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Special:

Lusaka & Regional Cooperation
in Southern Africa, Part I :
The Zimbabwe Connection

In Memoriam:

Opening Statement of the 1 April 1980
Southern African Development
Coordination Summit by the Chairman,
His Excellency Sir Seretse Khama
President of the Republic of Botswana





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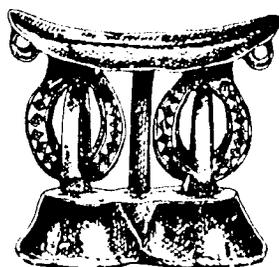
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SADEX

THE
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 Afriecon/SADAP Accessions Bulletin.

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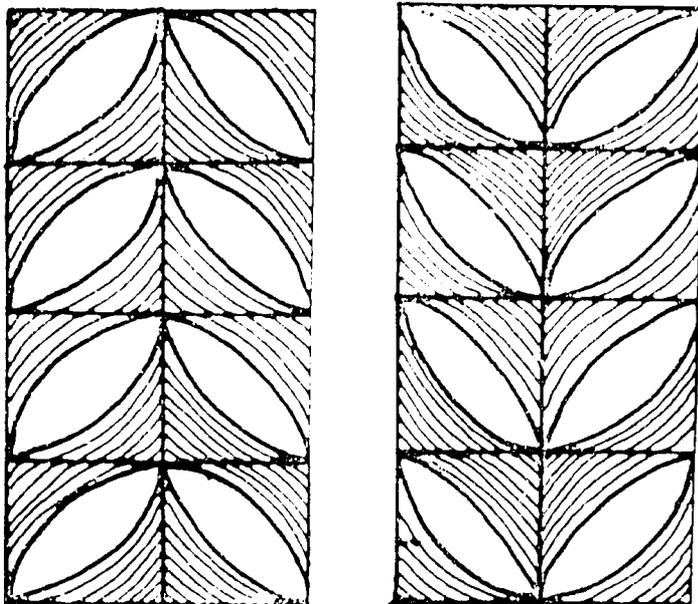
The SADEX project publication, SADEX, is intended primarily to serve the development needs and priorities of Southern Africans and others throughout the world involved in development planning and project implementation relating to Southern Africa. SADEX readers reflect a broad constituency of developmental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

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

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

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

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

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

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CONTENTS

Introduction	i
SADEX Information Request	iii

FEATURE SECTION

Lusaka & Regional Cooperation in Southern Africa, Part I: The Zimbabwe Connection by Francis A. Kornegay, Jr. & Victor A. Vockerodt	1
In Memoriam: Opening Statement of the Southern African Development Coordination Summit, Lusaka, April 1, 1980, By the Chairman, His Excellency Sir Seretse Khama, President of Botswana	17

INFORMATION SECTION

CONFERENCES & MEETINGS

A. Chronology of Recent Developments in Bilateral & Regional Cooperation in Southern Africa	21
B. Additional Conferences & Meetings (Forthcoming, Current & Past)	23

DEVELOPMENT INFORMATION BRIEFS

General.....	26
Agriculture.....	28
Education & Training.....	30
Energy.....	32
Industry & Trade.....	33
Labor & Manpower.....	34
Medicine & Health.....	34

DEVELOPMENT INFORMATION BRIEFS (continued)

Natural Resource Development.....	35
Transport & Telecommunications.....	36
Water Supply.....	37

DEVELOPMENT INFORMATION & RESOURCE CENTERS

Institute of Development Management, Gaborone/Maseru/Mbabane	38
University of Malawi, Library, Zomba	38

BOOK REVIEW SECTION 39

Alun Roberts, <u>The Rossing File: The Inside Story of Britain's Secret Contract for Namibian Uranium</u>	39
Aart van de Laar, <u>The World Bank and the Poor</u>	40
Christopher Colclough & Steven McCarthy, <u>The Political Economy of Botswana: A Study of Growth and Distribution</u>	41

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SECTION 43

GENERAL & REFERENCE.....	43
REGIONAL.....	47
ANGOLA.....	49
BOTSWANA.....	49
LESOTHO.....	51
MALAWI.....	52
MOZAMBIQUE.....	53
NAMIBIA.....	55
SWAZILAND.....	58
TANZANIA.....	59
ZAMBIA.....	61
ZIMBABWE.....	63

AUTHOR INDEX 68

LUSAKA & REGIONAL COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, PART I:

The Zimbabwe Connection

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

At a March 22nd press conference in Maputo, Mozambican President Samora Machel summed up the future direction of the frontline states following the Zimbabwe elections by declaring that "the new phase is fundamentally one of economic cooperation."¹ This statement underscores the significant "emergence of a new framework of regional relations in Southern Africa for the 1980s," marked by the July 1979 convening of the first Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) at Arusha, Tanzania -- a summit that set "economic liberation" from South Africa as the long-term goal of the frontline states (see: "Arusha & Regional Cooperation in Southern Africa," by Kornegay & Vockerodt, in SADEX, Vol. 1, no. 2, 1979, p. 1).²

This summit -- at which several Western donor agencies were also represented -- was of particular significance in light of Africa's own regional aims, as articulated by Prime Minister P.W. Botha, regarding formation of a 'Constellation of Southern African States.'³ Both visions of Southern Africa's political and economic future were formulated within the context of a

fluid political environment in the region as efforts continued to reach negotiated settlements in Namibia and especially Zimbabwe. For the frontline states, the envisaged framework of development coordination hinged on the outcome of the Lancaster House negotiations on Zimbabwe's future. Zimbabwe was a central pivot without which the northern tier of south-central African states could not hope to develop a counter-vailing bloc to offset South Africa's regional dominance, particularly in transport and communications.

As long as the situation in Zimbabwe remained unresolved or favored an outcome based on an 'internal' Muzorewa-Smith coalition, Pretoria's 'Constellation' plans seemed to gain ascendancy over the Arusha grouping. The frontline states faced continuing prospects of political destabilization and economic strangulation growing out of the war for Zimbabwe, and would have been at the economic and strategic mercy of an alignment between Pretoria and an internationally recognized Zimbabwe led by or containing significant elements of the 'internal' coalition. A Pretoria-Salisbury axis of this nature would

have, in effect, constituted the nucleus of Prime Minister Botha's 'Constellation' and given substance to this concept as a serious regional policy beyond its domestic application as a warmed-over Separate Development strategy.

In short, despite the economic aims expressed at Arusha, the war for Zimbabwe had ironically (though unavoidably) increased the dependency of the frontline states on Pretoria. Staking their future, as well as the outcome of the Zimbabwe conflict, on the Commonwealth-sponsored Lancaster House talks was a gamble which would largely determine regional relationships with Pretoria (as well as among themselves and with a future independent Zimbabwe) in the years ahead. Thus, the ultimate election victory of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) was of critical significance for the subcontinent as a whole.⁴

Africa & Southern Africa: Seeking the 'Economic Kingdom'

Along with the dramatic rise to power of ZANU-PF through the March democratic elections, several other developments cast the "economic liberation and integrated development" aims of the frontline states in a new light. These included the economic summits of the lusophone countries at Maputo (March 29-30), the Southern African Heads-of-State at Lusaka (April 1), and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at Lagos (April 28-29). Of these, the Lusaka summit is central, but its meaning and promise must be viewed within the context of related movements toward greater economic cooperation among the Portuguese-speaking states and

among the member states of the OAU as a whole.

Cooperative efforts among the lusophone African states (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe), though closely connected to the aspirations of the frontline states (of which Angola and Mozambique are members), have received little attention in the media. Neither last year's inaugural summit in Luanda (June 1979) nor the follow-up economic summit in March have drawn comment from English-language information sources comparable to that afforded the Arusha and Lusaka SADCC summits.

Both lusophone summits were aimed at overcoming the political and socio-economic constraints confronting the lusophone states,⁵ while building on a legacy of solidarity among the governments based on their earlier coordination as pre-independence liberation movements in the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of Portuguese Colonies (CONCP). The 1980 Maputo summit, furthermore, endorsed a general agreement on economic cooperation. Basic principles were established to govern relations among the five states in the fields of trade, transport, finance, banking and insurance, with priority given to the attainment of self-sufficiency in the food, transport and communications sectors -- thus anticipating the priorities that would emerge from the deliberations at Lusaka and Lagos.⁶

In Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation, A Declaration by the Governments of Independent States of Southern Africa (see reprint in SADEX, Vol. 2,

no. 2, 1980, pp. 1-6), the April 1st Lusaka summit produced yet another landmark policy statement reflecting the ever-evolving African strategy toward achieving the total liberation of Southern Africa, building upon the "Lusaka Manifesto" of 1969 and the 1975 "Dar-es-Salaam Declaration." The 1969 and 1975 documents clearly reflected the primacy of politics in black-ruled Africa's campaign against colonialism and white minority rule, whereas the 1980 "Lusaka Declaration" (as the Lusaka document will henceforth be called) clearly reflects black Southern Africa's growing preoccupation with the continuing economic domination of white-ruled South Africa and the need for devising a strategy of collective self-reliance to lessen dependence on the Republic. Thus, in describing "Dependence in Context," the Lusaka Declaration states that "future development must aim at the reduction of economic dependence not only on the Republic of South Africa, but also on any single external State or group of States."

Given the South African Government's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its commitment to maintaining the racial status quo within the Republic, the 1969 and 1975 documents are still highly relevant components of the African strategy for the sub-continent. On "Liberation: Political and Economic," the Lusaka Declaration notes that "while the struggle for genuine political independence has advanced and continues to advance, it is not yet complete." Further, "We the majority-ruled States of Southern Africa, recognise our responsibilities, both as separate nation States and as a group of neighboring majority-ruled African

countries, to assist in achieving a successful culmination of our struggle."⁷ However, the escalation of political and military struggle against the white regimes over the past decade has exacted grim economic costs, reinforcing the colonial legacy of external black dependency on the Republic at a time of general economic deterioration in the continent as a whole. Therefore, the 1980 declaration acknowledges that "our urgent task now is to include economic liberation in our programmes and priorities." In Africa magazine, this was seen as "a deliberate shift in policy among the Front-line states from almost total concentration on the liberation struggle by diplomatic, political and military means" (see: "Southern Africa: Union of the Southern Nine," in Africa, May 1980, pp. 43-45).

The priority given to economic concerns is supported by the rest of Africa and reflects a shift toward preoccupation with economic survival on a continental scale. Unlike the July 1979 Arusha meeting, the Lusaka summit was attended by both the OAU Secretary-General Edem Kodjo, and UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) Executive-Secretary Adebayo Adedeji (as well as a much more extensive ECA delegation including Chief Economic Co-operation Co-ordinator Bax Nomvete, Regional Advisor P. Matoka, Acting Director of MULPOC in Lusaka Stanislas Sangweni, Co-ordinator of Transport P.M. Mangoaela, Trade Economist P.N. Mwok-Handa, and Agricultural Economist O.J. Njau).⁸

The SADCC furthermore fits neatly within an envisaged OAU policy of encouraging sub-regional economic

groupings as the basis for an eventual all-African economic community or common market. This economic framework, emanating from the Lagos summit (April 28-29), was proposed in an atmosphere of seeming desperation and foreboding regarding the economic prospects of most African states -- so aptly reflected in the focus of the June 1980 issue of African Business magazine, "Africa Slides into Stagnation: Economic Summit Confirms Gloom."

Moreover, the introduction to the Lagos "Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa" clearly reflects an awareness of what is at stake regarding the Southern African dimension of its program by declaring that "South Africa's envisaged 'constellation' of Southern States is part of this diabolic design -- a scheme which would bring independent states under the same political, economic and military domination by the apartheid regime as the Bantustans" (West Africa, May 19, 1980, p. 872).

In terms of priorities, Lagos reflected the same basic concerns expressed at Maputo and in Lusaka: food production, energy, industry, transport and communications -- with one of the top priorities given to attaining food self-sufficiency within five years (see: "OAU's Plan for Food," in West Africa, May 26, 1980, pp. 915-18). In Lusaka, particular emphasis was given to overcoming bottlenecks in the transport/communications sector, where South Africa's regional dominance is keenly felt. This would be facilitated by the establishment of a Maputo-based Southern African Transport and Communications

Commission (which is related to a continental effort spear-headed by the Kinshasa-based and OAU-affiliated Union of African Railways, including a plan to expand existing railway lines in Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi and Mozambique -- see: "Africa Developing Modern Rail System," in New York Times, June 9, 1980, p. A6). However, food security, which is at the top of Lagos' list of priorities, is clearly also within the range of SADCC priorities. Regional responsibility for this critical sector was delegated to Zimbabwe, thereby further highlighting the central role that the newly independent state is expected to assume among its food-deficit neighbors -- and once again underscoring the significance of the Mugabe/Nkomo victory over the Muzorewa/Smith coalition.

Other responsibilities apportioned among some of the Lusaka nine are: control of foot and mouth disease (Botswana); exploration of prospects for establishing a Southern African Development Fund (Zambia); review of existing training facilities in the region with recommendations for better regional utilization of facilities (Swaziland); harmonization of a regional industrialization program (Tanzania); and responsibility for regional energy conservation (Angola).

The SADCC already appears to be influencing developments beyond the nine member states, with significant implications for the continental aspirations expressed at the Lagos economic summit. Zaire, for example, shows signs of moving swiftly to cement cooperation ties with neighboring Zambia and Mozambique, with particular emphasis on the transport and communications sector.

Ties to Mozambique mark a new dimension in Zaire's relationship to the south; a development, at least in part, made possible by the peaceful resolution of conflict in Zimbabwe. For Zaire, Mozambique's efforts to reappraise and rehabilitate its port facilities, along with the signing of a \$20 million contract -- partially financed by the U.S. -- to purchase 20 modern locomotives in Brazil, promise to open up an alternative outlet for Zaire's Shaba mineral exports such as copper and cobalt. Zaire could thus become less dependent on the Benguela Railway through Angola, which is continually subject to sabotage by South African-backed rebel forces. Pursuant to the June state visit to Maputo by President Mobutu Sese Seko, the two countries are studying finalization of cooperation agreements in the fields of transportation, communications and trade.

In relation to Zambia, Zaire already has linkages through the "Great Permanent Joint Commission," which recently met to discuss cooperation in such specific areas as the construction of the Chembe bridge, the tarring of the Mokombe road, and air and telecommunications links.

Through such evolving relations with Zambia and Mozambique, Zaire is on its way, at least functionally, to becoming a member of the SADCC, with the potential for greatly expanding the influence of black Southern Africa within the framework of an emerging continental economic community.⁹

The Politics of Cooperation: A Question of Strategy

Although the dependence of black Southern Africa on white-ruled South Africa is the fundamental contradiction in the economic politics of the sub-continent, there are no less important contradictions among the Lusaka nine themselves that ultimately affect the degree to which present economic relations with Pretoria can be altered. Outside of the predictable South African skepticism regarding SADCC prospects, the most provocative critique of the front-line effort from a sympathetic source appears in the May 1980 issue of New African, "Frontline Plans Unified Strategy: Severing South African Economic Links," by Richard Carver (pp. 41-43).

In addition to pointing out how black Southern African dependency on Pretoria has increased since "the crucial year" of 1965 (the date of both UDI, which enabled South Africa to dominate the Rhodesian and Malawian markets, and the Portuguese decision to open its colonies to foreign investment), Carver raises a note of caution about the most far-reaching SADCC proposal of a Transport Commission: "...its future would inspire more confidence if there had been signs of greater co-operation in the past. For example, Zambia refuses to build a link between the Malawian border and Tazara (which)...would give Malawi an alternative route via Dar es Salaam and relieve congestion at the Mozambican port of Nacala. Even more importantly it would link Mozambique to Tazara, reducing its dependence on the southern route."¹⁰

Carver goes on to point out that "Disagreements over communications are symptomatic of a deeper problem: although the nine states have in common their economic dependence on South Africa, they have not agreed on political strategy." Carver further asserts that although Botswana's President Seretse Khama coined the term "economic liberation" as an objective that could be achieved without direct political confrontation, "a purely 'economic' strategy is unlikely to work." The lack of any specific proposal at Lusaka dealing with migratory labor is raised as a case in point: "As long as these states rely on income from migrant workers they will be vulnerable to South African blackmail." Similarly, Carver views the prospect of Zimbabwe replacing South Africa as a supplier of manufactured goods to neighboring countries as being "as much a political question as an economic one."

However, Carver's most provocative observation concerns the critical sector of food security and the role of white farmers, raising the highly sensitive issue of relations between black political power and residual white economic dominance within the majority-ruled states, in addition to the dependency relations between these states and South Africa. Thus, the South African Railway's delay in delivering fertilizer imports to Zambia (thereby contributing to Zambia's maize shortage after the failure of the 1978/79 harvest) is seen as more than just a transport/communications problem: "Two-thirds of Zambia's maize is grown on large commercial farms, mainly White-owned. White farmers own half the nation's cattle. The dominance of White food producers in

Zimbabwe, too, is well known. What is not generally understood is that there is a co-ordinated strategy with South Africa to control food supplies" (emphasis added). Carver follows up with the assertion that Zimbabwe's importation of maize from South Africa has less to do with any absolute shortage than a decision to "establish a dependence on South Africa for food and restrict the new government." Thus, in Carver's view, the question of food security in Southern Africa is a question of "confronting the White farmers," and on this he sees no political consensus among the Lusaka nine.

Carver's allusions to a white farmer conspiracy in the food sector are further amplified by recent revelations in African Business of South African domination of the beef market, not only in Southern Africa but as far north as Djibouti. This aspect of South Africa's economic penetration north of the Limpopo comes under scrutiny in both the May and June 1980 issues of the magazine, inspired by its discovery that it had apologized for an expose in its September 1979 issue entitled: "Did South African Meat Transit Kenya?" -- a story that later turned out to be true: that South African beef had been airfreighted to Djibouti via Nairobi, Kenya by British Airways.¹¹ The South African meat imbroglio exposed in African Business is but one example serving to illustrate black-ruled Africa's lack of control over vital food resources, and resulting vulnerability to white Southern African producers -- a vulnerability made all the more acute by the prolonged drought or untimely rains that, according to the June 9, 1980 Washington Post, threaten 60 million

women and children with starvation throughout Eastern and Southern Africa (including parts of the Republic such as the KwaZulu areas of Natal Province).¹²

In sum, what may seem to be a lack of frontline state political consensus on the means of achieving "economic liberation" is but another reflection of the constraints placed on these countries by their very real continued dependence on South Africa -- constraints which, in the absence of reliable, long-term commitments from other sources of support and interdependence, inhibit them from taking bolder initiatives that would enhance their political and economic options vis-à-vis Pretoria. The Heads of State at their meeting in Lusaka recognized this bind and avoided painting themselves into a rhetorical corner from which they could extricate themselves only at the cost of damage to their credibility. Moreover, it should be stressed that the very fact that an SADCC has come into existence is itself a major political advance in terms of the evolution of a common black Southern African liberation strategy.

However, further advances in such a common approach may hinge on the support that these countries can expect from the West (particularly from the EEC countries and Japan, which are more economically dependent on the region's reconstruction). The extent of this support should become more apparent at the SADCC meeting with prospective donors in Maputo in November or early December, which will follow an SADCC ministerial meeting slated for Salisbury in September.

Internal Adjustments

In addition to the question raised by Carver of a common political strategy, there is the equally important consideration of the impact of internal politics within each of the Southern African nine on their respective efforts to fulfill national development objectives. Thus, in the immediate aftermath of the ZANU-PF election victory in Zimbabwe, an inward look at domestic shortcomings was clearly apparent in both Zambia and Mozambique -- the two frontline states that had born the brunt of the war in Zimbabwe. The prospect of peace in Zimbabwe (on terms acceptable to the frontline states) tended in both countries to redirect the spotlight onto internal political, bureaucratic and socio-economic weaknesses.

In the case of Zambia, current literature has highlighted an atmosphere of increasing political unrest linked to economic and social ills. The May 21, 1980 Africa Confidential article entitled, "Zambia: Opposition Grows" (pp. 1-3), for example, focuses on "growing dissent from an expanding circle of influential Zambians," and discusses the role of the Lonrho-owned, Zambian-staffed Times of Zambia in drawing attention "to this widening gulf between the rulers and the average Zambian...."

In the case of Mozambique, indications point to a more pragmatic FRELIMO strategy in addressing the internal shortcomings of the bureaucracy and the economy, accompanied by signs of a less ideologically oriented, non-aligned stance in foreign policy and foreign

economic relations. This new flexibility by FRELIMO, which was discernable before the Zimbabwe elections, has been orchestrated by President Samora Machel in tandem with Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mugabe's politics of post-independence reconciliation aimed at pacifying nervous white industrial and agricultural elites.

President Machel unveiled his shift of course for Mozambique in his much-noted March 18th address in Maputo entitled, "Declaramos Guerra ao Inimigo Interno" ("Declaring War Against the Internal Enemy"), which is reprinted in the March 23, 1980 issue of Tempo magazine (pp. 20-61).¹³ In a marathon four-hour speech, Machel denounced "ultra-leftism" and sought to encourage Mozambican expatriates who had fled the country in 1974-75 (many to South Africa) to return to a new environment which would accommodate their entrepreneurial skills.

The Machel address received mixed reviews in South Africa. In the March 21st Financial Mail feature entitled "Machel Changes Step" (pp. 1143-44), the reaction was: "No, President Samora Machel has not become a disciple of Adam Smith. What he has done -- and the implications for the development of prosperity in southern Africa are sweeping -- is admit that the hybrid brand of Marxism he introduced to Mozambique after decolonisation in June 1975 has failed," signalling that "the war is over," and that "Southern Africa is embarking on a process which can be regarded as an experiment in symbiosis. Not simply between the races, though there is that aspect too; but one between the expertise of whites who are

not colonials -- with a homeland to shelter them when they lose power -- and the muscle of the largely unskilled masses."

Whereas the Financial Mail reflects the relatively liberal pragmatism of English-speaking capital, a far less charitable South African opinion of Machel's address is expressed in the March 28th issue of the pro-government To the Point magazine in a brief critique by Jose Ramalho entitled, "Machel's Change of Heart Doesn't Cut Much Ice" (p. 17). With emphasis on Machel's appeal for expatriates to return, Ramalho both poses and answers the question: "Why should Machel choose this particular time to plead for the return of expatriates? Because he desperately needs Western finance and know-how to rescue the country from the shambles of the disastrous 'scientific socialism' experiment."

In response to international reports on his speech (like that of Ramalho), Machel in a two-hour press conference on March 22 "clarified a widely published misinterpretation of part of the speech he had made earlier in the week at a mass rally in Maputo. 'I welcomed back the Mozambicans who have businesses in neighbouring countries and who want to invest in Mozambique. I did not specifically mention the Portuguese.' He was referring to an error made by some news agencies and radio stations when they said he had made special mention of the Portuguese who used to live in Mozambique." (AIM Information Bulletin, Mozambique Information Agency, no. 45, p. 6)

Further, on the question of foreign private investment, Machel pointed out

that the "decision to accommodate private business was in line with the decisions taken at FRELIMO's third Congress in February 1977, when it was determined that the State could not involve itself in managing everything from a corner shop to a coal mine." More specifically, Machel then "referred to the recent visit of the Business

International Corporation to Maputo and said that all investment followed conditions laid down by the government, such as those that are specified in the land and private trade laws. The President added that what Mozambique did not want was to have the multinationals exploiting Mozambique's raw materials only to leave the holes behind. 'First and foremost we want our riches to be the instrument for building our economy,' he said" (Ibid.).

From the point of view of the Maputo government, and others in the region, it is apparently felt that private transnational capital should be willing to meet them at least half way in forging a mutually beneficial partnership that would accelerate their development within the framework of their respective political systems (in Mozambique's case, see: "On the Road to Economic Recovery," by Allen and Barbara Isaacman, in the May/June 1980 issue of Africa Report, pp. 4-7).

Mozambique is not the only Southern African country attempting to attract Western investment by making internal adjustments in its socialist economic relations. On May 31, 1980, an extraordinary session of the Central Committee of Angola's ruling MPLA-Workers Party issued a resolution which, among other things, charged the government with the

task of "studying ways of supporting and encouraging private and individual initiatives in the economic field, namely in the sectors of cattle raising, domestic trade and industry and services, in conformity with the guidelines laid down by our late Comrade President Antonio Agostinho Neto."¹⁴

The welcoming of Western investment in Angola, Mozambique, and newly independent Zimbabwe further challenges the presence of Western transnational corporations in an increasingly unstable white-ruled South Africa. In some quarters, the presence of these companies in South Africa has been linked to the Republic's economic domination of the entire region. Thus, in a commentary on the Lusaka summit by Kenya's Nairobi Domestic Service, it is stated that "the roots of the nine southern African states' economic dependence on South Africa lie with the flow of foreign investments in South Africa. The sooner we control this flow, the sooner our economic independence."¹⁵

From this, it is clear that Western transnationals will come under increasing pressure to redirect their investments in Southern Africa from the Republic to the Republic's neighbors. Further, the independence of Zimbabwe seems likely to accelerate such pressure.

Zimbabwe & The Western Commitment to Southern Africa

Zimbabwe's potential as an alternative regional focal point for Western investment is accompanied by the new nation's own need to offset its heavy dependence on South African private capital. This seems to be a particularly

pressing priority given the view that Zimbabwe will be heavily dependent on external investment for the foreseeable future.

The concluding chapter of D.G. Clarke's Foreign Companies and International Investment in Zimbabwe (London, Catholic Institute of International Relations, 1980), entitled "External Investment and the Future" (pp. 158-68), observes that "it is hard to find a sub-Saharan African example comparable to the Zimbabwean case in which the role of foreign investments has been so long established, as deeply integrated into the sectors producing the bulk of output, so strongly inter-connected with local capital, and in consequence probably as difficult to foresee being quickly and successfully altered" (p. 168).

Thus, in his post-election bid for national reconciliation, Mugabe sought to reassure the white business community that the 'free private enterprise' basis of the Zimbabwean economy will be the point of departure for future development toward a mixed economy. Such an acknowledgement was no doubt also meant to spur the inflow of external investment and its diversification, as well as to pacify the local business establishment.

The presence of a relatively developed private sector accompanied by significant foreign capital has fueled a growing debate over the level and nature of foreign assistance the new nation should receive. Just prior to independence a skeptical private sector view of development assistance was offered in the March 1980 issue of Commerce (the

magazine of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Zimbabwe), in a brief article entitled "Development Aid," by RAL Merchant Bank economist J.M. Robertson (pp. 7, 9). Although he does not totally reject foreign aid, the author recommends that "this country should be highly selective about the aid it accepts and quick to reject offers of aid that go beyond our needs for urgent reconstruction." Robertson argues that "the evidence provided by numerous developing countries elsewhere shows that foreign aid discourages new private investment and eventually damages existing private investment."

Whether or not such a view coincides with the ultimate self-reliance objectives of ZANU vis-a-vis dependence on Western donors, Robertson's view has its parallels in the U.S., where the level of aid originally proposed in the controversial \$1.5 billion multilateral 'Zimbabwe Development Fund' (as an inducement to the whites to accept majority-rule) has been replaced by a considerably more modest commitment focusing on 'reconstruction aid' to a medium-income developing country. Meanwhile, there are signs of considerable American private sector interest in Zimbabwe, as evidenced by the economic mission to Salisbury in early June organized by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce with the aid of State Department (and preceded by a tour of the U.S. by the Zimbabwe Promotion Council).

Highly skeptical views of the American aid commitment to Zimbabwe and Southern Africa in general are offered in "The Politics of U.S. Foreign Assistance," by F.S.B. Kazadi in the May/June 1980 Africa Report (pp. 50-55), and by John Seiler in Vol. 1, no. 1,

of his Washington, D.C.-based The Seiler Report: Southern African Issues in American Politics, featuring "Aid to Zimbabwe?"

On the other hand, the Spring 1980 issue of Washington Notes on Africa (published by the Washington Office on Africa) sees aid to Southern Africa, including Zimbabwe, as being "less controversial this year than at any time in the recent past." It does, however, note Prime Minister Mugabe's disappointment (expressed in the Washington Post, May 2, 1980, p. A20) over the level of the U.S. aid commitment, and points out that "Britain's \$165 million over three years and America's \$40-50 million fall far short of the \$1 billion or so which is estimated to be needed for reconstruction and land redistribution" (p. 8).

One very relevant item that has received little attention, even though it may have significant implications for U.S. aid involvement in both Zimbabwe and the region as a whole, is the special aid status granted to Zimbabwe by the U.S. According to the May 16th issue of Africa Economic Digest, Zimbabwe has been declared a "Code 941" country, "allowing it to supply materials and expertise for U.S. aid projects elsewhere in the world." U.S. aid recipients have to buy materials and expertise from a "pool of 'designated' countries. Zimbabwe is the only 'designated' country south of the Sahara and will be able to supply raw materials, equipment and services for any US aid project in Africa" (emphasis added) (p. 26). This special aid status for Zimbabwe indicates an American recognition of the new nation's central role in the region, and coincides with a

similar view in the European Community (EC) and in the multilateral Concerted Action for Development in Africa (CADA) group -- including Belgium, Britain, France, West Germany, the U.S. and Canada -- which "announced in December 1979 that they had agreed to work 'in concert' on a series of major development initiatives in southern Africa."¹⁶

An EC view on Zimbabwe and its role in the region is offered by Robert Jackson (who served as special adviser to Southern Rhodesia's Governor, Lord Soames) in an May/June 1980 issue of the Community's magazine Europe, in the article entitled, "The Zimbabwe Solution: Britain's Triumph, Europe's Opportunity" (pp. 3-5). In Jackson's view, Zimbabwe has "the potential to develop a new role as the focal point of a new economic organization of the south-central African black states, joined together in a close association with the European Community. Europe offers Zimbabwe its only feasible alternative to economic dependence on South Africa" (emphasis added). Jackson goes on to stress that "Europeans have the opportunity to influence the future development of the pivotal country in a region of fundamental importance for the Western economy."

However, despite this very upbeat view of the prospects in relations between the EC and the new Zimbabwe, a more cautious assessment is offered in a June 6, 1980 Africa Economic Digest article by Christopher Stevens, "Zimbabwe and the EEC: Tough Bargaining Ahead" (pp. 3-4). Stevens points out that a strict application of EEC aid criteria would entitle Zimbabwe, under the Lomé Convention, to an estimated

\$112 million over the next 5 years, but that EC politics will play a role in determining what kind of package finally emerges. "The Council of Ministers line-up is expected to have the UK and West Germany on one side pressing for a generous package -- for different reasons -- and France on the other. The UK supports generosity partly because it will have to contribute only 18 per cent of whatever is agreed. The two largest contributors are Germany (28 per cent) and France (26 per cent). The French reluctance is explained by its major share of the bill plus the fact that Zimbabwe lies outside West Africa, its traditional sphere of influence." Stevens foresees particular trouble in negotiations over agricultural exports. In addition, he raises the question of whether or not Zimbabwe's entry into Lomé will pull in Mozambique (and Angola) -- a prospect that is seen as problematic given Maputo's position in a political tug-of-war between East and West Germany.

The apparent trend toward a Euro-American consensus on Zimbabwe as the centerpiece of an emerging Western development assistance strategy in the sub-continent finds a complement in Prime Minister Mugabe's own vision of a central role for Zimbabwe within a prospective black Southern African economic bloc. In an interview in the April 1980 issue of *Africa* magazine, Mugabe stated that: "I think Zimbabwe will be the pivot in such an economic arrangement because in all of the free countries of southern and even central Africa we probably have the most highly developed economy and infrastructure. Not that we are a developed country yet, we are still a developing country. But

in terms of our industrial performance, we are second to none and hence it is necessary that we play quite a leading part in any economic constellation of southern African states that is formed. My view is that there should be a regional economic community" (p. 7).

Yet there are some Western skeptics who perceive the newly independent Zimbabwe to be as much an obstacle as a key to building economic cooperation among its neighbors. The spectre of the disintegration of the East African Community (EAC), resulting in part from the long-simmering dissension over the dominant role of Kenya, is raised as an indication of what is in store for the SADCC.

However, this view of the Lusaka initiative overlooks major differences between the EAC experiment and what is promised by the SADCC. The latter grows out of an evolving voluntary initiative of sovereign states rather than an attempt to build upon a colonial legacy with its inherent antagonisms. In addition, the potential role of Zimbabwe within a prospective Southern African economic community is not destined to be a repeat of Kenya's position in the defunct EAC. Zimbabwe's role is emerging within the framework of a much larger grouping of states, and from a potentially more vulnerable position as a land-locked country. Zimbabwe's neighbors not only welcomed its independence under Mugabe's leadership, but moved swiftly to acknowledge its central role within the SADCC framework by designating it responsible for regional food security. Thus, as long as the overriding priority among the Lusaka nine is economic independence from South

Africa, preoccupation with possible Zimbabwean dominance in Southern Africa is likely to be viewed as diversionary to the ultimate goal of "economic liberation."

For some, the prospect of a pivotal role for Zimbabwe in the economic future of Southern Africa remains problematic nonetheless. This is brought out in the May 1980 issue of African Business in a brief account entitled, "South African Verdict - A Short Lived Boom" (p. 18), concerning a pre-election study on the "Economic Potential of Rhodesia" which was conducted by a South African economic team, Samson and Freer (representing the Economist Intelligence Unit in the Republic), and commissioned by an unnamed Rhodesian firm. Economist Pamela Freer is cited as being "pessimistic" about suggestions that Zimbabwe could become "an agricultural supermarket for African countries to the north...(because) 'The potential customers wouldn't be able to pay.'" However, she does accept a suggestion that "past food exports from Rhodesia and South Africa to Zambia had been politically motivated and payment was a minor consideration" (which could be one prospect of the food security arrangements to be worked out within the framework of the SADCC, for which Zimbabwe will be primarily responsible).

Summary

Clearly there are many obstacles confronting the regional economic community that the SADCC countries hope to bring into being. It is an undertaking that, in a very fundamental sense, is another stage of their continuing

struggle for real independence and freedom from white domination. In the past year, since the inaugural meeting at Arusha, substantial gains have been made -- notwithstanding the obstacles -- through the addition of an independent Zimbabwe as a pivotal member, and in the gathering momentum of a continental drive toward tackling Africa's severe economic problems. Zimbabwe's membership in the SADCC provides the centerpiece for a potentially viable economic bloc. However, much depends on the unfolding dynamics of the internal sorting out process currently underway in Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile, South Africa's leaders continue to entertain notions of a regional role for the Republic in a vaguely defined 'Constellation' of states, despite the transfer of power to a liberation movement coalition regime in Zimbabwe. The South Africa Foundation's 1980 publication of Constellation of States: A Consideration, edited and compiled by Willie Breytenbach, is a major contribution to the understanding of differing South African perspectives on the 'Constellation' and on related issues in regional politics and economics in Southern Africa, despite some bibliographic shortcomings. This important publication will be explored more fully in Part II of this essay in the next issue of SADEX, along with an examination of attempts by South Africa's political and economic rulers to define a role for themselves in the sub-continent while trying to assimilate recent political and economic developments in the region, and at the same time confront volatile realities in Namibia and at home.

Notes

1. "Machel Discusses Domestic, Foreign Issues at 22 March Press Conference," Foreign Broadcast Information Service (Sub-Saharan Africa), March 25, 1980, p. E4.
2. Another recent treatment of this subject is "Toward Southern African Regionalism: The Emergence of a Dialogue," by Reginald H. Green, in Africa Contemporary Record 1978-79, ed. by Colin Legum, Africana Publishing Company, pp. A40-49.
3. In the Vol. 31, no. 1, 1980 issue of the German foreign affairs review Aussenpolitik (Hamburg), Klaus Freiherr von der Ropp, in an article entitled "Hot Spots New and Old in Southern Africa," (pp. 99-115) contends that the SADCC grew out of European Community Commissioner Claude Cheysson's quest for a policy to overcome the heavy "burden Western Europe's covert support for Pretoria imposes on cooperation between ACP countries and the Nine" within the Lomé Convention framework (p. 103-104); that recommendations were drawn up for an EC non-governmental conference on Southern Africa that was not held, but which provided the basis for the frontline state meeting in July 1979 at Arusha. Von der Ropp is critical of Cheysson's decision to exclude non-official South African organizations from the proposed EC conference: "South Africa's problems cannot be solved by overlooking the existence of a white African nation that has taken shape over more than three centuries and by doing so for reasons of political expediency" (p. 103).
4. A recent assessment of the regional implications of the ZANU-PF victory are examined by Africa Confidential editor Xan Smiley in a lengthy analysis in the Summer 1980 issue of Foreign Affairs entitled "Zimbabwe, Southern Africa and the Rise of Robert Mugabe," (pp. 1060-83). As a long-time analyst and forecaster of developments in the Zimbabwe nationalist struggle, Smiley reflected the British penchant for mis-projecting an eventual Nkomo/ZAPU victory, and even flirted with the notion of the viability of the 'internal settlement' under Muzorewa, although acknowledging the steady ascendancy of Mugabe and ZANU. In a sense, the Smiley contribution to Foreign Affairs symbolizes a wider British coming-to-terms with the candidate they had chosen as the least likely to succeed in the Zimbabwe liberation sweepstakes.
5. See Afrique Contemporaine: Documents d'Afrique Noire et de Madagascar, November/December 1979, pp. 1-15, for the first of a two-part series entitled, "L'Afrique lusophone." Included in this issue are: "L'Afrique lusophone: problèmes et perspectives," by René Pélissier; "L'Angola de 1975 à 1979," by Bernard Lanne; and "Le Mozambique," by Pierre Balmes. Pélissier describes political developments that conditioned the outcome of the present African lusophone states and stresses that their independence came late, under the worst possible conditions and in the midst of an international crisis; concluding that they are 'involuntarily paying' a heavy ransom to their history of colonialism. Lanne,

writing on Angola from 1975 to 1979 and covering political, economic and foreign affairs developments, is more pessimistic, believing that Angola's links with the East might have it, in a certain sense, a prisoner -- a conclusion that does not seem warranted as yet. Balmes' article on Mozambique, after a cursory analysis of the armed struggle and the progressive isolation of Portugal, provides an analysis of FRELIMO's policies and comes to the conclusion that there is a growing cleavage between the Party and the people, seen most notably in the area of food production. These authors then present an overall analysis of socio-political developments with very strong reservations based on their ideological orientations.

6. Recently, cooperation within the lusophone sphere has gained an added international dimension from increased Brazilian interest as reflected in a tour of Southern Africa by Brazilian Foreign Minister Saraiva Guerreiro and a high-level delegation. Moreover, the U.S.-based African-American Institute recently sponsored a meeting in Boston where 50 U.S. firms met with African lusophone foreign trade officials -- at their request. (See: Conferences & Meetings)
7. How the fulfillment of this responsibility regarding South Africa is being viewed by the frontline states in the wake of Zimbabwe's independence, given their feeling of vulnerability to South African military retaliation, is the subject of "South Africa: Black Opposition Tactics," in Africa Confidential, May 21, 1980, pp. 4-5, which notes that "we hear from ANC sources that FRELIMO's latest advice to the ANC is that orthodox guerrilla warfare will play but a minor part in overthrowing apartheid." However, such advice may not preclude sabotage operations such as the dramatic SASOL plant bombing raids of June 1. Also see: "Blacks in Exile Carry on War Against South Africa," by Gregory Jaynes, in the New York Times, June 20, 1980, p. 2. In addition, a revised OAU strategy toward South Africa and Namibia was deliberated on in mid-June in Lomé, resulting in a program of action known as "the Lomé declaration on the new strategy for the liberation of Namibia and the elimination of apartheid and segregation in South Africa" (Foreign Broadcast Information Service - Sub-Saharan Africa, June 18, 1980, p. Q1).
8. The ECA interest in the Lusaka program relates to its own project for forging a Preferential Trade Area (PTA) for Central, Eastern and Southern Africa which would complement the SADCC program. An intergovernmental negotiating team has prepared a draft treaty to present to an October meeting of the ECA Council of Ministers for the East-Central-Southern sub-region, to be finalized for possible signing by the sub-region's Heads-of-State at a proposed November summit. Also see: "Other Regional Organizations," in Colin Legum's 1978-79 Africa Contemporary Record, pp. C118-19.
9. Zaire's involvement in the SADCC grouping was further highlighted by a mini-summit of the Presidents of Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique at Lubumbashi during the latter part of June, to harmonize transport and communications policies.

10. Apparently, the problem to which Carver refers has been overcome in light of a recent decision by Zambia and Malawi to extend their railways in order to provide Zambia its shortest route to the sea for its vital copper exports through the Mozambican port at Beira. Zambian and Malawian ministers discussed proposals for their railways at a meeting in Blantyre in mid-June. Undoubtedly Malawi's inclusion within the SADCC facilitated these consultations. See: "Zambian-Malawian Rail Link to Beira Port Planned," in Foreign Broadcast Information Service - Middle East & Africa, June 20, 1980, p. U1.
11. In "Operation Big Beef: How South Africa Eluded the OAU Boycott," (May 1980, pp. 13-16), the story is told of the uncovering of a complex network leading from Cape Town to Djibouti. In the June 1980 sequel, "South Africa's Huge Meat Trade with Black Africa" (p. 21), the magazine describes how South Africans send their produce to West, Central and East Africa to anyone prepared to pay, highlighting such operations as that of South Africa's leading "meat magnate," Cyril Hurvitz and his 30-year old Seige Meat Industries, as well as the transporting of meat products by the Johannesburg-based Indo-Atlantic group (which includes Indo-Atlantic Air Cargo International Services and Indo-Atlantic Airfreight).
12. "60 Million in East Africa to Go Hungry," in Washington Post, June 9, 1980, pp. A1 & A16.
13. Also see: "Machel's New War," by Godwin Matatu, in Africa, May 1980, pp. 14-20.
14. "Text of Resolution on Party Central Committee Session," in Foreign Broadcast Information Service - Middle East and Africa, June 3, 1980, pp. U1-2. See also: "Angola Seen Loosening Ties with USSR, Cuba," in Christian Science Monitor, June 24, 1980, p. 4.
15. "Radio Scores Multinationals' Involvement in S. Africa," in Foreign Broadcast Information Service - Middle East and Africa, April 8, p. R4.
16. "The Politics of U.S. Foreign Assistance," by F.S.B. Kazadi, in Africa Report, May/June 1980, p. 54. In an interview with Africa Economic Digest (June 6, 1980, p. 6), Richard Moose, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, noted that because of Zimbabwe's "Code 941" status "we estimate that the value of the trade as a result of that will be considerable."



In Memoriam

Opening Statement of the
Southern African Development Coordination Summit
Lusaka, 1 April 1980

By the Chairman
His Excellency Sir Seretse Khama
President of Botswana

As a member of the Southern African frontline heads of state, Sir Seretse Khama, President of the Republic of Botswana, was one of the leading forces behind the formation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) at Arusha, Tanzania, July 3-4, 1979. Until his death, Sunday, July 13, 1980, President Khama served as the Chairman of the SADCC, and delivered his last major address in this capacity at the opening of the April 1, 1980 heads-of-state summit of the SADCC in Lusaka, Zambia. The following is a reprint in its entirety of his opening statement.

"I would like to start, on behalf of my guest colleagues and on my own behalf, by thanking the Government and the people of the Republic of Zambia for the warm welcome and hospitality which they have extended to us since our arrival in Lusaka. It is also my pleasure to thank my colleague and friend President Kaunda for having offered to host this important and historic meeting as well as for his address of welcome. We are indeed very grateful to be able to hold this meeting in this country, not only because it provides us the opportunity to meet old friends, but most importantly because the purpose for which we are gathered here today, namely the total liberation of our people in the region, is a cause which the Government and people of this country, under the dedicated leadership of our friend President Kaunda, have always been committed to.

The struggle for political independence in our region started to gain momentum about three decades ago. The 1960s saw most of the countries represented here today achieve independence: but some of our neighbours, unfortunately, met strong resistance from their colonial masters in their demand to be given their right to determine their own destiny and future. The struggle however continued and we are happy today to have among us a new colleague and friend. The Prime Minister-designate of the newly liberated country of Zimbabwe. We warmly welcome him and wish him, his Government, and the people of Zimbabwe all the best in their endeavours for nation building and reconstruction, following several years of liberation war.

Zimbabwe is the most recent fruit of our struggle for liberation in

Southern Africa for which we all have reason to be proud. I must hasten to caution, however, that we are still very far from the end of the struggle. Our neighbours and friends in Namibia and South Africa are still to experience political independence and freedom from minority racist regimes, before they can enjoy the freedom and the right of self-determination which our peoples presently enjoy. The struggle must therefore continue until all of us in the region can freely enjoy all the rights to which we are entitled and are able to determine our future and well-being. We anxiously look forward to a positive outcome of the initiative of the United Nations for the independence of Namibia, and we are prepared to continue to assist in these efforts. We also hope that this initiative will in turn be followed by vigorous efforts to find a solution to the present unfortunate situation in South Africa.

For many years we have struggled for political independence, for the right to rule ourselves and determine our own future. We have done this independently as separate nations as well as collectively by giving whatever support and assistance we could to one another. Some of us in this region have demonstrated that it is possible to achieve common objectives through collective effort. We have, as frontline states mandated by the OAU, successfully demonstrated solidarity and collective responsibility in the search for political liberation in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Whilst in pursuit of this objective, we realised the urgent need to extend the struggle from the political to the economic sphere. Hence the Arusha Conference which was held in July last

year and attended by the frontline states and various donor agencies.

Following the Arusha conference the frontline states decided that the economic liberation which they sought could not be achieved without the involvement of the other majority-ruled states of Southern Africa. It was therefore decided to invite Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland and Zimbabwe to this historic summit. The momentum gained from the political liberation of Zimbabwe should be maintained. We have certainly made considerable progress; but as I pointed out earlier, we still have a long way to go, and we must strengthen our efforts.

We believe that the time has now come to demonstrate our solidarity in the struggle for economic liberation. I have no doubt that we are equally capable of working together for the economic and social advancement of our peoples in the same way as we have done in the struggle for political freedom. It must be accepted that this will no doubt be a more difficult task than the political one. It would therefore be over-optimistic to hope for easy and quick successes. However, the task is ours and we must think of all possible ways of tackling it.

We all know that our economies are to a very large extent, albeit to varying degrees, dependent on the economy of South Africa. We may be proud of our political independence; but before we achieve some degree of economic independence our task is not complete. The desirability and indeed the inevitability of interdependence as a world economic order is fully recognised and accepted. Unfortunately

this is not the situation with regard to our relationship with South Africa. What we therefore seek is the ability to exercise some degree of choice which insures us against domination by one powerful partner.

We are looking for choice of transportation routes, choice of market, choice of sources of energy, and choice of investment partners. The need for concerted effort to develop programmes to reduce this kind of dependency is therefore probably more urgent in our region than it is anywhere else in the world.

We fully recognise that we are all still developing nations and not equally endowed with resources. But as a region we are certainly rich in resources: human, agricultural and mineral resources. What is required is the development of these resources for the benefit and welfare of the entire region and of its peoples. More specially, our goal is to achieve economic liberation and to reduce our economic dependence on the Republic of South Africa. We seek to overcome the fragmentation of our economies and, by co-ordinating our national development efforts, to strengthen them. The basis of our co-operation, built on concrete projects and specific programmes rather than on grandiose schemes and massive bureaucratic institutions, must be the assured mutual advantage of all participating states. I am convinced that through regional co-operation and co-ordinated effort we can achieve this objective.

It was against this background that the Governments of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia took the

initiative to convene a conference in Arusha, Tanzania in July last year to develop a strategy for economic liberation. The conference was also attended, at our invitation, by several bilateral and multilateral donor agencies and other organisations with whom we wanted to shape views on, and seek support for, this new policy dimension. It gratifies me to report that the response of the international community was most favourable indeed.

The Conference culminated with the adoption of a draft Declaration entitled "Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation." It is the purpose of our meeting here today to endorse this declaration and make a serious effort to achieve its objectives. The approach to the task of economic liberation is to find ways of reducing the present high degree of dependence on a strong neighbour and to create genuine and equitable regional integration. To this end we consider that the first and most crucial step to undertake is to strengthen and co-ordinate transport and communications systems in our region. For this purpose it is proposed to establish as a matter of urgency a transport and communications commission in Maputo, Mozambique. We thank our colleague President Machel and his Government for their offer to host this important institution. We hope the international community will give us support and financial assistance to facilitate the quick establishment of the commission and to enable it to carry out its functions.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate what I said when I opened our meeting in Arusha last July. It is not our objective to plot against anybody or

any country but, on the contrary, to lay the foundation for the development of a new economic order in Southern Africa and forge a united community wherein will lie our strength for survival in the future. I am convinced that with the collective will and determination with which we have struggled for political freedom we can succeed in our struggle for economic liberation. Our meeting today marks the first step towards the achievement of this objective, and this should be an occasion to be remembered and honoured in our history.

We offer this declaration to our own people, to the peoples and governments of all the many countries which are interested in promoting popular welfare, justice and peace in Southern Africa, and to the international agencies which share this interest. In it we state our commitment to pursue the economic liberation and integrated development of our national economies and we call on all concerned to assist us in this high endeavour.

Before we move to the great and historic business which is the purpose of this conference, permit me, as the chairman you have chosen on this endeavour, to indulge in a few reflections and words of caution.

The black people of Southern Africa are today, at last, on the move; though we have not yet scaled the ultimate heights of total liberation, we have reached a high plateau - an advantageous position from which to consolidate for the further advances our people need and want.

It is a common realization of the opportunities as well as the necessities of our present situation which brings us together today. Do not however let us deceive ourselves by thinking that the advance we made yesterday cannot be lost tomorrow.

What we recognize as opportunities arising from political advance in this region, are seen by others as threats to their self interests. Make no mistake therefore. The struggle for economic liberation will be as bitterly contested as has been the struggle for political liberation. We have come here today to pledge our solidarity in the search for a better economic future for all our peoples. The most potent weapon we have is our unity of purpose. In the months and years that lie ahead there will be many false friends whispering in our ears that the road we have chosen is too difficult, that the company we keep is not trustworthy, that the struggle is not worth the effort. Their purpose is to destroy our solidarity and to return us, one by one, to bondage.

We must be constantly vigilant. We must resist the temptation of short term national advantage at the cost of our friends. We must fight to keep the faith that our economic and political salvation rests in our unity.

As we go into our talks today that is the message I want all of us to carry. We move forward in unity or we perish. With the mutual trust and the common vision of a brighter future which brought us here today, we shall not fail."

CONFERENCES & MEETINGS

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.

A. CHRONOLOGY OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN BILATERAL & REGIONAL COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENTS SAMORA MACHEL AND SIR SERETSE KHAMA, May 20, 1980, Maputo, Mozambique. Heads of State of Mozambique and Botswana held talks on bilateral and regional issues. Discussed implementation of the April 1 Lusaka accords and the situation in Southern Africa.

SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE FRONTLINE STATES TO DISCUSS NAMIBIA, June 2, 1980, Lusaka, Zambia. Considered a sequel to the April 1 Lusaka summit. Discussed the impasse over the future of Namibia and unanimously agreed that a peaceful solution must be found. Reaffirmed support for U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 and decided that the chairman of the frontline states will approach U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim with regard to the implementation of the resolution.

4TH SESSION OF THE ZAIRIAN-ZAMBIAN PERMANENT JOINT COMMISSION, June 2-6, 1980, Lubumbashi, Zaire. Delegations, led by Zairian State Commissioner for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Nguza Karl-i-Bond and Zambian Minister of Foreign Affairs Wilson Chakulya, reviewed agreements between the two countries in the areas of trade; economic, scientific and social cooperation; and rail transportation of copper and other goods. Also examined other fields of cooperation, including the construction of the Chembe bridge, the tarring of the Mokambo road, and air and telecommunication links. Discussed draft agreements presented by Zaire on border trade and judicial cooperation.

MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENTS SAMORA MACHEL AND MOBUTU SESE SEKO, June 7-9, 1980, Maputo, Mozambique. Talks focused on encouraging economic cooperation between Mozambique and Zaire, especially in the areas of transportation, communications and trade, and on resuming Zairian copper and cobalt shipments through the port of Beira; included a

visit by the two presidents to the Maputo railway and harbor complexes. Following the meetings, there were brief Talks Between Presidents Kenneth Kaunda and Mobutu Sese Seko, June 9, 1980, Lusaka, Zambia, while the latter was en route back from Mozambique.

MINISTERIAL MEETING TO CONCLUDE A BILATERAL TRANSPORT AGREEMENT BETWEEN SWAZILAND AND MOZAMBIQUE, June 11, 1980, Mbabane, Swaziland. Following talks which began on May 19, Mozambique's Minister of Ports and Land Transport, Alcantara Santos, and Swaziland's Minister of Works, Power and Communication, V.S.G. Leibbrandt, signed a memorandum of understanding, covering rehabilitation and realignment of rail links, the construction of an exchange yard in Swaziland near the Mozambique border, and improved operations and facilities at the port of Maputo.

MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENTS SAMORA MACHEL AND KENNETH KAUNDA, June 12-13, 1980, Maputo and Beira, Mozambique. Held in conjunction with the Fifth Session of the Mozambique-Zambia Permanent Joint Commission. The two heads of state took action to implement practical cooperation between their countries and agreed that the commission should meet more often at the ministerial level to identify further areas for cooperation. The talks reportedly focused on the transport sector, with a visit by the two presidents to the Mozambican ports of Maputo and Beira.

MINISTERIAL MEETING ON RESUMPTION OF TRANSPORT AND POWER LINKS BETWEEN ZIMBABWE AND MOZAMBIQUE, June 15-17, 1980, Salisbury, Zimbabwe. Reached agreement on the problem of railway wagons, locomotives and funds currently held in both Zimbabwe and Mozambique, and on action to be taken to assist in the full utilization of the Beira and Maputo rail links. Also agreed that the oil pipeline between Beira and Umtali should be put back into service as soon as possible and that technical staff from both countries would restore the previously existing level of communications between Salisbury and Beira. Participants included Zimbabwe's Minister of Transport and Power, E. Kadungure; the Minister of Roads, Traffic and Posts and Telecommunications, G. Silundika; Mozambique's Minister of Ports and Surface Transport, Alcantara Santos; and the Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Civil Aviation, Rui de Lousa. The meeting grew out of Talks Between Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and President Samora Machel, May 23, 1980, Beira, Mozambique, on "the need for positive steps to establish firm economic relations between the two countries."

MINISTERIAL MEETING BETWEEN ZAMBIA AND MALAWI TO DISCUSS RAIL LINK TO BEIRA PORT, ca. June 17, 1980, Blantyre, Malawi. Discussed proposals to extend their railways to give Zambia access to Mozambican ports. Following the talks, Zambian Minister of Finance Kebby Musokotwane reportedly announced that Zambia had decided to go ahead with the new line through the east of the country to Malawi, and that Malawi was extending its railway system to meet the line, so that Zambian exports could transit existing railways to the port of Beira in Mozambique.

LUBUMBASHI SUMMIT MEETING ON REGIONAL TRANSPORT COOPERATION, June 19-20, 1980, Lubumbashi, Zaire. Attended by the heads of state of Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Agreed to take measures to improve the rail links from Lubumbashi to the Mozambican ports of Maputo, Beira and Nacala. Also announced the setting up of a quadripartite ministerial transport commission (in addition to the transport commission agreed to at the Lusaka summit) and decided that transport ministers from the four countries will henceforth meet at least twice a year.

MINISTERIAL MEETING ON TRANSPORT LINKS BETWEEN MALAWI AND MOZAMBIQUE, June 19-22, 1980, Mozambique. Delegations, headed by Malawian Minister of Transport and Communications Henry Harawa and Mozambican Minister of Ports and Land Transport Alcantara Santos, discussed the transport network between the two countries.

MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL AND PRIME MINISTER ROBERT MUGABE, June 28, 1980, Beira, Mozambique. Heads of state of Mozambique and Zimbabwe reviewed foreign policy issues and discussed future and immediate practical steps for implementing economic cooperation in the fields of transport, energy and electricity. Agreed on the need to set up a commission to work on projects which could be jointly undertaken for the benefit of the two countries and the region.

MEETING OF THE WORKING GROUP TO CREATE A TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA, July 1-4, 1980, Maputo, Mozambique. Representatives of the nine member states of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) drew up proposals for the structure, powers, duties and functions of the various bodies which will constitute the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission. The drafts and proposed programs will be presented for ratification to the Ministerial Meeting of SADCC Member States, to be held in Zimbabwe in September 1980.

MEETING OF THE MINISTERIAL TRANSPORT COMMISSION OF ZAMBIA, ZAIRE, MOZAMBIQUE AND ZIMBABWE, July 10, 1980, Maputo, Mozambique. Follows the Lubumbashi summit of June 19-20 (see above). Scheduled to include visits to the Mozambican ports of Maputo, Beira and Nacala. To be preceded by a Preparatory Meeting of Transport Experts, June 27, 1980, in Maputo.

B. ADDITIONAL CONFERENCES & MEETINGS (FORTHCOMING, CURRENT & PAST)

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF ZIMBABWE, September 1-5, 1980, Salisbury, Zimbabwe. Theme: "Zimbabwe -- Land of Opportunity." Organized by the Zimbabwe Promotion Council for local and international businessmen, bankers, industrialists, agency representatives and policymakers. After a day's plenary

session, working groups will examine key sectors of the economy, including agriculture, mining, manufacturing, commerce and distribution, tourism, human resources, energy, water, and transport and communications. Approximately half the time will be devoted to field trips. Contact: Zimbabwe Promotion Council, P.O. Box 2181, Salisbury, Zimbabwe.

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING AFRICA, July 14-19, 1980, Bad Homburg, FR Germany. Organized by the Arbeitskreis Portugiesischsprachiges Africa for ca. 30 participants, including scholars from lusophone Africa. Designed to analyze the relative strengths and weaknesses of social science research to date on lusophone Africa; to assess on-going research; to discuss areas requiring future research; to explore the possibilities for international cooperation in this field. Working languages: Portuguese and English. Contact: Dr. Franz-Wilhelm Heimer, APSA Colloquium Coordinator, Arnold-Bergstraesser Institut, Windausstr. 16, 7800 Freiburg, FR Germany.

FACE-TO-FACE DINNER DISCUSSION ON INVESTMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, July 14, 1980, Washington, D.C. Sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the American Foreign Service Association. Theme: "New Investment in Southern Africa -- South Africa or the Lusaka Nine?"; with guest speakers John Purcell (Vice President of Goodyear International Corporation) and Willard Johnson (Professor of Political Science at MIT). Scheduled participants include representatives of Southern African states; U.S. Government personnel; members of the business, academic and diplomatic communities; and representatives of non-governmental organizations. Contact: Face-to-Face Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 11 Dupont Circle N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

ODC SEMINAR ON "INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA," June 24, 1980, Washington, D.C. Chaired by U.S. Congressman Stephen Solarz, with guest speaker J. Wayne Fredericks of Ford Motor Company. Participants included Southern African ambassadors; members of the U.S. Congress; administration officials from State Department, the International Development Cooperation Agency and USAID; representatives of the World Bank; and members of the U.S. business community. Contact: Overseas Development Council, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

16TH ANNUAL BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING OF THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, June 23-27, 1980, Abidjan, Ivory Coast. Admitted Angola and Zimbabwe as new members, bringing total ADB membership to 50. Elected Willa D. Mung'Omba of Zambia to a five-year term as ADB president. Meeting was held in conjunction with the 7th Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors of the African Development Fund. Contact: African Development Bank, B.P. 1387, Abidjan, Ivory Coast. See Development Information Briefs, B(134).

AAI CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN LUSOPHONE AFRICA, June 13-14, 1980, Boston, Massachusetts. Sponsored by AAI in cooperation with U.S. Senator Paul Tsongas. Workshop topics included: attitudes towards investment; transportation and development; trade and commercial opportunities; training of the

African labor force; and implications for U.S. foreign policy. The 85 participants included cabinet-rank ministers and senior officials from banking, mining and agricultural organizations in Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, and Sao Tome and Principe; senior executives of transnational corporations in the fields of banking and investment, oil and mining, manufacturing and engineering; Senator Paul Tsongas; Ambassador Andrew Young; Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Richard Moose; and USAID Assistant Administrator for Africa Goler Butcher. For information on the conference and conference reports, contact: Office of the Senior Vice President, African-American Institute, 833 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

MEETING OF THE UNION OF AFRICAN RAILWAYS, June 10-14, 1980, Blantyre, Malawi. Called for a better documentation system to improve rail traffic coordination between African states, asking each member to set up a documentation center for its own rail service, with a special center to be established at UAR headquarters in Kinshasa. Attended by delegates from 12 countries, including Mozambique. Contact: Union of African Railways, B.P. 678, Kinshasa, Zaire.

7TH MEETING OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL NEGOTIATING TEAM FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PREFERENTIAL TRADE AREA FOR EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA, May 28-June 7, 1980, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Adopted a draft treaty and protocols to be examined at a ministerial meeting in Kampala next October, for possible signing by heads of state and government before the end of the year. The treaty is considered the first step towards the creation of a common market in 10 years' time, linking the 18 member states of the sub-region (which includes Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe). Contact: U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

EXTRAORDINARY PLENARY MEETINGS OF THE U.N. COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA, May 28-June 1, 1980, Algiers, Algeria. Adopted a 10-page "Algiers Declaration and Programme of Action for Namibia." Called for an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council to impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, and urged the international community to join in mobilizing opinion against South Africa and its illegal occupation of Namibia. Contact: U.N. Council for Namibia, United Nations, New York, New York 10017.

U.N. INTERAGENCY SURVEY MISSION TO ZIMBABWE, May 21-27, 1980, Salisbury, Zimbabwe. Designed to assess Zimbabwe's reconstruction and rehabilitation requirements. Identified ca. 100 projects involving technical assistance and pre-investment action, which will be presented to interested donor countries for funding; also indicated 25 other areas in which work could begin with existing funds. Contact: Regional Bureau for Africa, United Nations Development Programme, One United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

UNION OF AFRICAN RAILWAYS CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS STAFF TRAINING IN MEMBER COUNTRIES, May 19-22, 1980, Pointe Noire, Congo. Topics included updating skills, inter-railways cooperation and exchanges of teachers and trainees among the 28 member states. Contact: Union of African Railways, B.P. 687, Kinshasa, Zaire.

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. Beginning with Volume 2, number 1, each brief is given a numerical identification number, e.g., B(001).

GENERAL

United Nations Aid to Southern Africa:

"Nineteen U.N. member countries have promised a total of \$7.75m. to a variety of U.N. funds for humanitarian and educational assistance to the people of southern Africa. The largest contributors were the United States, Canada, Finland, France, West Germany, Japan and the Netherlands. The assistance was allocated as follows: U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa (for victims of apartheid in S. Africa, Namibia & Southern Rhodesia) - \$1,707,110; U.N. Educational & Training Programme for Southern Africa (for scholarships for Southern African nationals) - \$3,395,379; U.N. Fund for Namibia (for educational, humanitarian assistance) - \$607,422; U.N. Institute for Namibia (for the training of Namibians to run an independent government) - \$1,896,074; U.N. Trust Fund for Publicity Against Apartheid - \$73,000; Namibia Nationhood Programme (for a comprehensive

assistance programme) - \$15,000."
(WORLD AID DIGEST, May 16, 1980, p. 10)
B(126)

EEC - Southern Africa Aid Program: The EEC has announced allocations of aid for some Southern African countries under the Lomé II Convention. "Lesotho will receive between 26-30m units of account (\$36m-42m) under the five-year agreement. About 37% of the aid has been earmarked to improve road communications - the Mole's Hoek-Quthing road being a high priority. A further 11% of the funds will go towards developing an international airport at Maseru and about 19% towards increasing self-sufficiency in the energy sector. Lesotho is also trying to arouse EEC interest in a \$700 million scheme to divert the Orange River, harness its waters and so develop hydro-electric power. Botswana will receive between 22-25m u.a. (\$30-35m). Most of the funds will go towards expanding rural employment opportunities, although no specific projects

have so far been mentioned. Swaziland will receive between 17-19m u.a. (\$23m-26m), most of which will be used to expand employment in the rural areas. Under Lomé II about 30-40m u.a. will be available to finance regional projects in the southern African area.... Overcoming the energy crisis is a top priority and the governments wish to examine the various options.. ." (AFRICAN BUSINESS, May 1980, p. 7)

B(127)

"The Malawi Government and the European Economic Community, EEC, on 26th April signed an indicative aid agreement of 95,000,000 kwacha for financing Malawi's national development projects for a period of five years....The EEC has allocated more than 110,000,000 kwacha, most of it in grants, to Malawi for various development projects under the Lomé II Convention, beginning this year, until 1985...(and) is interested in participating in industrial projects in this country such as the cement, fertilizer and ethanol plants." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, May 6, 1980, pp. A2/2-A2/3)

B(128)

"Zambia and the European Economic Community have signed an agreement of co-operation under the Lomé convention. Under the agreement, the EEC will give Zambia a total of 110,000,000 kwacha to finance the country's development in key areas and for regional projects from which neighboring countries will also benefit. Of the amount, 66,000,000 kwacha will finance Zambia's agricultural, industrial and mining projects, while 44,000,000 kwacha goes to the southern Africa regional fund. The regional fund will finance project

schemes such as the proposed veterinary school in Zambia from which southern African countries will benefit by sending students to train at the school." (IBID., June 24, 1980, p. A2/5) B(129)

Indian Ocean Cooperation: The Seychelles Minister for Transport and Tourism conducted a tour of states bordering the Indian Ocean in April. The tour included visits to Madagascar, Tanzania and Mozambique. "The tour was aimed at devising a regional strategy on tourism, shipping, civil aviation, and on countering ocean pollution. In his talks with Tanzanian Ministers, it had been agreed that studies should be initiated on joint shipping to ensure that regional ships had adequate cargo, rather than giving preference to other shipping lines....(It was) further reported that Tanzania would attend the two-day seminar on the Indian Ocean regional alliance for maritime conservation being held in Mahe in the Seychelles in the following week; at the seminar, discussion would cover regional cooperation, the enforcement of 'the Indian Ocean sanctuary' regulations, and whale protection measures." (IBID., April 22, 1980, p. i) B(130)

"Mozambique and the Republic of Seychelles have signed a joint memorandum providing for cooperation in the fields of shipping, tourism and the fight against maritime pollution, within the context of African regional cooperation." (IBID., April 29, 1980, p. A2/1)

B(131)

Mozambique-Swaziland Joint Commission: "Mozambique and Swaziland have established a joint commission for co-

operation covering industry, commerce, transport and energy. Formation of the joint commission was agreed upon by President Samora (Machel) and King Sobhuza II when the Mozambican leader paid an official visit to Swaziland in February. Swaziland will benefit greatly from the port of Maputo for its imports and exports as well as petrol supplies. Earlier this year, a high-powered ministerial delegation visited Mozambique for talks with the government on the possibilities of Mozambique supplying petrol to Swaziland. Diplomatic sources say an agreement was reached to this effect and petrol has started flowing to Swaziland." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, May 31, 1980, p. 5499) B(132)

Mozambique-Zimbabwe Cooperation:
"Zimbabwe and Mozambique signed a cooperation agreement on 17 May on tourism, culture and information. There is to be an exchange of information between news agencies, and Zimbabwe is to help train Mozambique hotel workers." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, May 30, 1980, p. 21) B(133)

Zambian to Head AfDB: Zambian lawyer and former MP, Willa Mungomba, has been elected the new President of the African Development Bank after four ballots in a hotly contested race. Mungomba, who was sponsored by Nigeria, will take over from acting President Goodall E. Gondwe of Malawi. The election of Mungomba as the African Development Bank's new President takes on added importance in light of Zambia's responsibility within the Southern African Development Coordination Conference for developing proposals for the establishment of a

Southern Africa Development Fund.
(FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE, MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA, June 27, 1980, p. Q2; AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL, April 23, 1980, pp. 7-8) B(134)

AGRICULTURE

Angola - Yugoslav Aid for Maize Production: The Yugoslav Maize Institute and Angola have concluded an agreement "aimed at increasing the yield of maize in order to double the production of the colonial period and to make unnecessary the import of seed. The agreement also envisaged the training of Angolan personnel who would take over when the period of Yugoslav cooperation ended." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, June 10, 1980, p. A2/1) B(135)

Malawi - Technical Aid from the Republic of China: Malawi and the Republic of China (Taiwan) have signed an agreement under which the Republic of China will "send a mission to Malawi to construct an irrigation settlement scheme in Chikwawa, to reconstruct one in Nkhotoka and to provide technical information and advice on improved irrigation and agricultural techniques. The Government of the Republic of China has also undertaken to provide scholarships for the training of Malawians in the Republic of China." (IBID., April 1, 1980, p. A2/3) B(136)

Mozambique - Lioma Agricultural Project:
"The African Development Fund is lending Mozambique \$8.8m and the African Development Bank \$10.4m towards the \$24.1m Lioma Agricultural Project, with

other financing by the government. More than 11,000ha of bush are to be cleared in the Gurue District, bringing a total of nearly 16,000ha under partially mechanised cultivation for maize, sunflower and beans. Construction works include roads, piped water supplies, school buildings and the improvement of the local health clinic. The project will require land clearance and road construction machinery, farm machinery, vehicles, equipment and tools, generators, materials for water supply and equipment for the clinic. The aid funds cover 100% of the foreign exchange costs." (WORLD AID DIGEST, March 7, 1980, p. 6) B(137)

Mozambique-Swaziland - EDF Aid for Fence: The European Development Fund will grant 650,000 EUA for "construction of fencing to combat the spread of foot and mouth disease (among the cattle of Swaziland and Mozambique). Plans have been drawn up to build a second fence running parallel to the first for 112 km." (THE COURIER, March/April 1980, p. IV) B(138)

Tanzania - IDA Credit for Grain Storage and Milling: "The International Development Association (IDA), the World Bank's soft loan affiliate, has approved a \$43 million credit for a grain storage and mills project to reduce loss and expand milling capacity for maize and other grains." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, May 16, 1980, p. 13) B(139)

Tanzania - IDA Credit to Expand Pyrethrum Production: "The International Development Association (IDA)...has approved a \$10 million credit to Tanzania for a project to increase the

production of pyrethrum in the highlands of Mbeya and Iringa Regions of southern Tanzania. The project will, over a five-year period, help smallholder pyrethrum growers to expand their output of dried flowers by providing them with planting materials and improved research, extension, marketing and road transport services....Pyrethrum is a plant which (yields) an extract, the active ingredient of which (pyrethrums) has excellent insecticidal properties and is not harmful to man, beast or environment.... (IDA NEWS RELEASE, no. 80/43, April 21, 1980) B(140)

Zambia: 10-Year Food Production Plan: Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda "announced a 10-year food production programme aimed at making Zambia self-sufficient in its maize, wheat and soya bean requirements. The 400,000,000 kwacha project, to be known as Operation Food Production, is to be implemented at four levels....Under the programme, the Government will set up two state farms in each Province of 20,000ha, Zambia National Service farms of 10,000ha, rejuvenate rural reconstruction cooperatives and open up new rural reconstruction centres. Dr. Kaunda said the programme will be implemented with the help of friendly countries; international and local organizations will provide farming equipment inputs and technical assistance. The President also announced incentives for peasant, family and commercial farmers." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, June 3, 1980, p. A2/5) B(141)

EDUCATION & TRAINING

Regional Management Institute Formed: The East African Management Institute, established under the former East African Community, has been expanded to include both the East and Southern African regions. "The Institute provides management training, consultancy and research services to organizations, institutions and private and public companies....The Institute offers courses which are not available in national institutions of the participating countries. Sessions last from one to ten weeks and cover project planning; finance and accounting; human resources development; transport and communications; international marketing and export promotion; and management services. There is also a nine-month post-graduate diploma programme." (TCDC NEWS, January/March 1980, p. 9) B(142)

"Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, the Comoro Islands, Djibouti and Zambia signed an agreement in February, setting up the intergovernmental training center, while Angola, Botswana, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, the Seychelles, Somalia and Swaziland expressed a desire to participate but did not attend the signing ceremony." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, March 31, 1980, p. 5422) B(143)

BLS States - EDF Aid for Institute: The European Development Fund will grant 300,000 EUA for the construction of the Institute for Development Management to serve Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. "This regional project involves building premises in Lesotho and Swaziland to house the Institute of Development

Management which is already operating in Botswana in its own buildings. The Community financing will help to balance the cost of setting up this establishment and improve teaching methods. The aim of the Institute is to train middle and senior management to work in all branches of the public and private sectors." (THE COURIER, March/April 1980, p. 17) B(144)

Angola - Training Center Site for Namibian Youth: "A pilot vocational training centre for Namibian youth is to be set up in Angola, the UN Council for Namibia announced on March 3rd. The Angolan Government has offered a site in Kwanza-Sul Province. The centre, to be transferred to Namibia at independence, is to train 200 primary school-leavers in two-year courses covering automechanics, machine shop work, electric installation, plumbing, carpentry and house-building. The Council allocated \$2,170,000 for the project." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - POLITICAL, SOCIAL & CULTURAL SERIES, April 15, 1980, p. 5628) B(145)

Angola - Italians to Expand Oil School: "A \$13.5 million deal has been signed by Comerint, a subsidiary of Italian state-owned Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI), and the (Angolan) Petroleum Ministry to expand the petroleum school at N'gunza. The deal, announced on 23 May, supplements an earlier contract for assistance in setting up the school. An ENI official said the funds would come from a consortium of banks and the UN Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO), which supported the original contract. The money is to be spent on prefabricated buildings, laboratory equipment, furnishings, engineering ser-

vices, and technical assistance. All the experts on the project will be Italian, as will the material provided. The contract will cover 14 months and completion is scheduled for July 1981. The ENI spokesman told AED the deal carried no conditions of favour for the supply of oil or other goods." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, May 30, 1980, p. 20)

B(146)

Lesotho - Skills Training Program: "A special skills training programme has been established by the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC). The Skills Training Grant Fund has been established with funds totalling M350,000 from the World Bank and the African Development Bank, which have provided lines of credit to the LNDC. The programme should help new investors by training a pool of qualified manpower for specific new industrial projects and for expansion in existing industries. The LNDC will repay 75 percent of the eligible costs an industrialist incurs on the training of his staff."

(STANDARD CHARTERED REVIEW, May 1980, p. 36)

B(147)

Mozambique - UNESCO Aid for Teacher Training: "UNESCO is going to help in the training of intermediate level technical teachers. An agreement for aid worth about 360,000 dollars was signed (in March) at the end of a visit to Mozambique by a UNESCO delegation..."

(AIM, Mozambique Information Agency, March 1980, p. 19)

S(148)

Swaziland - Students to Train in Pakistan: "Pakistan has agreed to train Swazi students in the textile industry and in aviation. This follows a visit by Swaziland's Prince Dlamini to

Pakistan in February and a return visit by a six-man trade mission from Pakistan earlier this month. The two countries agreed to further industrial cooperation and boost joint ventures in textiles." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, May 23, 1980, p. 21)

B(149)

Zambia - Manpower Training for Forestry: "Zambia's Forestry Department has reduced its expatriate manpower force by 90% due to the comprehensive training scheme assisted by the British Technical Aid Programme, and is looking forward to more aid." (AFRICAN BUSINESS, May 1980, p. 89)

B(150)

Zimbabwe - Nigerian Aid: Nigerian President Shehu Shagari has pledged more than US\$17 million to Zimbabwe for the purpose of establishing an institution for manpower training. The program will include training of Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe and in Nigeria. (FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE, SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, April 22, 1980, p. U5)

B(151)

Zimbabwe - Union Carbide to Build Technical College: "Work has started on a Z\$2.7 million (\$3.99 million) technical college at Que Que. The project, financed by Union Carbide Corporation of the UK, includes a workshop complex, laboratories, administration building, hostel for 120 students, community hall and sports facilities. Union Carbide will spend another Z\$1 million (\$1.44 million) on equipment and furnishing and the school is due to open in October 1982." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, June 6, 1980, p. 25)

B(152)

Zimbabwe - Ghanaian to Train Diplomats: "Ghanaian diplomat Ebenezer Debrah will

direct a five-week training course for Zimbabwe's first diplomats, the London-based Commonwealth Secretariat said recently. The Secretariat said the course, which is to start in Salisbury on May 13, was arranged after a call for assistance from Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. Some 40 officials picked to serve in Zimbabwe's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its first diplomatic missions abroad would take the course, covering law, international relations and economic activities." (CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, June 6, 1980, p. 9) B(153)

See also: B(135), B(136), B(166)

ENERGY

Malawi - Energy Boost: "The government's long-term energy development programme has been given a MK 11 million (\$13.5 million) boost by the International Development Association (IDA), the World Bank's affiliate for soft loan lending. The money will establish a national network of 88 nurseries to produce tree seedlings for smallholders. Several fuelwood and pole plantations are to be planted to meet world energy demand. The UN Development Programme (UNDP) also announced the appointment of key personnel to the forestry department of the Agriculture & Natural Resources Ministry. This department will set up an energy unit to explore alternative energy sources. Research into charcoal to expand production and marketing is scheduled. UNDP hopes to use some of the project's financing to meet the fuel needs of the low-income population, with 9,500 farmers receiving seeds for tree

planting." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, May 16, 1980, p. 24) B(154)

Malawi - IFC Loan for Ethanol Plant: "Malawi is to receive \$7.8m from the International Finance Corporation (IFC), a World Bank affiliate, to help build an ethanol fuel plant expected to start operations late in 1981....The plant would produce motor fuel from molasses from the Dwangwa Sugar Corporation, one of Malawi's two sugar-producing companies....The first phase of the plant would replace about 10% of Malawi's imported motor fuel. Local financial organizations and oil companies in Malawi will be shareholders in the venture." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, May 31, 1980, pp. 5518-19) See also: B(020) B(155)

Namibia - Power Supplies Attacked: "South West Africa was virtually blacked out twice in April as a result of attacks by SWAPO guerrillas on the Angolan border and the capital, Windhoek. On April 16th three pylons 30 miles south of the border, blown up by SWAPO just over two weeks previously, were rebuilt and restored to action. On April 20th they were blown up again.... Officials of the South West African Electricity and Water Board were afterwards wondering whether it was worthwhile repairing the damaged pylons at 10,000 rands (about £5,600) each or whether the territory should revert to relying on coal-fired power from its main power station near Windhoek." (IBID., p. 5509) See also: B(090) B(156)

Zimbabwe - Introduces Blend Petrol: According to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, "blend petrol is to be

introduced in Zimbabwe from the end of (May). Blend petrol will contain 15% ethanol, which is produced from locally grown sugar cane; 84% regular grade petrol; and 1% locally produced benzol ...As stocks of premium grade petrol in the hands of retailers are exhausted they will be replaced eventually with the blend, which will have the same octane rating. The production of such fuel in Zimbabwe will result in substantial savings of foreign exchange. It will also cushion the impact of future petroleum oil price changes." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, May 13, 1980, p. A2/4) B(157)

See also: B(127)

INDUSTRY & TRADE

Malawi: IFC Finances Hotel Expansion: "Two development institutions, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC), are joining Malawi investors and institutions in financing a major expansion of hotel facilities in Blantyre and Lilongwe. Malawi Hotels Limited, the largest hotel group in Malawi, is undertaking a \$6.9 million project that will provide urgently needed additional rooms to business, government and other travelers. In addition, the project will encourage the growth of individual and small group tourism in the country....The project will benefit the economy through estimated net foreign exchange benefits of \$4 million a year, by creating direct employment for 206 Malawians, and by generating additional, indirect employment through increased demand for

foodstuffs, handicrafts and a variety of other goods and services." (IFC PRESS RELEASE, no. 80/24, April 24, 1980, pp. 1-2) B(158)

Swaziland-Zambia - Trade Agreement: Swaziland and Zambia on February 28th signed a K1.5m. agreement for financing of trade between the two countries. The agreement...covers the importation of timber and asbestos from Swaziland to Zambia. Speaking at the signing ceremony, Mr. Kuhlase (General Manager of the Central Bank of Swaziland) said that although the agreement covers trade both ways, Zambia could not export any items to Swaziland for the time being. The agreement is to be renewed annually by the two central banks." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, March 31, 1980, p. 5424) B(159)

Zambia - Change in Equity Policy: The Zambian Government announced "a relaxation of the government's policy on equity participation. In some other countries government equity participation is around 15 percent while in Zambia the equity rate has been of the order of 40 to 50 percent, a factor which may have discouraged new investors." (STANDARD CHARTERED REVIEW, April 1980, p. 10) B(160)

Zimbabwe - New Bank: "The African Business Promotion Association has formed a Zimbabwe Consortium Bank. In a statement issued on March 21st the secretary of the organization said the bank has been created to assist emergent black African businessmen. He said the bank had also been formed to correct what he termed 'a one-sided beneficial economic structure that brought discon-

tent and resentment among the blacks.' Capital for the bank will be drawn from inside and outside the country and this should be in the region of \$30m-\$50m. He added that he was looking forward to outside assistance in the training of manpower to manage the banks." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, April 30, 1980, p. 5470) B(161)

Zimbabwe - Designated "Code 941": "The U.S. has declared Zimbabwe a "Code 941" country -- allowing it to supply materials and expertise for US aid projects elsewhere in the world. U.S. aid recipients have to buy materials and expertise from a pool of "designated" countries. Zimbabwe is the only "designated" country south of the Sahara and will be able to supply raw materials, equipment and services for any U.S. aid project in Africa....The US provides tens of millions of dollars in aid a year to Zimbabwe's neighbors. Zimbabwe is an important producer of cement and the industry has considerable spare capacity for exports. Fertiliser, seed grains and cattle could be exported for agricultural development projects...." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, May 16, 1980, pp. 26-27) B(162)

Zimbabwe - Nigerian Trade Mission: "Nigeria intends to open a commercial mission in her High Commission in Harare, Zimbabwe. Already the Committee of the House of Representatives has approved the proposal which is contained in the 1980 Appropriations Bill of the Ministry of Commerce. A total of 41,810 naira was earmarked for the mission. It is part of the vote of more than 14,000,000 naira for the Ministry of Commerce which the House Committee

approved (on May 12th)." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, May 20, 1980, p. A2/6) B(163)

See also: B(167)

LABOR & MANPOWER

Mozambique - Repatriation of Workers: "An organisation calling itself the Mozambican People's Association in Zimbabwe, aimed at reviving the economy and culture in Mozambique, is to be formed by that country's nationals living in Rhodesia. When established the association aims to bring national awareness and persuade semi-skilled and skilled workers of Mozambican origin to return home to help rebuild the country, which a spokesman for the organisation said 'has been destroyed by the last two wars.' Among other things the organisation will help repatriate destitute Mozambican nationals, who wish to return home, by paying their travelling expenses." (THE HERALD, Salisbury, April 2, 1980) B(164)

MEDICINE & HEALTH

World Bank Health Loans: The World Bank announced on March 21st its decision "to provide, for the first time, direct finance for health projects. This will be in addition to the support the Bank will continue to give to health activities as part of projects for other purposes, like rural and urban development, sewerage and water supply....The Bank's new lending program for health will begin initially with one project in

fiscal 1981 (July 1 to June 30) and expand to four or five projects annually by fiscal 1984. The projects will be designed to strengthen the primary health services of the countries being assisted and to improve access to basic health services for the poor. The Bank's expanded program will essentially complement the activities of the World Health Organisation (WHO)...." (WORLD BANK PRESS RELEASE, March 21, 1980, pp. 1-3) B(165)

Angola - Yugoslavian Training for Doctors: "Yugoslav specialists are to go to Luanda to train Angolan doctors in internal medicine, cardiology, pediatrics, laboratory analysis and surgery." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - POLITICAL, SOCIAL & CULTURAL SERIES, March 15, 1980, p. 5596) B(166)

Tanzania - New Pharmaceutical Plant: "The Shs48m national pharmaceutical plant in Arusha will go into production in mid-May after the raw materials arrive in Tanzania in April. The plant will initially meet 20% of the country's medicinal requirements, but this will rise to 50% when the plant is fully operational. The plant will make about 37 types of medicines including infusions. The raw materials will come from West Germany, Switzerland and Finland, as did machinery for the plant, which costs Shs16m and was secured through a loan from the East African Development Bank (EASD). At present there are two government-owned pharmaceutical plants in Tanzania and one which is privately owned. The country currently spends Shs 200m a year on medicine imports." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, April 30, 1980, p. 5486) B(167)

NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Botswana - Economy Boost from Diamond Trade: "The rapid growth of Botswana's diamond industry is steadily transforming the country's economic position. Since independence in 1966 the principal economic resource has been cattle, with 80 percent of the population dependent on income from beef production. Last year, Botswana's diamond exports of BP 179 million (\$230.97 million) accounted for 51 percent of the country's total exports of BP340 million (\$438.71 million). In 1980 they are expected to contribute even a larger share of exports with the increased production at the Orapa and Letlhakane mines. The result boosted Botswana's foreign exchange revenues to BP208 million (\$268.39 million) at the end of 1979, and greatly strengthened the national currency, which last September was revalued for the second time by 5 percent against the US dollar, against which it was initially pegged...." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, May 30, 1980, p. 4) B(168)

"Falconbridge Exploration has discovered significant deposits of Kimberlite in the Kalahari Desert of Botswana, close to the border with Namibia. The company has drilled about 300 ft in the central southern part of the country making several discoveries of the rock which is the host rock for diamonds." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, May 31, 1980, p. 5517) B(169)

TRANSPORT & TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Trans-African Highway Project: The ECA has launched a highway project across Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana, called the Cairo-Gaborone Highway, as part of its trans-African highway program. (WEST AFRICA, May 5, 1980, p. 787) B(170)

Angola - Lobito Railway Open: "The director of the Benguela Railway, Fernando Falcao, is reported as saying the railway from Zambia through Zaire to the Atlantic port of Lobito is now open. He said thousands of tons of manganese have been sent along the line from Zaire in the past few months." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, May 16, 1980, p. 23) See also: B(118) B(171)

Botswana-Zimbabwe Air Link: "Botswana and Zimbabwe are to have air links from 1 July....A provisional timetable indicates that flights will be on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and will link Gaborone, Selebi Pikwe, Francistown and Bulawayo." (IBID., June 6, 1980, p. 21) B(172)

Botswana - Takes Charge of Railroad: "Botswana is about to take charge of its railway system, until now administered by Rhodesia (according to the Public Works Minister). The lines link Botswana to South Africa, Rhodesia and Zambia. The changeover would cost an estimated \$24.6m. Local engine drivers are currently training in Malawi, 40 technicians are on courses in Kenya, and 18 Botswanans have completed training and are working on the Botswana section of Rhodesia Railways." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, April 30, 1980,

p. 5485) See also: SADEX, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 43, "Botswana-Transport." B(173)

Mozambique - New Shipping Line Formed: "Mozambique is forming a new state-owned shipping line to handle the trade of landlocked countries on the southern African sub-continent. Empresa Mozambicana de Navagacao will replace the line disbanded after the end of Portuguese rule in the country." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, June 6, 1980, p. 22) B(174)

Mozambique-Zambia Road Link: "A road between Zambia and Mozambique which is expected to be completed this year, will secure an important outlet to the sea for Zambia through Beira port in Mozambique. The 175-km road links Bene in Tete Province in north-west Mozambique to Katete in the east of Zambia. Four bridges on the Mozambique side have already been erected, and only 47km of the 120km inside Mozambique have still to be tarred." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, April 15, 1980, p. A2/5) B(175)

Zambia - World Bank and IDA Loan for Railways: "Zambia will receive \$40 million from the World Bank and...the International Development Association (IDA) for a project to improve its railways. The World Bank will lend \$25 million and IDA \$15 million to the Government of Zambia, which will make the funds available to the Zambia Railways Board....The total cost of the project, estimated at \$184.3 million, will be met in part by funds provided by other international agencies and countries. The African Development Bank will provide \$9.7 million; the European Economic Community's (EEC) Special

Action Account will expend a credit of \$5 million; Japan will provide \$16.3 million; the Kreditanstalt fur Wiederaufbau, \$23.3 million; the OPEC Special Fund, \$4.5 million; the EEC, \$8.4 million; and the Swedish International Development Authority, \$13 million. The Zambia Railways Board will contribute about \$50 million to the cost of the project. The World Bank loan of \$25 million to the Government of Zambia is for a term of 20 years, including five years of grace, with 7.95% interest per year. The IDA and EEC Special Action Account credits are for 50 years, with 10 years of grace, with no interest except for a service charge of 3/4 of 1% per annum to cover administrative costs." (WORLD BANK PRESS RELEASE, no. 80/93 and IDA NEWS RELEASE, no. 80/68, May 15, 1980) B(176)

Mozambique-Swaziland Telephone Links: "Maputo Radio...said that on 28th April an automatic telephone service would come into operation between Mozambique and Swaziland." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, May 13, 1980, p. 3/1) See also: SADEX, Vol. 1, no. 1, p. 23, "Swaziland-Mozambique Direct Telex." B(177)

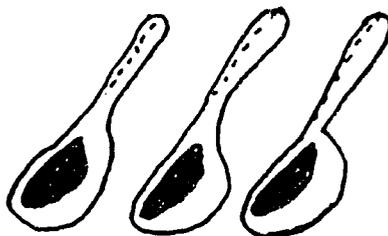
Malawi - Japanese Aid for Telephone System: "The Malawi Government and the Nippon Electric Company (Japan) have concluded a 473m yen (\$1.9m) loan agreement to finance the installation of

an international gateway telephone exchange in Malawi, to help boost the efficiency of Malawi's international telephone service....The Japanese company will undertake the installation work in co-operation with Mitsui, another Japanese firm." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, April 30, 1980, p. 5485) B(178)

WATER SUPPLY

Lesotho - Water Projects: "The African Development Bank (AfDB) is lending Lesotho AfUA 6 million (\$7.5 million) towards the \$11.4 million Maqalkika water project for Maseru....Construction is due to start at the beginning of 1981 and be completed within 21 months.... The UN's FAO has also approved a \$9.7 million aid project for soil and water conservation." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, May 23, 1980, p. 20) B(179)

Swaziland - U.S. Water Research: "A nine-man team from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers arrived in Swaziland on 10 June for an eight-week visit during which it will complete an outline plan for the development of water resources. The US Agency for International Development (USAID) has provided a grant of \$235,000 to assist the project." (IBID., June 20, 1980, p. 25) B(180)



DEVELOPMENT INFORMATION & RESOURCE CENTERS

Organizations profiled in this section cover various countries and sectors.

INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

Country Representative
P.O. Box 1357
Gaborone, Botswana

Country Representative
P.O. Box 1318
Maseru, Lesotho

Country Representative
P.O. 1534
Mbabane, Swaziland

"The Institute of Development Management was established in 1974 to meet the mid-career and senior management training needs of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland and to undertake research, consultancy and public education related to training and development generally. It operates under the direction of a Governing Board composed of representatives from the governments, universities and industry of each country in the region" (Prospectus, 1980). Training emphasis is on the provision of intensive, short-term courses in specialized fields, including: general administration and management; personnel management; finance management; education administration; health care administration; and industrial and commercial management. IDM also responds to specific training needs within individual ministries, industries and organizations. The Regional Office is based in Gaborone, although courses and other services are available in all three countries; the shortage of classroom facilities in Lesotho and Swaziland will be overcome shortly with construction of facilities underway (see Development Information Briefs, B(144).

UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI LIBRARY

P.O. Box 280
Zomba, Malawi

Founded in 1965, the Library currently holds some 130,000 books and includes among its periodical collection the major English-language development-oriented journals. Since 1977, the Library has been a repository for UN and ECA documents, and for World Bank publications. In addition to the regular Accessions List, the Library irregularly produces three useful "current awareness" indexes to current English-language articles in periodicals received by the Library, entitled: Development List; Economics of Development; and Development and Education (see Bibliographic Section, S(1478). A Malawi Library Association Certificate Course for Library Assistants has been conducted by the University's Training Librarian since 1978/79.

BOOK REVIEW SECTION

The Rossing File: The Inside Story of Britain's Secret Contract for Namibian Uranium, by Alun Roberts. London, Campaign Against the Namibian Contracts (CANUC), 1980. 68 pp., map, illus.

In 1977, the Campaign Against the Namibian Contracts (CANUC) was formed as an activist research group to campaign (in conjunction with the Namibian Support Committee, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and the Haslemere Group) against the continuation of British government contracts with the British-based transnational mining giant, Rio Tinto-Zinc (RTZ), for importation of uranium from Namibia. The Rossing File is a result of this research effort by CANUC, based upon information "obtained under strict security measures." It includes photographs and interviews with a black laborer at Rossing and a journalist that attempt to document "the miserable conditions at the Rossing mine, the vicious application of South Africa's apartheid principles, and the major health hazard from low-level radiation at the mine, which are likely to damage Namibia's future for many generations." The force of this slim volume is that these conditions are linked to a total disregard by Britain of United Nations decrees that call on all UN member states to refrain from any dealings with South Africa's illegal administration.

Though the British government is said to maintain that its contract with RTZ will actually benefit a future independent government of Namibia, the author holds this to be a self-serving justification that reflects vested interest above all else. In the section entitled "The Rossing Mine," he argues that Rossing is in effect an exploitative operation that actively contributes to the underdevelopment of the territory.

Roberts highlights the roles played by current Foreign Minister Lord Carrington (a Director of RTZ for five years during the Conservative Party's opposition in Parliament), former Labor Foreign Minister and ex-Prime Minister James Callaghan, and Labor Minister of Technology in the Wilson government Tony Benn, as the main cast of characters responsible for the continuity of British policy on this issue. The issue itself is also seen as placing Britain in a particularly compromising position vis-à-vis Southern Africa, particularly at a time when London is engaged in multilateral negotiations to gain acceptance of the UN Plan for the independence of Namibia.

The timing of this booklet is important, coming as it does in the wake of plaudits for the successful Thatcher-Carrington brinkmanship performance on Zimbabwe (after which Carrington made it

clear there would not be a repeat performance with regard to Namibia). Now that Namibia is next in line on the Southern Africa liberation agenda, more such exposes can be expected on the conflicts of interest between Western governments which are involved in the Namibian settlement process and Western transnationals operating in the illegally occupied territory. The Rossing File is a harbinger of things to come.

The World Bank and the Poor, by Aart van de Laar. Boston, Martinus Nijhoff Publishing, 1980. 269 pp.

This book is a careful, insider's study of the World Bank (IBRD) and its related institutions, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the International Development Association (IDA). However, rather than focusing strictly on the Bank and its operations, the author opts to examine the Bank in the larger context of world economic development since World War II. The result is a critical, albeit low key, appraisal of the Bank that spans the period of its growth and evolution.

By using this approach, the author intends to "provide background material on the external environment within which the World Bank has to function, and on the pressures with which it has to cope if it is to stay assured of its finances and thus of its survival." From this perspective, the author asserts that "it (is) especially difficult for the Bank to lend to small, unstable and poor countries," leaving the IDA (which was established precisely to deal with these

countries) caught with increasing numbers of eligible clients and decreasing funds due to falling official development aid (ODA).

In his study of the IDA, the author includes a section which looks at the Bank's relationship to the United Nations as a whole, and concludes that the "diversification of Bank Group activities contributed to the disintegration of the UN system." He presents a particularly good analysis of the failure of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in channeling funds to "preinvestment projects," and of the World Bank's co-optation of other UN agencies to provide "services to the Bank." The end result is that "within the United Nations, the Bank -- under firm control of the developed countries -- has taken over leadership in the field of development because it is the only agency with a de facto investment function."

Van de Laar significantly increases the scope of his study through an examination of the Bank's staff, detailing their origins, ranking, and above all, the difference in recruitment patterns from that of other UN agencies. He finds that the "Bank has made very limited progress towards internationalising the composition of its staff, particularly at higher levels."

In Part II, van de Laar covers various aspects of what a new deployment of Bank resources could entail given the objectives of employment and income-distribution strategies. He first concentrates on post-war economic development in LDCs, sharply disagreeing with UN and World Bank statistics on the

rate of poverty growth. This is particularly important in view of the Bank's decision to use the incidence of poverty as a criterion for future re-allocation of financial resources.

A lengthy, in-depth study of small farmers (the group chosen as the Bank's major target among the poor) follows, concentrating on the impact of past projects on this group. The case studies, including land reform and other related issues, essentially serve to answer the question of whether the Bank can execute its new objectives vis-à-vis the poor, given traditional interests and the continuing political problem of dependence on major donors. He believes that if this approach within countries is judged less effective, "the case for a reallocation between countries, with the Bank focusing on sectors of comparative advantage, is reinforced."

The final chapter focuses on the organizational setting in which Bank decisions are made and on how this affects its re-orientation towards the poor. For the author, "if the record of international development has proved disappointing in a number of respects, there is an obvious need to re-examine premises and practices of past development efforts by UN agencies."

In his concluding remarks, van de Laar stresses the impact on the Bank of some LDCs now being able to borrow on international capital markets, and the progressive weakening of IDA given the rise of regional development banks, both developments having led to a diffusion of influence.

Overall, this book is a serious addition to the growing debate on

'development' diplomacy,' especially through its systematic study of the evolution of the IBRD and related institutions. It is, however, best recommended to those familiar with the subject.

The Political Economy of Botswana: A Study of Growth and Distribution, by Christopher Colclough & Steven McCarthy. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980. 298 pp., illus., maps, bibl.

Colclough and McCarthy have pooled their years of advisory and planning experience in Botswana to produce an eminently useful and readable "politico-economic history" of the country, with an emphasis on the post-colonial period. Their particular concern, however, is not simply the growth of the economy but the factors which have resulted in the disproportionate distribution of the benefits of growth among its population. The analysis is professional in both content and style, and provides a wealth of information. Themes are introduced and carefully woven together, with events, personalities and good fortune all assuming their proper roles. All come together under the authors' thoughtful scrutiny in the concluding recommendations for a significant shift in policy in the future.

Two key elements in the dynamics of the economy are introduced from the outset in the context of an historical overview: the role of cattle, and the country's relationship to South Africa. Cattle have been and still are at the base of Botswana society and economy but, although their distribution has always been unequal, events over the past 100 years have progressively

shifted possession of cattle into fewer and fewer hands. The colonial introduction of taxation was one such event, necessitating the sale of cattle for currency to pay taxes; recurring drought was and continues to be another. Colonial taxation equally affected relations with South Africa, in this case involving exchange of labor for currency, and establishing a pattern of labor migration. In the historical context of evolving political relations with South Africa, the earlier personal and political influence of President Sir Seretse Khama is of interest.

By way of further overview and background, the book takes a specific look at the more recent political and economic changes of the past two decades, first describing the formation and current position of the various political parties, both with respect to the traditional authority structure and with each other, then turning to a review of the country's political position and foreign policy with respect to the Southern African region.

Two subsequent chapters provide summary review of economic growth and government expenditure data, while introducing the critical role of the government as another key element in shaping the economy, both in the past as well as in future. Although the growth of the mining sector is taken up in more detail later on, its significance in boosting the GDP is noted with caution as it can directly provide jobs for less than 6-8% of the labor force and can only, according to the authors, be of real benefit if "the Government uses its share of the surplus generated by mining to create self-sustaining livelihoods

for large numbers of people." In the pattern of government expenditure, past emphasis on urban investment is seen as contributing to an uneven economic growth pattern, although emphasis has shifted somewhat towards rural development in recent years.

The remaining substantive portion of the book is devoted to in-depth examination of the agriculture sector; mining and industry; labor migration and employment; education and vocational training programs; and finally institutions and infra-structure. The detailed focus on the agricultural sector further underscores the significance of cattle, not only to personal wealth and security, but as a means of undertaking arable production as well. The discussion of the mining sector is also particularly interesting in its comparative examination of the Orapa and Selebi-Phikwe mines -- both undertaken in an attempt to diversify the economy and reduce external dependence, but both, ironically, tying the country even more closely to South Africa and its mining conglomerates.

In conclusion, the base of Botswana's economic growth is viewed as fragile: "The economy itself now stands on two legs -- livestock and minerals." In view of the distribution of the benefits of that growth as well as the country's vulnerability to events in the region, the authors recommend a rather different strategy than that followed to date -- a strategy directed toward greater self-sufficiency and the creation of productive opportunities for the mass of the population. "The agricultural sector...presents the major set of opportunities for the future."

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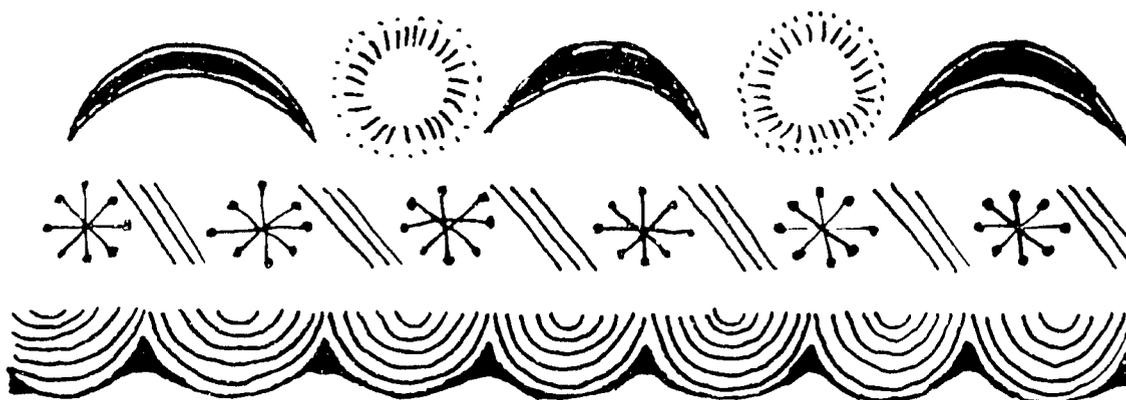
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AUTHOR INDEX

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- AED: Africa Economic Digest, 1471, 1669
Africa, 1634
Africa Business & Economic Review, 1470,
1473, 1474, 1639
Africa Confidential, 1550, 1656, 1687
Africa News, 1540, 1576, 1686
Africa Research Bulletin - Economic,
Financial & Technical Series, 1541,
1572, 1654, 1657
Africa Research Bulletin - Political,
Social & Cultural Series, 1655
African Business, 1472, 1510, 1679
African Communist, 1506
African Index, 1684
- Baptista, Jose, 1511, 1556
Barclays Bank of Swaziland, Ltd., 1609
Barthold, Wolfgang Schneider, 1579
Belfiglio, Valentine J., 1580
Bender, G.J., 1517
Berg, L., 1615
Botswana. Central Statistics Office,
1524
Botswana. Ministry of Finance and
Development Planning, 1525
Branaman, Brenda M., 1581
The Brandt Commission, 1475
Brandt, Hartmut, 1582
Breytenbach, W.J., 1610
Bryant, Coralie, 1636
- Bulletin of the Africa Institute of
South Africa, 1515
Butcher, Goler T., 1503, 1660
Bwatwa, Yosiah D.M., 1616
- Carver, Richard, 1504
Castanheira, Narciso, 1557
Chaliand, Gerard, 1505
Chideya, N.T., 1662
Chiposa, Sylvester, 1637
Collier, P., 1617
Commonwealth Currents, 1476
Crosby, Cynthia A., 1547
- D'Adesky, Jacques, 1477
Daniel, Philip, 1638
David, Luis, 1561
Decke, Bettina, 1518
De Jager, Thea, 1535
Development and Education, 1478
Dhlamini, S.Z.S., 1611
Diallo, Siradiou, 1479
Dock, A.W., 1663
Doyle, M.V., 1586
Du Buisson, M., 1587
Due, Jean M., 1619
Du Jonchay, Yvan, 1480
- Eckert, Jerry, 1536, 1537
The Economist, 1685

Egner, E.B., 1526
 Ellman, Paul, 1664
 Elwell, H.A., 1665
 Enahoro, Peter, 1620
Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa,
 1599
 Eresund, Pia, 1621
 Ergas, Zecki, 1622
Europe, 1661

The Farmer, 1666
 Fauvet, Paul, 1519
 Francis, M., 1527
Frontline, 1593

 Gebhardt, F.B., 1588
 George, Emmett, 1640
 Germany (FR). Statistisches
 Bundesamt, 1548
 Gordon, Robert, 1589
 Grundy, Trevor, 1667

 Hanlon, Joseph, 1562
 Hendrikz, Elizabeth, 1668
 Henriksen, Thomas H., 1591
 Hoadley J. Stephen, 1481
 Hogberg, Gene H., 1592
 Holm, John D., 1528
 Honey, Martha, 1563
 Hultman, Tami, 1538, 1539
 Hyden, Goran, 1623

Industrial Zambia, 1644, 1658
 Isaacman, Allen, 1564
 Isaacman, Barbara, 1564

 Jackson, David, 1549
 Jackson, Robert, 1670
 Jacobs, Alan H., 1624
 Jacobs, Gloria, 1595
Jeune Afrique, 1520

 Kann, Ulla, 1529, 1530
 Kaunda, Kenneth, 1482

 Kerven, C., 1531
 Kidd, Charles Vincent, 1483
 Kiss, Judit, 1484
 Klausen, A.L., 1526
 Kossoudji, S., 1532
 Kostinko, Gail, 1507
 Kramer, Reed, 1538, 1539

 Leu, Christopher A., 1596
 Lewin, Hugh, 1508
 Lewis, G., 1641
 Leys, Roger, 1542
 Lopes, Arlindo, 1565, 1566, 1567
 Lundeen, Alisa, 1631

 Machel, Samora, 1568
 Malet, Roland, 1522
 Malinga, Phineas, 1485
 Matatu, Godwin, 1569
 Mattelart, Armand, 1570
 Mboma, Ne, 1571
 McClain, W.T., 1642
 Meister, Ulrich, 1643
 Michael, Ian, 1551
Mining and Engineering, 1671
 Moeller, Philip W., 1645
 Moose, Richard M., 1503, 1660
 Mtewa, Mekki, 1486
 Mueller, E., 1532
 Murray, Colin, 1543
 Murray, Roger, 1533, 1597
 Mvunga, Mphanza P., 1646
 Mwanamwamba, Catherine, 1647
 Mwanza, Jacob M., 1648

 Nag, Prithvish, 1649
 Nankani, Gobindram T., 1487
 Ndege, William, 1552
New African, 1546, 1574, 1585, 1635
New Internationalist, 1618
 Nicholson, Sharon E., 1488
 Nyerere, Julius K., 1489

 Osborne, Oliver H., 1534

Pena, Areosa, 1511
 Pillet-Schwartz, Anne-Marie, 1625
 Poulter, Sebastian, 1544
 Presidential Commission on World Hunger,
 1492

 Roberts, R.S., 1673
 Roberts, William, 1553
 Robson, M., 1663
 Rodrigues, Sara, 1600

 Sabot, Richard H., 1626
 Salvador, J., 1601
 Samaha, E., 1627
 Schuftan, Claudio, 1628
The Seiler Report, 1513, 1514, 1594,
 1659
 Shields, Nwanganga, 1629
 Shreeve, Gavin, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677
 Sibanda, M.J.M., 1662
 Singer, Philip, 1493
 Singh, Chandra Pal, 1630
 Sketchley, Peter, 1577
 Smiley, Xan, 1678
 Smit, P., 1602
 Smith-Gillespie, Robert, 1494
 Snodgrass, Donald R., 1495
 Soudan, Francois, 1523, 1603, 1650
South Africa Digest, 1583
South Africa Foundation News, 1681
Southern Africa, 1512, 1573, 1608
Spectrum SWA/Namibia, 1584, 1604
 Ssempebwa, E.F., 1651
 Stanley, Joyce, 1631

 Stevens, Christopher, 1680
 Stoever, William A., 1652
 Swaziland, 1612, 1613

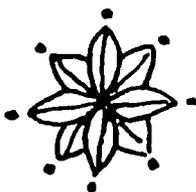
 Tanzania, 1632
 Tanzania. Board of Internal Trade, 1633
TCDC News, 1496
Tempo, 1509, 1516, 1521, 1554, 1555,
 1558, 1559, 1560, 1575, 1688
 Tesha, Nancy, 1621
 Thatcher, Gary, 1605
 Titus, Elizabeth, 1493
 Tumwine-Mukubwa, G., 1653

U.N. Chronicle, 1590, 1598
 United Nations, 1606
 Universidade Eduardo Mondlane. Centro
 de Estudos Africanos, 1578
 U.S. House. Subcommittee on Africa, 1497
 U.S. Treaties, 1614

 Van de Laar, Aart, 1498,
 Van de Wall-Bake, Titia, 1535
 Virone, Luigi Edoardo, 1499

West Africa, 1490
 Woldering, Klaas, 1607
 Wolfson, Margaret, 1500
 Woodard, Susan P., 1501
 Wykstra, Ronald A., 1536, 1537, 1545

 Zimbabwe. Central Statistical Office,
 1682
 Zimbabwe. Scientific Liaison Office, 1683



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