

Proj. 6900063-2

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PD-AAC-244-B1

MAY 25 1970

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③ PRM-file

**ACTION MEMORANDUM FOR THE ADMINISTRATOR**

**THRU:** ES *1/e/* *1/s/* Stanley S. Scott  
**FROM:** AA/AFR, Stanley S. Scott

**Problem:** Approval of the attached Project Paper (PP) for the Development Training for Southern Africans, Project Number 690-11-690-063, the total cost of which is \$2,742,690 for the life of the project.

**Discussion:** The project will provide and supplement training opportunities at the post-secondary level both in the U.S. and in Africa for African nationals of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa) and the Republic of South Africa. Funding will be provided for the training of approximately 50 Zimbabwe students in the U.S. and 20 in Africa; 10 Namibian and South African refugee students in the U.S. and 20 in Africa; to supplement CU/AF programs within the Republic of South Africa and Namibia, and to provide emergency aid to such students already enrolled in U.S. institutions. Emphasis will be given to training in agriculture; education; public health and population; rural development, administration and management; economic planning, and other fields of manpower priority as agreed with AID. While the project will offer educational opportunities for undergraduate work as well as non-degree, remedial and special academic courses in Africa, training in the U.S. will emphasize graduate work. In some instances, and with the prior written approval of AID, undergraduate education in the U.S. will be considered. However, it is not AID's intent to initiate four-year undergraduate training in the United States without clearly extraordinary justification. Non-degree, remedial, technical, vocational and special academic programs will also be available in the U.S.

The Congress has expressed its interest with the project and wrote into the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975 (PL 94-161) a provision in Section 305 which amended Section 105 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 as follows:

- (c) Of the amount authorized to be appropriated by subsection (a), not less than \$1,000,000 shall be available to support the southern African student program, and the southern African training program, for the purpose of providing educational assistance to southern Africans.

The statute and legislative history make it clear that the earmarking of the \$1 million for educational assistance to southern Africans is in support of, and in addition to, existing United States Government programs of educational assistance to southern Africans. At the time of approval of the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975 (PL 94-161), there were two such



*Approved Project*  
*copy, goal, P, outputs as written*  
*per JJ*

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
**PROJECT PAPER FACESHEET**  
 TO BE COMPLETED BY ORIGINATING OFFICE

1. TRANSACTION CODE (X) APPROPRIATE BOX  
 ORIGINAL     CHANGE  
 ADD     DELETE

PP  
 DOCUMENT CODE  
 3

2. COUNTRY/REGIONAL ENTITY/GRAANTEE

3. DOCUMENT REVISION NUMBER  
 N/A

4. PROJECT NUMBER  
 690-11-690-063

5. BUREAU  
 A. SYMBOL: AFR    B. CODE: 1

6. ESTIMATED FY OF PROJECT COMPLETION  
 FY | 8 | 1 |

7. PROJECT TITLE - SHORT (STAY WITHIN BRACKETS)  
 [Development Training for Southern Africans]

8. ESTIMATED FY OF AUTHORIZATION/OBLIGATION  
 MO. YR.  
 A. INITIAL | 5 | 76 |    B. FINAL FY | 8 | 0 |

9. SECONDARY TECHNICAL CODES (MAXIMUM SIX CODES OF THREE POSITIONS EACH)

10. ESTIMATED TOTAL COST (\$000 OR EQUIVALENT, \$1 = \_\_\_\_\_)

A. PROGRAM FINANCING	FIRST YEAR			ALL YEARS		
	B. FX	C. L/C	D. TOTAL	E. FX	F. L/C	G. TOTAL
AID APPROPRIATED TOTAL	677		677	2,743		2,743
(GRANT)	( 677 )	( )	( 677 )	( )	( )	( 2,743 )
(LOAN)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
OTHER 1.						
U.S. 2.						
HOST GOVERNMENT						
OTHER DONOR(S)						
TOTALS	677		677	2,743		2,743

11. ESTIMATED COSTS/AID APPROPRIATED FUNDS (\$000)

A. APPROPRIATION ALPHA CODE	B. PRIMARY PURPOSE CODE	C. PRIMARY TECH. CODE	FY 76		FY 77		FY 78		ALL YEARS	
			D. GRANT	E. LOAN	F. GRANT	G. LOAN	H. GRANT	I. LOAN	J. GRANT	K. LOAN
EH			677		1139		551		2743	
TOTALS			677		1139		551		2743	

12. ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES    0    677    1139

13. PROJECT PURPOSE(S) (STAY WITHIN BRACKETS)     CHECK IF DIFFERENT FROM PID/PRP

[The purpose of the project is to provide and supplement development-related training for African nationals from countries presently under minority rule in preparation for filling priority manpower development needs upon majority rule.]

14. WERE CHANGES MADE IN THE PID/PRP FACESHEET DATA NOT INCLUDED ABOVE? IF YES, ATTACH CHANGED PID AID/OR PRP FACESHEET.  
 YES     NO

15. ORIGINATING OFFICE CLEARANCE

SIGNATURE: *Owen Cylke*

TITLE: Owen Cylke, Deputy Director  
 Office of Eastern and Southern African Affairs, Bureau for Africa

DATE SIGNED: MO. | 0 | 5 | DAY | 1 | 0 | YR. | 7 | 6 |

16. DATE RECEIVED IN AID/W, OR FOR AID/W DOCUMENTS, DATE OF DISTRIBUTION  
 MO. | 0 | 5 | DAY | 1 | 0 | YR. | 7 | 6 |

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## I. Summary and Recommendations

### A. Description and Justification of Project

The project will provide and supplement training opportunities at the post-secondary level both in the U.S. and in Africa for African nationals of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa) and the Republic of South Africa. Funding will be provided for the training of approximately 50 Zimbabwe students in the U.S. and 20 in Africa; 10 Namibian and South African refugee students in the U.S. and 20 in Africa; to supplement CU/AF programs within the Republic of South Africa and Namibia, and to provide emergency aid to such students already enrolled in U.S. institutions. Emphasis will be given to training in agriculture; education; public health and population; rural development, administration and management; economic planning, and other fields of manpower priority as agreed with AID. While the project will offer educational opportunities for undergraduate work as well as non-degree, remedial and special academic courses in Africa, training in the U.S. will emphasize graduate work. In some instances, and with the prior written approval of AID, undergraduate education in the U.S. will be considered. However, it is not AID's intent to initiate four-year undergraduate training in the United States without clearly extraordinary justification. Non-degree, remedial, technical, vocational and special academic programs will also be available in the U.S.

Applicants will be screened on the basis of their field of study, educational qualifications, acceptability to African leadership, and the likelihood of their return to Africa. At present there are 140 Zimbabwe students residing in the U.S. from whom some candidates may be selected based on the foregoing criteria. Other students may be presently in Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia, and other countries.

### B. Statement of Project Goal

The goal is to contribute to the development of a cadre of professional and skilled manpower by providing educational assistance for nationals of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa. Provision of such assistance will also demonstrate continuing USG concern for Africans in southern Africa and help maintain channels of communication with important refugee and liberation groups.

One measure of goal achievement will be the degree to which African leaders and governments acknowledge this program to be a contribution to the transition to majority rule and development of the area. Another will be the degree to which African leaders participate in this program by nominating qualified candidates and later by assisting candidates in their return and employment in positions that contribute directly toward the development of the countries concerned. The major assumption about goal achievement is that majority rule is both desirable and achievable and will be consistent with basic democratic traditions.

C. Statement of Project Purpose

The purpose of the project is to provide and supplement developmental education to African nationals from countries presently under minority rule in preparation for filling priority manpower development needs upon majority rule. The project would also constitute partial USG response to UNGA Resolutions 845(IX) and 2981 (XXVII), and is in direct response to Section 105(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act. ) Request

At the end of the project it is expected that each successful trainee will be employed in his country or in Africa in some activity directly related to the economic, social or political development of that country or will be willing to assume such a responsibility when possible.

The basic assumptions about the purposes are: (a) that students will eventually return to their countries; (b) that governments will permit the return and employment of these students although initially some of the students may obtain employment in other African countries; and (c) that the political climate of the students, countries and other African countries will be conducive to effective implementation of this program.

D. Statement of Project Outputs

The project will provide for the training of approximately 175 African nationals in the U.S. and 40 in Africa. Students will commence studies in 1976 and 1977 with an expected training termination date no later than June 1981. ✓ Students from southern Africa already studying in the United States will be eligible for emergency assistance to continue studies not financed under this project. Basic assumptions concerning the project outputs are that a sufficient number of qualified students will be found to feed into the project and that spaces will be available in U.S. and African educational institutions.

E. Statement of Project Inputs

Inputs include AID funding of \$676,450 in FY 1976, \$1,139,074 in FY 1977, and \$551,126 in FY 1978. Life of project costs are \$2,742,690. Approval by SER/CM of the African American Institute as the sole source contractor for two elements of the program based on their familiarity and contact with refugee groups, African students and African leaders and on the clear intent of the Congress is called for, and approval of a grant to the Phelps Stokes African Student Aid Fund is similarly required. As presently formulated, the project does not provide scholarships for any students other than those commencing studies in FY 1976/77, some of whom already may be at various levels of education in the U.S. AID funds will be available for undergraduate education in Africa, and in exceptional cases also in the U.S.

It is the intention of AFR to give further immediate attention to the question of educational assistance in southern Africa by contracting for a requirements analysis and design proposal by an experienced professional with experience in human resource development and southern Africa educational affairs.

It is thought that a significant and comprehensive approach to training requirements will be necessary. Coordinating with the United Nations, Britain and other responsible international donors will be important; and it probably will also be necessary to involve a range of foundations, voluntary organizations, institutions in training and human resource development activities including the U.S. labor movement, universities, non-profit African oriented educational institutions, and church organizations in the implementation of an enlarged program.

The proposal contained herein is an initial response, then, which will be implemented through the African American Institute, Phelps Stokes Fund and CU/AF utilizing existing programs. As noted above, scholarship funding is limited to new starts in FY 1976 and FY 1977. A project amendment, however, will be considered following the requirements analysis and design study to be initiated in the current Fiscal Year.

Individual training programs will be conducted in accredited educational institutions in the U.S. and Africa that have the specific expertise for designing and implementing the particular training programs required in this project. The African American Institute and CU/AF will be responsible for identifying qualified institutions for each trainee. The placement, management and the logistical support of the trainees including tuition, room and board, fees and travel costs will also be handled by the African American Institute or contractors working with CU/AF.

## II. Project Background and Detailed Description

### A. Regional Setting

During the past two years, the balance of power within southern Africa changed decisively, introducing a new situation from what had appeared a static confrontation between minority regimes and the independent African-controlled rest of the continent. The decisive change was triggered by the overthrow of the long established regime in Portugal whose continuation of the struggle against national forces in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique had become increasingly unpopular at home. Moving with striking speed, the new Portuguese government endorsed independence for Guinea Bissau and negotiated transitional governmental arrangements for independence with the nationalist forces of Angola and Mozambique.

By the end of 1975, the map of Africa was radically changed. The boundary between independent African-controlled and minority-controlled Africa had moved much further south on both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Moreover, Zimbabwe, the Transvaal and Swaziland were now flanked on the east by independent Mozambique, and the Ovambo border of Namibia on the north by independent Angola.

The significance of this new strategic balance for the Republic of South Africa and Zimbabwe was reinforced by the fact that the basic change both in Portugal itself and in the Portuguese African territories could be attributed to the long and persistent struggle of nationalist forces supported morally through the United Nations, financially by independent Africa through the OAU and later militarily by forces from outside the continent. → South Africa and Zimbabwe, long insulated from most of independent Africa, had to rethink their policies in southern Africa following the dramatic changes in 1975.

Difficult questions relate to Zimbabwe and Namibia and directly involve the Republic of South Africa. Since UDI in 1965, South Africa has provided the Ian Smith regime with financial, commercial, and the equivalent to military aid through the police. Mozambique independence under FRELIMO exposed Zimbabwe to new economic and military pressures. Most recently, Mozambique has closed its borders with Zimbabwe. Moreover, the working arrangements between Zanu and FRELIMO while the latter were still fighting the Portuguese could be expected to reinforce the former's efforts inside Zimbabwe once Mozambique became independent. These developments threaten to draw South Africa into direct confrontation with independent Africa, but the Republic has sought to encourage rapprochement leading to an agreement between the Smith government and African nationalist groups. U.S. policy, as well for even some African leaders, has been to enlist South African help in pressuring Ian Smith, particularly by withdrawing the paramilitary police that had reinforced Zimbabwe forces on that country's northern frontier. From their side, several African leaders have joined in exerting pressures on the Zimbabwe nationalist groups to stop their fighting and enter into negotiations with the Ian Smith government. Although stresses have been brought to bear on this policy by the precipitous resolution of the Angolan civil war, the introduction of extra-continental forces and the closing of the border between Mozambique and Zimbabwe, negotiating efforts may yet proceed and still represent U.S. policy.

On Namibia, there have also been important but so far inconclusive developments. South Africa's preferred arrangement would be to have Ovambo-land, with approximately half the African population of Namibia, become independent and to have the rest of the territory, in which the number of Africans and whites are more evenly balanced, form a second independent state or one closely associated with South Africa. Since such a development would be unacceptable to the United Nations and OAU, South Africa's alternative appears to be to have the decision on independence made through negotiations between ethnic groups.

#### B. History and Development of Proposal

The requirements for trained manpower will be staggering in Zimbabwe upon majority rule, particularly if there is significant white emigration or displacement. All development categories will have requirements far in excess

of current or even planned availabilities. In Zimbabwe, training in both the public and private development sectors will be critical to the expected transition. In Namibia, emphasis will be on the public sector where the U.N. mandate calls for early majority rule. While requirements cannot yet be fully quantified, they are clearly in excess of our capacity to respond. Nevertheless, AFR intends to contract for a comprehensive examination of human resource requirements over the next several months. The output of that examination will be an amended PP which probably will be submitted prior to FY 1977 starts.

This concern is not a new one. State and AID have consistently sought to demonstrate to African leaders in Zimbabwe and Namibia U.S. commitment to their genuine political and economic independence. Programs which could provide training requested by African leaders in exile have constituted evidence of that commitment. Similarly, it has been policy of State to provide training opportunities for black Africans within the Republic.

Senators Humphrey, Clark and other members of the Congress have expressed their interest with majority rule in southern Africa and wrote into the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975 (PL 94-161) a provision in Section 305 which amended Section 105 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 as follows:

- (c) Of the amount authorized to be appropriated by subsection (a), not less than \$1,000,000 shall be available to support the southern African student program, and the southern African training program, for the purpose of providing educational assistance to southern Africans.

The statute and legislative history make it clear that the earmarking of the \$1 million for educational assistance to southern Africans is in support of, and in addition to, existing United States Government programs of educational assistance to southern Africans. At the time of approval of the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975 (PL 94-161), there were two such programs in existence, both of which were being conducted by the Department of State. One of these programs, the Southern African Student Program (SASP), has been funded by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU/AF). The other program, the Southern African Refugee Education Project (SAREP), is funded by the Office of Humanitarian Affairs (OHM). The new subsection refers to the first and possibly also the second project. In his colloquy with Senator Humphrey, Senator Clark appears to refer primarily to the CU program which is implemented by a contract between the Department of State and the African American Institute (AAI). Thus, the earmarked funds were intended to be used in support of and in addition to the ongoing other U.S. programs of educational assistance to southern Africans which will continue to be funded by the Department of State.

It is proposed herein that three separate student situations relevant to Section 105(c) be differentiated:

- (i) African students within the Republic of South Africa and Namibia
- (ii) African student exiles from the Republic of South Africa and Namibia

(iii) African students within and refugees from Zimbabwe

Since the Republic does not take official cognizance of refugee groups, separate programs for African students within the Republic of South Africa or Namibia and refugees from those countries are necessary. In short, the Republic obviously could not let its students operate through the existing refugee programs, and AAI's sponsorship of existing refugee programs would probably make it officially an unacceptable organization for sponsoring a new program for Republic or Namibian students.

Since Zimbabwe is probably on the verge of majority rule, it may be useful to differentiate Zimbabwe training under the AAI Southern African Student Program (SASP) from refugees of either the Republic or Namibia which are currently eligible under the CU/AAI contract. Specifically, different program objectives and evaluation measures are now possible with Zimbabwe majority rule within timely contemplation. It is, therefore, proposed herein to limit AID funding to SASP to Zimbabwe requirements and to meet Republic or Namibian refugee requirements through funding to SAREP. Following the design review proposed above, it may also be found useful to separate Namibia and Republic programs.

AID has agreed that AAI should develop proposals for SASP and SAREP and is proposing to implement the Zimbabwe and refugee components of the project under an AID contract with AAI. AAI has had considerable experience operating these projects in Africa and has had extensive and friendly contacts with leaders of the liberation movements in southern Africa as well as contacts with African students in the U.S. and Africa. In the absence of official relations with the liberation movements, the use of AAI enables the USG to provide concrete evidence of support of the move toward majority rule while avoiding any possible involvement in disputes between nationalist factions or jeopardizing the proposed initiative on training within the Republic of South Africa and Namibia.

C. Prior USG Assistance

In 1961, AID first sponsored a broad scholarship program in Africa to help alleviate the dramatic trained manpower shortage. This project, the African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU), permitted candidates from participating African countries to enter undergraduate training in American universities. There were few restrictions at the outset on the fields of study; however, the candidates were carefully selected on the basis of their academic backgrounds and their government's nomination. A total of 1,614 grants were awarded and all students have completed their programs.

As African manpower needs became better defined during the latter part of the 1960's, program requirements for development-related fields of study were added and country ceilings were adopted in order to assure the broadest participation by African nations.

The major problem in the ASPAU program was the relatively low repatriation rate (currently 64%). This problem stems principally from the fact that African governments have requested that the graduates continue their studies for higher degrees rather than return home upon the completion of their undergraduate training. The return rate continues to rise as these students complete their post graduate degrees and return home. At the same time there may be insufficient safeguards in the agreements with African countries to ensure that students returned when their scholarship program terminated. On the other hand, there were major successes in this program in that a high percentage of graduates who returned home were employed in priority, development related positions, primarily with public and quasi-public institutions.

A second scholarship program was initiated with AAI in 1963 to provide graduate level education in American universities. This program, the African Graduate Fellowship program (AFGRAD), enrolled up to 125 new students yearly and was clearly directed toward study in development related fields. The candidates were very carefully selected on the basis of their academic qualifications, their governments' nomination and their prospective jobs at the completion of their training. As in the ASPAU program, country ceilings were adopted to assure that the least developed countries had an opportunity to place candidates.

The repatriation rate for this program exceeds 91.3% in the 11 year period between 1963 and 1974. Furthermore, the academic completion rate is over 92%. Of the 604 students who have completed their AFGRAD sponsorship, 552 were graduates. A total of 33 African countries have participated.

If there was a problem, it may have been that study programs were not as carefully related to specific positions and work as would now be the case. The AFGRAD program has been extremely well received by African governments and institutions, particularly universities. The governments have acknowledged the usefulness of the program in helping them meet their manpower needs and in all cases have actively participated in the program by paying international travel costs. It is also interesting to note the role tuition waivers played in reducing program costs. Evaluations and other reports have confirmed the usefulness of the program.

SASP was initiated in 1961 by the Department of State as part of the Fulbright-Hays Educational Program. The African-American Institute, under contract to the Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs of the State Department has administered the program since its inception. In the early 1960's, it was widely felt that the white-minority governments of South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, as well as the then British High Commission Territories in southern Africa, would certainly accede to or be forced to implement majority rule within the decade. Consequently SASP was begun as an urgent effort to provide educational training to students who would be critically needed to bring majority rule and then self-government and development. Between 1961 and 1976, there were 575 SASP participants. Of this number, only 32 are presently receiving scholarship assistance under SASP, and CU/AF funding for the program has been in the process of phasing down.

By the mid 1960's, the original hope of imminent majority-rule in southern Africa was recognized as unlikely, notwithstanding independence for Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. In consequence, most graduating SASP students who had expected to return home found they could not without encountering outright incarceration or, at best, severe racism and job discrimination. Alternatively, it was thought, since majority-rule in southern Africa was slower in coming than expected, many program graduates would be available for service with the liberation movements which nominated them for the scholarships. But, this prospect of rejoining the movements has not become a significant reality. As a final alternative, it was hoped that the independent nations of Africa could use these southern Africans as supplementary manpower for development, but this hope too has so far largely failed to materialize.

Of the 426 SASP participants from minority-ruled southern Africa who had completed their SASP-supported studies by June of 1974, only about 25% had returned to Africa. Most of the remaining participants found they had to adjust to a new reality -- remaining indefinitely in North America as de facto refugees in most cases. While this had sometimes been by choice, it had primarily resulted from circumstances beyond their control.

It is important to note, however, that the return among SASP students has increased sharply since the independence of Angola and Mozambique. These figures supplement the high return for students from Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland and suggest the difficulties in comparing a program of this nature with training in independent states. It was always expected that most SASP students would return home after independence or majority rule had come to their countries. That assumption is now being borne out as Mozambique and Angola become independent and as Zimbabwe and Namibia begin serious talks which should lead to majority rule in the next few years.

With respect to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (which became independent in the late 60's) all but one of the SASP students returned to Africa. In Angola, 51 of 62 students (82%) returned and another 4 were expected to leave before the end of 1975 (which would bring the return rate to 84%). In Rhodesia, 84 of 180 students returned (47%) and it is expected at least 3 more will return by year end. The rate of repatriation has accelerated markedly since the 1974 Portuguese coup. Between September 1974 and August 1975, a total of 41 students returned to Africa, and 54 more were expected before December. It is believed that the repatriation rate by year end will exceed 50% of the entire SASP program - a dramatic improvement from when it was widely assumed that the overwhelming bulk of SASP students would remain permanently in the U.S.

SASP has produced numerous students who will likely play key roles in Zimbabwe and Namibia when majority rule comes. Without SASP, Americans would have had little contact with the men who will now shape the future of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. These earlier activities have also made it

possible for AAI to launch, soon after independence, a new AID-funded training program for Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. That program was approved in March 1975 and provides \$1,700,000 in training assistance.

Finally, the Office of Humanitarian Affairs of the Department of State established the Southern African Refugee Education Project (SAREP) under contract to AAI in June 1974. The project actually represents a transformation, however, of the Southern African Training Program (SATP) which had previously been funded by AID. Educational assistance under this project had been available to African refugee students from South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and the former Portuguese Territories. The SAREP awards are available for study programs in African institutions at the university level or in post-secondary technical/vocational institutions.

#### D. Detailed Description

i) As noted above, three separate training situations have been defined. The first relates to students within the Republic of South Africa and Namibia. This area may represent the most difficult problem for program development. To be successful, it is probably important that it not be perceived or designed to constitute assistance to the Republic of South Africa or direct support to "separate development". Equally important, however, the program should not be seen by the Government of South Africa as designed to foster revolutionary change or to establish a base for insurrection.

Given the importance of expanding training programs within the Republic and Namibia, it is critical that this first AID initiative be undertaken carefully and not abruptly. Initially it might best operate through established and reputable private American organizations concerned with the subject matter or activity in which training is to be given. Preferably, specific projects might form part of existing programs of such organizations, or complement their activities to appear as natural extensions of such activities, with USG support.

In considering needs which a program could meet by training in the U.S. or third countries, it seems important to identify types of training that could be put to immediate use by participants in job opportunities that already exist or can be created, with preferences being given to upgrading skills of persons who have already begun careers with employers or organizations willing to give them increased responsibility. While program objectives should give primary emphasis to professional/occupational advancement of black South Africans in certain priority fields, it does not seem necessary to meet program objectives to limit too narrowly training fields or development concepts. In discussing possibilities with AF/CU and the Ambassador, first priority was given to labor/management relations as a training opportunity. This is the area of greatest opportunity in terms of black leadership. Small business enterprise and management could constitute another useful priority area. The U.S. Embassy has specifically included natural resource development, social welfare administration, animal husbandry and veterinary science as other priority areas. The private U.S.-South Africa

Leader Exchange Program (USSALEP) is already seeking business support for a new management training program and might welcome some U.S. institutional support. For Namibia, the most logical area would be in the field of public administration. Beyond these priority fields there is still considerable need for upgrading professional skills and experience of black teachers and social workers who, while already in fields that are relatively more open to blacks, can play a significant role in community organization and social-political awareness. Black university faculties are still a long way from being Africanized and might also be included. Finally, firms such as banks, insurance companies and some manufacturers are beginning to expand and upgrade their African staff and might willingly provide leave and possibly cover maintenance cost for training opportunities offered to promising African employees.

Given the sensitive nature of this proposed initiative and the necessary involvement of the U.S. Embassy, it is proposed that the funds provided under Section 105(c) of the FAA be made available as an extension of existing CU/AF funded activities such as the modest Student Program, operated through the Institute of International Education, the International Visitor Program, and various multi-national and multi-regional programs, several of which are operated through grants to private voluntary organizations. CU/AF would explore additional program opportunities with the Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council of Education, the International Management Development Institute and various professional associations or large universities which, with CU funding, might be interested in offering training opportunities directly to black South Africans or Namibians. Funding in an amount of \$500,000 would be provided to CU/AF over FY 1976 and FY 1977.

ii) With regard to African student refugees from the Republic and Namibia, it is proposed to provide funding in an amount of \$508,736 in the period FY 1976 through FY 1980 for additional funding to SAREP under contract between AID and AAI. Funding would not be available to students from Angola, Mozambique or Zimbabwe. \$158,182 would be available for training in the United States.

SAREP awards are not presently available to new candidates to pursue training in the United States. It is proposed to permit U.S. training since the SASP grant will be limited to Zimbabwe students. Although it has been policy not to fund regular undergraduate, bachelor's degree level, programs in the United States, it is proposed to introduce that flexibility in the contract with AAI. Specific limits would be placed on the numbers for undergraduate training, and AAI discretion would be limited to two year commitments. The budget, then, could accommodate training for 10 students in the United States (5 students commencing 2 year studies in FY 1976 and FY 1977) and 20 students in Africa (10 students commencing 4 year studies in FY 1976 and FY1977). Those same students approved for four year training would double the training costs of \$316,364 for U.S. training. Although funding is not provided for this eventuality, life of project is put at five years. Additional funding,

for students approved for four year training in the United States in FY 1976 or FY 1977 and for any program elaboration suggested by the requirements analysis/program design for FY 1978 and beyond, will be included in a PP amendment to be submitted in FY 1977. Although this breakout is intended only for purposes of setting funding parameters, the contract with AAI will limit new starts to FY 1976 and FY 1977 within the proposed five year availability.

Applicants will be selected and screened on the basis of the following criteria:

- (a) be a national of South Africa or Namibia,
- (b) have a recognized international travel document and an assurance that the document will be valid for return to an African country upon completion of studies in the U.S.
- (c) be nominated by, or acceptable to, the African members of OAU recognized liberation groups, and
- (d) be academically qualified to follow either a bachelor, masters or short-term specialized academic training program (four-year undergraduate training in the United States will be permitted only upon prior written approval of AID).

African leaders, or AAI, will nominate and sponsor candidates for training in accordance with the following guidelines:

- (a) Training will emphasize the following fields: agriculture; education; public health and population; rural development, administration and management; economic planning; and other fields of manpower priority as agreed with AID.
- (b) The candidate will provide a narrative plan which gives reasonable assurance that he has carefully considered career aspirations/options upon completion of his studies, and that the projected training is directly related to this narrative plan.
- (c) The candidate will sign a pledge to return to Africa upon completion of any U.S. studies.

iii) With regard to Zimbabwe students and exiles, it is proposed to provide funding in an amount of \$1,141,454 in the period FY 1976 through FY 1980 for additional funding to SASP under contract between AID and AAI. Funding would be limited to students from Zimbabwe and \$790,900 would be available for training in the United States and \$350,554 for training in Africa.

SASP awards are not presently available to new candidates to pursue undergraduate, bachelor's degree level, programs in the United States. It is proposed to introduce that flexibility in the contract with AAI. Specific limits would be placed on numbers for undergraduate training, and AAI discretion would be limited to two year commitments. The budget, then, could accommodate training for 50 students in the United States (25 students commencing 2 year studies in FY 1976 and FY 1977) and 20 students in Africa (10 students commencing 4 year studies in FY 1976 and FY 1977). Although funding is not premised on four year funding for U.S. training, life of project is put at five years. As noted above, an amendment to the PP will be sought in FY 1977 for FY 1978 new starts and costs incurred pursuant to U.S. four year training approvals in FY 1976 or FY 1977 within the proposed five year availability.

Applicants will be selected and screened on the basis of the criteria and guidelines outlined above for SAREP.

(iv) Students already studying in the United States will be eligible for funding under the SASP and SAREP programs only with prior AID approval. In considering requests, AID will assess the level of scholarship assistance already available to the student and the circumstances warranting AID funding. In no case will funding be made available for students in the U.S. where the scholarship numbers would exceed half of the total number of students selected.

The Phelps Stokes Fund has operated the African Student Aid Fund since 1962, and incorporated it as an affiliated organization in 1966. Approximately forty persons serve on its Board and work closely with the Director to raise funds for interest-free emergency loans to undergraduate African students enrolled in American universities. It is proposed that \$50,000 be made available from this project to supplement the costs of U.S. education for students from southern Africa already studying in the United States under the emergency criteria of the Fund. In many instances, supplementary assistance may be more appropriate than scholarship funding for those students.

### III. Project Analysis

#### A. Technical Analysis

As a result of the Zimbabwe and South African economic and education policies, few black Africans have been able to achieve a secondary education and fewer still have ever reached the university level or received professional managerial training. Upon majority rule, Zimbabwe and Namibia will face staggering manpower training problems. In terms of post-secondary training, these countries will face majority rule with even fewer manpower resources than was true when most other African countries achieved their independence in the early 60's. Quantification of this requirement will be undertaken in the next few months and will serve as the basis for amendment to the PP in FY 1977.

B. Financial Analysis

For budget purposes the following financial plans are proposed. In reviewing these plans, it should be noted that new starts for U.S. training are limited to FY 1976 and FY 1977. U.S. undergraduate education will be limited to one-half of the total students authorized for U.S. training. AAI discretion will be limited to two year commitments (i.e. at the junior or senior level). Prior AID approval will be required for four-year undergraduate commitments and for all students already studying in the U.S. proposed for AID support. Training in Africa will be at the undergraduate level.

i) Grant to CU/AF

	<u>FY 1976</u>	<u>FY 1977</u>	<u>FY 1978</u>	<u>FY 1979</u>	<u>FY 1980</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Short Term Training	\$200,000	\$300,000				
TOTALS	\$200,000	\$300,000				\$500,000

ii) Grant to SAREP

	<u>FY 1976</u>	<u>FY 1977</u>	<u>FY 1978</u>	<u>FY 1979</u>	<u>FY 1980</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Training in U.S.	\$ 37,275	\$ 39,512				
(5 each commencing in FY76 and FY77)	_____	\$ 39,512	\$ 41,833			
SUB-TOTAL	\$ 37,275	\$ 79,024	\$ 41,833			\$158,182
Training in Africa	\$ 38,900	\$ 41,234	\$ 43,708	\$ 46,330		
(10 each commencing in FY76 and FY77)	_____	\$ 41,234	\$ 43,708	\$ 46,330	\$ 49,110	
SUB-TOTAL	\$ 38,900	\$ 82,468	\$ 87,416	\$ 92,660	\$ 49,110	\$350,554
SAREP TOTAL	\$ 76,175	\$161,492	\$129,299	\$ 92,660	\$ 49,110	\$508,736

iii) Grant to SASP

	<u>FY 1976</u>	<u>FY 1977</u>	<u>FY 1978</u>	<u>FY 1979</u>	<u>FY 1980</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Long Term Training in U.S.	\$186,375	\$197,557				
(25 each commencing in FY76 and FY77)	_____	\$197,557	\$209,411			
SUB-TOTAL	\$186,375	\$395,114	\$209,411			\$790,900

Long Term Training in Africa	\$ 38,900	\$ 41,234	\$ 43,708	\$ 46,330		
(10 each commencing in FY76 and FY77)		<u>\$ 41,234</u>	<u>\$ 43,708</u>	<u>\$ 46,330</u>	<u>\$ 49,110</u>	
SUB-TOTAL	\$ 38,900	\$ 82,468	\$ 87,416	\$ 92,660	\$ 49,110	\$350,554
SASP TOTAL	\$225,275	\$477,582	\$296,827	\$ 92,660	\$ 49,110	\$1,141,454

iv) African Student Aid Fund

	<u>FY 1976</u>	<u>FY 1977</u>	<u>FY 1978</u>	<u>FY 1978</u>	<u>FY 1980</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>\$ 25,000</u>	<u>\$ 25,000</u>				
PSF TOTAL	\$ 25,000	\$ 25,000				\$ 50,000

v) Administrative Costs

	<u>FY 1976</u>	<u>FY 1977</u>	<u>FY 1978</u>	<u>FY 1979</u>	<u>FY 1980</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>\$150,000</u>	<u>\$175,000</u>	<u>\$125,000</u>	<u>\$ 62,500</u>	<u>\$ 30,000</u>	
ADMIN TOTAL	\$150,000	\$175,000	\$125,000	\$ 62,500	\$ 30,000	\$542,500
PROGRAM TOTAL	\$676,450	\$1,139,074	\$551,126	\$247,820	\$128,220	\$2,742,690*

C. Social Analysis

Social factors to be considered are: i) the black African identity of the new governments now foreseeable and the failure of the U.S. to provide direct assistance to their development requirements struggle against an exploiting white, minority power. The African leaders of the liberation movements in the new governments have indicated their willingness to establish friendly and mutually beneficial relations with the U.S. However, they are actively seeking technical and financial assistance from other governments including countries within the Communist bloc. It can be expected that governments coming to independence will remain aloof until they see the type of response the U.S. makes to their requests for aid and can assess the value of the assistance provided.

ii) One of the objectives of the program will be to encourage the repatriation of students who come to the U.S. for training to return to Africa. The criteria for student selection emphasizing the acceptability of the candidate to African leadership, identification of probable future careers and the likelihood of his contributing to the economic or social development of his country.

\* 6% escalation used throughout

iii) The contractors will be instructed to seek out qualified female candidates not only for the sake of providing them with equal opportunities for training but also to help qualify them to participate in the development of their countries. This approach is wholly consistent with policies regarding the role of women in society in the participating countries.

iv) The training of black South Africans will probably not change South Africa's distasteful racial system. But it does seem likely that the allocation of power in South Africa will change fundamentally in the next decade. The precise nature of that change - partition, majority rule or some hybrid changing over time - cannot now be foreseen. It is clear, however, that the blacks of South Africa will play a more dominant role and are going to need educated and sophisticated leaders.

#### D. Economic Analysis

Although comprehensive and fully reliable data on social and economic development needs of minority South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe are not available, it is apparent from available information that a major constraint on development in the countries will be the lack of sufficient numbers of appropriately trained manpower at all levels and in virtually all fields. The present education system in all of these countries is inadequate to meet more than a fraction of the total needs because it reaches only a small percentage of the population; there are gaps in curricular offerings; and the countries' financial resources are deliberately skewed away from black populations. This project, therefore, is only a stop-gap measure designed to address critically needed and transitional manpower requirements. Longer range training programs can be developed as experience is gained and when a more reliable assessment of needs become available. It is expected that AFR will be ready to proceed with a PP amendment in FY 1977.

#### IV. Implementation Arrangements

Implementation plans will be agreed with CU/AF and Phelps Stokes as part of the transfer/grant documentation. AAI will follow the following procedures in the administration of its program in each Fiscal Year.

1. Contact, discussions, and approval in principle of African liberation movement leaders (Nkomo, Muzorewa, Nujoma, Tambo, etc.).
2. Articulation of terms and conditions of training awards to liberation movements.
3. Identification of contact persons within each liberation movement for communication of implementation details.
4. Identification of American universities interested in accepting students, with tuition waivers if possible.

5. Preparation of application forms and procedures for completion.
6. Distribution of application forms:
  - a. In Africa by liberation movement contact officers (LMC) and, in certain cases, by AAI Program Representatives.
  - b. In U.S. by AAI New York.
  - c. Elsewhere by AAI New York.
7. Screening of application forms by LMCs.
8. Nomination of candidates by LMCs including:
  - a. Submission of dossiers to AAI New York.
  - b. Statement of Nomination for each candidate.
  - c. Recommendations, if any, as to locale (U.S. vs. Africa).
  - d. Priority ordering of all candidates.
9. Selection of candidates for placement by AAI New York Committee according to:
  - a. Minimum scholastic criteria to demonstrate reasonable chance of academic success.
  - b. Priority listing by nominating LMC in terms of number of available awards.
  - c. Field of study relationship to economic development needs.
  - d. Prospective employment in Africa.
  - e. Specific institutions to which each dossier will be referred for placement.
10. Placement at training institutions.
  - a. In Africa through AAI Program Representatives.
  - b. In U.S. by AAI New York.
11. When accepted by training institutions, mailing of award letters to each awardee by AAI New York.
12. Statement of acceptance of award returned to AAI New York and training institution by awardee-trainee.

13. Provision of travel tickets by AAI New York.
14. Provision of U.S. visa support form (DSP-66).
15. Administrative matters relating to trainee programs:
  - a. Disbursement of maintenance allowances in accordance with AID Handbook 10.
  - b. Payment of Tuition and fees.
  - c. Reimbursement of trainee costs in accordance with AID Handbook 10.
  - d. Domestic U.S. travel.
  - e. Summer sessions, summer training, vacation time utilization and subsistence payments.
  - f. Practical training and work experience consistent with study programs during training programs.
16. Periodic evaluations and follow-ups of academic and social adjustments of the trainees.
  - a. Institution visits by AAI staff.
  - b. Academic progress reports.
  - c. Academic failures.
  - d. Major illnesses.
  - e. Modification of study specialization (with prior LMC approval).
  - f. Extension of academic program (with prior AID and LMC approval).
  - g. Dependents' support and travel.
  - h. Visa renewals.
17. Encouraging contact between trainees and their nominating LMC between time of their selection through time of their return to Africa.
18. Periodic reports to nominating LMC on academic progress of each trainee, as well as ad hoc communication on social or academic matters as may be required.
19. Written program reports to AID:
  - a. Semi-annual for first year

- b. Annually thereafter.
  - c. Final Report.
20. Financial reporting to AID in accordance with USG regulations.
  21. Provision of return travel to each trainee.
    - a. Prior notification to nominating LMC.
    - b. Travel ticket.
  22. Follow-up and related work.
    - a. Identifying employment of former trainee.
    - b. Establishing development training priorities with LMC and other liberation movement leaders, as needs change and/or are more clearly articulated.

#### V. Issues

1. Why should students already studying in U.S. be considered for scholarships or emergency support under this project? A number of students now in the U.S. came here to pursue undergraduate and graduate studies under the sponsorship of the SASP project. When the graduate program was dropped, they were left without sponsorship and many students had to seek employment in order to continue their studies. A survey completed in December 1975 shows that there are more than 140 students from Zimbabwe who are trying to complete their studies and are working at the same time. One of the objectives of this project will be to enable students selected from this group to return to their countries sooner than might otherwise be the case by permitting them to complete their studies on a full time basis. It is hoped the project might also motivate other possible candidates to return to their native countries who would not otherwise do so.

2. How does the project deal with the problem of students not returning to their native countries? There are a number of aspects to this problem. First, the problem is not as great as the statistics on the ASPAU project might indicate. Many of the students who remained in the U.S. after completing their undergraduate programs were, in effect, political refugees. (A number of students have already returned to Africa following independence). The possibility of early independence for Zimbabwe will probably affect that repatriation rate as well. Others stayed because the host-country approved additional study programs. Many of these have clearly stated their intention to return as soon as they complete their graduate studies. As mentioned in the preceding paragraph on the objectives of this project is to speed up their return. Some students have not and will not return to Africa. While there is no fool-proof method of preventing this with 100% effectiveness, AFR hopes the following elements incorporated into the design of the project will hold the non-return of students to an absolute minimum:

a) This program is not a general scholarship program, but a training program geared to specific country needs. African leadership will be involved not only in the nomination process but will be required to identify prospective employment of the candidate upon return. The prospect of a job assignment upon completion of training should provide extra motivation for the student to return home.

b) The contractor will be charged with advising African leadership that once a training program has been agreed upon for a candidate he will not be considered for additional studies in the U.S. without completing a job assignment in Africa..

c) The students will be required to sign statements affirming their intention to return home upon the completion of their programs.

3. Is the project intended to be a continuing program? As it is presently designed, the project provides funds only for a two-year new start training program. AAI will need to know by January 1978 whether or not there are to be candidates in order to initiate the screening of candidates in time for placement in U.S. universities by September 1978. AFR will make an assessment of the implementation of the project in December 1977 and reconsider the program in the context of current A.I.D. policies regarding assistance for southern Africa before making a recommendation on the project. We anticipate that there will be a need for additional training. In addition, a requirements analysis and design effort will be undertaken not later than June 30, 1976, looking forward to PP revision during FY 1977.

4. Why split funding between SASP and SAREP (alternatively, why utilize SASP and SAREP and not initiate a new program)? In the first instance, the Congress has directed funding to existing programs. Given the possibility of early Zimbabwe majority rule, it also seems appropriate to differentiate its training from the longer term situation in Namibia and the unique situation in the Republic. As noted earlier, it may be possible to define separate program objectives and evaluation criteria for Rhodesia.

5. Why provide undergraduate training? The numbers of students qualifying for graduate training are limited, and undergraduate requirements are staggering. While undergraduate training is authorized under this project, specific AID approval will be required and limited to cases of extraordinary justification.