provide the religious community with up-to-date infomration on U.S. policy in Southern Africa. Through the years, the office broadened its constituency to include trade unions, student groups, and other grassroots organizations. Sponsors of the Washington Office on Africa included: African Methodist Episcopal Church, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, The American Committee on Africa, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Church of the Brethren, Episcopal Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Missionaries of Africa, Presbyterian Church (USA), Progressive National Baptist Convention, The Reformed Church of America, Sacred Heart Fathers, Society for African Missions, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, United church of Christ, United Methodist Church, United Steelworkers of America.

The Washington Office on Africa Educational Fund (WOAEF) was established as the educational division of the Washington Office on Africa. Its goals were to provide education for action on southern Africa issues through the production and distribution of written and audio-visual resources. WOAEF also served as a research center for educators, legislators, political activists, students, and others interested in southern Africa affairs.

Executive Directors of the WOA included Ted Lockwood (1972-1980), Jean Sindab (1980-1986), Damu Smith (1986-1988), and Aubrey McCutcheon (1988-199?). The WOA weathered a financial crisis in 1988.

# **Scope and Contents**

I. Organization and Policy Records

II. Correspondence and Staff Records

III. Fundraising and Financial Records

IV. WOA Programs

V. WOA Publications

VI. Resource Files - By Name of Organization

VII. Resource Files - By State/Region

VIII. Resource Files - By Topic

When these records were received, some printed materials were removed and placed with the Sterling Memorial Library Manuscripts and Archives South African apartheid collection, MS 1500. The material remaining in this record group relates more to the actual operations of WOA, its publications and activities, and its interactions with other organizations. The topical resources in this record group were collected to support and direct the lobbying and advocacy activities of the WOA.

Series I, Organization and Policy Records, includes minutes and reports of the boards and committees of the WOA and the Washington Office on Africa Educational Fund. These materials provide a succinct overview of the activities of the organization. Series II, Correspondence and Staff Records, is quite small and primarily relates to internal office operations; the majority of letters and memoranda of the WOA Directors and staff are integrated into later series. Series III, Fundraising and Financial Records, is divided into three sub-series: Summary Records, Chronological Sequence of Records, Correspondence with Notable Funding Agencies.

Series IV, WOA Programs, is the core of this record group. It includes an alphabetical listing of programs and proposals sponsored or co-sponsored by WOA, and a chronological arrangement of material related to the lobbying and monitoring activities of the WOA. Material in this series provides valuable documentation about the issues that were of concern to WOA as well as about the lobbying process and the WOA's interaction with related organizations.

Series V, WOA Publications, includes publications with distinctive titles. Many other WOA statements, papers, and press releases are integrated with the program material of Series IV. The major serial publications of WOA were *Action Alert*, and *Washington Notes on Africa*. Other publications included "Information Packets." brochures and printed leaflets, and "Fact Sheets."

Series VI, Resources by Organization, include correspondence between the WOA and related organizations as well as printed material documenting the work of those organizations. This alphabetically arranged list includes a broad cross section of U.S. and African organizations concerned with issues in Southern Africa. Series VII, Resources by State/Region, documents WOA's interaction with and monitoring of Southern Africa-related events and programs throughout the United States. Series VIII, Resources by Topic, is divided into three sub-series: Country Files, Economic and Foreign Policy Issues (U.S. interaction with Southern Africa), and Miscellaneous. The Country Files are strongest in documentation of events and issues in Angola, Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. Of particular note are materials related to church activities and reactions in these countries. Economic and Foreign Policy issues documented in Series VIII include the arms trade, boycotts, divestment and investment in South Africa, espionage, international economic and trade issues, and sanctions. This material should be consulted in conjunction with the WOA program materials of Series IV, which document WOA positions and actions on the various issues.

Some complementary records related to WOA activities have been digitized by the Michigan State African Activist Archive and the University of Pennsylvania's African Studies Center.

# Arrangement

- I. Organization and Policy Records
- II. Correspondence and Staff Records
- III. Fundraising and Financial Records

IV. WOA Programs
V. WOA Publications
VI. Resource Files - By Name of Organization
VII. Resource Files - By State/Region
VIII. Resource Files - By Topic

# **Collection Contents**

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b. 1, f. 3	Bylaws	1978
b. 1, f. 4	Minutes of Board of Directors; Report of Search Committee for new Executive Director	1978, 1980
b. 1, f. 5	Minutes, reports re. tenth anniversary of WOA	1982
b. 1, f. 6	Minutes of Board of Directors; WOA self-evaluation documents	1984-1985
b. 1, f. 7	Minutes	1986
b. 1, f. 8	Annual report	1986
b. 1, f. 9	Minutes, meeting packet	1987
b. 1, f. 10	Annual report	1987
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b. 1, f. 19	Minutes of Board of Directors	1982-1983, 1987
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b. 1, f. 21	Agenda, reports	1984
b. 1, f. 22	Minutes and meeting packet	1985 Jun
b. 1, f. 23	Minutes, reports	1985 Dec
b. 1, f. 24	Agenda, reports	1986
b. 1, f. 25	Program activity reports; report of Religious Outreach Coordinator	1986-1987

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b. 1, f. 26	Program activity reports	1987-1988
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b. 15, f. 109	Clark Amendment / re. U.S. intervention in Angola: WOA statements, correspondence, notes
b. <b>15</b> , f. <b>110</b>	Clark Amendment / re. U.S. intervention in Angola: Background material
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b. 18, f. 135	Lobbying re. various South Africa-related legislation: Reports of Congressional lobbying visits
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b. 19, f. 148	Citizen's Lobby Day Against Apartheid (part of Citizen's Lobby for Peace, Jobs and Justice, April 19-22)
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b. 19, f. 150	WISC Foreign Policy and Military Spending Task Force
b. 19, f. 151	Misc. incl. testimony of other WOA staff
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b. 19, f. 152	US aid to UNITA / Angola
b. 19, f. 153	Sanctions against South Africa
b. 19, f. 154	Misc. incl. re SA political situation, testimony of Jean Sindab
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b. 19, f. 156	National Protest Day for South African Divestment and Sanctions, 10 Oct 1986 and other actions re. divestment
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#### **Series V: WOA Publications**

Included here are printed publications with distinctive titles. Many other WOA statements, papers, and press releases are integrated with the program material of Series IV.

	Action Alert	
b. 24, f. 1	Incl. re. Clark Amendment on Angola; Reagan administration alliance with South Africa; nomination of Herman Nickel	1981-1982
b. 24, f. 2	Incl. re. Sanctions Bill, U.S. intervention in Angola	1983-1986
b. 24, f. 3	Incl. re. Aid to Southern Africa; sanctions against South Africa; U.S. intervention in Angola	1987
b. 24, f. 4	Incl. re. sanctions against South Africa; U.S. intervention in Angola	1988
b. 24, f. 5	Incl. re. Namibian independence, sanctions against South Africa	1989
b. 24, f. 6	Incl. re. African National Congress	1991
	Washington Notes on Africa	
b. 24, f. 7-9	Issues	1975, 1981-1991
b. 24, f. 10-13	Drafts, notes for issues	1987-1991, n.d.
	Information packets	
b. 24, f. 14	South Africa Information Packet (SAIP)	1985
b. 24, f. 15-16	SAIP drafts, notes	1985
b. 25, f. 17	South Africa Legislative Packet (with NCCCUSA Africa Office)	1985
b. 25, f. 18	Free Namibia! packet	1986
b. 25, f. 19	Target Angola packet	1990
	Brochures, printed leaflets	
b. 25, f. 20	"Lifting Sanctions: Prescription for Disaster"; "The Case for Restoring Rhodesian Sanctions"; "78 Election Notes on Africa"; "Free Namibia!"; "Zimbabwe: Winning Hearts and Minds"; "Zimbabwe After Lancaster House: What Next?"	1978,1979, 1980
b. 25, f. 21	"Make South Africa an Election Issue"; "Stop the Apartheid Bomb"	1982, 1983
b. 25, f. 22	"The Struggle for Justice"; "Stop Apartheid's War"; "American Steel Jobs and South Africa"; "Election 1984: Stop U.S. Support for Apartheid"	1984
b. 25, f. 23	"The September 22, 1979 Mystery Flash: Did South Africa Detonate a Nuclear Bomb"; "South Africa's Present Economic Situation"; "Stop the Apartheid Bomb" (reprinted); "Apartheid Extended"; "Savimbi and South Africa: No Casual Affair"; "Apartheid's Contras: Rural Terrorism and Mozambique's Struggle for Survival"	1985-1988
b. 25, f. 24	Re. WOA; "Apartheid Extended"; "Natal/KwaZulu, Buthelezi and the ANC	1990, n.d.

#### Brochures, printed leaflets (continued)

b. 25, f. 25	Drafts, notes for "Apartheid's Contras"	1987
b. 25, f. 26	Drafts, notes for publications on reforming apartheid, religious persecution under apartheid $$	n.d.
b. 25, f. 27	Drafts, notes for publication "Why boycott South Africa not Nicaragua"	n.d.
Fact	Sheets/ Action Sheets	
b. 25, f. 28	"Southern African and Cuts in U. N. Voluntary Contributions"; "Angola and UNITA"; "RENAMO: Rural Terrorism at Work"; "The Church in South Africa"; "Namibian Churches in the Struggle"; "Trade Unions in Namibia"	1981, 1986
b. 25, f. 29	"Pretoria's Secret War Against the ANC"; "SWAPO: The Liberation Movement of the People of Namibia"; "SADCC: The Southern African Development Coordination Conference"; "Education and Employment Opportunities for Women Under Apartheid"	1991, n.d.
b. 25, f. 30	Drafts, notes for fact sheets, incl. re. "reform" in South Africa	1985, n.d.
b. 25, f. 31	Drafts, notes for fact sheets	n.d.

# Series VI: Resource/Correspondence Files By Name of Organization, n.d.

b. 26, f. 1	About My Father's Business; incl. re. African National Congress	n.d.
b. 26, f. 1a	Ad Hoc Group on Southern Africa (Dana Reynolds)	1976
b. 26, f. 2	Africa Development Foundation	1980-1982
b. 26, f. 2a	Africa Faith and Justice Network	1984-1985
	Africa Peace Committee: See Series IV - Programs	
b. 26, f. 3	African Ambassadors Group	1988
b. 26, f. 4	African-American Institute	1976-1988
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b. 26, f. 9	Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in Southern Africa (ABRECSA)	1981-1986
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b. 26, f. 13	American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research	1981
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b. 26, f. 15	American Federation of Teachers	1974, 1983
b. 26, f. 16-16a	American Friends Service Committee	1976-1987
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b. 27, f. 18	American Society for Public Administration	1982-1984
b. 27, f. 19	Americans for Democratic Action	1974-1982
b. 27, f. 20	Amnesty International - "Conscience and Human Rights: An Amnesty International Curriculum"	ca. 1978
b. 28, f. 21	Amnesty International - incl. re. S.A. and Namibians prisoners	1982
b. 28, f. 22	Anti-Apartheid -Bewegung (West Germany)	1982
b. 28, f. 23	Anti-Apartheid Movement (London)	1980-1985
b. 28, f. 24	A. Philip Randolph Institute	1984

b. 28, f. 24a	Artists for a Free South Africa	
b. 28, f. 24b	Artists United Against Apartheid (Sun City Project)	1985-1987
b. 28, f. 25	Association of Concerned Africa Scholars	1978-1983
b. 28, f. 26	Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid	1985-1987
b. 28, f. 27	Belydende Kring (Broederkring) - (South Africa church group)	1979-1986
b. 28, f. 28	Black American Network for Disarmament, Peace and Justice	1983
b. 28, f. 29	Black Leadership Forum	1982-1986
b. 28, f. 30	Black Sash (Human rights organization in S.A.; incl. info. re. Sheena Duncan)	1985-1988
b. 28, f. 31	Bread for the World	1981-1989
b. 28, f. 32	Call to Conscience (Emergency Response Network)	1985-1987
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b. 29, f. 33a, 33b	Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa/ Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa	1976-1981
b. 30, f. 34	CANICOR - An Interfaith Council on Corporate Accountability	1988
b. 30, f. 35	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	1979-1987
	Catholic Church (See United States Catholic Conference, and Series VIII, Misc. U.S. Religious Organizations and Churches)	
b. 30, f. 36	Catholic Institute for International Relations (London)	1979-1982
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b. 30, f. 44	Children's Fund for Southern Africa	1988
b. 64, f. 8	Christian Concern for Southern Africa	ca.1978
b. 30, f. 45	Christian Institute of Southern Africa - incl. "Apartheid Morally Unacceptable" by Beyers Naude	1969-1973
b. 30, f. 46	Christian Institute of Southern Africa - incl. reports "South Africa - a Police State?" and "Detention and Detente in Southern Africa"	1974-1976
b. 30, f. 47	Christian Institute of Southern Africa - incl. summary of CI's contribution to investment debate	1977-1983

b. 30, f. 48-49	Church of the Province of Southern Africa (Anglican Church in S.A) - mostly clippings	1971-1987
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b. 31, f. 51	Church World Service - incl. Mozambique Emergency Appeal	1980-1991
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b. 31, f. 55a	Coalition of Black Trade Unionists	1985
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b. 66, f. 2	Commission of Inquiry into the Espionage Activities of the South African Government in the International University Exchange Fund	1980
b. 31, f. 57	Committee to Protect Journalists	1982-1983
b. 64, f. 10	Commonwealth Secretariat: "The Mission to South Africa - The Commonwealth Report"	1986
b. 31, f. 58	Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa Continuations Committee	1982-1983
b. 31, f. 59	Congress of South African Trade Unions	1988
b. 31, f. 60	Congressional Black Caucus	1981, 1988
b. 31, f. 61	Covert Action Information Bulletin	1981-1989
b. 31, f. 62	Covert Operations Working Group	1991-1994
b. 31, f. 63	Detainees' Parents Support Committee	1984-1985
b. 66, f. 3	Detainees' Parents Support Committee: Report health care of detainees	1982
b. 32, f. 64-65	Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk)	1974-1988
b. 32, f. 66	Ecumenical Documentation and Information Centre for Eastern and Southern Africa	1987-1989
b. 32, f. 67	Educators Against Racism and Apartheid	1989-1990
b. 32, f. 68	End Conscription Committee/ Campaign	1985-1986
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b. 32, f. 76	Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (See also: Series VIII, Misc. U.S. Religious Organizations and Churches.)	1988
b. 65, f. 1-5	Farmer's Group, Inc.: re. B.A.T. Industries South African Activities	ca.1988
b. 32, f. 77	Federation for Progress	1982
b. 32, f. 78	Fellowship of Reconciliation	1981
b. 32, f. 79	Ford Foundation	1980-1983
b. 32, f. 80	Friends Committee on National Legislation	1981-1985
b. 33, f. 80a	Friends of the ANC and Frontline States	1990
b. 33, f. 81	GATT-Fly (Canadian churches for global economic justice)	1978, n.d.
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b. 33, f. 84a	Holland Committee on Southern Africa	1984-1990
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b. 33, f. 85a	Human Rights Political Action Committee	1982-1985
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b. 33, f. 89	Institute for Policy Studies	1978-1986
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b. 33, f. 91	Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility ( See also: Series VIII: Resource File by Topic: Divestment/ Investment)	1983-1992, n.d.
b. 33, f. 92	International Center for Development Policy	1989
b. 64, f. 6	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions	1988
b. 33, f. 93	International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa	1972-1993
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b. 33, f. 95	International Freedom Foundation	1988-1992
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b. 33, f. 96a	International United Black Fund	1984-1985
b. 64, f. 2	Institute for Black Research: Special report: Unrest in Natal	1985

b. 34, f. 97	Institute on Religion and Democracy	1981-1983
b. 34, f. 98	Investor Responsibility Research Center	1982, n.d.
b. <b>64</b> , f. 5	Investor Responsibility Research Center: Leaving South Africa: The Impact of U.S. Corporate Disinvestment	1988
b. 34, f. 99	John Brown Anti-Klan Committees	1981
b. 34, f. 100	Kairos Workgroup (Christians Against Apartheid)	1984
b. 34, f. 101	Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law	1977-1981
b. 34, f. 102	Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (incl. from Project Staff in Namibia, 1989-1990)	1982-1990
b. 34, f. 103	Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights	1984
b. 34, f. 104	League of Women Voters of the United States	1973-1974
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b. 34, f. 111	Mozambique Resource Center	1983-1987
b. 34, f. 112	Namibia Communications Centre	1985
b. 34, f. 112a	Namibia Support Fund	1989
b. 34, f. 113	National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression	1984
b. 35, f. 114	National Alliance of Third World Journalists	1981-1983
b. 35, f. 115	National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation	1983, n.d.
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b. 35, f. 118	National Black American Law Students Association	1981-1982
b. 35, f. 119	National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials	1982
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b. 35, f. 121a	National Black Presbyterians United	1982-1983
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b. 35, f. 123	National Committee Against Repressive Legislation	1982-1984

b. 35, f. 124	National Conference of Black Lawyers	1981, 1991
b. 35, f. 125	National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A Consultation on Namibia	1974
b. 35, f. 126	National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A Racial Justice Working Group; Africa office	1982-1986
b. 35, f. 127	National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Resolution against sanctions; Human Rights Committee, Africa Program; incl. "Profiles of Selected Religious Right Organizations in the USA and their International Outreach"	1987-1990
b. 35, f. 127a	National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Africa Office: report of consultation - "South Africa - What Does Justice Require"	1991
b. 35, f. 128	National Council of Negro Women	1983
b. 35, f. 129	National Education Association	1983-1985
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b. 36, f. 135	National Student Coalition Against Racism	1976-1977
b. 36, f. 136	National Student Lobby	1973
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b. 36, f. 145	Partners for Global Justice	1986
b. 37, f. 146	People Against Racism and the Klan	1982
b. 37, f. 146a	People United to Save Humanity (Operation PUSH)	1977-1983
b. 37, f. 147	People's Anti-War Mobilization	1981
b. 37, f. 148	Phelps-Stokes Fund	1977-1983
b. 37, f. 148a	Presbyterian Church U.S.A.	1984-1989
b. 37, f. 149	Rainbow Coalition	1981-1992
b. <b>64</b> , f. <b>4</b>	Republic of South Africa: Departments of Labour and of Mines - Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation, Part 1	1979
b. 66, f. 10	Republic of South Africa Parliament documents	1994
b. 37, f. 150	Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies	1988
b. 37, f. 151	Search for Common Ground	1983
b. 37, f. 151a	South Africa Ecumenical Ministry	1990
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b. 37, f. 157	Southern Elections Fund	1974
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b. 37, f. 160	Swedish Committee for the Isolation of South Africa	1985-1987
b. <b>65</b> , f. <b>6</b>	Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "Prohibition of Investments in South Africa and Namibia and Other Measures Against Apartheid"	1985
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b. 37, f. 161a	Task Force on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility (Canadian)	1989
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b. 64, f. 3	United States of America Department of State: The Comprehensive Anti- Apartheid Act of 1986	1987
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	Washington Interreligious Staff Council	1990
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United States Foreign Policy		
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Miscellaneous U.S. Religious Organizations and Churches

#### Miscellaneous U.S. Religious Organizations and Churches (continued)

b. 62, f. 2670268	Catholic Church
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## **Selected Search Terms**

The following terms have been used to index the description of this collection in the Library's online catalog. They are grouped by name of person or organization, by subject or location, and by occupation and listed alphabetically therein.

#### **Subjects**

Anti-apartheid movements -- United States Apartheid -- South Africa Church and state -- United States Disinvestment Lobbying -- Law and legislation -- United States

## **Geographic Names**

Angola -- Politics and government Mozambique -- Politics and government Namibia -- Politics and government South Africa -- Politics and government --1978-1989 United States -- Foreign relations -- South Africa Zimbabwe -- Politics and government

## **Corporate Body**

Washington Office on Africa