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# SADEX





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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.

SADEX is distributed internationally, free-of-charge, to selected institutions and individuals specializing in Southern African development.

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# SADEX

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SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT  
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# INTRODUCTION

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.

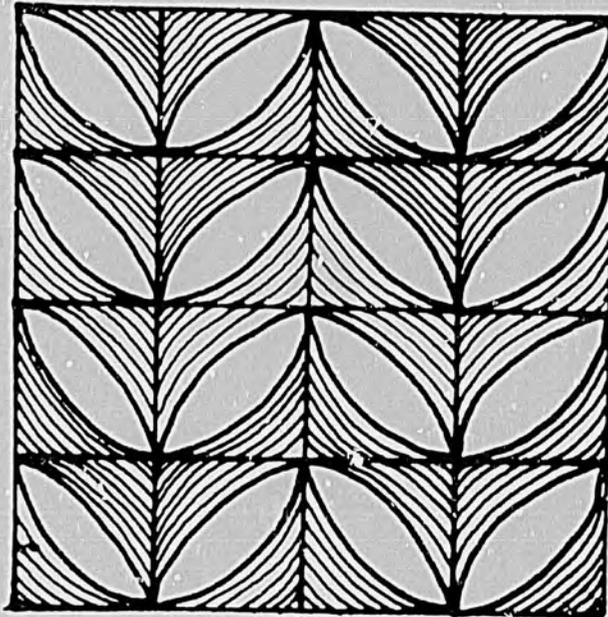
The SADEX project publication, SADEX, is intended primarily to serve the development needs and priorities of Southern Africans and others throughout the world involved in development planning and project implementation relating to Southern Africa. SADEX readers reflect a broad constituency of developmental 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 all of the frontline states -- Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia -- as well as Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland, and the pre-independent countries of Zimbabwe and 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.



# SADEX INFORMATION REQUEST

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

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.

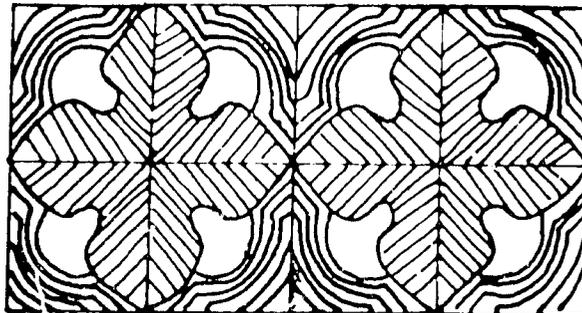
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# ARUSHA & REGIONAL COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA:

A Preliminary Analysis of Resources for Research and Study

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

As the decade of the 70s draws to a close, two contradictory but related developments indicate the emergence of a new framework of regional relations in Southern Africa for the 1980s: South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha's announcement this year of a 'total strategy' involving the forging of a 'Constellation of Southern African States'; and the convening by the frontline states of the first Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference in Arusha, Tanzania (July 3-4) to launch a campaign for "economic liberation" from South Africa's regional hegemony with backing from the international donor community. For those concerned with Southern Africa's development prospects, these major developments serve to illustrate the highly controversial and political nature of the question of regional cooperation within a context of protracted conflict. Thus, any current analysis of regional cooperation in Southern Africa must examine the region's political dynamics as a central focus of inquiry.

The prospects for cooperation among the region's black-ruled states are

complicated by several factors, including: escalating armed struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia (and possibly South Africa) that engulf the surrounding states as sanctuaries for the liberation movements, targets for military reprisals from the illegal regimes, and hosts to refugees fleeing these conflicts; the introduction of external, competitive East-West influences attracted by the region's conflicts and vying for economic and geo-strategic advantages; and most significant in economic (and hence political) terms, a colonial legacy of interdependence in transport and communications links that undermine sanctions against the illegal regimes while subordinating the economies of the black-ruled states to these same regimes as well as to white-ruled South Africa. (This latter predicament has been steadily exacerbated by Western negligence in confronting the threat to African and ultimately Western interests posed by white minority-rule prior to Portugal's disengagement from Africa in 1975-76.)

Interdependence as a central factor defining Southern Africa's complicated

regional relationships has been a recurring theme in literature examining the political dynamics of conflict and accommodation in the subcontinent. The inequality inherent in the region's interdependence has made Southern Africa a prime case-study for the elaboration of theories of 'center/periphery relations' as a framework for understanding the region's internal dynamics and its position as a sub-system in the global political economy. Prior to the watershed of Portuguese decolonization, Larry Bowman's seminal essay on "The Subordinate State System of Southern Africa," in International Studies Quarterly (Beverly Hills, September 1968), provided the point of departure for subsequent analyses of regional interaction between black- and white-ruled states. An exhaustive review of pre-Portuguese coup literature on the region's dynamics is provided in Timothy Shaw's essay, "Southern Africa: Cooperation and Conflict in an International Sub-System," in The Journal of Modern African Studies (London, December 1974), which he billed as a "sequel to the innovative article by J.E. Spence" on "The New States of Southern Africa" in the December 1967 issue of the same periodical. Shaw's review essay was a precursor to his more recent 1977 co-edited volume with Kenneth A. Heard entitled Cooperation and Conflict in Southern Africa: Papers on a Regional Subsystem (Washington, D.C., University Press of America), which includes as contributors many of the authors of works cited by Shaw in his 1974 article.

Prior to the Portuguese coup and the independence of Angola and Mozambique, the hallmark work on Southern

Africa's regional dynamics was Kenneth Grundy's Confrontation and Accommodation in Southern Africa: The Limits of Independence (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973) in the UCLA Press' prolific 'Southern Africa in Perspective Series' funded by Ford Foundation. Grundy concentrates on South Africa's regional dominance within a context of the area's political, economic and military relationships (largely determined by Pretoria) as a means of explaining Southern Africa's continuing resilience and instability. Grundy's recent contribution to Southern Africa: The Continuing Crisis, co-edited by Gwendolen Carter and Patrick O'Meara (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1979), entitled: "Economic Patterns in the New Southern African Balance" (pp. 291-312), is a substantially updated and revised version of the second chapter of his 1973 work on the economic background to regional relations in the subcontinent. Another recent Grundy contribution is "Regional Relations in Southern Africa in the Global Political Economy," in Aspects of International Relations in Africa, edited by Mark W. Delancey (Bloomington, African Studies Program, Indiana University, 1979, pp. 90-125). This publication also contains an ample survey of literature relevant to the study of Southern African regional relations, particularly in Delancey's lead essay: "The Study of African International Relations" (see especially; pp. 5-6). Delancey's edited work also contains two contributions which, while not directly concerned with Southern Africa, are nevertheless relevant. These are: "Dependence or Interdependence: Africa in the Global Political Economy," co-authored by Timothy Shaw

and M. Catherine Newbury (pp. 39-89), and "The Quest for East African Unity: 'One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward'," by J. Gus Liebenow (pp. 126-158). This latter contribution by Liebenow is particularly relevant in light of the changing geopolitical/economic map of Eastern and Southern Africa, reflected in the central role of Tanzania vis-à-vis developments in both regions.

Other recent works concerned with political and economic factors in Southern Africa's regional dynamics are: Conflict and Change in Southern Africa: Papers from a Scandinavian-Canadian Conference, co-edited by Douglas G. Anglin, Timothy Shaw and Carl G. Widstrand (Washington, D.C., University Press of America, 1979), a companion volume to Canada, Scandinavia and Southern Africa, also co-edited by Anglin, Shaw and Widstrand (Uppsala, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1978); and Land, Labour Migration and Politics in Southern Africa: Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, by Donald K. Kowet (Uppsala, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1978). Kowet employs Samir Amin's typology of Southern Africa as an integral part of the "Africa of the labour reserves" as a point of departure for analyzing BLS integration and underdevelopment in a South African-dominated regional political economy that also includes Malawi and Mozambique as 'labor reserves' along with South Africa's internal 'homelands.' Kowet's work was preceded by a related Scandinavian Institute of African Studies publication by Gabriele Winai Strom entitled Development and Dependence in Lesotho, the Enclave of South Africa (1978).

As the focus of the struggle for Southern Africa has shifted to Zimbabwe and Namibia in the aftermath of Portugal's retreat from Mozambique and Angola, the cast of regional, extra-regional and international actors has compounded the complexity of regional interaction. This complexity was perhaps most succinctly expressed by Jitendra Mohan writing in the January-April 1978 issue of the Review of African Political Economy in an article entitled: "Southern Africa: Imperialism, Racism and Neo-Colonialism." Mohan observed that:

...the politics of the current situation in Southern Africa are strange as well as complex. At one level, they are a continual process of maneuvering and regrouping between the needs of guerrilla war, the zigzags of nationalist politics, and the pressures of international diplomacy. At another level, they can be seen as a triangular relationship between the Western imperialists, white racists, and African nationalists, upon which is superimposed (though not perfectly) yet another triangle, of which the African nationalist organizations, the African 'frontline' states, and the superpowers form three sides.... (p. 38)

Despite this complexity, the rival ambitions of the frontline states (as articulated at Arusha) and of South Africa (for establishing a regional 'Constellation') regarding Southern Africa's future interdependence point

to an increasingly structured -- and perhaps institutionalized -- framework of regional conflict, accommodation and cooperation in the years ahead. These factors are sure to determine the sub-continent's political economy and relationship to the global economic system during the next decade. The apparent shift toward a more coherent and structured framework of regional interaction reflects a broader continent-wide emphasis on economic priorities and a need for regional integration which, in Southern Africa, is reflected in the aspirations not only of the states in the region, but of the liberation movements as well. Thus, in a paper ("Aspects of Policy on Migratory Labour for the Independent State of Zimbabwe") presented at last year's U.N. Economic Commission for Africa-sponsored Conference on Migratory Labour in Southern Africa (Lusaka, April 4-8), the Patriotic Front acknowledged "an urgent need to start examining the possibilities of creating a Southern African Economic Community (SAEC)," and that the idea "of creating SAEC should be examined on economic and political levels" (p. 7).

The remainder of this essay is intended to serve as a preliminary examination, on both the "economic and political levels," of the conflicting interests of black Southern Africa and white-ruled South Africa in a regional economic community, and the implications of these rival interests for evolving U.S. policy in the region. This essay is the first part of a continuing series of SADEX literature assessments on developments in regional economic cooperation in Southern Africa, and related affairs.

## South Africa: 'White Supremacy in One Country'?

Seeking legitimacy as the sole surviving, ruling white minority on an overwhelmingly black continent, with or without Western cooperation, is a major element in P.W. Botha's 'total strategy' for building a neutralist Southern African Constellation. The quest for such legitimacy within a broader regional and continental framework is not new for South Africa's ruling whites, who strive for acceptance as Africans on their own terms. It pre-dates the establishment of Union in 1910, and is reflected in the aspirations of Southern Africa's whites -- English- and Afrikaans-speaking alike -- for a distinctive 'White Man's Africa' as an alternative to an ambivalent British imperial connection. (See for example: Britain, Rhodesia and South Africa, 1900-45: The Unconsummated Union, by Martin Channock, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1977.)

Since the rapid decolonization of the former European territories beginning in the late 1950s, and particularly since the dramatic collapse of Portugal's African empire in 1975-76, white South Africa has been forced into an agonizing reappraisal of its identity and future in the face of advancing African nationalism. Under these circumstances, white South Africa's political, economic and information elites have tended to view Southern Africa's unequal pattern of interdependence as a reassuring ally in containing the momentum and impact of the African liberation movement. Thus, when Zambia's export of copper was

disrupted by the severing of the Benguela rail link to Angola's port at Lobito in August 1975, the South African Broadcasting Company (SABC) was able to point out that "on the eve of the Rhodesian constitutional talks at Victoria Falls, news of Zambia's copper exporting problems and Rhodesia's expressed willingness to assist her northern neighbor, has underlined once more the interdependence of Southern African states and the enormous cost involved when politics interferes with natural economic associations" (Comment & Opinion, Pretoria, August 29, 1975, p. 13).

The enduring reality of unequal regional interdependence was the basis upon which former Prime Minister B.J. Vorster and his information/agitprop manipulators had hoped to forge a regional 'detente' in and beyond Southern Africa prior to South Africa's abortive intervention in the Angolan civil war. The plans of Vorster's successor for regional constellation-building are but a continuation of these broader geo-strategic aims, adapted to a more hostile environment of conflict of interests between Pretoria and a Euro-American 'liberation internationalism' seeking to advance its economic interests in the region by becoming more firmly aligned with the forces of African nationalism. (For an assessment of the Botha regime's new 'total strategy' see: "South Africa: A Government Against the World," by John Seiler, in Africa Report, September-October 1979, pp. 9-15.)

Botha's announcement of a plan to work towards a Constellation of Southern African States with the parallel objective of "re-establishing links with

moderate African leaders," should be viewed in the context of his first policy speech to the House of Assembly following his election as Prime Minister in September 1978. His analysis was based on the perception by Afrikaner ruling circles that Euro-American pressures were reinforcing African nationalism, and that although this was a useful tactic designed to stave off revolutionary changes in the area, it was not in their long-term interests.

The only way out, South African officials felt, was to start a 'new trek' northwards through the express public denunciation of historical links with Europe and America -- at least on a verbal plane. Following the denunciation came flat statements that South Africa would exclude itself from East-West disputes in favor of solving its own internal problems and that Pretoria "would be of service to many countries in Africa." Scrapped, apparently, was the policy principle that Botha himself summarized in 1968 as Minister of Defence that "South Africa complements Europe," in that it is vital for Europe's defence and economy, or more succinctly, that "Europe could be defeated in Africa." (See: P.W. Botha, "The Republic of South Africa and International Politics," in 1948-1968...And Now, The Future, edited by C. Mulder, Johannesburg, 1968, p. 236.)

The present Nationalist policy of 'Africans we are and in Africa we stay' stemmed directly from the defeat of the South African Defence Force intervention into Angola in 1975 (blamed on broken pledges of support by the U.S. Government), and more recently, the impasse created over the future of Namibia. In

the ongoing talks involving the five Western nations (Britain, Canada, France, West Germany and the United States), South Africa was initially appalled by their insistence that SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement, must be involved in any meaningful negotiation. SWAPO is the embodiment of what South Africa's leaders fear most, namely, a vehicle for turning an independent Namibia into a threat to Pretoria's domestic and regional security interests, defined by dominant Afrikaner survival concerns.

The other African factor that brought about this apparent disenchantment with the West is the present political-military situation in Zimbabwe. The Anglo-American talks were rejected by South Africa as representing a capitulation to the 'Marxist forces,' and the present London constitutional talks are half-heartedly supported only because there is a possibility that the 'internal leadership,' led by Bishop Muzorewa, could succeed in holding power. The South Africans believe that even if militarily the situation is a stalemate that might eventually lead to the victory of the Patriotic Front -- a possibility that could be aborted only with South Africa's military involvement -- it would at least necessitate a modicum of 'international legality' being conferred on the Muzorewa government. Botha actually prepared for this eventuality by his carefully worded statement, as the London talks were taking place, that certain steps should be taken if "external forces cause chaos in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia."

A respected civilian voice, not generally identified with the Nationalist Government, that publicly addressed this very same question of continuing support and understanding of South Africa by the West was that of Mr. Harry Oppenheimer. During a speech at the American Businessmen's club in Johannesburg, he asked: "What is not clear is what the Western powers are aiming at -- a government with the support of the majority of the people or peace at any price."

Moreover, the Director of the Afrika-Instituut van Suid-Afrika, Dr. G.M.E. Leistner, in an article entitled "South Africa, Africa and the North-South Conflict" (Africa Institute Bulletin, Vol. 16, no. 6, 1978), observes that "South Africa's international relations are determined almost entirely in terms of the East-West struggle at present, and overlook the complexity of issues embraced by the 'North-South conflict,' despite the fact that these are ranged against South Africa by both the USA and the USSR. South Africa's failure to perceive her international position within the broad context of the North-South conflict renders her more vulnerable than need be, and limits the country's capacity to respond to the threats to her survival."

The proposed Constellation of Southern African States is, of course, not new in South African geo-strategic planning. It surfaced in the early sixties as a possibility of a common market or commonwealth, which stressed the advantages of economic and technical cooperation, but had no implication for changing the status quo in South Africa itself. James Barber outlined this

strategy during its pre-detente, 'Outward Policy' phase in South Africa's Foreign Policy 1945-1970 (London, Oxford University Press, 1973).

It should be stressed here that South African capital has already extensively penetrated the various states of Southern Africa (Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho, Zambia and Malawi), thus creating an economic unit dependent on South Africa for manufactured goods and capital, while South Africa, in return, gained access to markets for her expanding economy, electric power and cheap labor from Mozambique, oil (before 1975) from Angola, and tin from Namibia, to name a few. South Africa's economy, especially the manufacturing sector, was built up through intensive imports of capital goods, leading to high foreign liabilities. To offset or liquidate her foreign liabilities during the 1960s, South Africa increased her export of capital, which, among other things, increased her capital through two mechanisms: (1) investment profits which were transferred back to South Africa, and (2) interest from countries receiving South African loans. Both returns were then used for the expansion of South Africa's economy. Similarly, this mechanism was expanded to include African states further north (kept secret) and a growing involvement in Latin American markets (especially in the Southern Cone countries), and to a lesser extent, Asia (i.e., Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, etc.). (For South Africa's 'clandestine' economic relations with Africa, see the article by W.J. Breytenbach, "South Africa and Africa. Cooperation for Development," in Africa Institute

Bulletin, Vol. 16, no. 7 & 8, 1978, Johannesburg, pp. 244-246.)

Various regional cooperation organs already exist in Southern Africa with South Africa as the central hub, the more well-known being: The South African Customs Union, the Rand Monetary Agreement (December 1974), SARCCUS (Southern African Regional Commission for the Conservation and Utilisation of the Soil), and the Southern African Regional Tourism Conference -- institutions that effectively integrate neighboring countries into South Africa's orbit. Namibia, of course, was more or less integrated as a province of South Africa, and Zimbabwe, since Rhodesian UDI, became completely dependent as a client state, so much so that Bishop Muzorewa after taking office in June 1979 held talks with Botha and publicly acknowledged the possibility of closer economic and military links with the Republic. Given this de facto 'integrated' situation, the questions that beg an answer are why Botha now proposes this Constellation of States strategy and what have been the reactions inside as well as outside South Africa?

As noted earlier, the 'new' policy takes on the aura of a "new Great Trek" of the Afrikaners, a powerful image within the collective social consciousness of the 'herren-volk.' The basic concept is one of South Africa becoming the leader of an African 'anti-communist' bloc, involving a three-prong strategy:

- a) creation of a Constellation of Southern African States, including the homelands;

- b) re-establishment of detente with 'moderate' African leaders, and
- c) a non-aggression pact among a cooperating bloc of Southern African states.

The underlying objective lies in the formation of an anti-communist bloc, with the implicit denunciation that the West has gone soft on communism. Thus, the essence of the proposal is military, as can be seen in the Government's White Paper on defence released in April 1979. In its review of the national security situation, the White Paper asserts that although 'terrorism' is the primary threat, growing interference by the major powers might result in intensified military confrontation for South Africa. In the "global war of super-powers," the White Paper sees South Africa as expendable and, therefore, to protect itself it must go 'neutral' and create a regional bloc of sufficient strength to confront emerging problems, for "Western powers are resorting to a great extent to a policy based on human rights in order to ingratiate themselves with the Third World while the Marxist threat is being underestimated." South Africa's role then is to bolster moderate African governments that Western circles are seen to be undermining. South Africa's actions would be dictated by the interests of the Southern African region, which Pretoria's strategic planners have also tended to broaden to encompass wider security concerns in the South Atlantic in a prospective South Atlantic Treaty Organization with the Latin American Southern Cone. The latter thrust inspired a meeting sponsored by

Southern African liberation movements in October in Luanda with the aim of bringing together Latin American and African progressives to coordinate opposition to the joint trans-Atlantic aims of South Africa and the Southern Cone dictatorships. (See "Angola Hosts Third World Progressives," by Sara Rodrigues, in The Guardian, New York, September 26, 1979, p. 15).

However, Botha, unlike Verwoerd or Vorster, is determined that changes within South Africa should accompany this new alliance-system. The economic integration of the region\* at this moment is premature until political differences are settled, or, as the Pretoria-based Afrika-Instituut van Suid Afrika postulates: "The region offers an investment potential unique in Africa, but this cannot be fully explored because of the present tensions in the area -- tensions, which, in turn, attract extra-regional forces seeking to destabilize the region." The objective of change in South Africa should, according to the Afrika-Instituut, be "peaceful co-existence over the long term between the

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\* It is interesting to note that nowhere in these studies is there any definition of exactly what constitutes Southern Africa. For some observers, it covers the area extending from Angola on the west coast to Mozambique on the east, going northwards to include mineral-rich Shaba province of Zaire and southern Tanzania. For others it is the area south of the Kunene and the Zambezi rivers. If the former definition were used, the region would include a population of approximately 60 million and about 87% of Africa's mineral wealth.

racess in South Africa," and conversely, that probably "peaceful co-existence within South Africa can be realized only via effective regional co-operation between the countries of Southern Africa" (see Africa Institute Bulletin editorial, "Interest in Intra-Regional Ties Revived," Pretoria, Vol. 19, no. 4, 1979, p. 45).

This move towards 'peaceful co-existence' took on added significance when Botha delivered a major policy speech at the opening of the Natal Congress of the National Party in Durban this September. His basic theme was that "apartheid was the recipe for permanent conflict," and his alternative proposal was a plan based on 12 principles, including among others: the acceptance of a 'multinational' society and the existence of minority groups; the principle of 'vertical differentiation' with the principle of self-determination (South Africa's version of "separate but equal"); the division of power between whites, Indians and coloureds with consultation and joint responsibility on matters of common concern; the scrapping of 'unnecessary discriminatory measures,' etc. Shortly after this speech, Botha's Government extended trade-union rights to almost all black workers and, to the surprise of many, indicated willingness to discuss changes in the mixed marriage and immorality acts.

To some observers these measures are indicative of change taking place in South Africa, for others it is merely old wine in new bottles. The latter criticism is particularly valid insofar as nowhere in his proposed changes, nor

in the text of these proposals, does he come to terms with the political aspirations of urban blacks or the fact that the National Party's proposed tripartite arrangement for whites, Indians and coloureds -- which does not offer real power-sharing to the latter two -- runs counter to the current political tendency among coloureds and Asians to identify their future with Africans (as reflected in the Black Consciousness Movement and the South African Black Alliance). Also, Afrikanerdom's proposals for the political balkanization of South Africa are ironically contradicted by the growing demands of a unitary economic system, where final products do not have stamped on them the various inputs of 'national groupings'!

In essence, the continuation of white supremacy is still the main objective but the new political dictates call for the urgent creation of a black middle-class -- i.e. selected urban Africans, coloureds, and Indians -- that hopefully will have a stake in preserving the emerging new status quo. (See Gary Thatcher, "South African Blacks to Get Union Rights," in Christian Science Monitor, September 26, 1979.)

The policy of a Constellation of Southern African States seems to be taking the shape of a 'total war for acceptance and implementation' insofar as the Government is attempting to co-opt various social strata that might contribute to the venture.\* Foremost is the role of

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\* Botha is to formally launch his Constellation campaign on November 22nd during a closed meeting chaired by himself with about 250 people representing

big business, which seems to be very favorable to the idea. Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo-American Corporation, found many positive aspects in the plan, such as mutual defence, friendly co-operation while maintaining distinctive cultures, and a common market. And Robert Tusemius, director of Action South Africa (AKSA), believes that once the Government makes meaningful progress in two areas (namely, a detailed statement of intent to phase out statutory racial discrimination as well as to phase in a domestic association, confederation or council of states within South Africa), then business could become the prime mover in bringing together the states of Southern Africa, provided Government guidelines exist to prevent the gap between developed and under-developed areas from widening. Black business also wants to join the venture, as indicated by the decision of the National African Federated Chamber

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a broad cross-section of expertise from commerce, industry, parastatal bodies like ESCOM and ISCOR, city councils, professional organizations and institutions. Further, a secretariat is contemplated representing various governmental departments with the hope of co-opting all leaders in Southern Africa. However, there have been disclaimers that a secretariat would evolve into a kind of super-government that interferes in state sovereignty of the different countries in the region. Some Nats apparently fear that such a mechanism could lead to a form of joint decision-making that would dilute Afrikaner political power.

of Commerce (NAFCOC), presided over by Sam Motusenyané, to create an Economic Council for Southern Africa as well as an Institute for Intermediate Technology. The government's new strategy cannot but be positive for business, although the impression that business is merely waiting for the Government to act is a false one. Businessmen have played a vital role in the formulation of the new strategy. (For a more detailed outline of non-governmental white South African thinking on the Constellation see: "A Constellation of Southern African States," a Southern African Freedom Foundation Position Paper of May 25, reprinted in the June 8, 1979 issue of South Africa Digest.)

The politics of co-optation in South Africa is proceeding now on a higher level, for with proposals for building new institutions at the service of "regionalism" and "integration," economic spin-offs will emerge that will indeed create the intended cleavages between an emerging black middle-class and the rest of the black population locked into structural poverty. However, it is quite possible that the political structures will not respond to the needs and perceptions of this emerging petite bourgeoisie; in which case, proposals to merely "manage peaceful co-existence" can never really succeed until the question of majority rule and African nationalism is faced squarely by all parties concerned, both inside and outside South Africa as well as in Southern Africa. As an African proverb wisely warns: "He who would sweep the hut must not sit on the broom."

## Southern Africa (Moves North: The Tanzam Nexus

While Afrikanerdom seeks to adapt its survival needs to a changing South Africa within a broader regional framework, so the frontline states envision a region-wide approach to their own quest for economic independence. The Arusha call for an "economic liberation" movement spearheaded through the vehicle of the annual Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) builds upon a history of intimate links between East, Central and Southern Africa rooted in the independence struggles of the late 1950s. The pan-African dimension of these struggles found expression in the 1958 formation of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA), which later expanded to incorporate the Southern African liberation movements as PAFMECSA, precursor to the 1963 establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Liberation Committee. (See: "Relations Between Liberation Movements and the OAU," by Emmanuel M. Dube, in: Essays on the Liberation of Southern Africa, edited by Nathan M. Shamyurira, Dar es Salaam, University of Dar es Salaam, 1971, pp. 25-68.)

However, the central dynamic shaping the evolution of pan-African cooperation in Southern Africa has revolved around the separate and interrelated roles of Tanzania and Zambia after the latter gained independence in 1964. Zambia's independence (along with that of Malawi) in the aftermath of the collapse of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland (also known as the Central African Federation-CAF), and

the 1965 Rhodesian white settler rebellion against British imperialism and African nationalism in the form of a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), triggered Zambia's moves to redirect its economy toward the now defunct East African Community (EAC) and away from a white-dominated subcontinent. Not only was Tanzania central to the political, economic and strategic imperatives of Zambian independence, but Dar es Salaam was also increasingly drawn into the struggle for liberation in the south as both a rear-base for FRELIMO's challenge to Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, and as the seat of the OAU Liberation Committee, which has been led since its founding by Tanzania.

Zambia's necessity to break out of its land-locked dependence on southern transport routes, coupled with Tanzania's growing alienation within the former East African Community, gave rise to an emerging TanZam linkage that has become the fulcrum of black Southern Africa's political and economic struggle against white domination. On the political plane this linkage was expressed in the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 and the 1975 Dar es Salaam Declaration, the two historic documents that have guided continental African strategy in Southern Africa over the past decade. On the economic plane, especially in the transport sector, the construction of the Tazara Railway with Chinese assistance reflected the consolidation of the TanZam linkage in an emerging new infrastructure of functional cooperation. The manifold dimensions of this ongoing cooperation are elaborated on by Lionel Cliffe in a contribution entitled "The Implications of the TanZam Railway for

the Liberation and Development of South-eastern Africa" (pp. 203-299) in Zdenek Cervenka's edited volume published in 1973 by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies on the Land-Locked Countries of Africa, and in a new comprehensive work co-authored by Douglas G. Anglin and Timothy Shaw on Zambia's Foreign Policy: Studies in Diplomacy and Dependence (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1977). The respective roles of Tanzania and Zambia as frontline states are analyzed in Anglin, Shaw and Widstrand's edited volume Conflict and Change in Southern Africa (see above) by Nathan Shamyurira (pp. 15-32) and Dunstan Kamana (pp. 33-68), along with an examination of Mozambique's role by Bertil Egero (pp. 69-107) -- all touching on regional/economic/development issues.

In the aftermath of the Rhodesian UDI, Zambia's realignment toward East Africa through its Tanzanian link included formal application to join the East African Community in 1967. However, the prospects of a Greater East Africa steadily receded as internal contradictions tended to undermine regional integration. This was in part a reflection of the increasingly divergent economic development paths being pursued by Kenya's continuing post independence hegemony as the Community's economic and communications center. This, in turn, has given rise to Kenya being classified as an aspiring 'sub-imperial' power on par with South Africa, despite Kenya's lack of military power and pretensions to project a forward strategy in alignment with Western security concerns in the East African/western Indian Ocean region.

(See: "International Statification in Africa: Sub-imperialism in Southern and Eastern Africa," by Timothy Shaw in the Journal of Southern African Affairs, College Park, Maryland, April 1977, pp. 145-165.) These centrifugal tendencies were further exacerbated by Idi Amin's ouster of Milton Obote in Uganda in 1971, effectively arresting Uganda's pro-socialist alignment toward Tanzania. For a discussion of the Community's disintegration, see: "Regional Organisation and African Underdevelopment: The Collapse of the East African Community," by Agrippah T. Mugomba in the Journal of Modern African Studies, London, June 1978, pp. 261-272; and "The Making of Idi Amin," by A.R.M. Rabu in New African, London, June 1979, pp. 41-45, a novel analysis which links Amin's rise to power to a Western strategy to disrupt a potential "alliance of radical Afro-Arab states extending from the Mediterranean right down to the very doors of the last bastion of Western presence in Africa, apartheid South Africa..." (p. 42).

This brief digression into the political and economic aspects of regional disintegration in East Africa is necessary in order to understand the current geopolitical/economic forces shaping a potential Southern African Economic Community which is likely to encompass much of Eastern and Central Africa. In the heyday of the East African Community, Zambia's interest in membership represented broader pan-African hopes of a Greater East Africa stretching from the Horn to the Zambezi. However, the break-up of the Community, along with Tanzania's growing involvement in Southern African affairs (as reflected in President Julius

Nyerere's chairmanship of the frontline heads-of-state), has shifted the focus of regional integration in East and Central Africa toward the possibility of a greater Southern African community. The latter might eventually incorporate the new post-Amin Uganda, once again realigning toward its Tanzanian liberator, as well as the Central African 'Great Lakes Community' comprising the hard-pressed economies of Rwanda, Burundi, and Zaire. Kenya, on the other hand, shows signs of being drawn more closely into the orbit of Northeast African/Red Sea political and economic transactions despite -- or perhaps because of -- its security/friendship treaty with Ethiopia re: Somalia, and its budding relations with Saudi Arabia, which would like to reconcile Nairobi and Mogadishu to counter Soviet bloc influences in the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa.

### Economic Liberation Gathers Momentum

The choice of Arusha as the venue for the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was fitting as a reflection of Tanzania's pivotal role in the interrelated geopolitics of East and Southern Africa. Daniel ar-Roman's orchestration of the overthrow of Amin (a creature of earlier Anglo-Israeli influences in Uganda) complemented its vanguard role in the diplomacy of the frontline states in the quest for a settlement in Zimbabwe, and served to underline the close-knit future of the two regions which comprise the largest sub-region in the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

(ECA).\* The ECA, in fact, has been in the forefront of promoting a broader sphere of cooperation in Eastern and Southern Africa in the wake of the break-up of the East African Community.

The ECA's efforts were outlined in the April 1978 issue of Development Forum ("New Trade Grouping Planned," p. 2) which reported on a meeting convened by the ECA's sub-regional office in Lusaka (Multinational Programming and Operational Center, MULPOC) which brought together trade, finance and planning ministers from 16 countries (excluding Rwanda and Burundi) to sign a declaration of intent and commitment to create a "preferential trade area and clearing payments system for their countries"; to approve the setting up of an "Inter-governmental Negotiating Team"; and to determine the team's frame of reference and a timetable for its work (not exceeding 12 months). Learning from the experience of the East African Community, the clearing house and payments system would establish a unit of account which would, over the next decade, evolve into

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\* The East African sub-region of ECA (which includes Southern Africa -- excluding South Africa) includes: Angola, Botswana, Burundi, the Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and Zambia. For an in-depth study and evaluation of ECA, see: Regionalism Reconsidered: The Economic Commission for Africa, by Isebill V. Gruhn, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1979, 154 pp.

an "Association for the Economic Community of Eastern Africa" and a monetary union. (The East African focus of the concept probably stemmed from the fact that the meeting followed an earlier Kenyan recommendation that a broader economic community inclusive of Southern Africa might be formed as a successor to the defunct ECA.)

More directly related to Southern Africa, especially to the frontline states, was the establishment at the 1977 OAU Summit in Libreville, Gabon of an OAU 'Committee of Ten.' This body was set up to study "ways to support countries which have been victims of attacks by the Rhodesian regime" (see: Foreign Broadcast Information Service Report/Sub-Saharan Africa, Washington, D.C., April 12, 1978). The first meeting, held in Maputo on 11 April 1978 and chaired by then Togolese Foreign Minister Edem Kodjo (currently OAU Secretary-General), resulted in the formation of a commission to study economic problems of the frontline states stemming from the escalating war for the liberation of Zimbabwe.

More recently, during 1979, a distinctive Lusophone contribution to emerging cooperation efforts in Southern Africa was introduced by the convening of the first heads-of-state summit conference of Portuguese-speaking African countries, June 9-10 in Luanda. Chaired by the late President and founder of the Angolan People's Republic, Agostinho Neto, this meeting has been perceived in some quarters as representing not only a post-colonial effort to re-establish links of solidarity between the liberation movement regimes of

Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe -- once linked together in the anti-imperialist Conference of Nationalist Organizations of Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) -- but also as an indicator of closer relations between these new nations and the former metropole in Lisbon. In this vein, the June 1-15, 1979 issue of African Index noted that: "Considerable importance is attached by all observers to the scheduling of the next Portuguese-speaking summit in Mozambique, which has been the most cautious in responding to Lisbon's overtures."

These ECA, OAU and Lusophone efforts represent only the tip of an apparent iceberg of complementary moves toward the knitting together of a regional network of bilateral arrangements to promote greater economic and technical cooperation among frontline and neighboring states. Since the decolonization of Angola and Mozambique and the establishment of the frontline bloc supporting the Zimbabwean and Namibian struggles, a series of interstate permanent joint commissions have sprung up to promote and manage cooperation between Tanzania and Mozambique, Mozambique and Zambia, Zambia and Angola, as well as between Tanzania and Zambia. In addition, bilateral commissions have been established between Angola and Zaire, and between Zaire and Zambia to work for the stabilization of the vast and troubled region linking the vulnerable transport and communication network of these three countries via the Benguela Railway. The forging of this series of bilateral ties among the Southern African 'northern tier'

establishes a functional framework for the type of regional development coordination that the July Arusha conference intended to generate.

Although the ECA initiative envisions an eventual "Association for the Community of Eastern Africa," which would incorporate Southern Africa, the current geopolitical trends -- particularly Kenya's growing isolation in East Africa and Tanzania's deepening involvement to the south -- appear to favor the incorporation of much of East and Central Africa into a greater Southern African framework based on the frontline state alignment. Nevertheless, it may be expected that Kenya will continue to play a significant sub-regional role as indicated by the new Pan-African Miners' Trade Union launched in Nairobi at the end of August, with headquarters in Nairobi, and with Kenya holding the post of secretary-general while the presidency is held by Zambia. In any case, the ECA's promotion of sub-regional interstate trade and a preferential payments system complements the type of regional cooperation and integration envisaged at Arusha and would certainly form an essential component in a prospective Southern African-based economic grouping.\*

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\* In apparent anticipation of a growing joint focus on Eastern and Southern Africa, the Nairobi-based Regional Committee for Development of Information Services in East Africa has been reformed into the Regional Council for Development of Information Services in Eastern and Southern Africa. This regional information project originally

## The Transport Dilemma: Breaking the Ties that Bind

The Arusha conference convened by the frontline states distinguished itself from past cooperation initiatives in its conscious, politically motivated quest for "economic liberation" from a South African-dominated regional economy. Transportation and communications were defined as the central factors in the SADCC's consideration of strategies and priorities (which accords with the designations of the '80s as Africa's "Transport and Communications Decade"). Thus, a concrete proposal to form a Southern African Regional Transport and Communications Commission (SARTCC) in Maputo as the centerpiece of a regional cooperation liberation strategy was approved. The Commission, as a short-term institutional mechanism, would identify priority projects, secure feasibility studies and form a framework for negotiators to mobilize external funds on a project-by-project basis. The Commission's program of development includes: construction of a Botswana railroad to the Atlantic, an alternative rail route for Zambia via Namibia, inter-connecting roads, air communications, inland waterways, pipelines and telecommunications. "Although the source of funds for the establishment of the

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grew out of the International Conference on Development of Information Network in Eastern Africa held in Nairobi from July 24-August 1, 1973 involving the Education, Science and Documentation Division of the German Foundation for International Development based in Bonn.

commission has not been disclosed, it is envisaged that the development of transport communications in the region will cost about US\$1.5 billion in the next 10 years. Both external and domestic financial sponsorship is being sought,"\* raising the need for the establishment of a special "Economic Liberation Fund" (or Southern African Development Fund). Initially, it was proposed that such a fund would be administered by the African Development Bank (ADB) and would ultimately lead to the creation of a separate regional development bank for Southern Africa. Later, this proposal was amended to create a Special Fund to facilitate external funding from the international donor community.

Implicit in the Arusha discussions is the recognized need to build a regional information and documentation network accompanied by an emphasis on research and technical training to guard against environmental deterioration, "particularly desert encroachment and recurrent drought cycles and to increase food production."\* Interstate information exchanges would be aimed "at achieving a concerted policy in the mining industry, energy and agriculture."\* With respect to research and training, the meeting resolved to develop the existing facilities at the University of Zambia's Faculty of Mines and the Northern College of Technology in Lusaka; the railway training centers in Mozambique; the Management Institute at Arusha; and the ECA's Mining Bureau

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\* "Arusha: Breaking Dependence on South Africa," by Victor Ndovi, in: New African, London, September 1979, pp. 66-67.

as well as the Wildlife College in Dodoma, Tanzania.

In the field of agriculture, the frontline states urged that ICRISAT (The International Center for Research on Agriculture in Semi-Arid Tropics) establish a Southern Africa Regional Center in Botswana. Further, the undertaking of joint projects for the exploitation of natural resources (particularly common hydrological basins) was viewed as not only essential to economic development, but also to the liberation of black-ruled Southern Africa from its peripheral status as a labor reserve for South Africa (which may become less dependent on migrant labor in any case, as a more stable domestic black labor force develops out of moves to dismantle the 'Industrial Color Bar').

Part of the frontline states' regional economic strategy involves expanding the scope of the annual SADCC to include the East and Central African countries of Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda as well as the remaining Southern African states of Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland. However, to a large extent, the strategy and time-frame of the frontline states' plans depend upon the resolution of conflicts in Zimbabwe and Namibia on internationally acceptable terms. Thus, the Arusha conference acknowledges that in terms of a policy of "gradual disengagement," the "practicality of such a policy will become more apparent when Zimbabwe and Namibia join the community of genuinely independent nations" (SADCC Conference Document, "The Strategy," p. 4). For example, the construction of a Trans-Kgalagadi rail link and road from Francistown in northern Botswana

to Angola and Namibia is very much contingent on an internationally recognized settlement in the latter. And both Botswana's and Zambia's transport and communications options would be expanded by an internationally acceptable settlement in Zimbabwe. In both instances, but particularly in the case of Namibia, internationally recognized settlements depend upon South Africa's acquiescence in and/or cooperation with the West and the frontline states in the implementation of transitional arrangements that involve the liberation movements. Despite concessions by the 'Western Five' and the frontline states over Namibia's transition, Pretoria appears determined to frustrate any plan that would incorporate the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), while an 'internal settlement' is encouraged. In this context, the death of Angola's first President, Agostinho Neto, may prove convenient for South Africa's aims in Namibia as well as its interest in the continued destabilization of southern Angola that renders the Benguela useless to the transport needs of Zambia and Zaire. In Zimbabwe, Pretoria would welcome the legalization of a revised 'internal settlement' to which it could commit greater economic and military resources in furtherance of its regional 'Constellation' aims. British and American domestic politics may yet encourage such a scenario.

The problematic prospects for internationally credible settlements in Namibia and Zimbabwe that would relieve the desperate economic circumstances in the frontline states are matched by developments that increase the latter's dependence on South Africa

and the pro-Pretoria regimes in Windhoek and Salisbury. Thus, Kaunda's necessary decision in November 1978 to reopen Zambia's southern border with Zimbabwe has led to a series of consultations between Zambian officials and counterparts in Salisbury and South Africa aimed at securing Lusaka's southern transportation and communications routes, given the continued closure of the Benguela line and the unreliability of the Tazara. The continued disruption of the Benguela by Jonas Savimbi's UNITA guerrillas in southern Angola is at least in part linked to Pretoria's refusal to agree to an internationally acceptable transition in Namibia which includes SWAPO. Since the reopening of the rail route to the south through Zimbabwe, about half of all Zambian exports and imports are now traveling that route according to Africa Confidential, and these goods include "not only most copper exports, on which Zambia still depends for over 90% of its total foreign exchange earnings, but also the import of fertilizer and maize" ("Zambia: Needs Peace in Zimbabwe," Africa Confidential, London, September 19, 1979, p. 4). This politically based economic constraint has already shown indications of shifting Zambia's internal political dynamics toward a more pragmatic tendency to rely increasingly on southern economic transactions and to encourage the private sector -- trends that could potentially lead Zambia into South Africa's 'Constellation' orbit.

Mozambique's more intimate economic links with South Africa have been amply documented as well. Not long ago, for example, an SABC commentary on Botha's 'Constellation' plans highlighted a request from Maputo to the South African

Chamber of Mines that it employ more Mozambicans so as "to alleviate suffering among the rural inhabitants" (in the words of the commentary, reported in Foreign Broadcast Information Service Report/Sub-Saharan Africa, Washington, D.C., September 19, 1979, pp. E4-5). Thus, in an expression of deep skepticism on the part of white South Africa's English-speaking economic elite, the Rand Daily Mail's "Business Mail" (August 22, 1979) concluded that the frontline states' "prospects of reducing their dependence on South Africa seem increasingly slim," and that even with the expanded options from settlements in Zimbabwe and Namibia "there is little prospect of South Africa's economic and infrastructural pre-eminence disappearing."\* This grim outlook poses a serious challenge to Western intentions and commitment in Southern Africa given rising expectations from Arusha and future SADCC meetings.

### Summary

The actual initiation of Southern Africa's economic liberation struggle began in the 1960s when the idea of a Tazara Railway was conceived. Western indifference at the time to Zambia's dire need for such an alternative rail link (based on the attenuated vision of the project as an uneconomical political enterprise) symbolized a broader acquiescence by the West in

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\* Reprinted in "How SA Helps Its Neighbors," South Africa Digest, Pretoria, September 7, 1979, pp. 12-13.

black Southern Africa's continued underdevelopment and dependence on the white-ruled South. The consequences have been costly to the region, and the new-found Western interest, in response to Soviet-Cuban initiatives, generates predictable skepticism on the part of Africans and others as to the extent to which Western donors will commit themselves to assisting the region's short- and long-term development. Such skepticism and criticism of U.S. intentions were reflected among African and other participants at the U.S. Agency for International Development's colloquium on "Development Needs and Opportunities for Cooperation in Southern Africa," convened January 8-10, 1979 at the State Department in Washington, D.C. In its subsequently issued report to Congress, the Agency stressed in its introduction that: "The basic development problems and constraints in Southern Africa will not be resolved unless structured, long-term, coordinated programs are initiated. Ad hoc and piecemeal projects must give way to comprehensive national and regional assistance efforts" (see: A Report to the Congress on Development Needs and Opportunities for Cooperation in Southern Africa, Washington, D.C., U.S. Agency for International Development, 1979. 161 pp.\*\*). On the other hand, in trying to overcome the constraints to

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\*\* A previous AID study of Southern Africa was hastily conducted in the fall of 1976, accompanying the Kissinger 'shuttle' initiatives which began with his April 1976 Lusaka address enunciating U.S. support for majority rule with 'minority rights.' This speech marked an important departure from the earlier Nixon-Kissinger

development in Southern Africa, there is also a question of overcoming constraints to U.S. action in creatively responding to the issues raised at the January colloquium and at Arusha in July.

The Arusha proposals and the Botha 'Constellation' scheme, as rival concepts for organizing future regional cooperation in Southern Africa, are each likely to generate supportive constituencies in the U.S. One indication is cited in the September 29, 1979 issue of the Johannesburg Star which foresees a congressional campaign supportive of the front-line states' strategy for regional development while opposed to a South African-dominated 'Constellation' (see: "Diggs to Fight Botha's Plan," by John d'Oliveira, p. 9). Certainly the front-line states' initiative at Arusha affords the U.S. a unique opportunity to advance an Africa policy that enhances mutual American-Southern African interests in a new order of political and economic stability in the subcontinent. The future that black Southern Africa aspires to was perhaps most succinctly expressed at Arusha by Commonwealth Secretary-General Shridath Ramphal: "Let our presence here help to proclaim that the future of Southern Africa lies not in a

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NSSM 39-'Tar Baby' policy which favored the white minority regimes. Aspects of continuity in Ford-Kissinger and Carter-Vance-Young policies in Southern Africa are briefly discussed by Foreign Affairs editor William P. Bundy in his article: "Who Lost Patagonia? Foreign Policy in the 1980 Campaign," in the Fall 1979 issue of Foreign Affairs (New York, Council on Foreign Relations).

constellation of satellite states held in orbit around an unreconstructed South Africa -- but a region of free states united in their commitment to human dignity and made strong by their success in forging instruments of economic coordination -- and who knows, perhaps, of integration -- fashioned to the special genius of the people of Southern Africa...."

#### POSTSCRIPT

In the wake of P.W. Botha's enunciation of Pretoria's 'Constellation' aims, the Afrikans information/knowledge sector has reflected a growing preoccupation with regional cooperation in Southern Africa. Thus, the Afrika-Instituut's South African Journal of African Affairs (Vol. 9, no. 2, 1979) carries two articles on the issue of regional cooperation as it relates to South Africa: "Economic Liaison in Southern Africa," by Lawrence McCrystal, a member of the KwaZulu Development Corporation and of the Central Consolidation Committee, and "Can Southern Africa Get Together," by the Institute's Director, G.M.E. Leistner. (Both include detailed maps on South Africa's regional cooperation arrangements and on "communications and power networks," identifying telephone lines, radio stations, power grids, main roads and rail links.) McCrystal's contribution is based on an address delivered to a conference of black South African political and business leaders sponsored by NAFCOC (the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce) in November 1978, calling for an OECD-like loose association structure to foster regional cooperation with the inclusion of the homelands. Leistner's

article is an abridged version of a speech he delivered to a symposium on "Development: Some Key Issues" held at the University of the North during May 1979. Leistner views the prospect of cooperation in Southern Africa within the context of developing countries' demands for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), observing that "it is becoming clear that groupings of the LDCs around economically leading regional powers offer far more favourable prospects for the emergence of a NIEO than the prevailing emphasis on world-wide redistribution of wealth" (p. 84). Such a view is compatible with Botha's 'Constellation' notions on which the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) offers the following comment: "Carried away with their grandiloquent dreams, the racists somehow imagine that they can capture some of the Front-Line states in their orbit" (Sechaba, London, July 1979, p. 23).

However, the ANC's understandable and predictable hostility to Botha's 'Constellation' is not an isolated contrary opinion. In assessing American reaction, the Johannesburg Star's former Washington Bureau editor, Hugh Robertson, notes that South Africa's Nationalist Party leaders tend to underestimate the deep-rooted skepticism their regional aims evoke. According to Robertson, Americans consider Botha's 'Constellation' proposal "analogous to the Soviet Union joining the European Economic Community or NATO," and he adds that although Americans concede that a supply and demand relationship binds the region, "many question whether the present South African Government -- even under the comparatively enlightened

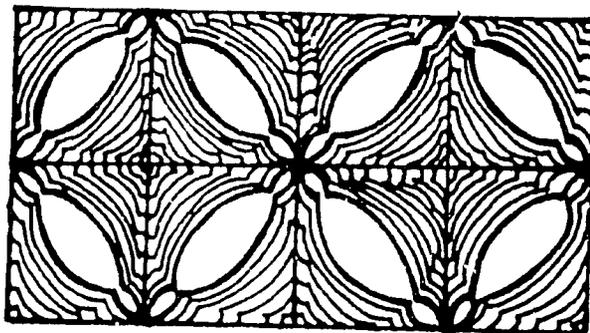
Mr. Botha -- would be an acceptable partner much beyond this" ("FW's 'Vision' Met with Scepticism," in Johannesburg Star, October 6, 1979, p. 41). Nevertheless, there are indications that the U.S. may support regional development more along the lines proposed at Arusha. In a guarded response to the Patriotic Front's demand for Anglo-American donor support to underwrite land reform in Zimbabwe, the U.S. informed Britain and the frontline states that Washington would "be prepared to cooperate in a multidonor effort to assist in agricultural and economic development of an independent Zimbabwe within the framework of a wider development concept for southern Africa as a whole" ("British and Guerrillas Sidestep Head-on Clash over Rhodesia," in Washington Post, October 17, 1979, p. A25, italics added).

Another contrary view to Botha's regional plans comes from Harry Oppenheimer. Speaking at a special graduation ceremony commemorating the 150th anniversary of the University of Cape Town, Oppenheimer proposed an amended version of the 'Constellation' which would embrace: "mutual agreement on, and free acceptance of, the laws governing it by the participating states; a more authoritative body than a secretariat to determine and implement the constellation's common policy; a Southern Africa free trade area, embracing a common currency and free movement of goods, money and people across boundaries; and protection by the constellation of the interests of citizens of all member states" (South Africa Digest, October 5, 1979, p. 3).

While the proposed 'Constellation' is being debated, developments in the region continue to reaffirm South Africa's economic power. For example, both Namibia and Botswana have asked the South African Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) to "investigate the possibility of linking them to the South African power grid to cope with their peak electricity demands" (see: Africa Research Bulletin/EFT, September 30, 1979, p. 5227). According to the Bulletin, new linkages such as these would "significantly extend the economic control South Africa exercises over its neighboring states...." On the other hand, Dr. Henry Olivier, a leading South African hydro-engineer (and builder of the Kariba and Cabora Bassa Dams) believes South Africa could get three times the electric power it now uses by helping Zaire harness 40,000 low-cost megawatts from the proposed Grand Inga project on the border of the Congo People's Republic and Zaire (Johannesburg Star, August 11, 1979, p. 5). However, in a counter-trend, Botswana has set up its own telecommunications corporation which aims to end a situation where international telex and telephone calls must pass through South Africa (see:

Africa Research Bulletin/EFT, September 30, 1979, p. 5253). The new Botswana Telecommunications Corporation will be run by a board comprised of members of the British Cable and Wireless Company as well as the Botswana government. In January, Botswana along with Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland and Zambia reportedly accepted a South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) proposal to establish a committee to assist broadcasting stations in the region with their technical problems. This proposal was made at a Southern African regional preparatory meeting for the World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC) held in Blantyre; Angola and Mozambique were invited to the meeting but did not attend. (See: Habari Transcript Service, January 10, 1979 and February 1, 1979).

All of these developments, combined with reports that South Africa's mineral reserves will be exhausted before similar resources in the rest of the region -- which has yet to be fully explored for its mineral wealth -- underscore the extent to which economics and politics are intimately interwoven in the fabric of Southern Africa's contradictory and complex regional relations.



# CONFERENCES AND MEETINGS

## Forthcoming, Current and Past

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.

FIRST AFRICA-UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL TRADE CONFERENCE, May 1980, Memphis, Tennessee. Organized by the Continental Africa Chamber of Commerce for African and American businessmen, government officials and other interested parties. Discussions will focus on trade experiences, problems and needs, and the opportunities for expanded trade links between the U.S. and African countries. For information contact: Continental Africa Chamber of Commerce, 20 East 46th Street, New York, New York 10017.

WESTERN ASSOCIATION OF AFRICANISTS 11TH ANNUAL MEETING, February 27-March 1, 1980, Colorado Springs, Colorado. For information contact: Joan Wadlow, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming 82071.

STUDY SEMINAR 93 ON COMMODITIES IN THE WORLD ECONOMY, February 11-March 14, 1980, Brighton, England. Organized by the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. Designed to examine long-term trends and to evaluate policy in production and consumption of minerals, manufactured raw materials, foods and beverages, and other selected items. Applications are expected from individuals in government agencies, corporations, research institutes and international agencies in Africa and elsewhere. For information contact: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9RE, England.

CONFERENCE ON BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES FROM WORLD AID PROJECTS, December 6-7, 1979, London, England. Organized by I.C. Expo, a division of International Communications. Designed as an opportunity for British and European businessmen and industrialists to meet with representatives of the European Development Fund, World Bank, Arab Bank for Economic

Development in Africa, OPEC Special Fund, U.N. Development Programme, British Overseas Development Administration, Commonwealth Development Corporation and others to discuss opportunities which aid projects offer to business and industry. For information contact: I.C. Expo Ltd., 109 Kingsway, London WC2B 6PZ, England.

COUNCIL FOR COMPUTERIZED LIBRARY NETWORKS COLLOQUIUM, December 6-7, 1979, Columbus, Ohio. Scheduled topics include: the development of bibliographic, abstracting and indexing databases, telecommunications, bibliographic standards, and network development in developed and developing countries. Scheduled speakers include information specialists from the U.S., Canada, Great Britain and Poland. For information contact: Ms. Barbara Robinson, Director, Metropolitan Washington Library Council, 1875 Eye Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

PLEDGING CONFERENCE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS DECADE IN AFRICA November 20, 1979, New York, New York. Convened by U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim under the auspices of the UNECA to elicit all possible support for the 10-year program to develop transport and communications in Africa. For information contact: U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. (See note on Conference in Addis Ababa. May 9-12, 1979.)

UNESCO EXPERT MEETING TO PREPARE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE ON COMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT, November 6-9, 1979, Washington, D.C. Convened by UNESCO Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow and hosted by the U.S. Government. Meeting of 35 experts in the fields of communication and development from developed and developing countries throughout the world to make recommendations for use in organizing an intergovernmental conference on communication development planning to be held in Paris in early 1980. For information contact: UNESCO Liaison Office, Room 2401, United Nations, New York, New York 10017.

FIRST WORLD CONGRESS OF FOLK MEDICINE, October 27-November 2, 1979, Lima, Iquitos and Cuzco, Peru. For information contact: Fernando Cabreses, Casilla Postal 5231, Lima 18, Peru.

AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION 22ND ANNUAL MEETING, October 31-November 3, 1979, Los Angeles, California. Theme: "Africa and the Media: Changing Aspects of Communication."

Scheduled topics of the 92 panels include: Agricultural Changes in Zambia Since the Late 1930s; The Social, Economic and Political Impacts of Being a Frontline State upon Zambia; The Social Uses of Politics in Modern Zambia; The Press and Nationalism in Portuguese-Speaking Africa; Independence for Namibia: The Process, the Anticipated Problems and Their Probable Solutions; Development Assistance in Africa: Strategies and Strategems; African Broadcasting: Prospects for the '80s; Cooperation and Conflict Between Modern and Traditional Health Care; The Changing Social and Economic Position of Urban Women in Africa; Local Level Uses of Mass Media; Rural Development in Africa: Intervention or Participation; Cuban Foreign Policy in Africa: Liberation or Colonialism; Communication of Administrative Planning to Local Level Officials; Nutrition Education in Africa; U.S. Broadcast Media Coverage of African Issues, 1978-1979; and Regional International Organizations in Africa. In addition, the Committee on Current Issues will sponsor sessions on Zimbabwe and Namibia, and an Open Forum with Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Richard Moose, and others. For information on papers prepared for the panels contact: Ms. Deanna LaValle, African Studies Association, Epstein Service Building, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts 02154.

SCHEDULED MEETING OF DELEGATES TO SIGN THE LOME II AGREEMENT, October 31, 1979, Lomé, Togo. Meeting of delegates from the European Economic Community and 57 African, Caribbean and Pacific States to sign a 5-year trade and assistance package valued at approximately \$7.8 billion. For information contact: Commission of the European Communities, 200 rue de la Loi, B-1049 Brussels, Belgium.

TENTH AFRICAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE, October 26-29, 1979, Hot Springs, Virginia. Organized by the African-American Institute. Scheduled topics included: Major Policy Issues in African-American Relations; African-American Economic Interdependence: Investment, Trade and Aid Issues; Zimbabwe; South Africa: Political Options and U.S. Economic Policy; and Namibia: U.S. Policy at the United Nations. Scheduled participants included: Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo of the Patriotic Front, U.N. Commissioner for Namibia Martti Ahtisaari, the Foreign Ministers of Lesotho and Tanzania, Ambassador B.A. Clark of the U.N. Committee Against Apartheid, Percy Qoboza, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Donald McHenry, former U.N. Envoy Andrew Young, Senators Paul Tsongas and Steven Solarz, and Congresspersons Cardiss Collins and William Gray, III. For information contact: African-American Institute, 833 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

"SOUTHERN AFRICAN UPDATE" CONFERENCE, October 26-27, 1979, Bloomington, Indiana. Scheduled panels: Nationalism in Zimbabwe; U.S. Foreign Policy in Southern Africa; and International Politics: South Africa. Conference address by Colin Legum: "Southern African Update." Scheduled participants included: representatives of ZANU, ZAFU and the frontline states; Mr. Paul Hare, Director, Office of Southern African Affairs, U.S. State Department; Mrs. Helen Suzman of South Africa; and faculty members from Indiana University. For information contact: African Studies Program, Woodburn Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

CONFERENCE ON BLACKS, PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS AND PUBLIC POLICY, October 25-27, 1979, Washington, D.C. Sponsored by the Department of Political Science, Howard University. Keynote speaker: former U.N. Envoy Andrew Young. Scheduled panel topics included: Foreign Policy Patterns and Trends, Foreign Policy Toward Africa, and The New Role of Blacks in Foreign Policy. Chairperson: Marguerite Ross Barnett, Department of Political Science, Howard University, 112 Douglass Hall, Washington, D.C. 20059.

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING, October 18-20, 1979, Indianapolis, Indiana. Theme: "The United States and Internationalism: Four Concerns." Topics: Multinational Corporations: Non-Governmental Foreign Policy; Freedom of the Press: Neo-Imperialism or Human Rights; Disarmament: Relax or Regret?; and Food and Population: What for the '80s? For information contact: Dr. Richard A. Fredland, Political Science Department, IUPUI, 925 West Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana 46202.

FIFTH CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN MINISTERS OF INDUSTRY, October 17-20, 1979, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Designed to focus on subjects relevant to the U.N. Industrial Development Organization III (UNIDO III) General Conference to be held in New Delhi in January 1980. Discussions based on conclusions and recommendations of the Nairobi Symposium on Industrialization, June 1979. For information contact: U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, October 15, 18, 19, 22, 24, 29 and 31, Washington, D.C. Topic: U.S. Interests in Africa. Scheduled witnesses included: Andrew Young, Joseph Sisco, David Newsome, Ann Seidman, Robert Rotberg, Patt Derian and Leonard Sussman. For information on obtaining copies of the published hearings contact: Subcommittee on Africa, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, 705 House Annex 1, Washington, D.C. 20515.

CONFERENCE OF SOUTHERN AFRICANS AND LATIN AMERICANS, October 1979, Luanda, Angola. Organized by the MPLA, ANC, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front to plan increased joint action against repressive regimes, and to discuss campaigns to free political prisoners and measures to defeat the proposed South Atlantic Treaty Organization. Scheduled participants included delegates from trade unions and youth organizations in Africa, and invitees from Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and Uruguay.

SOUTHERN AFRICAN RESEARCH ASSOCIATION 4TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, October 4-6, 1979, College Park, Maryland. Theme: "Emerging Southern Africa: Development and Nation-Building." Panel topics included: Civil Service Systems in Southern Africa; Women and the Liberation and Development of Southern Africa; The International Actors in Southern Africa; Strategies for Southern African Development; Southern Africa and the Revolution: The Evolution of Societies, Politics and Ideologies; The Press and the Media on Southern Africa; and The Politics of Independent Africa and the Challenge of Southern Africa. A Forum of the Southern African Liberation Movements included representatives from PAC of Azania, ANC of South Africa, ZANU and ZAPU. For information on papers available contact: Southern African Research Association, c/o Journal of Southern African Affairs, 4133 Art/Sociology Building, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742.

JOINT ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND WORLD BANK, October 2-5, 1979, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. World Bank President Robert McNamara's address to the Board of Governors included remarks on: Lessons of the Second Development Decade; Critical Development Problems in the 1980s and Beyond; Approaches to a New International Development Strategy; and The World Bank in the 1980s. For information contact: Public Information Office, World Bank, 1818 H Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AFRICA DISCUSSION GROUP, October 2, 1979, Washington, D.C. Guest speaker: Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, General Secretary, National Union of Clothing Workers in South Africa. Topic: "A Black Labor Leader's View of the Labor Scene in South Africa." For information contact: CSIS, 1800 K Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

INFOTERRA NETWORK MANAGEMENT MEETING, October 1-6, 1979, Moscow, U.S.S.R. Meeting of information specialists from the 100-member countries which participate in INFOTERRA, an international information system for questions related to the environment and development, created by the U.N. Environment Programme. Designed to review INFOTERRA operations

and to discuss means of expanding use of the system. For information contact: INFOTERRA, UNEP, P.O. Box 30552, Nairobi, Kenya.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOREIGN AFFAIRS LEGISLATIVE WORKSHOP, September 21, 1979, Washington, D.C. Theme: "African-Black American Economic Cooperation." Topics discussed included the movement for economic liberation in Southern Africa launched by the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference in Arusha, Tanzania. Participants included Congressmen Charles Diggs and William Gray; U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Donald McHenry; Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Richard Moose; AID Assistant Administrator for Africa Goler T. Butcher; and Botswana's Economic Counselor, Mr. Festus Mogae, Executive Director at the International Monetary Fund. For information contact: The Congressional Black Caucus, 306 House Annex, Washington, D.C. 20515.

COMMONWEALTH AFRICAN ENERGY GROUP MEETING, September 20-27, 1979, Arusha, Tanzania. Meeting of Commonwealth African governments to discuss coordinating resources to face the existing energy crisis and to consider topics such as wind electricity generation, charcoal production, and utilization of solar energy, biogas and solar wind. For information contact: Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5HX, England.

29TH WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION CONFERENCE FOR THE AFRICAN REGION, September 19-26, 1979, Maputo, Mozambique. Meeting of delegates from throughout Africa to discuss health needs and cooperative efforts to address those needs. For information contact: Regional Office for Africa, World Health Organization, P.O. Box 6, Brazzaville, Congo.

17TH OVERSEAS IMPORT FAIR, September 19-23, 1979, Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany. Theme: Partners for Progress. Sponsored by the Bonn government as part of its policy to encourage imports from non-OPEC developing nations. Attended by exhibitors and representatives from 50 African, Asian and Latin American countries, and buyers from West Germany and other European countries. For information contact: AMK Berlin, Ausstellungs-Messe-Kongress-GmbH, Messedamm 22, D-1000 Berlin 19, Federal Republic of Germany.

FACE-TO-FACE DINNER DISCUSSION, September 19, 1979, Washington, D.C. Sponsored by the American Foreign Service Association and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Guest speaker: the Reverend Jesse Jackson, National President of PUSH (People United to Save Humanity). Topic: Rev. Jackson's trip to South Africa and the implications for U.S. policy toward the region. For information contact: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 11 Dupont Circle N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM BIENNIAL SYMPOSIUM, September 13-14, 1979, London, England. Theme: Refugees. Topics of papers presented included the political economy of refugees in Zambia, refugees and migrants in Mozambique, and South Africa's internal refugees. Participants included representatives from agencies involved in refugee work in Africa. For information contact: African Studies Association of the United Kingdom, c/o Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham, P.O.B. 363, Birmingham B15 2SD, England. (See *Development Information Briefs, Refugees.*)

SIXTH SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UNION OF AFRICAN PARLIAMENTS, September 10-12, 1979, Ouagadougou, Upper Volta. Members called on African governments to give priority to the development of the agricultural sector. Recommended the establishment of agro-industrial complexes, the diversification of agricultural products, and the regroupment of African countries within regional structures to promote better coordination of agricultural policies and marketing. Among the 21-member countries of the UPA are Lesotho, Malawi and Zambia. For information contact: UPA General Secretariat, c/o Secrétaire Général, Assemblée Nationale de la Côte d'Ivoire, Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

WORLD FOOD COUNCIL FIFTH MINISTERIAL SESSION, September 4, 1979, Ottawa, Canada. Meeting of ministers of agriculture and other high-ranking officials of the 36-member nation World Food Council to consider ways to stimulate food production in developing countries, to combat hunger and malnutrition, and to work towards a more equitable distribution of food. For information contact: World Food Council, via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy.

FIRST PAN-AFRICAN MINERS' CONFERENCE, end August-September 1, 1979, Nairobi, Kenya. Meeting of representatives from 10 African countries (and observers from Yugoslavia and Iraq). Adopted an interim constitution for the Pan-African Miners' Trade Union, to be headquartered in Nairobi, establishing a five-member secretariat with the post of

Secretary-General going to Kenya, assisted by Algeria and Togo, and the presidency going to Zambia, assisted by the Congo People's Republic.

MEETING OF THE WORKING GROUP OF AFRICAN GOVERNORS OF THE WORLD BANK AND THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, mid-August 1979, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Meeting of delegates from 18 African countries and representatives of UNECA, OAU, IMF, World Bank and the African Development Bank to plan a common strategy for African states at the October annual meetings of the IMF and World Bank. For information contact: U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

CONGRESS OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE CONSERVATION AND UTILISATION OF THE SOIL, August 14-17, 1979, Stellenbosch, South Africa. Designed to focus on water problems in the countries represented at the Congress. Attendees included delegates from seven of the ten countries which participate in the Commission. For information contact: Secretary-General, SARCCUS, Private Bag X116, Pretoria, Republic of South Africa.

FIFTH PAN-AFRICAN YOUTH MOVEMENT CONFERENCE, August 10-17, 1979, Brazzaville, Congo. Designed to discuss major problems faced by the continent. Ended with a condemnation of Western governments for cooperating with South Africa in the plan for Namibia and a proclamation of the certainty of victory of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa over the system of apartheid.

SECOND LONDON IMPO-EXPO TRADE FAIR, July 23-27, 1979, London, England. Organized by the U.K. Trade Agency for Developing Countries and sponsored by the EEC and the Commonwealth Secretariat. Opportunity for 47 developing countries to display goods to buyers from the European Economic Community, Scandinavia and Arab countries. African countries participating: Botswana, Gabon, the Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. For information contact: Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5HX, England.

SEMINARS ON DOCUMENTATION AND INFORMATION FOR PLANNING AND DECISION MAKING, end July 1979, Maseru, Lesotho; and first week in August 1979, Mbabane, Swaziland. Organized by the German Foundation for International Development Coordinating Centre for Regional Information Training (CRIT). Designed for executives in government planning and

development agencies to discuss information usage and to encourage national agencies to establish information systems. For further details contact: Mr. G. Beck, DSE Programme Coordinator, CRIT, P.O. Box 47288, Nairobi, Kenya.

SYMPOSIUM ON LONG-TERM AFRICAN INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY, June 18-26 (and September 11-13), 1979, Nairobi, Kenya. Organized by the UNECA and attended by representatives from 17 countries, the OAU and the ILO. Emphasized industrial policies and strategies aimed at internally self-sustaining development and diversification, and collective self-reliance. Urged that priority be given to acquiring skills, equipment and processing facilities, together with development of an adequate distribution network, requiring infrastructure development in transport and communications. For information contact: U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. (See note on October 17-20, 1979 Conference of African Ministers of Industry in Addis Ababa.)

HEARINGS BEFORE THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, U.S. SENATE, June 12, 1979, Washington, D.C. Topic: Trade Sanctions Against Rhodesia.

FIRST ZANU WOMEN'S SEMINAR, May 21-26, 1979, Xai Xai, Mozambique. Organized by the ZANU Central Committee for over 200 participants, including women from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Europe and North America. Designed to consider the role of women in the liberation struggle, the establishment of an expanded structure for ZANU's Department of Women's Affairs, and the development of a program for women. For information contact: Zimbabwe African National Union, Caixa Postal 473, Maputo, Mozambique. (See Bibliographic Section, Vol. 1, no. 1, entry S-317.)

ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES IN AFRICA WORKSHOP, May 15-18, 1979, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Sponsored by the UNECA and the OAU. Designed to discuss and make recommendations on appropriate technologies and strategies for development of agriculture in Africa. For information contact: Association for the Advancement of Agricultural Sciences in Africa, P.O. Box 30087 MA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

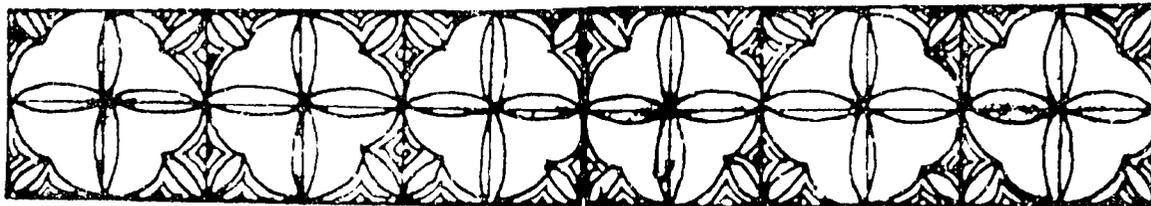
UNITED NATIONS TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS DECADE IN AFRICA CONFERENCE, May 9-12, 1979, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Sponsored by the UNECA and the OAU. Meeting of transport, planning and communications ministers from African countries, including Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zambia. Adopted a technical report on

projects designed to improve African transport and communications during the decade 1978-1988, with particular attention to improving road access to the sea for landlocked countries and upgrading inter-country links: restructuring the African airline network; rail track development; port development; and acceleration of broadcasting development. For information contact: U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. (See note on Pledging Conference, November 20, 1979, in New York.)

PANAFRICAN CONFERENCE ON THE SITUATION OF REFUGEES, May 7-17, 1979, Arusha, Tanzania. Sponsored by the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa. Meeting of representatives from 38 African countries, and from liberation movements, bilateral and multilateral assistance organizations, and non-governmental organizations. Discussed the plight of the nearly 4 million refugees and displaced persons in Africa; called on African governments and peoples to "support and strengthen the efforts of the liberation movements in their fight to eliminate racist regimes in Southern Africa"; and discussed sharing the burden which refugees represent for the countries of reception. For information contact: Organization of African Unity, P.O. Box 3243, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

ASSOCIATION OF CONCERNED AFRICAN SCHOLARS CONSULTATION ON NAMIBIA, April 20, 1979, New York, New York. Theme: "A Free and Independent Namibia." Participants included representatives of the U.N., SWAPO, the U.S. Government, and activist organizations. For information contact: Dean Tilden LeMelle, College of Arts and Sciences, Hunter College, City University of New York, 695 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10021.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL/RESEARCH AND TRAINING NETWORK SEMINAR, January 15-16, 1979, Princeton, New Jersey. Topic: "Implementation of United States Food Aid -- Title III," means of using food for development. For information on participants, papers presented and the subsequently issued Seminar Report, contact: The Agricultural Development Council, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10019.



# RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

## SOUTHERN AFRICAN RESEARCH:

The Yale-Wesleyan Southern African Research Program (SARP), established in 1977 with grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Ford Foundation, continues to further scholarly research into the causes and consequences of racial and ethnic conflict in Southern Africa since 1652. Present research includes: (1) the Register of Current Research, which is being updated and will appear in Issue, a publication of the African Studies Association; (2) continuing work on the Union Catalog of Southern African Political Ephemera; (3) preparation of a bibliography of anglophone Southern Africa (excluding Zambia and Malawi) 1972-1977; and (4) continuous updating of the list of Southern African newspapers in microform. To receive the program newsletter, write: Prof. L. Thompson, Director, Yale-Wesleyan/SARP, 85 Trumbull Street, Box 13A, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

## BOTSWANA:

Botswana's Central Statistics Office of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Gaborone, is

conducting a study on national migration. The study aims to determine positive and negative aspects of human migration, the influence of development policies and programs on migration, and characteristics of migrants and non-migrants. It is hoped that this study will serve as the basis for government policy formulation. Funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C.

The Institute of Development Management, based in Gaborone, is undertaking research on rural development in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The project entails a basic review of rural development policies and programs within the BLS region, concentrating initially on the tribal land grazing program in Botswana and rural development areas in Swaziland. Primary objectives are to identify major problems encountered, successes achieved and failures experienced, and to propose practical changes, where needed, in existing policies and programs or any new directions indicated. Financed by the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, and the U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C.

## LESOTHO:

The National University of Lesotho has received a Ford Foundation grant of \$75,000 over two years for research on Lesotho's international economic relations.

## ZAMBIA:

The Ministry of Local Government and Housing and the Research Unit of the Department of Town and Country Planning are conducting research on a national settlement strategy for Zambia. At present, there is no such long-term strategy, with the result that urban, rural and regional policies are uncoordinated, especially with regard to patterns of urbanization and regional disparities inherited from the colonial period and not yet rectified. This project aims to establish a long-term desirable and feasible distribution of urban and rural population and a settlement network, as well as to formulate a set of policies and incremental measures to attain the desired goals.

These same bodies are involved in another research project entitled "The Planning System in Zambia," which will study development control in Zambia, the development process, housing design and lay-out, urban design, and planning and public administration.

## PROFILING THE FUTURE ZIMBABWEAN ECONOMY:

At the request of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is preparing an "Economic and Social Survey of Zimbabwe" to project the socio-economic needs of an internationally recognized, independent Zimbabwe, "which could form the basis of initial UNDP technical assistance for the country." The report will analyze the state of the Zimbabwean economy at the macro-economic level and at sectoral levels. Professor H.M.A. Onitiri of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research at Ibadan was commissioned earlier this year by the UNDP to direct preparation of the report. An earlier report on the Zimbabwean economy was prepared by the German Development Institute (GDI) in 1977, entitled "The Economy of Zimbabwe and Policy Issues for a Future Majority Government," by Peter Waller, Uwe Otzen and others.

Representatives of Rhodesian women's organizations have established a pilot women's bureau to address economic and other issues relevant to rural and urban women. The bureau's activities are supplemented by a research unit, located at the Centre for Inter-Racial Studies at the University of Rhodesia. The women's bureau and research unit have received a grant of \$60,000 from the Carnegie Corporation.

# PUBLICATION ABSTRACTS

Zimbabwe Manpower Survey: Volumes Two & Three. Geneva, Switzerland, The International University Exchange Fund, 1979. 226 pp. (Volume Two); 227 pp. (Volume Three).

These two volumes comprise papers that were prepared for the Zimbabwe Manpower Survey Seminar held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, November 5-9, 1978 under the auspices of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe with the assistance of the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF). The Front's rationale: "In view of the lack of technical skills and managerial knowledge among the African people, as well as the great exodus of white skilled manpower that started in 1975 and which will accelerate at the time of Independence, the country will be left without the needed technical skills for maintaining the economy and essential services for development. The Patriotic Front, therefore, aware of the impending problems, approached IUEF in December 1977 for assistance to initiate a Zimbabwe Manpower Study with a view to identifying possible manpower shortages at Independence." The study was conceived as a short-term project "aimed at assessing the demand and the supply for skilled manpower so as to avoid the breakdown of the economy and essential

services at Independence." No detailed study of the economy, consideration of questions of policy formulation or manpower demand projections were expected of the researchers in the absence of "an overall future development strategy." (See Research in Progress: "Profiling the Future Zimbabwean Economy.")

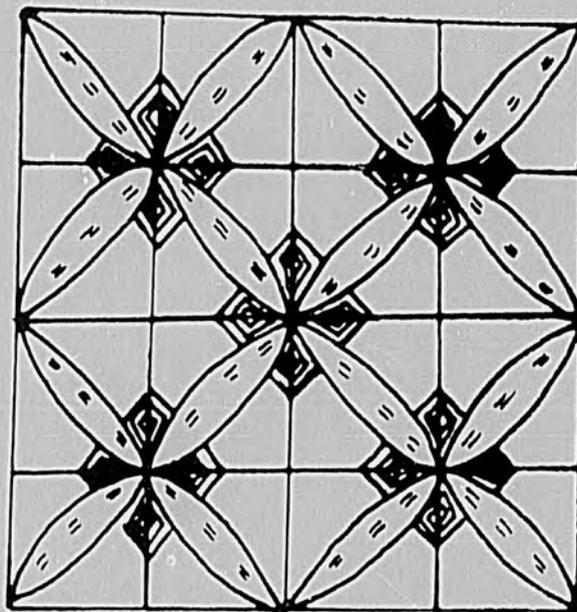
The Report was expected to provide the Patriotic Front with "a list of all skills of key occupations in the public service and the economy, and a highlighting of critical sectors that will require short and long-term manpower training. On the basis of the Report the Patriotic Front will be in a position to arrange training programmes for Zimbabweans." Volume Two selections offer general overviews of the Zimbabwean economy, manpower and demographic characteristics, and include: "Survey of African Experience with Manpower Planning," by Colin Stoneman; "The Structure of the Zimbabwean Economy and Future Manpower Implications," by B. Chidzero & K. Moyana; "Post-1965 Economic Changes under Sanctions and War and Their Implications for Manpower in Zimbabwe," by Roger Riddell; "The Population of Zimbabwe and Labour Supply 1975-1985," by S.D. Maphangoh; "Zimbabwe: A Study of Economically Active Population and Internal Supply of Manpower for National Planning,"

by E. Mufuka; "External Zimbabwean Manpower Supplies: A Partial Assessment Based upon IUEF Data," by R. Davies; and "The Patterns of White Emigration/Immigration and Their Effects on the Zimbabwean Economy," by D.G. Clarke.

Volume Three selections offer overviews of the key sectors of the Zimbabwean economy: "Skill Needs in the Agricultural Sector in Zimbabwe," by Roger Riddell; "Agriculture and the Utilization of Labour and Skilled Manpower in the Subsistence and Commercial Sector of the Zimbabwean Economy," by I.T. Chigwendere; "Skilled Craft Manpower for Industrial Development in Zimbabwe," by N.P. Moyo; "Skill Needs in the Mining Sector in Zimbabwe," by Colin Stoneman; "The Private Financial Sector in Zimbabwe (With Reference to Skill Requirements)," by D.G. Clarke; "Skill Requirements

of the Public Financial Sector in Zimbabwe," by R. Davies; and "Skill Requirements in the Health Sector in Zimbabwe," by D. Sanders.

The "Issues and Conclusions" section of the Seminar Report makes up the contents of Volume One and contains the essence of the debates and detailed discussions of the Seminar Papers listed above. While Volume One is not available from IUEF, Geneva, it can be obtained from IUEF at P.O.B. R.W. 334, Ridgeway, Lusaka, Zambia; from the Patriotic Front offices of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in Lusaka, Zambia (P.O. 1657) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in Maputo, Mozambique (Caixa Postal 473); or from the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), 151 Slater Street, Ottawa K1P 5H5, Canada.



# DEVELOPMENT INFORMATION BRIEFS

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.

## GENERAL

### Enlargement of East African Development

Bank: "The Uganda Government has signed a new Treaty under which the East African Development Bank, EADB, will open membership to other eastern and southern African countries. The Minister of Regional Co-operation, Mr. Ateker Ejalu ...said the Bank shall not only provide financial and technical assistance to promote the economic development of member-states, but it shall also be a consulting and promotional agency for the development of the region."

(*Summary of World Broadcasts, Part 4, Weekly Economic Report, October 9, 1979, p. A2/1*)

### Equator Bank Aids Africa Projects:

Equator Bank, a Bahamas-registered merchant and investment bank, "in less than four years of existence has managed more than \$400 million worth of financing for 58 clients and projects in 18 black African countries....Zambia accounts for by far the biggest chunk of Equator's

business." Other countries include Mozambique, where medium-term financing was provided for purchase of agricultural equipment from the U.S., and Malawi. (*Journal of Commerce, August 10, 1979*)

German Aid: "Africa will receive 831m. Marks (about \$415m.) of the 3,400m. Marks (\$1,857m.) set aside by the West German Government for development aid in 1980, according to the Co-operation Ministry's aid project." Among the African countries to benefit most from the 1980 aid project are Botswana with 50m. Marks (about \$25m.) and Tanzania with 110m. Marks (about \$55m.). (*West Africa, September 3, 1979, p. 1612*)

Italian Aid to Double: "Italy's Foreign Minister Franco Maria Malfatti announced that the country's aid to developing countries will be raised from \$240 million in 1979 to \$480 million in 1980." (*United Nations Press Release, September 21, 1979, p. 6*)

Regional Council for Development of Information Services in Eastern and Southern Africa: "The Regional Council for Development of Information Services in Eastern and Southern Africa is replacing the Regional Committee for Development of Information Services in Eastern Africa, which was established by the International Conference on Development of Information Network in Eastern Africa, Nairobi, 24 July-1 August 1973. For further information and details on the objectives, functions, and membership of the Council, address the: Secretariat, c/o Kenya National Academy for Advancement of Arts and Sciences, P.O. Box 47288, Nairobi, Kenya." (*FID News Bulletin*, June 1979, p. 52)

## AGRICULTURE

### Botswana - Tsetse Fly Campaign:

Botswana is embarking on a major campaign to eradicate the tsetse fly from the northern Ngamiland areas. "The scheme will ensure that there is no re-entry of the fly from northern tropical regions." (*African Business*, September 1979, p. 41)

Swaziland - A Training School for Appropriate Farm Technology: "New developments in Swaziland include an experiment in education for the dissemination of appropriate technologies. With private funding, a school has recently been established providing live-in facilities and training in relevant agricultural practices. The school presently houses twenty-seven young farmers and hopes to expand its program in the near future." (*Rural Technology Bulletin*, July/September 1979, p. 16)

### Zambia - Development of Farms & Fisheries:

"The Hunger Committee of the United Methodist Board of Global Ministries will provide \$27,100 grants in both 1979 and 1980 to Family Farms Inc. in Magoye, a non-profit development agency set up by the Zambian Council of Churches.... Family Farms is establishing villages for fishermen along the Kafue River and helping farmers use large, abandoned farms formerly owned by whites. It offers advice as to crops, livestock, financing and community organization." (*Chicago Defender*, September 13, 1979)

Zambia - Tractors from Romania: "Zambia will soon receive 100 tractors from Romania for distribution to agricultural centres in the country.... Measures have been taken to ensure that sufficient spare parts are made available." (*Summary of World Broadcasts, Part 4, Weekly Economic Report*, September 18, 1979, p. A2/4)

### Zambia - Wheat Development Project:

"CIDA is providing £2.1m in support of the Wheat Development Project (phase 2) in Zambia.... The three-year phase 2 project will involve rain-fed wheat production and research in the Mbala region of the Northern Province; an assessment of the economic and financial viability of rain-fed wheat production over the long term; the training of Zambian wheat farmers who may become involved in a settlement scheme based on rain-fed wheat as a cash crop; and assistance in the design and organization of such a scheme." (*World Aid Digest*, September 28, 1979, p. 5)

## EDUCATION & TRAINING

Regional Headquarters - African Technology Centre: "Kenya will host the proposed regional headquarters of the African institute for higher technical training and research. Burundi, Ethiopia, Egypt and the Sudan had also applied to host the centre. The institute is conceived as a training and research institution which will be basically concerned with helping African states to develop technological capability." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series*, August 31, 1979, p. 5191)

Lesotho - Education Programs Expanded: "Education programs at all levels are to be expanded through a project currently under preparation by the Ministry of Education in Lesotho. IDA will finance the project at an estimated \$10 million." (*Africa Business & Economic Review*, September 1, 1979, p. 6)

Malawi - Natural Resources College: "Canada, through CIDA, is providing \$4.8m in grant funds to help construct the Natural Resources College (NRC) in Malawi...When completed, the college will offer one, two and three year courses in such subjects as farm management, crop, animal and land husbandry, fisheries, national parks and wildlife management and veterinary science. Total cost of the project is estimated at \$5.6m, the government providing the balance." (*World Aid Digest*, September 28, 1979, p. 4)

Zimbabwe - Student Intake Falls: "Only 251 full-time students registered for courses at the University of Rhodesia this year, a decrease of 38.6% over 1978

....also the lowest since it opened in 1957. Observers said the low intake could be due to the compulsory military call-up for all students. In the past, only white students were compelled to do military training before starting studies." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Political, Social & Cultural Series*, August 15, 1979, p. 5355)

## ENERGY

Botswana & Namibia Seek Pretoria's Electricity: "Botswana and Namibia have asked to join the southern Africa hydro-electric power grid that supplies electricity to South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe Rhodesia and Lesotho and Swaziland and is run by South Africa's Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM). The move would reduce the dependence of Botswana and Namibia on increasingly expensive diesel-fueled generators but would strengthen their dependence on South Africa. Namibia wants to build a 100-megawatt power line from Cape Province to Windhoek, the capital, at a cost of about \$70 million. Botswana has asked the South African government-run ESCOM for a feasibility study for a power line to Gaborone, the capital, whose existing power plant has only a 20-megawatt capacity." (*Financial Times*, August 23, 1979 quoted in *South Africa/Namibia Update*, September 5, 1979, p. 4)

Lesotho/Algeria - Oil Supplies: "Algeria has agreed to supply Lesotho with 50,000 tonnes of oil...Mozambique would refine the oil at Maputo and from there it would be sent to landlocked Lesotho by road or rail across South Africa....Libya and Nigeria had indicated they were also

willing to supply Lesotho with oil." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series*, August 31, 1979, p. 5192)

Malawi - Fuel Conservation: "The Office of the President has with effect from 9th July 1979, introduced measures to help conserve fuel" involving the scheduling of filling station operations and strictly enforced limits for motorists." (*African Business*, September 1979, p. 43)

Mozambique - Cabora Bassa: "An international cooperative effort involving German, Italian, French, Portuguese and South African companies has recently completed a hydro-electric power plant in Cabora Bassa. The plant will transmit power to South Africa via high voltage lines, and re-transmit part of it to Maputo." (*Africa*, August 1979, p. 104)

Tanzania - Solar Power for Villages: "The University of Dar es Salaam (Faculty of Engineering, Department of Electrical Engineering) has developed a solar-powered radio signal transmitter that is now in place on the upper slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro. The equipment has performed flawlessly since October of 1978. In light of this success, University engineers wish to extend their solar expertise for use in remote Tanzanian villages." (*Rural Technology Bulletin*, July/September 1979, p. 10)

## INDUSTRY & TRADE

Trade Agreements Act of 1979: "P.L.96-39, the Trade Agreements Act of 1979... stipulates that the President may super-

sede limits on tariffs in the Trade Act of 1974 in order to give the least developed of the Less Developed Countries the entire reduction immediately rather than gradually." The list of countries affected includes: Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Tanzania. (*Africa Business & Economic Review*, September 1, 1979, p. 4)

Angola - Belgian Revival for Sugar Industry: "A Belgian company is to overhaul the Angolan sugar industry, still suffering the effects of the 1974-75 civil war. The Antwerp-based sugar company Sorex is said to have signed a 20-year contract, of undisclosed value, to produce a long-term plan for the industry." (*West Africa*, September 17, 1979, p. 1702)

Angola - Rules for Foreign Investors: "Angola has published a new law setting out the official attitude towards private foreign capital. The law, which covers all aspects of economic activity outside the oil industry, allows for repatriation of profits, provides guarantees of compensation in the event of nationalisation, and possible exemption from tax and from customs duties. Foreign capital may not be invested in defence, banking, insurance, telecommunications, electricity and water supply. Both joint companies (51 per cent government holding) and wholly owned enterprises will be allowed to operate, the latter in areas of export production and import substitution." (*West Africa*, July 16, 1979, p. 1288)

Angola - Vehicle Assembly Industry: "The representatives of the Angolan Sacma bus factory and the Hungarian Ikarus works and Mogurt foreign trade enterprise have signed a vehicle industrial co-operation agreement in Luanda. Under the deal extending up to 1990, about 9,000 bus

bodies will be assembled in the Angolan factory out of components delivered by Ikarus. The Hungarian side will train Angolan workers involved in the assembly operations and send its own specialists for organising work in the African country." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series*, August 31, 1979, p. 5216)

Angola - Tourism: "Three contracts worth \$210m. have been signed between Sisal, a private Brazilian building and consultancy company, and the Angolan National Directorate of Tourism and Hotels." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series*, August 31, 1979, p. 5216)

Malawi - Capital Inflow Covers Trade Deficit: "Malawi has just suffered a setback on its balance of trade and GDP growth in 1978, with the visible trade deficit widening from K29.5m. to a record K127.1m., and the real GDP growth rate slowing from 7.9% to 6.4%. The major reason has been a slow-down in growth of output in the agricultural sector, combined with a sharp drop in the prices of tobacco and tea. Nevertheless, the trade deficit is almost entirely offset by the inflow of international capital." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series*, August 31, 1979, p. 5199)

Mozambique - International Trade Fair: "The director of the Maputo International Trade Fair has said that this year's show was visited by about 345,000 people... the Fair had 810 national and foreign exhibitors and 19 countries had stands with Czechoslovakia and Iraq exhibiting for the first time. Seven private

firms also had stands." (*Summary of World Broadcasts, Part 4, Weekly Economic Report*, September 25, 1979, p. A2/2)

Tanzania - Advisory Meeting on Aid: "A four-day meeting of industry ministers from 10 developing countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe opened in Arusha on July 23rd to advise Tanzania on how best to use the technical and financial aid it receives. The meeting was part of a move by the non-aligned nations movement to enable its more developed countries to make their experience available to its poorest countries. The 10 countries represented were Algeria, Brazil, Cuba, Egypt, India, Nigeria, Rumania, Turkey, Venezuela and Yugoslavia." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series*, August 31, 1979, p. 5201)

Tanzania - Small Industries Development Organization: "SIDO is a skilled development arm of the Government of Tanzania in constant search of opportunities to promote small-scale, labor-intensive industry in rural areas. One such industry involves the cutting and polishing of gemstones directed to increasing the earning potential of Tanzanian village women." (*Rural Technology Bulletin*, July/September 1979, p. 12)

Zambia & Nigeria - Copper-Producing Plant: "Nigeria and Zambia are examining the feasibility of setting-up a copper-producing plant in Nigeria, according to Zambia's Commerce and Industry Minister ....The Nigerian fabrication plant, which would turn out copper cables and other unspecified products, would probably be built in Lagos, the minister said." (*West Africa*, October 1, 1979, p. 1812)

#### Zimbabwe - Economic Situation & Sanctions:

"The shortage of skilled labor, transport congestion, and this year's drought are hitting Rhodesia's economy harder than international sanctions, according to Standard Bank, the major bank in Rhodesia ...in its monthly economic bulletin.... In spite of sanctions, Rhodesia's exports had increased by 13 percent last year and were expected to rise by 15 percent this year. If sanctions are lifted, the country could recapture and possibly extend its previous toehold in neighboring (black African) markets, according to the bank." (*Journal of Commerce*, September 17, 1979)

## NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Angola/Austria - Consultancy Contract on Iron Ore: "Austromineral, an engineering subsidiary of Austria's nationalised Voest-Alpine steel company, recently signed a consultancy contract with the Angolan Government. The contract includes a preparatory study to resume iron-ore mining operations in the Cassinga region, disrupted by the civil war. Austromineral is also to plan a completely new iron ore mine in the Kissala-Quitungo area, with an annual production of some 2m. tons of super-pellets. Part of this would be used to establish a locally integrated small-scale steel works operating on a direct reduction basis." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series*, August 31, 1979, p. 5213)

Lesotho - Uranium: "The discovery of rhyolitic rocks near Teyatyaneng in northern Lesotho has been taken as indicative of the possible presence of

uranium, and the Lesotho Government is now to embark upon a programme of uranium exploration. A consultant from the International Atomic Energy Agency, Dr. J.A. Bennett, has spent the last three months in Lesotho carrying out advance tests." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series*, August 31, 1979, p. 5214)

Namibia - South African Gas Exploration: "SOEKOR, the South African Oil Exploration Corporation, has discovered significant amounts of gas off the Namibian coast, enough to produce at the rate of between 50 mil to 200 mil cubic feet a day. The gas could be used for conversion to methanol in the Republic's campaign to reduce its dependence on petroleum as insurance against potential sanctions." (*African Business*, September 1979, p. 43)

Tanzania - Uranium Prospecting: "The West German uranium group Uranerzberbau has signed an agreement with Tanzania for exclusive rights to prospect for uranium ....Uranerz will prospect for an initial period of two years and in the event of exploitable deposits being found, the Tanzanian Government will have the right to acquire 51% interest in a joint venture mining company....Tanzania can impose conditions on the export of uranium to ensure its use for peaceful purposes and to prevent its being shipped to South Africa, Namibia or Zimbabwe Rhodesia ....The pact, which was hammered out with the help of the Commonwealth Secretariat, embodied a formula that might well become a model for similar deals with other African countries." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series*, August 31, 1979, p. 5214)

Zambia Looks to Coal for Oil: "According to Minister of State for Mines, Mr. Fabiano Kalimaposo, Zambia "will reach a stage where extracting oil from coal will be cheaper than importing oil from the OPEC countries." (*African Business*, September 1979, p. 6) Earlier this year, Zambia was granted an African Development Bank loan of 1,428m. CFA francs to repair the Maamba coal mine. (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series*, March 31, 1979, p. 5026)

## FOOD & NUTRITION

Tanzania - Seaweed Research: "Dr. Keto E. Mshigeni of the University of Dar es Salaam is working with coastal villagers who intend to grow, harvest and market edible seaweed." (*Rural Technology Bulletin*, July/September 1979, p. 14)

Tanzania/Zambia/USA - Triangular Food Agreement: The U.S. has worked out a tentative agreement to provide 15,000 tons of rice to Tanzania in exchange for 40,000 tons of maize. "The triangular agreement is part of the 50,000 tons of maize offered to Zambia by the United States." (*African Business*, September 1979, p. 41)

Zambia - Food Assistance: "The EEC is providing 16,000 tonnes and Britain 13,000 tonnes of food aid to Zambia. The aid -- in the form of white maize -- is intended to help Zambia through the very serious food shortage threatening the country in the coming months...The maize will be purchased in Kenya and delivered to Zambia as soon as possible. At the same time, the Canadian Government has announced that it will be

providing £1.4m in food aid (wheat).... Proceeds from the sale of the wheat will be used to finance agricultural developments in Zambia." (*World Aid Digest*, September 28, 1979, p. 6) Also, the World Food Programme has announced a grant of \$3 million in food aid to Zambia. (*United Nations Press Release*, August 24, 1979, p. 7)

## REFUGEE ASSISTANCE

Norfolk Ships Refugee Supplies: "Some 77,987 pounds of used clothing, shoes and school supplies are on their way from Norfolk, Virginia, to Zimbabwean refugees in Mozambique, the result of the work of the ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) Support Committee of Norfolk and related groups in the eastern United States. Through the efforts of International Longshoreman's Association Local 1248, the Farrell Lines shipping company was persuaded to donate over three-fourths of the freight charges, the balance being supplied by a \$16,000 grant from the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. The shipment is three times the total sent in earlier consignments in 1976 and 1977." (*Africa News*, September 28, 1979, p. 12)

Programme of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees: "At its August meeting in Geneva, the U.N. Economic and Social Council elected nine new members to the Executive Committee of the Programme of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, four of which were African. They were: Lesotho, Morocco, Sudan and Zaire. The Council also approved international assistance to be given to 10 African countries," including Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zambia, and to South

African student refugees." (*Africa Business & Economic Review*, September 1, 1979, p. 5)

Scholars Seek Action on Refugees: The biennial symposium of the African Studies Association of the United Kingdom met at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in early September to discuss the topic of "Refugees." Participants were drawn from several voluntary associations and official organizations concerned with Africa's refugees. The keynote address by Dr. Shula Marks focused on South Africa's internal refugees; papers included a survey of the political economy of refugees in Zambia by Prof. T.O. Ranger and a study of refugees and migrants in Mozambique by Barry Munslow. (*West Africa*, September 24, 1979, pp. 1730-31)

## TRANSPORTATION & COMMUNICATIONS

Botswana - Telecommunication Corporation: "The Government plans to set up a Botswana Telecommunication Corporation as a parastatal body... (which) would be run by a board comprising members of the British Cable and Wireless company and the Government. The programme would cost about 50m. pula over the next decade and would mean that international telex and telephone calls need no longer go through South Africa." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series*, September 30, 1979, p. 5253)

Botswana - Transport: "Botswana, due to revenue earned on its mining sector and foreign assistance, will be able to procure a Rhodesian-operated railway which

is a strategically important transport link between Rhodesia and South Africa. Increases in government expenditures for development and security are expected." (*Africa Business & Economic Review*, September 16, 1979, p. 16)

Lesotho Airport: "The OPEC Special Fund is contributing \$3m towards the New Maseru Airport Project. Other contributions for the \$30m project are coming from the KFAED (Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development), the SFD (Saudi Fund for Development), the EDF (European Development Fund), the AfDB (African Development Bank) and the government. The OPEC Special Fund replaces ABEDA (Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa) in the originally proposed list of donors. Work has already started on the project ...." (*World Aid Digest*, September 14, 1979, pp. 3-4)

Lesotho - Improved Radio Service: "Radio Lesotho will soon have two new transmitters and antennae capable of improving its reception in a wide section of southern Africa...the improved transmission...will extend clear listening of the Radio Lesotho service over a 1,500km. radius." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Political, Social & Cultural Series*, August 15, 1979, p. 5355)

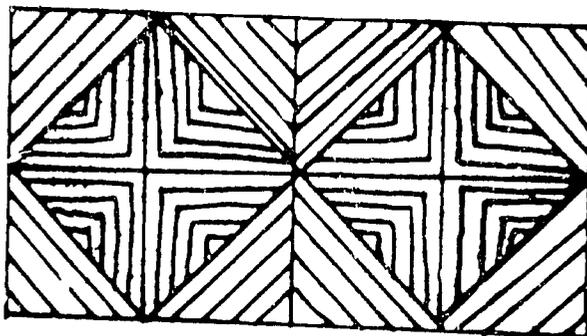
Malawi - Roads: "The Malawi Ministry of Works and Supplies is preparing a project to expand its road system. The project, jointly financed by IDA and the World Bank, will cost about \$48.5 million." (*Africa Business & Economic Review*, September 1, 1979, p. 6)

South African Railways Manager on "Transport Diplomacy": "The general manager of South African Railways, Dr. Jacobus Loubser, said the railway network in Africa has to an increasing extent become a symbol of stability while, politically, southern and central African states have become more divided. Addressing the Institute for Strategic Studies in Pretoria, Dr. Loubser said that transport diplomacy should therefore be seen as the strongest and most strategic means of counteracting isolation. He pointed out that there was a situation in Africa where ideological obsessions stood in direct contrast to economic realities." (*Summary of World Broadcasts, Part 4, Weekly Economic Report, October 9, 1979, p. A2/1*)

Swaziland - Container Service: "It has been announced in Johannesburg that a full-scale container shipping service linking Swaziland with her export markets in Europe will go into operation on July 16th. The service is a joint project involving Safmarine, the South African Railways and Royal Swazi Railways....The container traffic will reach Durban in three days, a saving of nine days." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series, August 31, 1979, p. 5218*)

Tanzania - Roads: "An agreement for the construction of a 260 kilometre road from Morogoro to Dodoma was signed on July 17th between the Tanzanian Government and a Brazilian company, Engenharia, Comercio e Industria SA of Rio de Janeiro....The road will reduce the distance between Morogoro and Dodoma by at least 60 kms." (*Africa Research Bulletin - Economic, Financial & Technical Series, August 31, 1979, p. 5217*)

Zambia - Railways: "The OPEC Special Fund is contributing \$4.5m towards Zambia's Third Railway Project. The total cost of the project is put at about \$195m, with the foreign exchange component being \$170m...." Other anticipated donors are the Canadian International Development Agency, the European Development Fund Japan, EXIM, the Swedish International Development Authority, USAID and the IBRD. (*World Aid Digest, September 14, 1979, p. 5*) "Zambia Railways is to obtain about 150,000,000 kwacha from the World Bank for the improvement of the railway system in the country. Zambia Railways general manager, Mr. Anderson Mazoka, said the World Bank has already accepted Zambia Railways' third national development package plan earmarked up to 1983." (*Summary of World Broadcasts, Part 4, Weekly Economic Report, October 2, 1979, p. A2/4*)



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# BOOK REVIEWS

Socialism in Sub-Saharan Africa: A New Assessment, edited by Carl G. Rosberg & Thomas M. Callaghy. Berkeley, University of California, Institute of International Studies, 1979. 426 pp. \$8.50 (paper).

An 'assessment without tears' is how one might depict this volume of essays on the many variants of socialism gracing the contemporary African scene. The introduction notes that: "Socialism in Africa is no longer in its infancy....In a few countries serious efforts were embarked upon to implement socialist policies. Despite the initial optimism of African leaders, the task has proved to be herculean; the results often appear meager, and most goals remain unfulfilled 'unanalyzed abstractions'." In fact, co-editor Callaghy goes so far as to assert that: "Rather than comparing African countries with contemporary revolutionary socialist regimes, it may be more useful to compare them with mercantilist states of early modern Europe." Thus, "neo-mercantilism, not African socialism, captures the essence of the dominant political economy in contemporary Africa" (see "The Difficulties of Implementing Socialist Strategies of Development in Africa: The 'First Wave'," by Callaghy, pp. 112-129).

In the view of the editors and contributors, the most serious experiments in socialist construction were ushered in by the 1974 revolutions in the former Portuguese territories (Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau) and Ethiopia, introducing a 'Second Wave' of African socialism. "Unlike the countries of the first wave, who came to independence as constitutional nationalist movements or parties, the three ex-Portuguese territories -- Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau -- became independent as revolutionary movement regimes" committed to "the adoption of scientific socialism, the attempt to create effective Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties, and a greater willingness to use coercion."

Although the initial essay by Ann Seidman focuses on "African Socialism and the World System: Dependency, Transnational Corporations & International Debt," she does not critically relate African socialist strivings to the state interests of such external actors as the Soviet Union, China and Cuba. (However, a good source for such critiques is the London-based Review of African Political Economy; see, for example, "Southern Africa: Imperialism, Racism and Neo-Colonialism," by Jitendra Mohan in number 11, 1978, and "The USSR, China

and the Horn of Africa," by Roy Lyons in number 12, 1978.)

Four of the five frontline states are among the countries assessed in this volume in essays entitled: "The Struggle for Rural Socialism in Tanzania," by Dean E. McHenry; "Socialism in One Sector: Rural Development in Zambia," by Stephen A. Quick; "The Struggle for Socialism in Mozambique, 1960-1972," by Edward A. Alpers; and "Angolan Socialism," by Kevin Brown. Overall, the essays in this volume provide serious, and in some cases provocative, examination of the status of socialism as a political and socio-economic strategy for development at the close of Africa's Second Development Decade.

Zambia's Foreign Policy: Studies in Diplomacy and Dependence, by Douglas G. Anglin & Timothy M. Shaw. Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1979. 453 pp., illus.

This volume is both a country study and a study in the regional politics of a changing Southern African subsystem. Zambia, of course, is central to the regional dynamics of Southern Africa, which, in turn, have dominated formulation of Lusaka's foreign policy since independence in 1964. It is in this context that the co-authors set out to examine Zambia's quest for independence, unity and development while analyzing the problems of dependence and underdevelopment and their impact on foreign policy-making.

Despite Zambia's acute problems growing out of the war in Zimbabwe, the tone of this book is positive with regard to Zambia's regional role. It is pointed out that despite "her long struggle to disengage from the white south and bitter memories of the Central African Federation, Zambia may yet become a center of regional integration in Africa," and that "although Zambia's landlocked location makes her dependent on transit through other countries to the sea, her relative affluence and central geographical position may lead to her designation as the core for regional communications and manufacturing." However, it is this very centrality in location, coupled with its landlocked position, that makes for Zambia's vulnerability to the conflict in Zimbabwe -- a vulnerability made all the more acute by President Kaunda's principled resistance to the pressures to accommodate a politically unacceptable 'internal settlement' in Zimbabwe. Thus, Zambia desperately requires an internationally acceptable settlement in Zimbabwe for basic economic survival and political stability, let alone to play the type of regional role envisioned by Anglin and Shaw.

Because of Zambia's vulnerability within its regional context, Lusaka has been compelled to advance regional cooperation in order to undermine, where possible, the influence of South Africa as well as to enhance its security vis-à-vis a white-ruled Rhodesia. Hence, its links with Tanzania, which have been vital. The co-authors comprehensively analyze this bilateral and regional aspect of

Zambia's relations throughout the volume. For example, Part II: "Zambia and Southern Africa: Confrontation or Contact" begins with an examination of the Kaunda regime's efforts to disengage from the south following Rhodesian UDI while pursuing integration into the former East African Community via bilateral links with Tanzania.

Under current circumstances of escalating conflict in Zimbabwe, Zambia's centrality in the geopolitics of Southern Africa accentuates its vulnerability and dependence. However, this very central position in the interrelated dynamics of Eastern and Southern Africa may yet enhance her regional role as the "industrial and communications core for independent countries in Central Africa." Certainly the manner in which Lusaka responds to the unfolding transition in Zimbabwe will be a pivotal element in shaping the future of Southern-Central Africa's political and economic relationships. For understanding these issues, this work by Anglin and Shaw is highly recommended.

Historical Dictionary of Rhodesia/  
Zimbabwe, by R. Kent Rasmussen.  
Metuchen, New Jersey, The Scarecrow  
Press, Inc., 1979. 445 pp.

This volume should serve as a useful guide to specialists and non-

specialists alike seeking more detailed background to historical and contemporary developments in Zimbabwe. It is, in the words of its series editor, Jon Woronoff, intended to help one work "through the maze of people, places, organizations, and events of Rhodesia's busy recent past." The dictionary comprises three main sections: an annotated chronology (through late November 1978), the actual dictionary, and an extensive bibliography.

A descriptive introduction surveying Zimbabwe's prehistorical and pre-colonial past through to the present is provided by Rasmussen, who is a specialist on the history of the Ndebele (having written Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa, London, R. Collings, 1978). An introduction also prefaces the bibliographic section, which is broken down into the following headings: general works, biography, culture, economics, history, politics and government, religion, sciences, social (sciences), and serial publications.

The economic section covers the following sectors: agriculture and animal husbandry, commerce and international sanctions, industry, labor and unions, land and land policy, mining, and transport and communications. As a general reference work on Zimbabwe at this critical time, Rasmussen's book is recommended as a valuable addition to collections on Southern Africa.

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Training Programme (ENDA) of the UN Institute for Economic Development and Planning (IDEP-UNEP-SIDA); Gaborone, University College of Botswana, National Institute for Research in Development and African Studies, Documentation Unit, 1976. Workshop held at the University College of Botswana, July 12-24, 1976 to "review the knowledge and methodological research on rural environment and development planning, to make a critical assessment of the past and present practice in the areas concerned, and to make it possible for the local community researchers and decision-makers in all sectors to have a more comprehensive view of the problems of the rural environment." S(389)

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"Angola: Unita's Position." In: Africa Research Bulletin - Political, Social & Cultural Series, Exeter, England, February 15, 1979, pp. 5128-29. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola is claiming that it is tightening its grip on the country and that it has "set up administrative infrastructures in five of the country's 16 provinces and had 'excellent perspectives' in two others." S(419)

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- "MPLA's First Weapon: Literacy." In: People's Power, London, January/March 1978, pp. 29-32. Describes literacy campaign launched in 1976, and report issued by National Literacy Commission. S(427)
- "Nationalisation and the Role of Foreign Capital." In: African Business, London, September 1979, pp. 27-29. Concerns the nationalization in Angola of private enterprises of mainly former Portuguese-based companies. Also cites problems of manpower in boosting productivity and the problem of a "flourishing black market." S(428)
- "Seeking a New Path." In: Africa, London, August 1979, pp. 33-34. Economic and ideological difficulties confronting Angola. S(429)
- "Unita Makes Dramatic Gains in Angolan War." In: Johannesburg Star, Johannesburg, May 26, 1979, p. 5. "The Angolan resistance movement Unita has been scoring major

successes in a renewed offensive against the ruling MPLA in south-eastern Angola." S(430)

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## BOTSWANA

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"Letter From Mozambique." In: Southern Africa, New York, February 1979, pp 18-20. Focus on health sector. S(496)

MACHEL, SAMORA. "Mozambique: El arma de la alfabetización." In: Cuadernos del Tercer Mundo, Mexico City, August/September 1978, pp. 99-101. Excerpts of the speech by President Samora Machel on the occasion of the launching of the National Campaign for Literacy, notably stressing the political need for this campaign as well as the objectives to be attained. S(497)

"Mine Labour Crisis for Mozambique?" In: The South African Foundation News, Johannesburg, September 1979, p. 2. Outlines the arrangement between South Africa and Mozambique concerning the remuneration of migrant workers, which has undergone a change in the wake of an IMF decision. S(498)

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# AUTHOR INDEX

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