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**Special:**

Lusaka & Regional Cooperation  
in Southern Africa, Part II:  
The South African Dilemma

**SADEX**





# AFRICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIC CENTER

SADEX is published bi-monthly by the African Bibliographic Center as an information and documentation guide to serve as a primary component in the establishment of a Southern Africa Development Information/Documentation Exchange (SADEX) network in cooperation with Southern African and African institutions and others involved in the development process in Southern Africa. Its purpose is to provide the Southern Africa development community with pertinent and timely information on publications, projects and international cooperation efforts related to development within Southern African countries and in the region as a whole.

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# SADEX

THE  
SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT  
INFORMATION/DOCUMENTATION  
EXCHANGE



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# INTRODUCTION

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SADEX is produced in conjunction with the Southern Africa Development Information/Documentation Exchange (SADEX) project under a contract from the Africa Bureau of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) to the African Bibliographic Center (ABC). This undertaking supersedes the AID-funded Southern Africa Development Analysis Project (SADAP) for which ABC provided information and documentation support services, including the Africon/SADAP Accessions Bulletin.

The SADEX project is intended to complement and interact with efforts already underway in Southern Africa to establish an economic information and documentation network as mandated in 1978 by the Council of Ministers of the East, Central and Southern Africa subregion of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), and by the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference convened in Arusha, Tanzania, July 3-4, 1979.

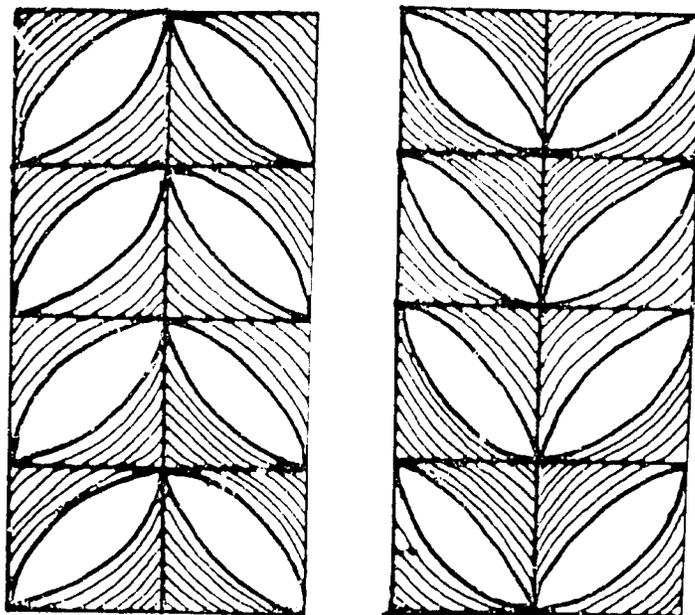
The SADEX project publication, SADEX, is intended primarily to serve the development needs and priorities of Southern Africans and others throughout the world involved in development planning and project implementation relating to Southern Africa. SADEX readers reflect a broad constituency of developmental institutions in Southern Africa and the rest of Africa, bilateral and multilateral donor agencies and their contractors, individual specialists, universities and research institutions, documentation centers, and private donor institutions and organizations. SADEX is designed to provide this constituency with a forum for the exchange of knowledge, research, experiences and ideas of relevance to Southern African development.

Each issue of SADEX will contain a feature section consisting of articles, special bibliographic essays and literature surveys; an information section that will variously include identification of forthcoming publications, recent SADEX accessions, abstracts of development-related publications, information briefs arranged according to sector, identification of development projects, research in progress, and conferences and meetings; a book review section; a bibliographic section arranged principally by country with numerically indexed entries; an author index; and in the near future, a subject index.

The scope of SADEX listings in the bibliographic section includes the nine majority ruled states of Southern Africa -- Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe -- and the pre-independent state of Namibia. Although not central to the scope of SADEX and the SADEX project, South Africa is of obvious importance to the unfolding dynamics of the region and, therefore, materials on South Africa within this context will be indexed under the "Regional" heading in the bibliographic section.

Intended as illustrative rather than exhaustive, SADEX indexing is based on a review of most of the major foreign and domestic sources which regularly or irregularly publish materials related to the development process in Southern Africa. Resources listed are generally within a three-year period with emphasis placed on the most current.

The African Bibliographic Center is solely responsible for the production and contents of SADEX, and for conducting the Southern Africa Development Information/Documentation Exchange project.



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# SADEX INFORMATION REQUEST

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In accordance with the SADEX objective of contributing toward the possible establishment of a regional development documentation/information network in Southern Africa, the SADEX staff would very much appreciate any suggestions you may have on individuals and institutions which might find SADEX of value. Of particular concern are development specialists and institutions in Southern Africa, but a broad distribution is also sought throughout Africa, within the international development assistance community, and among Southern Africa development specialists in the academic and private sectors worldwide.

If you would like to suggest names for inclusion on the SADEX distribution list, please submit name and title (or institution), mailing address and any other information which you feel might be pertinent. Please also notify SADEX at the address shown below if you think it would be more appropriate for this publication to be sent to other individuals or divisions within your organization.

SADEX welcomes information on the following, as related to development in Southern Africa:

- country/sector studies
- research in progress
- documentation centers concerned with scientific and technical matters
- regional cooperation efforts
- conferences and meetings
- development projects
- publications

SADEX also invites the submission of manuscripts for possible inclusion in the feature section of future issues. It is requested that manuscripts be typed, double-spaced, and not exceed 2500 words. Unsolicited manuscripts which are not used will be returned to the authors.

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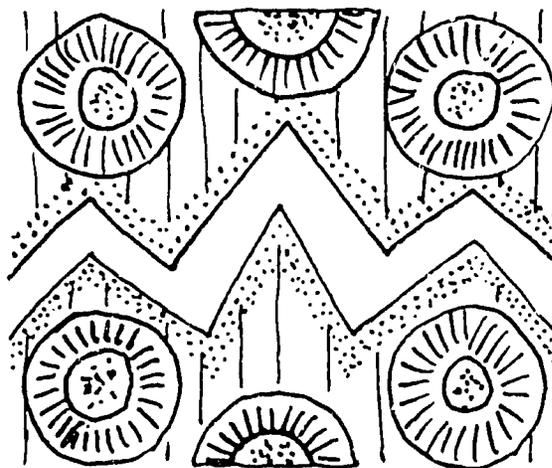
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# LUSAKA & REGIONAL COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, PART II:

## The South African Dilemma

by Francis A. Komegay, Jr. & Victor A. Vockerodt

*This is the second of a series of SADEX features focusing on review and analysis of current trends in regional cooperation in Southern Africa. The next article in this series will focus on Namibia.*

Events in Southern Africa over the first half of 1980 -- the independence of Zimbabwe under a ZANU-PF government, followed by the April 1 economic summit meeting of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) -- have placed South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha's plans for a 'Constellation of Southern African States' decidedly on the defensive. In the March 21 issue of the Johannesburg Star, Deon DuPlessis declared that the "Constellation Plan Is a 'Dead Duck" (p. 1). More recently, the post-Zimbabwe consolidation of forces among the Lusaka Nine has been linked directly to the inevitable bottom line of internal change in the Republic itself. As Africa Confidential editor Xan Smiley wrote in the Summer 1980 edition of Foreign Affairs, Pretoria must "increasingly realize that any formal acceptance, let alone encouragement, of South Africa's economic regional mastery is deeply abhorrent to black states, and any attempt to reconcile South Africa's

white establishment with black Africa can only succeed through the total abolition of apartheid" (p. 1084).

When Prime Minister Botha first enunciated his vision of a regional constellation in 1979, his timing and the trend of events in the sub-continent seemed propitious for realization of the scheme, with the prospect of an 'internal settlement' in 'Zimbabwe Rhodesia' gaining Anglo-American acceptance. Until the dramatic outcome of the majority-rule elections at the end of February 1980, Botha's plans appeared to gain momentum, while the frontline states were increasingly threatened by political as well as economic destabilization generated by the war for independence in Zimbabwe. Assuming a continued client-state relationship between an independent 'Zimbabwe Rhodesia' and South Africa, Botha apparently planned his constellation venture within the context of controlled change in South Africa that would permit white domination

with a new twist -- black participation. This regional strategy essentially would serve the purposes of South Africa's security needs and hopefully provide a tightly knit politico-economic set-up (see SADEX, Vol. 1, no. 2, 1979, pp. 1-21).

For Botha, the prime movers in implementing the constellation must be the business community. When government and business leaders met in Johannesburg on November 22nd, 1979, in what was billed as a "summit meeting of political, business and trade leaders," the consensus as expressed by Mr. Botha's economic advisor, Dr. Simon Brand, was "that South Africa had a great potential to make excellent progress in the field of economic cooperation in southern Africa" ("Business Leaders Support Botha Economic Strategy," in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report: The Middle East & Africa, November 27, 1979, p. E5). The chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, characterized the meeting as "marking the beginning of a new relationship between the Government and private enterprise" (South Africa Digest, Pretoria, November 30, 1979, p. 7). However, Oppenheimer also stated that the constellation proposal could not work unless the government relaxed its internal policies and improved relations with the Western world, urging the Botha government to "mend fences with countries who are our friends." Apparently, the private sector was seeking a clear understanding of the conditions under which it would operate should it decide to invest in neighboring states.

In fact, the Federated Chamber of Industries (representing about 10,000

industrial employers) more or less issued an ultimatum to the Government in April of this year, saying it "would be happy to co-operate with the Prime Minister's new direction but that it would like a declaration of intent as to the final structure first" ("SA's Political Economy: A New Alliance," in The South Africa Foundation News, May 1980, p. 3).

This latter demand is illustrative of the major demand by all sectors interested in developing the constellation idea, namely, that the exact meaning and implications of the concept be clarified. For P.W. Botha, "the concept 'constellation of states' does not primarily denote a formal organization, but rather a grouping of states with common interests and developing mutual relationships, and between which a clear desire to extend areas of cooperation exists. The membership of a constellation of southern African states can include any country in the subcontinent which identifies the need to expand relationships and to cooperate in a regional context" (see "A Bright New Constellation," in Backgrounder, Washington, D.C., Information Counselor of the South African Embassy, January 1980, p. 1).

In the academic world, criticism of the scheme initially focused on the imprecision of the constellation concept, and gradually extended to the manner in which it was presented and its overall importance for South Africa. One of the more extensive analyses was done by Deon Geldenhuys and Denis Venter ("Regional Co-Operation in Southern Africa: A Constellation of States?" in International Affairs Bulletin, Pretoria,

December 1979, pp. 36-71). The authors present a formal study of Botha's regional proposal within the historical context of South African ideas on regional co-operation from Smuts to Vorster. They then specifically consider Botha's constellation ideas through a systematic analysis of his Carlton Speech, presented to the meeting of government and business leaders in Johannesburg, November 22, 1979. Through all the points analyzed, the fundamental dilemma of the political nature of the proposal and South Africa's economic predominance comes through strongly, as well as the author's belief that South African officials tend to have a "deterministic" view of possible developments.

Apart from noting "suspicions about South Africa's motives" the authors stress the particular historical juncture of regional events, South Africa's preoccupation with the 'marxist threat,' the military nature of the proposal, the role of common interests (perceived as such by South Africa), the leadership question, and the "uncertainty about the institutional framework needed to regulate relations between the widely disparate prospective members of a constellation."

They conclude their study by testing the viability of the constellation idea on the basis of "four term variables," namely, the nature and level of cohesion, the nature of communications (among the political elites), the level of power, and finally, the structure of relations. The authors conclude that "the greatest difficulty in assessing the constellation idea lies in the fact that it lacks a coherent

intellectual basis" (p. 67), and suggest a more neutral concept, such as an association of states, that concerns itself primarily with economic development.

A more political analysis of the constellation proposal is presented by Wolfgang H. Thomas ("A Southern African 'Constellation of States': Challenge or Myth," in South Africa International, Johannesburg, January 1980, pp. 113-28). For him, "the concept of a constellation straddles the spheres of internal and international relations; it falls as much into the spectrum of Minister P.K. Botha's foreign policy strategy as it falls into the wider spectrum of P.W. Botha's activist reforms in the internal economic and political spheres" (p. 114). Further, "at least three separate issues are at stake if one talks about constellations: the movement towards a confederation of South African sub-states, the creation of a strategic cordon sanitaire in Southern Africa, and the intensification of economic co-operation between fully independent states in the Southern sub-continent" (p. 114).

The author analyses these variants in his six different hypothetical constellations: regional economic cooperation in Southern and Central Africa; an Economic Community of Southern Africa; a Southern African Cordon Sanitaire; a Confederation of South African States; a Federation of South Africa; and Multi-Stream Politics. He concludes that in the constellation concept "at least three different elements are contained...economic interaction and co-operation amongst a wide range of fully independent African countries; military non-aggression

between South Africa and its more proximate neighbours; and thirdly, constitutional adjustments within South Africa on its way towards multiracial power sharing" (p. 126).

South Africa's think-tank theorists are also considering the subject of regionalism and development, including analyses of other regional formations so as to foresee possible obstacles to regional development in Southern Africa. G.M.E. Leistner, Director of the Africa Institute of South Africa in Pretoria, presents in his "Lessons of Regional Cooperation in Africa" (South African Journal of African Affairs, Vol. 9, no. 3&4, 1979, pp. 129-34) a synopsis of economic developments in Africa followed by an analysis of the various regional organizations. He addresses the question of whether regional integration is firstly political or economic, the various models of economic integration, problems of harmonization, and fiscal and monetary issues.

Dennis Fair, the Senior Research Fellow at the Africa Institute, presents in the same issue an article entitled "Towards Balanced Development in Southern and East Africa" (pp. 174-77), in which he briefly summarizes the economic development of each country in the region, with emphasis on how each government is trying to deal with the rural/urban dichotomy.

Further, Denis Venter, a senior researcher at the Africa Institute, in his "South Africa: A Non-Aligned Posture in Foreign Policy" (ibid., pp. 178-85), believes that "the problems and issues inherent in South Africa's foreign policy orientation...necessitate a

policy of flexible response, combining the best elements of a three-dimensional option: on a regional level, meaningful technical-functional cooperation and domestic policy adjustments in order to create the right climate and provide a sound foundation (substructure) for an 'association of states in southern Africa'; on a continental level, lasting normalisation of relations with black Africa, which will not only lead to 'detente' but also 'rapprochement' and South Africa's eventual admission to the Organization of African Unity; and on a global level, the pursuit of a purposeful and consistent 'non-aligned' direction in foreign policy which can serve as a manifestation of a larger measure of identification not only with black Africa but also with the Third World and its often unique problems" (p. 180). Venter in essence suggests that South Africa play a role within the North/South bloc as a leading 'new influential' (as an advanced developed country within the South), rather than as an actor in the stalemated East-West (cold-war) rivalry. However, this again hinges on drastic internal changes in the Republic itself.

Venter acknowledges as much in his more recent publication, South Africa and Black Africa: Some Problem Areas and Prospects for Rapprochement (Pretoria, Africa Institute, 1980). He concludes that the dispute over principles between black-ruled Africa and South Africa "can only be ended firstly by meaningful change within the South African situation, thus removing the grounds for disagreement; and secondly through negotiations in which accommodations could be made by both sides, in order to reduce the range of differences

and provide for a gradual normalisation of relations. Meanwhile, peaceful co-existence between black Africa and the Republic is out of the question as this would imply acceptance of the system of apartheid. Attempts to ostracise or isolate South Africa will therefore continue as a pressure for change" (pp. 5-6). Venter does offer some broadly stated suggestions on how the Republic should move to accommodate these pressures, although it is not at all clear that he himself has totally rejected the government's separate development straitjacket. He does recommend "a Declaration of Intent broadly setting out short-, medium- and long-term objectives of the South African government to effect an internal political dispensation which should be acceptable to all population groups" (p. 9), while warning that: "It must also not be forgotten that credibility can only be achieved through real action" (p. 24).

The Bureau of Economic Research/Co-operation and Development (BENSO) is another Pretoria-based think-tank that has analyzed the constellation concept. A semi-public research agency, BENSO is attached to the Ministry of Cooperation and Development (headed by highly touted 'verligte' Cabinet Minister Piet Koornhof), but also works through a parliamentary committee to concentrate on black South African socio-economic problems in the urban townships and in the so-called 'black states' spawned by the National Party's separate development policy. In line with the Botha government's constellation thinking, BENSO has sought to cast South Africa's development problems within a regional context, although this is primarily defined in terms that suit Pretoria's

homelands policy and thereby tends to reinforce suspicions that Botha's proposed constellation is a euphemism aimed at gaining acceptance for the unacceptable: separate development.

This conceptual framework is reflected in most of the essays in BENSO's main periodical, the two-year-old Development Studies on Southern Africa, although there are serious contributions that address the broader regional framework beyond the borders of the Republic.

One such example is "Regional Interdependence in Southern Africa: Prospects of Stability Through Co-operation," by J.A. Thomas and J.G. Boyazoglu in the April 1979 issue (pp. 234-53). The authors first analyze the development potential of the region, supporting the "basic human needs" strategy as opposed to the trickle-down theory of development. Within this framework, they examine present regional interdependence, and ultimately advocate a regionally integrated rural development program. "Judging from the distribution of resources and the relative development of countries in Southern Africa, logical bases for interdependence would be the technical know-how, manufactured goods, and to an extent, finance that South Africa could provide. In exchange, her neighbors would provide markets for excesses produced in South Africa, as well as certain raw materials unavailable in the Republic. Looking into the future, the main raw materials that South Africa is likely to need are water, energy and, towards the end of the twentieth century, food" (pp. 250-51).

Present political hurdles are considered only as "relatively minor issues." In effect, they advocate that "we should start thinking of Southern Africa as the treasure chest it really is, instead of seeing it as a menacing powder keg!" (p. 237).

More political sensitivity is displayed in what is perhaps the most comprehensive South African publication on the constellation to date, published by the South Africa Foundation. Compiled and edited by Willie Breytenbach, The Constellation of States: A Consideration (1980) focuses on "the current proposals for and responses to the idea of a Constellation of Southern African States," for "the constellation concept will, in all probability, become one of the most intensely debated issues of the eighties."

Breytenbach's introduction starts out with a quote from the December 1979 International Affairs Bulletin article by Geldenhuys & Venter referred to earlier in this essay: "In essence, the current South African designs for the subcontinent represent a defensive strategy; circumstances have forced the Republic to retreat behind the perimeters of Southern Africa" (p. 5). However, Breytenbach views his publication as neither a 'pro-constellation' or 'anti-constellation' work, but "simply a presentation of informed views and facts on existing structures (bilateral and multilateral) for regional cooperation and development, and of the historical pattern of technical, economic and other forms of relationships in the Southern African region" (p. 6).

In terms of format, the selections are preceded by two introductory pieces by the editor, "Co-operation in Southern Africa: An Historical Survey," and "The Government View: The Carlton Conference and Thereafter," referring to the November 22, 1979 meeting with business, industry and commerce leaders. The selections that follow do include two speeches delivered at that conference: "A Good Start Has Been Made," by Harry Oppenheimer and "Remove Impediments at Home First," by J.N. Reddy.

In his evaluation of the material presented, Breytenbach makes the following observations: (i) "Not a single contributor to this chapter is convinced that the Constellation of Southern African States, as mooted by the Prime Minister and the South African Government, is going to be a resounding success. Many thought, however, that this concept offers the possible means of accelerating the acceptance of domestic arrangements" (p. 54); (ii) "Most South African businessmen are naturally delighted with the possibility of extending business interests to all corners of the subcontinent, but not all businessmen (e.g., NAFCO) are satisfied that the proposed constellation is about economics only: they suspect that undesirable politics will continue to exist while expectations implicit in the constellation concept, such as the freer flow of capital and labour (as proposed by Professor J.J. Stadler), are unlikely to materialize (Dr. Deon Geldenhuys). And without the freer flow of capital and labour, no meaningful constellation, capitalistic or otherwise, will be possible" (p. 54).

Finally, Breytenbach asserts: "it would be fair to conclude that government thinking on the proposed Constellation of Southern African States, however 'open-ended' the scheme is pronounced to be, is perhaps more grandiose than anything that might eventuate from this initiative" (p. 70).

### Peaceful Co-Existence or Destabilization?

While South Africans debate the constellation, of more immediate relevance is the Republic's actual relations with its neighbors following Zimbabwe's independence. Although Pretoria has long stressed 'peaceful co-existence' and 'non-interference' as hallmarks of its policy toward its neighbors, its continued illegal occupation of Namibia coupled with the maintenance of apartheid places it in direct confrontation with the states on its periphery. Given this situation, South Africa's leaders have long sought to capitalize on the political weakness and economic dependency of neighboring states in the hope of containing threats to the white-dominated status-quo in the sub-continent and in the Republic itself.

Since the collapse of the Portuguese African empire, there have been aspects of both accommodation and confrontation in the Republic's attempts to readjust its regional relationships to suit new geo-political realities.

#### I. MOZAMBIQUE/ZIMBABWE

In its relations with Mozambique, the Republic has sought to demonstrate how the region's economic and com-

munications interdependence can overcome political and ideological differences and lead to cooperation as opposed to confrontation. Also, following the election victory of Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe, a conciliatory tone was struck, at least initially, by South African officials in the hope of maintaining diplomatic as well as economic links with the new state.

This attitude even carried over into South Africa's response to the April 1 Lusaka summit of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). While addressing the House of Assembly in Cape Town on May 20, Foreign Minister Roelof Botha is reported to have remarked that "the South African Government did not regard the attempts by nine African countries in southern Africa to become less dependent on South Africa as a countermove against a constellation of states," that such a move by the Lusaka nine was an attempt to improve their economic position, and as such, "South Africa welcomed it because it could contribute to more stability." ("Roelof Botha on Taiwan Trade, Ties with Neighbors," in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report: Middle East & Africa, May 22, 1980, p. 114). In addition, Botha was critical of Western reluctance to come forth with substantial development aid to the new Zimbabwe.

However, once Mugabe made it clear that the continuation of unavoidable economic links would not be accompanied by Zimbabwe-South African diplomatic ties, Pretoria's initial conciliatory notes soured and struck a distinctly more belligerent tone with hints of economic retaliation against Zimbabwe and

even Zambia, stressing their continued dependence on South African trade routes and ports.

A different South African attitude was expressed in a recent editorial in the liberal English-language Rand Daily Mail entitled, "Let's Be Generous to Little Zimbabwe" (July 13, 1980). The editorial takes strong exception to Foreign Minister Botha's "display of bellicosity" in response to Mugabe's not unsurprising announcement that Zimbabwe would not continue diplomatic ties with the Republic. It is pointed out that a "noisy and belligerent diplomacy" will not serve South Africa's vital interest in regional stability, noting that "almost miraculously the Mugabe victory has stymied the Soviet Union which is struggling to find a foothold in Zimbabwe," and that the "ascendant influences are the Western powers and the People's Republic of China, perhaps Russia's bitterest enemy." The editorial further expresses the hope that "regional development should not be crippled by political hostility...."

However, from the vantage point of the Mugabe regime, a dual threat to its post-independence security is perceived from both South Africa and the Soviet Union (see "Whites Come to Terms with Zimbabwe," by James MacManus in the May 4, 1980 Manchester Guardian, p. 7, which discusses the the ironies of cooperation in the intelligence field between members of the 'old regime' and the new with regard to Moscow and Pretoria). Soviet backing for the Joshua Nkomo-led Patriotic Front (ZAPU) has been a source of both growing tension within the ruling coalition and estrangement between the regime and

Moscow (which at this writing has not yet been allowed to establish a diplomatic mission in Salisbury). The perceived threat of destabilization from South Africa also involves a continuing threat to the the stability of Mozambique -- namely the existence of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) which waged counter-revolutionary warfare against FRELIMO alongside Rhodesian army counter-insurgency campaigns against ZANU's Mozambique-based armed wing, ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army).\* Since the independence of Zimbabwe, South Africa has become the focal point of suspicion over the MNR's continued operations, which are now directed against Zimbabwe as well as Mozambique. Pretoria's interest in backing the MNR as a covert tool for destabilizing Zimbabwe and Mozambique is analyzed in the June 11, 1980 issue of the London-based Foreign Report in an item entitled "South Africa's Eye on Mozambique" (pp. 3-4). The focus is on South Africa's interest in nipping in the bud the growing threat of a black South African armed challenge, particularly in the wake of the dramatic raid against the Republic's vital Sasol coal conversion plant.

Beyond the prospect of destabilization of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, there is also the threat that a South African-backed MNR poses to the crucial

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\*For background on the history of the MNR see: "FRELIMO's Ruthless Enemies," by Victor Ndovi in the May 1979 issue of New African magazine (pp. 38-40); and more recently: "Malawi: What of the Future?" in Financial Mail, June 6, 1980, pp. 1109-11.

transport/communications plans of the SADCC. In its May 30 'Voice of Free Africa' broadcast criticizing Prime Minister Mugabe's announcement of military cooperation between Salisbury and Maputo, the MNR noted that: "The main theme of the Lusaka economic summit was the movement of exports from Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana through Mozambican ports. But the economic routes they rely on for the transport of these goods have been cut by the armed revolt of the people of Mozambique against Samora Machel's communist oppression. This is the reason that Zimbabwe wants to intervene in Mozambique -- in order to protect its own interests" ("Voice of Free Africa Criticizes Zimbabwe's Mugabe," in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report: Middle East & Africa, June 3, 1980, pp. U4-5).\* Thus, the MNR may not only serve the Republic's security interest in counteracting Mozambican (and Zimbabwean) support for the opposition movements, but its politico-economic interest in maintaining black Southern African transport/communications dependency on South African links as well.

## II. ANGOLA/NAMIBIA

The massive South African Defense Force raid into southern Angola against the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) last June high-

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\*To combat the threat posed by the MNR, Zimbabwe and Mozambique have mounted joint military operations to secure their vulnerable border regions (see "Zimbabwe - 1: New Bedfellows," in Financial Mail, June 6, 1980, pp. 1111-12).

lights the more direct confrontation that exists between South Africa and Angola, in contrast to the Republic's more covert and indirect approach with Mozambique. Because of Pretoria's stake in Namibia, the untidy decolonization of Angola (accompanied by the Cuban and Soviet bloc presence) has tended to produce confrontation, despite Angola's prominent role in working for peaceful conflict resolution in Namibia and its attempts to strengthen economic ties to the West.

In an article entitled "Angola: Elusive Pot at the End of the Rainbow," by David Williers in the Johannesburg-based New Nation (January 1980, pp. 4-5, 21), the fixation of South Africa's leaders on Angola is thoughtfully analyzed in terms of their attempts to justify the abortive 1975-76 intervention and continued support for Jonas Savimbi's rebel UNITA. Williers points out that during the Vorster 'detente era,' "Angola's importance, inter alia, was seen in the fact that the country is rich, infrastructurally well developed in comparison with many other African states and strategically well placed with its long shared border with SWA/Namibia." The country was therefore thought to be "well placed to join in the southern African 'co-prosperity' zone which on hindsight appeared to be Mr. B.J. Vorster's version of the 'constellation' idea, and which his mentor, General Van den Bergh, doubtless saw as a real possibility in the wake of detente" (pp. 4-5).

Williers feels that Pretoria's continuing interest in Angola may not be to overthrow the incumbent MPLA regime, but

to "make Angola unattractive to Western investment and thus forestall an 'unholy alliance' between the West and South Africa's enemies...." (p. 21). Such a policy is, however, viewed as ultimately counter-productive: "In order to forestall the Russians from making further diplomatic and military capital out of South African expeditions into Angola.. one might expect the West to distance themselves ever further from Pretoria and redouble their efforts to get Angola into the Western trading camp through accession to Lome II, (resulting) in South Africa's further isolation" (p. 21). The only problem here is that Williers does not take into account the ongoing lobbying in the West, the U.S. in particular, to renew covert assistance to Jonas Savimbi's rebel band.

Leaving aside periodic military raids into southern Angola, South Africa's support of UNITA also serves the Republic's interest in maintaining regional dependency on its trade routes and port facilities given the continued paralysis of the Benguela Railroad due to UNITA sabotage that affects Zairean and Zambian copper exports (and which has had them looking east toward Mozambique's rail and port outlets since Zimbabwe's independence). Further, by stalling on the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia, Pretoria holds hostage the SADCC plan for constructing a Trans-Kgalagedi railway line and road from Botswana to Angola and Namibia, which would transform Botswana's transport/communication options and make it much less dependent on the Republic.

Namibia's own development is made problematic by South Africa's delaying

tactics on the settlement issue. The stagnation of the territory's economic prospects is examined in "SWA/Namibia: Two Stable Choices," in the March 21, 1980 Financial Mail (pp. 1155-56). Business interests are seen to have a choice between "the stability of a SWA/Namibia settlement with international recognition, or the stability of the status-quo along with SA's protection," with South African authorities trying to persuade investors of the viability of the latter option. However, it is pointed out that "the investment community is not entirely convinced" while "SA big business and the multinational mining houses continue to hold back. After Rhodesia, they don't trust scenarios which ignore the forces of black nationalism" (p. 1155, emphasis added).

Certainly the independence of Namibia would not only resolve the last remaining colonial issue in Southern Africa, but would greatly expand the option for regional cooperation within the framework of the SADCC, of which an independent Namibia would be likely to become a member. (Namibian prospects will be treated separately in a future SADEX bibliographical essay.)

Despite South Africa's professed policy of 'peaceful co-existence' and 'non-interference,' its resistance to political changes in the subcontinent has spawned political and economic instability throughout the region. One result is that a good portion of the Southern African development agenda for the '80s consists of reconstruction efforts to overcome the devastating effects of such destabilization. In commenting on Southern Africa's prospects

in the aftermath of the February elections in Zimbabwe, West German Africanist Klaus Freiherr von der Ropp observes: "The lasting repercussions of destabilization must nonetheless be borne in mind, especially as the process has affected every country in the region over the past five years. Counter-attacks by Zimbabwe/Rhodesian and South African ground and air units destroyed a large number of bridges, railway lines, road intersections, power stations and other important infrastructure features in Angola, Zambia and Mozambique" ("Zimbabwe - A Chance with Robert Mugabe," in Aussen Politik, Hamburg, Vol. 31, no. 2, 1980, p. 168).\*

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\*Von der Ropp also offers the following view on the destabilization campaigns during the war for Zimbabwe: "...the governments in Salisbury and Pretoria capitalised on the existence of Opposition groups in Angola, Mozambique and Zambia (although these allegations cannot, of course, be proved in detail) ....Dissatisfaction caused by gross economic mistakes in the past and, at least in Angola's case, the existence of a regime maintained by outside forces serve to foster substantial domestic support for dissident groups. Pretoria lends military and other support to the Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) and the Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana (RNM), and so did Salisbury, at least until the end of 1979, with the result that the governments in Luanda and Maputo are faced with additional problems" (pp. 168-69).

## South Africa and the Future of the Region

According to von der Ropp, the "future of Zimbabwe and other countries in the subcontinent will depend in the final analysis on how guerrilla warfare in South Africa develops" (ibid., p. 169). By some estimates, South African events during the first half of 1980 mark the beginning in earnest of such warfare with the daring Sasol raid and the continuing widespread student and labor unrest among Africans and Coloreds. These events signal what may be the final lap in a race against time between the various tendencies of white political and economic reformism (both Afrikaner 'verligte' and English liberalism) and the still fragmented forces of the liberation movement struggling to regroup into a credible challenge to the system with the promise of a more revolutionary transformation. It is within this context that Prime Minister Botha's constellation -- and related concepts -- will ultimately be decided. For, despite its regional implications, it is South Africa's complex class and color-caste conflict that has inspired the notion of a constellation.

Among the proliferating literature on South Africa, the London Economist, June 21, 1980 special supplement entitled "The Great Evasion - South Africa: A Survey," is noteworthy. The tensions and mounting unrest in the Republic are examined against the backdrop of wider regional developments. Political editor Simon Jenkins observes that the "imminent external threat to South Africa from a holy race-war has, if anything, diminished after the ending

of the Rhodesian war. The front-line states have clearly signalled to South Africa that the next few years would have to be devoted to economic recuperation after the crippling cost of that conflict" (p. 24). Also included in the survey is a lengthy and useful analysis of the black opposition (both under- and above-ground), including a section entitled "Now Hunt the Leader" (pp. 26-28).

The growing interest in black South African opposition is also highlighted in the following recent articles: "Who's Doing the Fighting? A Guide to the Liberation Movement," by Judy Seidman in the May 1980 issue of the London-based New Internationalist (pp. 18-19) -- a cursory profile of the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM); "South Africa: Black Opposition Tactics," in the May 21 Africa Confidential (London, pp. 4-5); and "Black Strategies Against Apartheid," by Barry Streek in the July/August 1980 issue of Africa Report (New York, pp. 35-39).

Streek, political correspondent for the East London Daily Dispatch (and former Vice-President of the National Union of South African Students), classifies black groups into four categories according to their strategy and tactics: "those who join the system, those who use the system with qualification, those who try to survive banning but will have nothing to do with any structure created by the government, and those who have been outlawed and have gone underground" (p. 35). Despite such variations, the May 30, 1980 Financial Mail observes that: "Black opposition is already a different animal from what it

was in 1976. On an overt level, regional groups have emerged, with stronger grassroots community backing. Their reliance is less on the polemic of the past than on practical organisation. The limited local issues around which they mobilise -- education, rents, transport fares, and labour disputes, etc. -- are tangible" ("Unrest: The Shooting Starts," p. 989).

While orthodox armed struggle is ruled out by most forecasters, scenario connoisseurs will find interesting the June 7, 1980 Economist report on the Sasol raid ("The Lid Blows Off," p. 38). While acknowledging that the South African army is by far the most powerful on the African continent, the report suggests that it may not be the insurance against black revolution it is generally assumed to be if it remains bogged down in Namibia while internal unrest becomes chronic, with future Sasol-type sabotage.

White liberals such as Progressive Federal Party (PFP) leader F. van Zyl Slabbert -- backed by mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer -- hope to stave off the revolution through peaceful constitutional change along federalist/'consociational' lines. Van Zyl Slabbert and David Welsh have outlined their hopes for the future in South Africa's Options: Strategies for Sharing Power (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1980) as an alternative to the sterile monologue currently being conducted by the ruling National Party.

Whether or not liberal reformism of the Progressive Federal variety or the rearranging-of-the-deck strategies of the National Party have any time for

becoming reality is highly debateable, which brings us to another South African view put forth by Peter Walshe in South Africa: A Test Case for the West (London, Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1980).

Walshe employs a subcontinental framework in tracing the evolution of African nationalism in South Africa toward the type of class analysis, socialist expectations and radical development strategies that have characterized other Southern African liberation movements. He foresees the emergence of "a regional political culture which is at odds with the ethic of western individualism and capitalist economics, as well as being at odds with the values of established black elites in most of the politically independent states of tropical Africa" (p. 10). "From the vantage point of hindsight and the prolonged liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe, it is clear that stark class polarization in tropical Africa, impoverishment of the masses and the rash of military coups, point to the urgent need for alternative development strategies in Southern Africa" (p. 11).

While Walshe does not predict an outcome of the struggle in South Africa, he clearly implies a trend toward socialist revolution similar to Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. He does not take into account the pragmatic counter-trends showing preferences for the development of mixed economies which provide a significant role for the private sector and foreign investment, although he does not call for disinvestment from South Africa. Rather, he recommends that Western powers recognize the

liberation movements in South and Southern Africa, and in other parts of the Third World, as local and regional movements for economic and political justice that require, among other things, the disciplining of transnational corporations under the constraints of U.S. and European Community public policies "so as to prise them loose from close alliances with Third World elites."

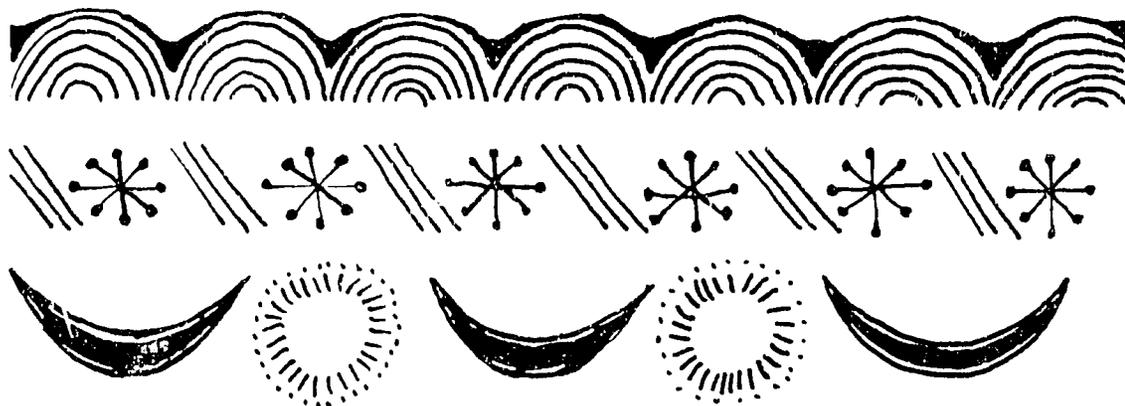
In short, Walshe calls on Western governments to begin pressing in earnest for far-reaching political and socio-economic changes in the Republic through the increased regulation of transnational corporate investment. Certainly the radical restructuring of the South African political economy is seen by Africans in and outside the Republic as the necessary precondition to South Africa's ultimate integration into the new regional order that is beginning to take shape in the subcontinent, and which could have far-reaching implications for the whole of Africa.

Despite this proposed scenario, Prime Minister Botha continues to push ahead with his own unique version of regional cooperation. Most recently, this has taken the form of an agreement reached with the 'independent' bantustans -- Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Venda -- concerning "a framework for regional cooperation in the economic, social and security fields, as well as in inter-state relations," including, according to the Johannesburg International Service, the establishment of a "development bank for Southern Africa on a multilateral basis to create sources for development cooperation" ("Four-Nation Agreement Reached on Regional

Cooperation," in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report: The Middle East & Africa, July 25, 1980, pp. U4-5). Further, the August 6, 1980 issue of the London-based Foreign Report, in analyzing the French diplomatic effort to forge links between Zaire and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, warns that South Africa "is expected to campaign against western aid for SADCC plans; the conference between donor countries, international organisations and SADCC leaders, to be held in November, may indicate whether it is likely to succeed" (p. 6).

Thus, for the foreseeable future, two polarized concepts of regional cooperation will co-exist in Southern Africa despite the continuing inter-

dependence of the sub-continent. The one expresses black-ruled Southern Africa's continuing struggle for genuine independence through "economic liberation" from South Africa and development of an alternative regional bloc that would isolate the Republic and indirectly contribute to its ultimate transformation. The other is a defensive strategy to secure the heartland of white supremacy by maintaining the regional dependency of the periphery while erecting new buffers against internal change in the name of change. In this context, 'regional cooperation' defines the 1980s as a new phase in the struggle to shape the future of Southern Africa, the outcome of which will ultimately depend on the events that unfold inside South Africa and on the role played by an international community which has a considerable stake in the outcome.



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# CONFERENCES & MEETINGS

Forthcoming, Current & Past

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SADEX readers are encouraged to send information on conferences and meetings, as well as copies of conference proceedings, papers and reports for indexing in the SADEX bibliographic section.

THIRD ALL-AFRICA TRADE FAIR, November 3-17, 1980, Khartoum, Sudan. Organized by a 16-member committee of the OAU. Theme: Prosperity Through Trade. All 50 OAU member states are expected to participate in the Fair, which is being held concurrently with the Fourth Khartoum International Fair. Contact: Church Orr Associates, P.O Box 30702, Nairobi, Kenya.

INTERREGIONAL SEMINAR ON RURAL WATER SUPPLY, October 5-17, 1980, Uppsala, Sweden. Sponsored by the U.N. Department of Technical Co-operation for Development, in conjunction with the Government of Sweden. Designed to assist developing countries in improving their decision-making capability with regard to the planning, design, operation and maintenance of water supply systems. Expected participants include 35 specialists from developing countries, ca. 20 lecturers and consultants, and representatives of international organizations. Contact: Chief, Development Programmes, Water Resources Branch, Division of Natural Resources and Energy, Dept. of Technical Co-operation for Development, United Nations, New York, New York 10017.

4TH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON ALCOHOLS (AND OTHER BIOMASS FUELS) TECHNOLOGY, October 5-8, 1980, Guaruga, Brazil. Sponsored by the Institute for Technological Research. Designed as an opportunity for researchers, engineers and planners to exchange ideas and experiences on the use of alcohol and biomass fuels as alternatives to petroleum fuels. Papers to be presented in English or Portuguese. Contact: Instituto de Pesquisas Technologicas, IV Alcohol Symposium, Att: Nedo Eston de Eston, Caixa Postal 7141, 01000 São Paulo, Brazil.

21ST UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE, September 23-October 28, 1980, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Amongst other topics, will discuss the report of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (MacBride Commission). Contact: UNESCO, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France.

2ND ANNUAL BREWING TECHNOLOGY CONFERENCE, September 14-19, 1980, Harrogate, England. Sponsored by the Incorporated Brewers' Guild and the Allied Brewery Traders'

Association, for ca. 600 participants, including delegates from Africa. Designed as an opportunity to discuss developments, practices and problems involved in brewing, with 43 papers scheduled for presentation and with lectures on the future of hop products and the application of micro-processors within the food processing industries. Contact: Incorporated Brewers' Guild, 8 Ely Place, London EC1N 6SD, England.

11TH TRIENNIAL WORLD CONFERENCE ON ENERGY, September 8-12, 1980, Munich, FR Germany. Principal topics include: energy supply, energy and society, and energy and environment. Contact: Organization Committee, Eleventh World Conference on Energy 1980, Lindemannstrasse 13, D-4000 Dusseldorf 1, Federal Republic of Germany.

4TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF MEDICAL LIBRARIANSHIP, September 2-5, 1980, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Theme: Health Information for a Developing World. Expected participants: ca. 2000. Contact: Dr. Ljubisa Sablic, ICML Executive Secretary, c/o Institut za strucno usavršavanje i specijalizaciju zdravstvenih radnika, Nusiceva 25/I, 1100 Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

13TH INTERNATIONAL WATER SUPPLY CONGRESS, September 1-4, 1980, Paris, France. Theme: Water Quality and Health; Water Use and Consumption. Contact: The Secretary General, International Water Supply Association, 1 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9BT, England.

6TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE GLOBAL IMPACTS OF APPLIED MICROBIOLOGY, August 31-September 6, 1980, Lagos, Nigeria. Organized by the Nigerian Society for Microbiology, and supported by the Government of Nigeria, UNESCO, UNEP, WHO, the OAU, and the International Foundation for Science (Sweden). Designed to focus on the contributions which applied microbiology can bring to the economy and welfare of developing countries, with particular reference to combatting hunger and making sound use of available natural resources. Contact: Prof. O. Ogunbi, Chairman, GIAM VI Organizing Committee, Dept. of Microbiology and Parasitology, Lagos University Teaching Hospital, P.M. Bag 12003, Lagos, Nigeria.

AFRICAN REGIONAL SEMINAR ON LEGAL EDUCATION, August 27-September 6, 1980, Lusaka, Zambia. Jointly organized by the Commonwealth Magistrates' Association and the Magistrates' Association of Zambia. Also scheduled to discuss the conflict between customary and received law. Contact: The Organizer of African Seminars, c/o Chief Justice, P.O. Box RW67, Lusaka, Zambia.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BIOLOGICAL AGRICULTURE, August 26-30, 1980, Ashford, England. Organized by the International Institute of Biological Husbandry. Designed to demonstrate that biological agriculture is a viable alternative to present agricultural systems; scheduled to include presentations on biological agriculture in both developing and developed countries. Contact: Dr. R.D. Hodges, Conference Secretary, Wye College (University of London), Ashford TN25 5AE, England.

12TH COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION AFRICAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE, August 25-31, 1980, Lobamba, Swaziland. Contact: Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Palace of Westminster, 7 Old Palace Yard, London SW1, England.

CONFERENCE TO ASSESS MANPOWER NEEDS AND TRAINING REQUIREMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, August 25-27, 1980, Ezulwini, Swaziland. Hosted and organized by the Government of Swaziland as a follow-up to the April 1, 1980, Southern African Development Coordination Summit Conference in Lusaka, Zambia, at which the Government of Swaziland was mandated to "carry out a review of existing training facilities in the region and to make recommendations for better regional utilization of the facilities." Participants will include official representatives from the Southern African governments which participated in the Lusaka Summit. Discussions will focus on manpower needs and training requirements in the region and on the terms of reference for the remaining work on manpower assessment to be carried out in preparation for the Southern African Development Coordination Conference in Maputo, Mozambique later this year. Partial logistical support for the conference will be provided by the African Bibliographic Center, under contract to the U.S. Agency for International Development. For further information, see next issue of SADEX, or contact: Mr. Elliot Bhembe, Department of Economic Planning and Statistics, P.O. Box 602, Mbabane, Swaziland.

COMMONWEALTH LAW CONFERENCE, August 16-23, 1980, Lagos, Nigeria. Contact: Mrs. H.A. Balogun, Nigerian Bar Association, PMB 12610, Lagos, Nigeria.

5TH WORLD CONGRESS ON RURAL SOCIOLOGY, August 7-12, 1980, Mexico City, Mexico. Theme: Agrarian Problems, Farmers and Development. Expected participants included ca. 750 persons from 50 countries. Sponsored by the International Rural Sociological Association and the Latin American Rural Sociological Association. Contact: Rodolfo Stavenhagen, El Colegio de Mexico, Apds. 20-671, Mexico 20, D.F. Mexico.

SYMPOSIUM ON SETTLEMENT IN BOTSWANA, August 7-10, 1980, Caborone, Botswana. Supported by the Commonwealth Foundation, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5HX, England.

8TH COMMONWEALTH EDUCATION CONFERENCE, August 5-13, 1980, Colombo, Sri Lanka. Scheduled topics include proposals relating to non-formal education, with particular reference to the needs of school drop-outs, adult illiterates, and women in rural areas. Contact: Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5HY, England.

UNESCO INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE ON COMMUNICATION POLICIES IN AFRICA, July 22-31, 1980, Yaoundé, Cameroon. Scheduled to be attended by ca. 200 persons, including African ministers of information and communication. Expected to formulate a policy statement to be presented at the September/October UNESCO General Conference (see note above). Contact: UNESCO, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France.

14TH CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION FOR HOME ECONOMICS, July 21-26, 1980, Manila, Philippines. Theme: Home Economics, A Responsible Partner in Development. Expected participants included ca. 1000 delegates from 50 countries. Contact: Fédération Internationale pour l'Economie Familiale, 5 avenue de la Porte-Brancion, F-75015 Paris, France.

3RD SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE ON WEATHER MODIFICATION, July 21-25, 1980, Clermont-Ferrand, France. Contact: World Meteorological Organization, Case Postal no. 5, CH-1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOIL CONSERVATION, July 21-25, 1980, Bedford, England. Sponsored by the National College of Agricultural Engineering, Silsoe, Bedford MK45 4DT, England.

CONFERENCE ON CANADA AND AFRICA, June 27-28, 1980, Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada. Sponsored by the United Nations Association in Canada. Papers presented included "Canadian Aid to Africa: Perspectives and Problems," by Dr. Paul Ladouceur. Contact: United Nations Association, 63 Sparks Street, Ottawa K1P 5A6, Canada.

2ND WORLD SYMPOSIUM ON INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTATION, June 20-22, 1980, Brussels, Belgium. Sponsored by the U.N. Institute for Training and Research, the Association of International Libraries, UNESCO, the Federation Internationale de Documentation (Netherlands), the International Council on Archives (France), and the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (Netherlands). Expected participants: ca. 500. Contact: United Nations Library, Palais des Nations, CH-1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.

AFRICAN CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS READERSHIP CAMPAIGNS, June 17-20, 1980, Yaoundé, Cameroon. Sponsored by the Regional Centre for Book Promotion in association with UNESCO, the Government of Cameroon, the NOMA Fund for Promotion of Readership in Developing Countries, and the International Reading Association. Designed to discuss the launching of readership campaigns in African countries; to design country-specific campaigns; and to draw up plans for their implementation. Contact: Regional Centre for Book Promotion, P.O. Box 1647, Yaoundé, Cameroon.

11TH FAO REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR AFRICA, June 16-27, 1980, Lomé, Togo. Reviewed FAO programs and discussed food strategies in Africa in light of the urgent need to increase food production and promote agricultural development. Also discussed the regional food plan for Africa endorsed at the April OAU economic summit in Lagos. Contact: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy.

66TH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE, June 4-25, 1980, Geneva, Switzerland. Attended by nearly 1,800 government, employer and worker delegates from a record 138 countries. Among other actions, adopted a recommendation on new labor

standards regarding older workers. Also adopted a resolution on ILO assistance to Zimbabwe, and called for the ILO to organize, within the next 12 months, an international tripartite meeting in one of the frontline states to plan an international program of action against apartheid in labor matters in South Africa. Contact: International Labour Office, 4 route des Morillons, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland.

1ST UNECA REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF MINERAL RESOURCES IN AFRICA, June 2-10, 1980, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Contact: U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

CONFERENCE ON "AFRICAN PROBLEM SOILS IN ENGINEERING PRACTICE", June 2-7, 1980, Accra, Ghana. Sponsored by the International Society for Soil Mechanics and Foundation Engineering. Designed as an opportunity for engineers and scientists to exchange experiences and to discuss how African soils can be used to build roads, bridges, houses and other structures suited to the local climate and environment. Attended by specialists from 21 countries. Contact: Building and Road Research Institute, University P.O. Box 40, Kumasi, Ghana.

3RD SESSION OF THE U.N. COMMISSION ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS, May 6-15, 1980, Mexico City, Mexico. Organized around 4 major themes: Human Settlements Finance and Management; Energy Requirements and Conservation in Human Settlements; Development of Rural Settlements and Growth Centers; and Upgrading of Urban Slums and Squatter Areas. Contact: Secretary of the Commission, U.N. Centre for Human Settlements, P.O. Box 30030, Nairobi, Kenya.

33RD WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION ASSEMBLY, May 5-25, 1980, Geneva, Switzerland. Meeting of health ministers and other representatives from 145 countries. Among other topics, discussed the goal of "Health for All by the Year 2000," and called for the continued development of an international code of marketing for infant feeding products. (Commonwealth representatives met prior to the Assembly, on May 4th in Geneva.) Contact: World Health Organization, 29 Avenue Appia, 1211 Geneva 27, Switzerland.

3RD CONFERENCE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF MOZAMBICAN WOMEN, March 27-31, 1980, Maputo, Mozambique. Stressing the key role of women in the struggle against underdevelopment, reviewed progress to date in ensuring the full participation of Mozambican women in the socio-economic life of the country and approved a program of action for the next five years. Contact: Secretariado Nacional, Organização da Mulher Mocambicana (OMM), Maputo, Mozambique.

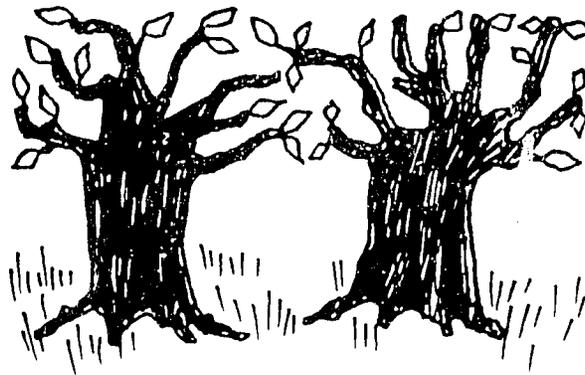
CONFERENCE ON THE COMMONWEALTH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, March 25-28, 1980, Nairobi, Kenya. Topic: an interprofessional approach to health care. Contact: Commonwealth Medical Association, BMA House, Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9JP, England.

1ST SESSION OF THE JOINT CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN PLANNERS, STATISTICIANS AND DEMOGRAPHERS, March 24-April 2, 1980, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Organized by the U.N.

Economic Commission for Africa. Designed to discuss the African Household Survey Programme, the ECA Report on "Selected Social Indicators of Relevance to Africa," and the 1980 Census; and to consider the best means of ensuring successful implementation of the proposed Pan-African Documentation and Information System (PADIS). Contact: UNECA, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

INTERNATIONAL BEAN WORKSHOP, March 10-15, 1980, Lilongwe, Malawi. Jointly funded by the U.S., Dutch and Malawian governments. Decided to establish a regional center for grain legumes to coordinate bean production in East, Central and Southern Africa. The center would also organize staff training, work towards the elimination of crop diseases and seek to increase supplies of bean seeds. Attended by 80 delegates.

CONFERENCE ON "SOUTHERN AFRICA AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY," March 1, 1980, New York, New York. Sponsored by the Columbia University Institute of African Studies. Divided into three panels: historical perspectives on US foreign policy in Southern Africa; economic and strategic interests affecting US policy; and how the public can influence that policy. Attended by ca. 200 persons from the academic community and from public and private sector organizations and interest groups. Contact: Institute of African Studies, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York, New York 10027.



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# DEVELOPMENT INFORMATION BRIEFS

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This section is intended to provide, for information purposes, abstracted newsbriefs concerning development projects, cooperative agreements and events pertaining to economic development in the Southern Africa region. Briefs are listed by sector and then alphabetically by country, with variable sector coverage in each issue of SADEX according to information available. Coverage is intended to be illustrative of significant development projects and trends, not comprehensive. Beginning with Volume 2, number 1, each brief is given a numerical identification number, e.g., B(001).

## GENERAL

### Angola and Zimbabwe - Join AfDB:

"Zimbabwe and Angola are now members of the African Development Bank. At an annual meeting of the bank held in Abidjan the board of governors accepted Angola and Zimbabwe's applications for membership. Angola becomes the 49th member of the bank while Zimbabwe is the 50th. The bank, established in 1964, granted more than 217,000,000 dollars in loans to 24 African countries last year." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, July 1, 1980, p. A2/1) B(181)

of greater Maseru and provide affordable and improved services, particularly for the poor." (IDA NEWS RELEASE no. 80/89, June 5, 1980, p. 1) B(182)

Malawi - IMF Credit: "The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has announced a two-year standby credit of 49.87m special drawing rights (SDRs) (\$65m) for Malawi to help with an economic recovery programme aimed mainly at cutting the external payments deficit." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, June 30, 1980, p. 5559) B(183)

### Lesotho - IDA Loan for Urban

Development: "The International Development Association (IDA)...has approved a \$6 million credit to Lesotho for an urban development project in the capital city of Maseru. The project will assist the government in building an institutional framework, centered on the planned Maseru Municipal Council, that will undertake national planning

Mozambique and Zimbabwe - Military Cooperation: "Senior intelligence and military officers from Zimbabwe and Mozambique on May 27th agreed on a detailed plan to combat anti-Frelimo guerillas operating on the borders of the two countries. The meeting reflected growing concern over the resurgence of resistance activity against the Marxist regime of President Samora Machel." (AFRICA RESEARCH

BULLETIN - POLITICAL, SOCIAL & CULTURAL  
SERIES, June 16, 1980, p. 5673) B(184)

Tanzania - New 20-Year Plan: "The official Tanzanian News Agency reported on May 19th that the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution) National Executive Council, under President Julius Nyerere, had approved a 20-year development plan designed more than to treble the country's Gross National Product, boost incomes, and increase life expectancy by the turn of the century. The plan, scheduled to begin from July 1981, aimed at increasing Tanzania's GNP from Shs. 42,334m (about \$5,291m) in 1980 to 1981 to Shs. 136,032 (\$17,004m)... It was also planned to boost the average per capita income from Shs. 2,423 (about \$302) to Shs. 3,845 (about \$480) while raising life expectancy from 47 to 55 years. Self-sufficiency in food production and further diversification in farming and the use of natural resources would be emphasised in agriculture, stock rearing, forestry and fishing, the agency added. Major irrigation schemes would be set up and the Council had directed the Government to set a national irrigation authority to increase the total amount of land under irrigation by 10,000 hectares." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, June 30, 1980, pp. 5555-56) B(185)

Zimbabwe - UN Assistance: "Projects to help newly independent Zimbabwe have been listed by a United Nations inter-agency team which completed a survey mission to the country this week. About 100 projects involving technical assistance and pre-investment action were identified and will be presented to

interested donor countries for funding. The team also indicated 25 other areas in which work could begin with existing funds." (U.N. PRESS RELEASE, May 30, 1980, p. 6) B(186)

Zimbabwe - UK Debt Repayment Settled: "The UK will write off \$51.4 million of outstanding debt owed by Zimbabwe and payment of a further \$77 million is to be rescheduled over 10 years at a low rate of interest, it was announced in Parliament on 2 July." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, July 4, 1980, p. 23) B(187)

Zimbabwe - Joins International Organizations: Zimbabwe became the 60th member of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific Countries Group of the European Economic Community at a joint EEC/ACP meeting on May 8th. Zimbabwe is slated to receive aid totaling \$15,000,000 from the EEC and \$60,000,000 from individual Market states, all of which will cover an estimated 3/4 of Zimbabwe's immediate needs. (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, May 20, 1980, p. ii) B(188)

"Zimbabwe was admitted to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) on 6 June as the 144th member. Admission was not automatic, as Zimbabwe is not yet a UN member, but was approved at the annual meeting of the International Labour Conference." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, June 13, 1980, p. 8) B(189)

"The Associated Chambers of Commerce of Zimbabwe intends to become a full member of the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) and will send delegations to future ICC congresses. The organization's annual report says it is to form

a national committee, the pre-requisite for full membership of the world body." (IBID., July 11, 1980, p. 22) B(190)

## AGRICULTURE

Lesotho - Taiwan Agriculture Loan: "Taiwan and Lesotho have signed an agreement for a short-term loan of 3.3 million for a maize and sorghum self-sufficiency programme. Fifteen technical experts from Taiwan are due to arrive in August." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, July 4, 1980, p. 20) B(191)

Mozambique - Brazil Assists Irrigation Projects: "The Brazilian company Geotechnica is to prepare two \$3 million irrigation projects over 25,000 hectares (ha) of the Limpopo Valley in Southern Mozambique. Fifty Brazilian technicians including agronomists, hydraulic engineers and agrarian economists will develop the projects which will include the construction of roads, schools and factories. The Mozambique news agency, AIM, says Geotechnica is also submitting plans for the construction of a dam on the Lumane River in the Limpopo Valley. This is in addition to studies of a 60-metre high dam to be built on the Pangue River in the central province of Sofia. Geotechnica plans to irrigate up to 130,000ha from the Pangue River dam. Geotechnica is also spending up to \$500,000 on preparing the bridge over the Zambesi in the north damaged in 1978 by serious flooding. AIM says the Bank of Brazil is to provide the necessary finance for the projects. The bank has already opened \$4.3 million lines of credit to Mozambique." (IBID., June 27, 1980, p. 21) B(192)

Tanzania - Ujamaas to be Economically Viable: "The (Tanzanian) government has announced guidelines to steer the country's 8,300 ujamaa (fellowship) villages into viable economic units. Prime Minister Ndugu Edward Sokoine said in parliament that the regions must plan to liberate peasants from subsistence farming by substituting hand hoes with ploughs. The guidelines require each village to have a communal farm of at least 40 hectares (ha) and for each able-bodied villager to have not less than 0.1 ha. Sokoine said that 38 percent of the villages have clean drinking water, 92 percent have schools and 35 percent dispensaries." (IBID., July 4, 1980, p. 12) B(193)

Zambia - Agricultural Development Bank Established: "Establishment of the proposed ZK75 million (\$96.9 million) Zambia Agricultural Development Bank created by parliament in 1979 was announced in Lusaka on 2 July. So far only ZK6 million (\$7.8 million) has been raised for the bank." (IBID., July 11, 1980, p. 21) B(194)

## EDUCATION & TRAINING

Lesotho - Swiss Industrial Aid: "Switzerland signed an agreement on 27 June to help set up light industry and train skilled craftsmen. The Swiss will provide equipment and instructors to the Lesotho National Development Corporation." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, July 11, 1980, p. 20) B(195)

Malawi - EEC Extension Grant for Craft School: "The West German-funded Senga Bay Rural Trade School on Lake Malawi is

to get a EUA 375,000 (\$535,000) grant to extend the premises and provide sewerage and water supply systems, vehicles and tools. The new facilities are to include a lecture room, library, workshop, hostel and staff accommodation, furniture and equipment. The school aims to provide craftsmen with the non-agricultural training they need to settle in rural areas." (IBID., June 20, 1980, p. 24) B(196)

Malawi - AfDF Funds for Education: "The AfDF (African Development Fund) is providing \$9.2m of a primary and tertiary education project, of which the total foreign exchange element is \$5.3m. The total project costs \$11m, with the government supplying the balance. The project expands the capability of the University of Malawi Polytechnic to produce annually 50 degree level graduates in business and engineering as well as 400 supporting technicians at diploma/certificate level..." (WORLD AID DIGEST, June 27, 1980, p. 7) B(197)

Mozambique-Swaziland Student Exchanges Planned: The Ministers of Education of Swaziland and Mozambique met in Maputo recently to discuss "an exchange programme for both teachers and pupils during term time. This means that students and teachers should visit each country and be involved in the normal routine work of the other school they are visiting." They further discussed the possibility of holding a Ministerial Consultation Regional Meeting, including Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Swaziland. (TIMES OF SWAZILAND July 11, 1980) B(198)

Mozambique-Tanzania Universities Exchange: "Dar es Salaam University and

Eduardo Mondlane University of Mozambique have signed a two-year agreement covering the exchange of students, teachers, teaching materials and information." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, June 6, 1980, p. 13) B(199)

Tanzania - Opens Language Center: "The East African Centre for Research on Oral Traditions and African National Languages (Eacrotanal) was officially opened on May 26th on the Tanzanian island of Zanzibar. Eacrotanal was established in 1979 to promote the cultural development and unity of East African countries with an emphasis on indigenous languages and customs." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - POLITICAL, SOCIAL & CULTURAL SERIES, June 16, 1980, p. 5695) B(200)

## ENERGY

Botswana - Coal Power Plant: "Botswana plans to build a coal-fired power station at Morupole Colliery at a cost of 130 million pulas in a bid to reduce the country's dependence on oil imports. The station, which will take five years to build, is expected to be a joint venture between the government and the foreign private sector. It would create a reliable network capable of supplying most of the country's power needs. Though Botswana has large coal reserves, estimated at 100bn tonnes stretching over a large area about 480km in length, the Morupole Colliery is the only mine being worked at present. Operated by Anglo-American Corporation, the colliery provides coal to the Selebi-Pikwe copper-nickel mine, plus about 375,000t a year for use by the Pikwe and

Gaborone power stations." (AFRICAN BUSINESS, July 1980, p. 55) B(201)

Mozambique - Norway Funds Energy Study: "Norway has given Mozambique \$2.8m. to make a study over the next three years of its hydro-electric industry and potential. The study programme is to be jointly administered by Norwegian and Mozambican electrical power authorities, the Norwegian International Development Agency said." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, March 31, 1980, p. 5454) B(202)

Tanzania - Fuel Depots: "Tanzania is to build three more fuel depots in Mwanza, Tanga and Makambaku. The project is to cost the state shs130m. When completed the three depots will store up to 46m litres of various petroleum products. Feasibility studies on these three projects have been completed and construction work may start soon." (AFRICAN BUSINESS, July 1980, p. 72) B(203)

## INDUSTRY & TRADE

Angola - Authorizes Private Initiative Study: "A study of how to support private and individual initiative in agriculture, small businesses and industry has been urged by the central committee of the ruling MPLA party....A statement issued after a special three-day committee session said the study was important because of the 'worrying economic and financial situation in the country due to the fall in productivity.' Government structures and organisations are also to be examined and changes made. The decision to 'study supportive moves to be given to private and individual

enterprises in the economic field and principally in the animal-raising sector and internal trade' was in line with policies laid down by late Angolan president Agostinho Neto. The study is expected to start (in June)...." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, June 6, 1980, p. 21) B(204)

Lesotho - Swiss Aid for Trade Center: The Swiss government's Direction de la Cooperation au Developpement et de l'Aide Humanitaire (DDA) has approved ₣125,000 to the Metalworkers Trade Center in Maseru. (WORLD AID DIGEST, May 2, 1980, p. 12) B(205)

Swaziland - STABEX Aid: "The EEC is to approve stabilisation of export earnings (Stabex) transfers to members of the Lome Convention for loss of export earnings in 1979." Swaziland is slated to receive \$6.12 million for losses to its iron ore industry. (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, June 20, 1980, p. 7) B(206)

Tanzania - Tourism Development: "Some Shs. 1,487.8m is to be spent on the development of tourism in Tanzania in the next ten years, the Tanzania Tourist Corporation (TTC) announced in Dar es Salaam on June 1st. The expenditure is contained in the TTC ten-year development plan which was approved by the corporation's Board of Directors.... According to the plan, a total of 17 hotels and lodges are to be built at different parts of the country. Other projects are to include safaris, staff houses, offices, godowns, restaurants, vehicles and workshops." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, June 30, 1980, p. 5558) B(207)

Zambia - Electric Motor Plant: Bulgaria plans "to set up an electric motor factory in Zambia for forklifts, trucks and buses....Zambian staff to run such a factory will be trained in (Bulgaria). ....With the present high costs of fuel, an electric transport system would enable the country to save a lot of money by using abundant hydroelectric power." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, July 1, 1980, p. A2/10) B(208)

Zambia - Oil Refinery Planned: "Shell and BP Zambia are to build a refinery at Kitwe to treat about 13 million litres of used lubricating oils that are thrown away each year, the Ndola fortnightly Mining Mirror reported on 27 June. The plant will be the first of its kind in Africa." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, July 11, 1980, p. 21) B(209)

Zimbabwe - New Export Controls: "Zimbabwe will accept only 17 nominated foreign currencies in payment for goods bought from the country, according to a new guide to export controls and formalities drawn up by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. In addition, exports sent to 49 specified countries must be paid for in advance or be covered by an irrevocable letter of credit issued or confirmed by 'a reputable overseas bank.' Most West European currencies, and Canadian dollars and the Japanese yen are acceptable as payment. Within the nine-nation economic grouping set up in Lusaka earlier this year, Mozambique, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho and Malawi are creditworthy, but letters of credit are required from Zambia, Tanzania and Angola. Among other African countries that have to provide letters of credit

are Kenya and Nigeria." (IBID., July 4, 1980, p. 23) B(210)

Zimbabwe - South African Trade Restrictions: "South Africa's government-backed Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation (CGIC) has placed new restrictions on insurance cover on credit for exports to Zimbabwe. A drop in trade is expected. The CGIC will from now on insure a maximum amount equivalent to only 25 percent of the value of trader's exports to Zimbabwe the previous year. The new restriction is believed to reflect uncertainty in South Africa about the future of political and trading links between the two countries...." (IBID., July 11, 1980, p. 22) B(211)

## LABOR & MANPOWER

Botswana - Unemployment Program: "Local Government and Lands Minister Lenyeletse Seretse announced...that the government plans to begin a long-term, labour-intensive, public works programme throughout the country to provide short-term employment. The projects -- initially on a small scale -- would be built up if they proved successful, he said. They would also be expanded in times of drought, but would be distinct from self-help projects like the building of pit latrines and other village schemes. Seretse said there was a need for a second-phase drought relief programme in the central districts of the country. This would consist of continuing measures which had already proved effective, such as the provision of increased rations and the purchase of

old cattle for slaughter." (AFRICA  
ECONOMIC DIGEST, July 11, 1980, p. 20)  
B(212)

Zimbabwe - Balanced Civil Service  
Sought: "More than 7,000 applications  
have been received in answer to full-  
page advertisements calling on  
Zimbabweans to return and rebuild their  
country. The advertisements were placed  
as a first step to restructuring the  
predominantly white 20,000-strong civil  
service. It will take several years to  
institute special training programmes,  
even with foreign aid, but it is  
believed that there are thousands of  
qualified Zimbabweans in other parts of  
the world who could soon play an impor-  
tant role." (IBID., June 20, 1980,  
p. 27) B(213)

## MEDICINE & HEALTH

Tanzania - Places Curbs on Private  
Medical Practice: "Tanzania has taken  
the first step towards abolishing pri-  
vate medical practice by requiring all  
private doctors to work at an approved  
fixed salary for the Government or for  
organizations acceptable to the  
Government from the end of this month.  
All private hospitals and clinics will  
be taken over by either the Government  
or organizations approved by it after  
June 30....The move is an attempt to  
implement legislation passed four years  
ago to curb 'profiteering' in the medi-  
cal field and also to ensure that in  
accordance with Tanzania's policy of  
socialism, adequate and inexpensive  
medical care reaches as many people as  
possible." (AFRICA, June 1980, p. 8)  
B(214)

Zimbabwe - UK Medical Mission: "The UK  
Health-Care Export Council sent a six-  
man fact-finding mission to Zimbabwe on  
21-28 June with the support of the  
British Overseas Trade Board (BOTB). A  
market survey of Zimbabwe's needs is to  
be carried out and the mission is advis-  
ing on supplying equipment, training and  
staff. The members of the mission in-  
cluded four firms making medical products  
ranging from surgical dressings to X-ray  
equipment." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST,  
June 27, 1980, pp. 22-23) B(215)

## NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Angola - Brazil Oil Cooperation:  
"Brazil is to step up its share of oil  
and gas exploration in Angola, (it was  
announced in Luanda on June 12th). The  
two countries are also reported to have  
signed an economic, technological and  
scientific agreement....According to the  
Angolan news agency, Angop, Petrobras (of  
Brazil) signed an exploration agreement  
with Angola and had a 17.5 percent share  
in the country's second largest offshore  
oilfield." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST,  
June 20, 1980, p. 24) See also: SADEX,  
Vol. 1, no. 1, p. 21, "Angola-Brazil  
Oil Deal." B(216)

Mozambique - Geological Survey: "The  
Mozambique National Geological Board has  
signed a contract with Aquater (an Ital-  
ian company) to make geological car-  
tographic and detailed geochemical  
surveys of 48,000 sq km in the Zambesi  
and Nampula provincial areas. The  
contract, worth about \$15m, is due to  
start immediately and is expected to  
last for three years." (AFRICAN  
BUSINESS, July 1980, p. 72) B(217)

Mozambique - French Mining Survey: "The Mozambican National Directorate of Geology and the French Geophysical Corporation on May 28th signed a contract in Maputo on mining prospecting surveys in Niassa and Cabo Delgado Provinces. Under the agreement, the French firm will carry out geo-surveys and the examination of satellite pictures over a two-and-a-half year period starting in August 1980." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, June 30, 1980, p. 5549)

B(218)

Namibia - Rossing Mine: "The Rossing Mine in Namibia produced 4,518 tons of uranium oxide in 1979, 42% more than in 1978 and just 18 tons short of maximum capacity, Rio Tinto Zinc Company announced. The British company runs Rossing - the world's largest uranium mine - in association with the South African National Development Corporation and two other companies: General Mining of South Africa and Minatome of France. The value of sales from Rossing was \$291m in 1979, an increase of 57% over 1978." (IBID., p. 5553) See also: SADEX, Vol. 1, no. 3, p. 33, "Namibia's Rossing Mine Now Profitable." B(219)

Namibia - U.N. Uranium Hearings Begin: "The Council for Namibia held a week of hearings on the question of Namibia's uranium resources. The hearings were requested by the General Assembly under a resolution declaring that no resources should be taken from Namibia without the authority of the Council. In a statement, the Council said it was seeking to 'expose and denounce' the illegal exploitation and plunder of Namibian resources by South Africa and other foreign interests. It said the hearings

would develop information on the exploitation and purchase of Namibian uranium and identify firms and countries involved. They would also assess the financial and economic deprivation suffered by Namibians as a result of the illegal exploitation and depletion of Namibian uranium resources, so that any future government of an independent Namibia might seek compensation."

(UNITED NATIONS PRESS RELEASE, July 11, 1980, p. 5) B(220)

Tanzania - IDA Credit for Petroleum

Exploration: "Tanzania will be receiving a \$30 million credit for assessing the hydrocarbon potential in the Songo Songo island area from the International Development Association....This will be the first lending operation in Tanzania from the World Bank or IDA for a petroleum exploration project. The \$33 million Songo Songo Petroleum Exploration Project, the first phase of Tanzania's drilling program, will provide for the drilling of two wells, one on-shore and one off-shore, at the Songo Songo area, and if successful, two more wells will be drilled....The European Investment Bank will co-finance \$500,000 and the Government of Tanzania \$2.5 million of the total cost of the project." (IDA NEWS RELEASE, no. 80/100, June 16, 1980, p. 1) B(221)

Zambia - Cobalt Expansion: "Zambia Engineering Services, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, has announced details of a two-stage plan to expand cobalt output at the NCCM Rhokana plant in Zambia. The first stage involves the construction of a \$65m cobalt refinery, which is due to be commissioned early in 1982 and will produce 2,600 tonnes of cobalt

per year. Stage two is an expansion of the plant, aimed at boosting its annual production to some 5,000 tonnes at a further cost of £25m to complete. The development is of particular importance for the metallurgical and chemical industries in the aero-engine, petrochemical, oil refining and electronics fields, all of which have an essential requirement for the metal, one of the earth's rarest. One of the key factors affecting demand for cobalt is the need for international airlines to re-equip their aircraft with quieter, cleaner and more efficient engines. The metal is currently selling at around £25,000 per tonne." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, June 30, 1980, p. 5551) B(222)

"The US government-owned Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) has guaranteed a \$30 million line of credit to the state-owned Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mine (NCCM) to be managed by the Irving Trust Company." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, June 27, 1980, p. 22) B(223)

"The EEC is to loan Nchanga Consolidated Copper, the Zambian cobalt producer, between \$8.4 and \$9.8m (£3.6m-£4.2m) by September 1980 to help increase the quantity and quality of cobalt production." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, June 30, 1980, p. 5559) See also: SADEX, Vol. 1, no. 3, p. 33, "Zambia Firm to Expand Production of Cobalt," and B(114). B(224)

## REFUGEE ASSISTANCE

Angola - EEC Emergency Relief: The European Communities Commission "has decided to contribute 200,000 EUA (1 EUA = \$1.39) towards a 1.5m EUA emergency relief programme set up by the International Committee of the Red Cross to help some 300,000 displaced persons affected by fighting in the central regions of Angola. The programme covers essential supplies to those worst affected -- about 50,000 people, including over 32,000 children under the age of twelve. The Commission is also providing food aid to the value of 330,000 EUA at world prices (1,080 tonnes of cereals, 50 tonnes of butteroil and 100 tonnes of milk powder) and has appealed to the Member States to contribute bilaterally to the operation." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, May 31, 1980, pp. 5522-23) See also: SADEX, Vol. 1, no. 3, p. 35, "Angola-UNHCR Programme." B(225)

## RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Botswana - New Milling Technology for Rural Area: "In Botswana, the Rural Industries Innovation Center and Pelegano Village Industries have collaborated in an attempt to spread sorghum milling technology to the countryside. Milling is now performed by hand. A revolving community loan program will finance the purchase of this machinery." (RURAL TECHNOLOGY BULLETIN, June/August 1980, p. 1) B(226)

Tanzania - IDA Loan for Rural Development: "The International

Development Association (IDA)...has approved a \$10 million credit to Tanzania for a project to strengthen the Tanzania Rural Development Bank. Under the project, the capacity of the Tanzania Rural Development Bank will be expanded to enable it to provide credit in an efficient manner for economically viable rural development projects. Training programs for the bank's employees and village officials will be improved. In addition, consultants and Tanzanian staff will be used to develop a new management information system and improve other aspects of the bank's organization....The Tanzania Rural Development Bank was established in 1971 to provide long- and medium-term financing for rural development as well as technical assistance and advice for the promotion of rural development. The bank now also provides short-term financing. It has acted as an intermediary for channelling credit to a number of agricultural and rural development projects assisted by the IDA in Tanzania. It is the main credit institution for the rural sector, serving about 8,000 villages in the country." (IDA NEWS RELEASE, no. 80/105, June 23, 1980, p. 1) B(227)

Zambia - Diesel Engines for Corn Mills: 246 diesel engines, worth £250,000 (\$322,664) have arrived in Zambia from the UK. The engines, purchased by the African Farming Equipment Company (AFE), which is owned by the Rural Development Corporation of Zambia, "are to be used for powering corn mills, generating electricity for villages, driving agricultural machinery and for pumping. AFE is a self-financing company -- the engines were paid for by letters of credit -- active in irrigation schemes. It also

sells and advises on the use of agricultural machinery...." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, June 20, 1980, p. 26) B(228)

Zambia - Women's Rural Development Program: The Ford Foundation announced an \$11,000 grant to the University of Zambia's Rural Development Studies Bureau for research on rural households headed by women. (FORD FOUNDATION LETTER, April 1, 1980, p. 4) B(229)

## TRANSPORT & TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Union of African Railways Seeks Improved Rail Links: The Organization of African Unity's Union of African Railways in Kinshasa, Zaire, seeks to "develop a railway network (in Africa) as comprehensive and efficient as Western Europe's, so that the economy of the continent can be modernized." The program, which aims to construct 16,000 miles of railway lines (nearly four times the current number) by the end of the century, was listed as a top priority at the recent OAU economic meeting in Lagos. The initial outlay for the program is \$86 million, which is expected to come from international agencies such as the United Nations, and Western countries. The Union of African Railways has established regional priorities and has undertaken a program to train personnel. For example, a center has already been started in Brazzaville to train such personnel. Britain and France are providing nearly \$1 million for this center and management-training candidates have been drawn from 27 African countries that have railways, according to the head of

the U.A.R. Within a couple of years, it is expected that there will be similar training centers in the four major regions of Africa. (NEW YORK TIMES, June 9, 1980, p. A6) B(230)

Botswana-Zambia Road Reopened: "The Zambia/Botswana road, which has been closed for some time, has been reopened. The road was closed so that improvement to the entrance of the pontoon crossing at Kazungula on the Zambesi could be carried out. Before it was blown up by former Rhodesian commandos last year, the route handled 42,000t of imports in 1977 and 27,000t in 1978." (AFRICAN BUSINESS, July 1980, p. 72) B(231)

Mozambique-Zimbabwe Railway Stock Agreement: "Agreement has been reached with Zimbabwe over the repatriation of Zimbabwean railway rolling stock marooned in Mozambique during the liberation war. Mozambique is returning 1,800 wagons and keeping 600. This will help Zimbabwe reduce its use of South African-owned rolling stock but will leave a large gap in Mozambique's requirements. The shortage will exacerbate Mozambique's problems because the rail network in the north of the country is not linked to the system connected with Maputo." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, July 11, 1980, p. 21) B(232)

Mozambique to Electrify Railway: "Mozambique is to electrify the railway line from the Zimbabwe border to Beira, due shortly to become an outlet for Zaire copper and cobalt exports currently sent through South Africa, according to informed sources in Lisbon. The electrification scheme, to be powered by the giant Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme, is due to start later

this year." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, June 30, 1980, p. 5556) B(233)

Swaziland - Post and Telephone Developments: "The country's first commercially financed post office was opened at Nhlanguano on 20 June. The authorities also announced that nine more post offices were to be built in the Shiselweni district. Automatic telephone exchanges are due to be opened next year in Nhlanguano and Hlatikulu." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, July 4, 1980, p. 21) B(234)

Zambia - Road Works: "Work has begun on a 56-kilometre road between the copper-belt cities of Ndola and Kitwe. The Italian construction company Cogefar said in Milan on 30 June that the dual carriageway road would cost about ZK20 million (\$15.5 million). The road, planned to be open by the end of 1981, will be one of the busiest in the country. It is used at present by up to 6,000 vehicles a day. About 750 men will be employed when construction is at its peak. Cogefar is (also) putting the finishing touches to a 200-kilometre road between Kasama and Mbala, which cost ZK30 million (\$23 million)." (IBID., p. 21) B(235)

Zimbabwe - Rail Electrification: "Tenders have gone out for the first part of Zimbabwe's two-stage plan to electrify 775 kilometres of railway line at a projected cost of Z\$104 million (\$150 million). The plan, under the five-year economic development programme, aims to reduce dependence on imported fuels." (IBID., May 23, 1980, p. 3) B(236)

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# BOOK REVIEW SECTION

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Perspectives of Independent Development in Southern Africa: The Cases of Zimbabwe and Namibia, by Hartmut Brandt and others. Berlin, German Development Institute (GDI), 1980. 183 pp. Occasional Paper no. 62.

This publication will be much welcomed by specialists searching for data and analyses on the Namibian economy as well as on that of newly independent Zimbabwe. Prior to this publication, the GDI had produced reports on Zimbabwe (1977) and Namibia (1978) for the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation, both of which were treated as confidential. "Since public interest in information on both areas is continually increasing, the GDI decided to make available to the public most of the information contained in these reports by publishing them in its series" while incorporating "available new data." In the case of Namibia, some of this new data resulted from a 1978 CDI field team project to Namibia.

The authors set out "to analyze the socio-economic structures of areas in Southern Africa where a white minority politically and economically dominates the majority of the population, and to show the obstacles which have to be overcome in order to change these structures." The study's conceptual framework is established in the first essay by Wolfgang Schneider-Barthold

entitled, "Determinants and Forms of External and Internal Dependence in Rhodesia and Namibia: Possible Solutions to the Problem of Twofold Dependence." In his words: "In the different chapters of this volume, the authors have attempted to describe the necessary pre-conditions, the opportunities and the problems connected with independent development in Rhodesia and Namibia" (emphasis added). By 'independent development,' two things are meant: first, that "both areas must be politically independent before they can take autonomous decisions regarding the direction their development should take and the socio-economic organization of their respective states"; and second, "the socio-economic structures which create and maintain dependence must be changed in a fundamental and lasting way."

Other selections include: "The Colonial Heritage of the Rhodesian Agriculture and Its Development Perspectives," by Uwe Otzen; "The Structure of the Rhodesian Manufacturing Industry and Its Development Potential," by Peter P. Waller; "Development Perspectives for Agriculture in an Independent Namibia," by Hartmut Brandt; "The Phenomenon of External and Internal Dependence in Namibian Manufacturing Industry and Prospects of Overcoming It," by Wolfgang Schneider-Barthold; "Perspectives for Decolonizing Health in

Namibia," by Gudrun Lechenmann; and "Namibia's Dependency in External Economic Affairs: Options for Re-Orientation," by Wolfgang Zehender. Tables of selected indicators for both Zimbabwe and Namibia are provided.

With the increasing focus on Zimbabwe's post-independence development prospects and the sharpening interest in Namibia's political and economic future, this volume is very timely for development specialists on Southern Africa.

Namibia/SWA Prospects, by G.M.E. Leistner and others. Pretoria, Africa Institute of South Africa, 1980. 66 pp.

This survey was compiled in response to "numerous requests from the public for factual information on the political, economic and related conditions in Namibia/SWA" and provides "hitherto unpublished statistical and other material" made available by the South African Government. Furthermore, according to the authors, because "the primary objective is to furnish factual and objective data" which can serve as a basis for further study and research, "critical analysis and evaluation have been confined to a minimum." Nevertheless, useful as this publication is in terms of filling gaps in data pertaining to the Namibian economy, it is not totally objective.

Included are surveys of the land and people of Namibia, the ongoing negotiations for independence, structural features of the economy and aspects of economic policy, and a sectoral breakdown of the economy and basic statistics

as well as a selected listing of reading materials. Appendices cover the political parties, the status of Walvis Bay, the Western Five's settlement proposal and South Africa's reply to the Five. There are also five maps providing information on average annual rainfall, agricultural regions, population distribution, "Namibia/SWA relief," and regional economic geography.

The lack of objectivity is particularly noticeable in the section describing "negotiations on the road to independence." One example will suffice: Foreign Minister 'Pik' Botha's astonishment is noted concerning a statement by the U.N. Secretary-General's Special Representative, Marti Ahtissari, to the effect that "South Africa should stop accusing Zambia and other Frontline States of detaining persons who had rebelled against SWAPO, until these allegations could be backed up by lists of detainees." However, no mention is made of the continuing detention of prominent SWAPO political prisoners by Pretoria on Robben Island as well as more recent bannings and detentions of SWAPO cadre inside the territory.

However, apart from such biases, the publication is definitely useful for development specialists concentrating on Namibia, particularly given the dearth of published material on Namibia's economy and the state of its development and future prospects.

The Workers of Namibia, by Gillian Cronje & Suzanne Cronje. London, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1979. 135 pp.

This publication is a report "based on material prepared for the Anti-Slavery Society and submitted by them in 1977 to the Third Session of the Working Group of Experts on Slavery of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities." The focus is on describing the conditions of the black Namibian workforce and its interests, particularly as related to those of the liberation movement led by SWAPO. Cheap Namibian labor is seen as crucial to South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia.

The book covers the nature of the territory's apartheid economy and the lifestyle of black workers, including their wages and fringe benefits, their status in particular industries, as well as their right to organize. The latter discussion leads into an examination of a hallmark episode in the development of black worker consciousness not only in Namibia, but in South Africa as well -- the 1971-72 general strike action by predominantly Ovambo migrant laborers in northern Namibia. The development of this resistance led to the formation of the Namibian Worker's Union (NAWU) -- also known as the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) -- which has become the labor wing of SWAPO. The appendices include the draft constitu-

tion of NAWU and a critique of the December 1978 South African-sponsored internal elections.

Southern Africa, by David J. Cranmer & Valerie A. Woolston. Washington, D.C., American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, 1980. 255 pp. \$6.00 (paperbound).

This volume presents a study of the educational systems of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia and South Africa with an addendum on Zimbabwe, as well as a guide to the academic placement of students in educational institutions of the United States. It was felt that "with the influx of Southern African students into the United States in 1977-78, it became apparent that a review of the educational systems of Southern Africa was needed in order to assist U.S. admissions officers with the proper placement of African students."

The publication is one of a series funded by the U.S. International Communications Agency describing foreign educational systems, and is primarily intended for use by college and university administrators and faculty as well as governmental and non-governmental agency officials who deal with foreign educational credentials. Included are relevant addresses for South Africa, the BLS countries, and Zimbabwe, and a useful bibliography.

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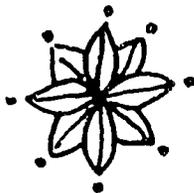
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