



International Conference

**THE BUSINESS OF WORLDMAKING:
NEW PERSPECTIVES ON LIMINAL ACTORS IN
POSTCOLONIAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION**

Koper, 19–20 September 2024

PROGRAMME AND ABSTRACTS



SCIENCE AND RESEARCH CENTRE KOPER
Institute for Historical Studies
ZNANSTVENO-RAZISKOVALNO SREDIŠČE KOPER
Inštitut za zgodovinske študije



UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA
Research Platform Transformations and Eastern Europe

International Conference
**THE BUSINESS OF WORLDMAKING: NEW
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DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION**

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KOPER 2024

**International Conference THE BUSINESS OF WORLDMAKING: NEW
PERSPECTIVES ON LIMINAL ACTORS IN POSTCOLONIAL DEVELOPMENT
COOPERATION**

Programme and Abstracts

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ZECCO in 1978. Photo credit Stephen Heptinstall

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ABOUT THE CONFERENCE

Governments in Africa, Asia and South America, most of which achieved political independence in the decades following World War Two, forged a whole set of transnational developmental entanglements, with the aim of breaking with the unidirectionality of development thinking and practice that underpinned (neo)colonial dependencies and capital-led globalization. In the context of contending global visions of modernity, 'lagging behind' could be turned into an advantage, with newly independent countries evaluating and employing resources from various partners. In recent years, scholars have opened exciting new vistas for theorizing such alternative spaces of globalization, by highlighting cooperation in the frames of communist support for decolonization, socialist internationalism, and horizontal links between postcolonial states. Popularized by authors such as Łukasz Stanek and Adom Getachew, the concept of worldmaking has proven particularly fruitful to encompass the wealth of simultaneous and often competing practices of transnational collaboration in the peripheries during the Cold War.

Seeking to move beyond a focus on former colonial Metropoles and Cold War superpowers, and zooming in on peripheral modernization projects, this conference investigates the 'in-between' instances of economic cooperation in the self-professed developing countries in Africa, Asia, and South America. The conference primarily focuses on those dynamic players in the postcolonial world which circumvented the habitual East-West and North-South cleavages and presented themselves as: 1) neutral (e.g. Austria, Sweden, Ireland), 2) non-aligned (e.g. Yugoslavia, India, Egypt), 3) pursuing more independent socialist course (e.g. Romania, Cuba, China), 4) allegedly not sharing the colonial past with other Western European nations (e.g. West Germany, Italy), or 5) successfully 'catching up' with the most developed nations (e.g. Japan, Israel, South Korea). While not excluding examples of Cold War superpowers and former colonial metropolises' inserting themselves into this newly emerging multidirectional development consensus the conference focuses on the above described, liminal examples of bilateral collaboration, particularly contributions emphasizing tri- and multilateral efforts between 'East', 'South' and 'West'.

We further aim to advance the state of the art in the field by inspecting how the visions of worldmaking were applied to the concrete experiences on the ground. The bulk of research looking at economic worldmaking in the Global South thus far focused on instances of collaborations in architecture and civil engineering, such as housing stock, dams, steelworks, etc. Although illuminating expert mobility and transfer of know-how, the joint work on such turnkey projects was usually of relatively short duration while their market position of natural monopolies often implied predictable economic and social impact. Moving beyond a focus on large-scale infrastructure projects, the conference includes papers stemming from new empirically informed research on more sustained, uncertain and consumer-oriented transnational cooperation in manufacturing, agriculture, mining, transport, etc. We want to illustrate unconventional attempts of converging national economies through long-term technological cooperation operationalised in the form of joint-ventures with (para)statal companies, shared production, or joint export schemes, independently from the dominant multinational companies.

CONFERENCE ORGANISED BY



Science and Research Centre Koper, Institute for Historical Studies, Slovenia



University of Vienna, Research Platform for the Study of Transformations
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PROGRAMME COMMITTEE

Goran MUSIĆ
Jure RAMŠAK
Immanuel HARISCH
Anna CALORI
Rory ARCHER

PROGRAMME

International Conference

THE BUSINESS OF WORLDMAKING: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON LIMINAL ACTORS IN POSTCOLONIAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

Koper, 19th–20th September 2024

THURSDAY, 19th September 2024

10:00–10:30

Opening remarks

Rado Pišot (Director of the Science and Research Centre Koper)

Egon Pelikan (Head of the Institute for Historical Studies of the Science
and Research Centre Koper)

Jure Ramšak (Conference organizer, Science and Research Centre Koper)

Goran Musić (Conference organizer, University of Vienna)

10:30–11:30

Keynote lecture

Marie Huber (Philipps-University of Marburg): *Words, Worlds, and the
Problem of Knowledge: Why a Site-Specific and Epistemic Approach Matters
for Postcolonial Business History*

11:30–12:00

Coffee break

12:00–13:30

Panel 1: Shock of the Global

Chair: **Paul Stubbs**

Geraldine Sibanda (University of the Free State): *'Economic Self-Reliance' That Never Was: The Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development (ZIMCORD) and the Genesis of Zimbabwe's Debt Problem*

Massimiliano Trentin & Saverio Leopardi (University of Bologna & University of Padua): *MENA Countries and the Making of Financial Global Orders*

Carl Marklund (University of Jyväskylä & Södertörn University): *Mini-NIEO: From Southern Africa to Northern Europe*

Discussion

13:30–15:00

Lunch

15:00–16:30

Panel 2: Liminal Actors

Chair: **Borut Klabjan**

Claudia Martínez Hernández (University of Vienna): *Youth/Internationalist Brigades from Cuba: Angola and Nicaragua*

Clarence Chongo (University of Zambia): *Czechoslovak Arms, Zambia and Southern African Liberation Movements*

Lucile Dreidemy (University of Vienna): *Austria's "Like-Minded" Politics of Development Cooperation (1960s–1980s)*

Discussion

16:30–17:00

Coffee break

17:00–18:30

Panel 3: Healthcare and the Pharmaceutical Sector

Chair: **Jelena Đureinović**

Peter Q. Wright (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign): *Healthcare Multilateralism: Rethinking National Healthcare Systems between the WHO and the Non-Aligned Movement*

Jure Ramšak (Science and Research Centre Koper): *The Kenyan Parastatal, a Few Yugoslav Experts, Two European Development Agencies, and a Variety of Interests: the Dawa Pharmaceutical Factory in Nairobi*

Andrea Azizi Kifyasi (University of Dar es Salaam): *Finland and China's Assistance to Tanzania's Self-Reliance Agenda: The Case of State-Owned Pharmaceutical Industries, 1960s–1990s*

Discussion

19:00

Dinner

FRIDAY, 20th September 2024

10:00–11:30

Panel 4: Agro-Industrial Cooperation

Chair: **Marie Huber**

Dolly Afoumba (Philipps-University of Marburg): *The Active Contribution of the African Diaspora to the Sustainable Development of African Countries: Focus on the Agri-food Sector*

Aleksandar Životić (University of Belgrade): *Business and Technology Transfer in Yugoslav-Iraqi Relations: the Case of the Dudgeila Agro-Industrial Complex (1976–1982) – Yugoslav Intentions and Iraqi Perceptions*

Anna Calori (University of Glasgow): *Cultivating development. Non-Aligned Agro-Industrial Programmes in Zambia and Yugoslavia*

Discussion

11:30–12:00

Coffee break

12:00–13:00

Keynote lecture

Marjan Svetličič (University of Ljubljana): *South-South Cooperation: Business or Politics?*

13:00–14:30

Lunch

14:30–16:00

Panel 5: New Forms of Investments

Chair: **Valentina Fava**

Jan Koura (Charles University): *Leveraging East and West: Ghana's Postcolonial Industrial Transformation Exemplified by the Komenda Sugar Mill Joint Venture*

Bungaya Mayo (Mkwawa University College of Education): *Expatriation and Africanisation in the Textile Industry in Tanzania during the Socialist Era, 1960s–1980s*

Immanuel R. Harisch (University of Vienna): *The United Bus Company of Zambia (UBZ) and the Difficulties of a 'Non-Aligned' Fleet from Yugoslavia, the UK, West Germany and India, 1970s and 80s*

Discussion

16:00–16:30

Coffee break

16:30–18:00

Panel 6: Constructions and Cultures

Chair: **Nina Vodopivec**

Paul Sprute (Leibniz Institute for Research on Society and Space (IRS): *Myths and Materialities of Julius Berger's Worldmaking in Nigeria*

Goran Musić (University of Vienna): *Zambian Engineering and Construction Company (ZECCO): The Rise and Fall of a Non-Aligned Corporation*

Rory Archer (University of Vienna): *Yugoslav Masculinities and Worldmaking in Postcolonial Zambia*

Discussion

18:00–19:00
Final discussion

19.30
Dinner

ABSTRACTS

'ECONOMIC SELF-RELIANCE' THAT NEVER WAS: THE ZIMBABWE CONFERENCE ON RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT (ZIMCORD) AND THE GENESIS OF ZIMBABWE'S DEBT PROBLEM

Geraldine SIBANDA

University of the Free State in Bloemfontein

This article uses the forgotten Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development (ZIMCORD) of 1981, as a window of analysis into examining the making of the country's postcolonial debt crisis. In December 2022, Zimbabwe began implementing yet another debt clearance strategy this time dubbed the Arrears Clearance, Debt Relief, and Restructuring Strategy underwritten by former President of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, and African Development Bank (AfDB) President Akinwumi Adesina to clear Zimbabwe's US\$8.3 billion external debt. A central conditionality imposed on the government, supposedly, for the success of the debt strategy is the unjust compensation of white farmers following Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Program of the 2000s. Ironically, however, the conditionality immediately imposes a new (additional) debt burden of US\$3.5 billion for compensation of white farmers. Zimbabwe's never-ending debt predicament demonstrates three things. Firstly, that borrowing countries in the global south have limited control over their debt borrowing and repayment patterns, in the face of the powerful and all-knowing Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs). Secondly that at the centre of debt creation in the global South are international institutions, particularly, the BWIs who are the gatekeepers of international finance. Finally, that the development discourse remains firmly entrenched in protecting and expanding the interests of empire.

This essay examines the process of debt accumulation in Zimbabwe and the role of international institutions in that accumulation. It historicizes the genesis of Zimbabwe's debt crisis while making the connection between debt, development and the perpetuation of imperial interests disguised in the evolution of the development discourse. It uses the ZIMCORD, a donors' conference meant to generate "development resources" for "reconstruction", to show how the development discourse contributed to the making of postcolonial debt distress characteristic of African postcolonial states. ZIM-

CORD was deeply embedded in the prevailing “third world” development drive pursued by international institutions in the first to third development decades (1960-1990). By focusing on ZIMCORD and historicising key thinking informing the development discourse in Africa hinged on the absolute necessity of “development resources” as a precursor to development, “third world” countries like Zimbabwe, were cajoled into a series of debt which countries have failed to clear to this day. Using sources from the archives of five international institutions, three Parliaments and two national archives, the paper traces the ZIMCORD through the lens of external players involved in its various processes thereby providing new information concerning the conference while revealing the stronghold of international institutions on newly independent countries thereby creating debt crises. The economic self-reliance drive preferred by these countries, at the time, was dwarfed by the need to conform to the evolving “third world” development drive. The article concludes that ZIMCORD contributed significantly to Zimbabwe’s current debt distress crisis.

MENA COUNTRIES AND THE MAKING OF FINANCIAL GLOBAL ORDERS

Massimiliano TRENTIN & Francesco Saverio LEOPARDI

University of Bologna & University of Padua

In the 1960s and 1970s, post-colonial countries turned to the United Nations, and its relevant agencies, as the main venue where to voice and struggle for the making of a new financial and trade international order. The establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) represented a key step in this direction. Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) countries, for instance Algeria and Egypt, played a prominent role as testified by the Algerian contribution for the advancement of the agenda for a New International Economic Order. Focusing on the debate held at UNCTAD on financial matters and debt resolution, this paper will illustrate the discourses and positions maintained by key MENA actors aimed at setting a more equitable framework for financial relations and debt repayment.

While assessing the successes and shortcomings of MENA countries efforts at UNCTAD, this paper will also tackle the evolution of those countries' policies towards debt negotiations and resolution in the following years. Authorities in MENA countries, alongside other governments in post-colonial states, not only participated in alternative processes of global economic restructuring in the first decades after independence. They also actively integrated neoliberal globalization when it became clear that if such wider process could not be stopped, it could at least be governed. Specifically, the paper will look at the Algerian case by scrutinizing how local authorities navigated financial turbulence and exploited neoliberal tenets of transformation for the sake of political survival. This perspective will allow to highlight how supposedly peripheral states integrated hegemonic economic order on their own terms instead of simply being passively included.

MINI-NIEO: FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA TO NORTHERN EUROPE

Carl MARKLUND

University of Jyväskylä & Södertörn University

The failure of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) in the early 1980s represented a backlash to the so-called small state doctrine guiding Swedish – and to a lesser extent, Scandinavian – ambitions regarding relations with the Global South. However, it also spelled a wave of initiatives from the Nordic countries (Scandinavia including Finland) in exploring new forms of developmental and economic collaboration with prospective partners in the Global South. While the failure of the NIEO has been largely interpreted as the triumph of neoliberal globalization, heralding the “lost decade” of development of the 1980s, its key message as interpreted by an influential generation of development officers, career diplomats, policy experts, party politicians and civil society representatives continued to reverberate long after its demise, not the least in the Nordic countries where the so-called Nordic model of welfare came under pressure as the global economy entered into crisis.

This paper is divided into two parts. The first part explores how the shock of the global in the early 1970s – especially the resource crunch caused by the oil crisis – generated a vast array of development, economic, public and science diplomacy initiatives – visits, exchanges, partnerships, and trade agreements, but also knowledge production projects – seeking to establish bilateral and multilateral partnerships between Sweden and a selection of progressive states across the Global South during the late 1970s. The second part discusses a specific case, illustrating the joint attempt by the Nordic countries to recast future North-South relations by launching a closer collaboration between Southern Africa and Northern Europe under the aegis of an already existing inter-regional cooperative forum – the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) – established between the so-called Frontline states of Southern Africa and the Nordic Council during the early 1980s. The stated purpose of this first example of macroregional cooperation project between a region in Northern Europe and a region in Southern Africa aimed at closer integration of the states in the region and

towards decreasing their economic independence upon apartheid South Africa.

Using these different cases to illustrate the ideological aspects as well as the practical scope of Nordic outreach with partners in the Global South, the paper analyses the driving forces of Nordic and Swedish outreach, specifically addressing the complex relationship between the moral geopolitics of decolonization and the welfare geoeconomics upon which the so-called Nordic model rested.

YOUTH/INTERNATIONALIST BRIGADES FROM CUBA: ANGOLA AND NICARAGUA

Claudia MARTÍNEZ HERNÁNDEZ
University of Vienna

Following the Tricontinental phase of Cuban international projection during the 1960s, a new era of “Cuban Globalism” emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. During these decades, thousands of Cubans engaged in trans-continental movements, marking unprecedented State-Party-led mobilities for the country. These individuals, including experts, specialists, advisors, students, trainees, and various other personnel, played a crucial role in realizing Cuban “socialist solidarity” worldwide. Among these groups, the youth and Internationalist brigades sent to countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America represent a significant aspect of Cuba’s worldmaking efforts. This contribution will focus on the model of the Destacamento Pedagógico Internacionalista “Ernesto Che Guevara” in Angola, which was later replicated in Nicaragua. Key questions to be explored include: Who were the members of these brigades? What was their mission? How were they received in the host countries? These questions will be addressed from a Cuban perspective, utilizing the archives of Cuba’s political youth organization (Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas, UJC), the historical collections of the Cuban magazines ‘Bohemia’ (organ of the Communist Party of Cuba), and ‘Mujeres’ (organ of the Federation of Cuban Women) as well as interviews. These sources will help us to navigate the meanings, expectations, and outcomes of the youth and Internationalist brigades’ practices.

CZECHOSLOVAK ARMS, ZAMBIA AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Rosamund JOHNSTON & Clarence CHONGO

University of Vienna & University of Zambia

What sort of world was made and defended by the weapons produced in Eastern Europe and deployed in Southern Africa during the Cold War? Focusing on the specific cases of Czechoslovakia and Zambia, this paper pinpoints some of the state and non-state actors whose interests converged upon and could, at times, clash over Cold War arms. Taking into account the economic, development, and business hopes that were attached to arms shipments, we consider how arms and the training of liberation movements granted the “liminal actors” involved an outsize importance in the Cold War. Specifically, we use Czech, Slovak and Zambian archives to map the shifting relationships between liberation movements, host states and weapons suppliers. How did liberation movements and host states view the room to maneuver of Eastern bloc members such as Czechoslovakia (was this “satellite” seen as an indirect route to Soviet arms, and/or instead as an actor allegedly untainted by a colonial past and any such current aspirations, in apparent contrast to the superpowers)? How were Czechoslovak relations to liberation movements, on the other hand, filtered through Prague’s stance towards the countries in which they were housed?

The presence and use of Czechoslovak arms in Southern Africa underscores how those who purchased Czechoslovak weapons were never their passive recipients – nor was the global story of Czechoslovak arms ever one whose terms were dictated by Czechoslovak actors alone. This paper nuances moreover the notion that by the late socialist period, the Second World’s interaction with the Third World turned on hard currency above all else. Gifts to liberation movements (which were sent until the late 1980s) were viewed by politicians in Prague as preludes to lucrative contracts to equip national armies. And military cooperation often paved the way for other forms of development cooperation and technical transfer, as the Czechoslovak-Zambian case makes clear.

Ultimately, we reveal how weapons produced in socialist Eastern Europe and deployed in Southern Africa came loaded with the daily realities, hopes, and tensions of socialist internationalism in practice.

AUSTRIA'S "LIKE-MINDED" POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION (1960S-1980S)

Lucile DREIDEMY
University of Vienna

This paper addresses one of the core questions of the conference, the role of "liminal" actors in postcolonial development cooperation, from two complementary perspectives: Our starting point is the role of neutral Austria in the context of the global Cold War, and in particular its mediating ambitions in the context of growing tensions between North and South since the 1960s. However, we will approach this "like-minded" foreign policy from the perspective of a liminal political actor, the Vienna Institute for Development (VID), a so-called "governmental non-governmental" or "quasi-non-governmental" think tank, which was founded in 1964 on the initiative of the then Austrian Foreign Minister Bruno Kreisky and on the recommendation of the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and functioned as an extended arm of official Austrian "like-minded" policy until the end of the social democratic "Kreisky era" in 1983.

Together with the establishment of international organisations such as OPEC or UNIDO in Vienna, the creation of a "PR institute" for development (as Kreisky called it) in the middle of the "first development decade" contributed to adding a North-South dimension to the mediation role that Austria had already begun to play in the context of the Cold War. In the 1960s and 1970s, the VID worked closely with UNCTAD and UNIDO and regularly brought renowned development experts, politicians, economists, businessmen and intellectuals from North and South to Austria. The VID also actively supported the G-77's call for a NIEO and pointed out the parallels between Austria's economic situation and that of the countries on the global periphery. At the same time, however, the organisation remained committed to Austria's official trade and foreign policy, which was characterised by a clear commitment to the Western economic model and was designed to serve the priorities of the national export economy.

The discourse and activities of the Vienna Institute are significant not only because they were located at the interface between state and grassroots

activist North-South politics, but also because they represent an exemplary connecting line between social democratic internationalism and the characteristic “NGO moment” of the 1970s. Combining the focus on a “liminal state” and a “liminal political actor” will therefore allow us to question both the politics of social democratic “like-minded” states or “middle powers” and the growing role and agency of (liminal?) “governance actors” in postcolonial development cooperation from the 1960s to the 1980s.

HEALTHCARE MULTILATERALISM: RETHINKING NATIONAL HEALTHCARE SYSTEMS BETWEEN THE WHO AND THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Peter Q. WRIGHT

University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

This paper traces the collaboration between the WHO, socialist Yugoslavia, and the broader Non-aligned Movement from the 1970s to the early 1990s in their efforts to reimagine national healthcare systems in the face of global inequalities in healthcare access. Specifically, it examines the training programs of healthcare leadership and administrations for public health practitioners organized by the Zagreb Center for Health Cooperation with Developing and Non-Aligned Countries, an umbrella organization of healthcare institutions, medical schools, pharmaceutical firms, and Yugoslav government agencies. Using sources from the WHO archives in Geneva, Switzerland and archives in Zagreb, Croatia and Belgrade, Serbia, I explore the workings of training colloquia for healthcare administrators from NAM and the Global South put on by the WHO and Yugoslav healthcare experts and administrators throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. These trainings sought to fulfill both the WHO's program of "Health for All by the Year 2000" and NAM's recent resolutions on greater collective self-reliance regarding healthcare within NAM. The WHO and the colloquia curriculum explicitly borrowed Yugoslavia as a model for creating decentralized, community-based primary healthcare systems throughout the 'developing' world and relied heavily on Yugoslav healthcare expertise to train participants from the Global South. To this end, participants at the colloquia in Yugoslavia regularly toured Yugoslav healthcare facilities such as the 'Dom zdravlja' (community healthcare center) to study decentralized community health 'in practice.' This paper will examine the training material, programs, itineraries, and perspectives of the organizers and participants of these trainings (contained in reports) to understand the on-the-ground efforts of producing alternative healthcare systems and healthcare expertise.

These trainings offer a glimpse into not only the efforts to create alternative, bottom-up public health systems across the postcolonial world, but

also an alternative global network, or market, of healthcare expertise and medical pharmaceutical production. The approach to public health and national health systems advocated by WHO and NAM opposed the centralized, interventionist healthcare practices of common in both the Soviet and 'Western' systems and the control of drug prices and distribution by Western pharmaceutical companies. Attendees from NAM states at WHO-sponsored conferences in Yugoslavia, such as Dr. Kumariah Balasubramaniam, a senior pharmaceutical advisor at UNCTAD and health consumer rights' activist from Sri Lanka, sought to establish policies and practice that would lead to more equitable technology transfer, lower drug prices, and the creation of alternative production centers and trade networks of medical services and biomedical products. This paper will thus highlight how healthcare trainings, workshops, and conferences in Yugoslavia throughout the 1970s and 1980s helped promote pharmaceutical, chemical, and medical device industries in Yugoslavia and elsewhere across NAM as a counterweight to the domination of global health by the Global North.

THE KENYAN PARASTATAL, A FEW YUGOSLAV EXPERTS, TWO EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES, AND A VARIETY OF INTERESTS: THE DAWA PHARMACEUTICAL FACTORY IN NAIROBI

Jure RAMŠAK

Science and Research Centre Koper

Although Kenya was not among the closest Yugoslav allies within the Non-Aligned Movement, Nairobi was chosen as the location for the establishment of the largest and most advanced pharmaceutical factory in Eastern and Central Africa in the mid-1970s, in cooperation with the Yugoslav pharmaceutical manufacturer Krka. With the latter seeing Africa as its launch-pad to international markets, this joint venture with Kenyan parastatal ICDC and several private investors was far from being an example of assistance motivated by socialist solidarity. As such, the Nairobi factory Dawa, provides an excellent case study with which to discuss the de-politicized fabric of Yugoslav economic entanglements with its Non-Aligned co-members, in particular some of the least economically developed African countries. Contrary to preposterous attempts to export Soviet socialist modernity into the Global South, the logic behind the Yugoslav cooperation in the industrial sector was to display that such (modest) examples could thrive in an environment where capitalism still prevailed and could possibly be replicated by other, much more potentially progressive actors. Building upon archival funds from the Yugoslav/Slovenian federal and republican foreign policy bodies that provide detailed insight into different stages of this project, from pre-investment plans from the early 1970s to the challenging daily operation in the 1980s, my paper will point to specificities of the early forms of South-South cooperation and its troublesome embeddedness in the global financial and technological hierarchies. Considering that economic projects such as Dawa were strategically positioned to facilitate the establishment of postcolonial self-centred industrial production while also being experienced as a meeting place for experts from Africa and (socialist and non-aligned part of) Europe, my analysis will provide an opportunity to discuss the challenges connected with the implementation of the two flagship projects of the Non-Aligned Movement at the time: the New International Economic Order and Collective Self-Reliance. In this regard, the significance of technology transfer and

capacity building provided by the more developed developing country, as Yugoslavia defined itself during the sensitive period of African postcolonial state-building, will be discussed in particular.

**THE FINLAND AND CHINA'S ASSISTANCE TO TANZANIA'S
SELF-RELIANCE AGENDA: THE CASE OF STATE-OWNED
PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRIES, 1960S-1990S**

Andrea AZIZI KIFYASI
University of Dar es Salaam

This paper examines the implications of the Finnish and Chinese assistance to the post-colonial Tanzanian government's self-reliance endeavour using case studies of three state-owned pharmaceutical industries, Mabibo Vaccine Institute (MVI), Keko Pharmaceutical Industries (KPI) and Tanzania Pharmaceutical Industries (TPI). It shows that the assistance aligned with the country's self-reliance agenda, premised on its development plans. The stress on pharmaceutical industries aimed at remedying the country's dependency on imported drugs, which became expensive and unsustainable for a growing economy. However, the industries were established when the Tanzanian government lacked skilled pharmaceutical technicians, reliable sources of raw materials, and experienced industrial management. These inadequacies forced the government to rely on imported technicians and pharmaceutical raw materials, which were costly and unendurable, draining the country's foreign currency reserve. The paper argues that the Finnish and Chinese aid marginally reduced the Tanzanian government's dependency on imported pharmaceuticals. Still, they created a reliance on imported pharmaceutical raw materials and technicians, which the government failed to afford during the 1980s economic crisis and the 1990s liberalisation policies, leading to their collapse. The paper uses archival sources, published research literature, and oral accounts.

THE ACTIVE CONTRIBUTION OF THE AFRICAN DIASPORA TO THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES: FOCUS ON THE AGRI-FOOD SECTOR

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This proposal aims to highlight the crucial role of the African diaspora in the long-term development process of countries on the continent, with a particular emphasis on its involvement in the agri-food sector. Although often perceived as a loss for the continent due to brain drain and the lack of technology transfer, the African diaspora actually plays a significant role in the economic construction of their countries of origin, notably through regular fund transfers. Indeed, according to the World Bank, the savings of the African diaspora exceed annual remittances to the continent in the form of official development assistance. Increasingly attached to their roots, the diaspora is actively involved in building various states on the continent, particularly by establishing businesses in key sectors of sustainable development such as ecological agriculture. The example of the Songhaï farm in Benin, founded by Godfrey Nzamujo in 1985, perfectly illustrates the potential of the African diaspora in the agricultural sector. Dominican priest and university lecturer in electronics and computing in the United States, born in Nigeria, Dr. Nzamajo opened the “mother farm” in Porto-Novo with the help of a group of African friends with just one hectare of land. Today, the Songhaï farm has become a benchmark in integrated agricultural innovation, not only in Benin and Nigeria but also in several other African countries and the Caribbean. By providing training through its NGO, the Songhaï farm has expanded its impact as a reference school for entrepreneurial farmers in Africa. Its unique production line model has enabled it to become self-financing and to offer a number of free training sessions to all working strata of the society. Another example is that of the Jah family, originally from Guadeloupe and settled in Benin since 1997. They created CEVASTE (Center for Experimentation, Valorization of Agroecology, Endogenous Sciences, and Techniques), which promotes crop rotation, companion planting, beekeeping, and reforestation, while also training the local population in sustainable agricultural techniques. In this contribution I intend to highlight these two perspectives

and illustration of the active participation of the African diaspora in the sustainable development of African countries, particularly in the agri-food sector, which breaks with the unidirectionality of development thinking and practice and implements a particular type of south-south cooperation.

BUSINESS AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER IN YUGOSLAV-IRAQI RELATIONS: THE CASE OF THE DUDJEILA AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX (1976-1982) – YUGOSLAV INTENTIONS AND IRAQI PERCEPTIONS

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The mid-70s also brought a strong expansion of Yugoslav-Iraqi relations on the political level. The closeness of the policies of the two countries was primarily based on a common determination to develop a policy of non-alignment, similarity of views on the essence of the main international problems, joint appearances within the non-aligned movement and congruence of positions on global development problems. This opened up special opportunities for the development of trade between Yugoslavia and Iraq. The wage deficit with Iraq is to some extent covered by non-goods inflow from traffic and earnings of Yugoslav companies and workers in Iraq. In terms of the volume of participation of Yugoslav companies in investment works, in the mid-70s, Iraq rose to the top of the list of Yugoslav partners. Investment cooperation also took place in the field of agriculture, shipbuilding, delivery of entire plants and assembly works. Yugoslav construction companies participated in the design and construction of the most important infrastructure facilities in Iraq – the Dudgeila agro-industrial complex, the Hemrin hydro-electric power plant, transmission lines, ports, piers, transformer stations, the BAAS party building, groundwater research, the construction of wells, oil drilling, the construction of hotels and wells, building bridges and building a complex of military factories. During the period from 1976 to 1982, the Belgrade Agricultural Combine worked on the revitalization and technical improvement of the existing irrigation system and soil reclamation, which entailed a complete change in soil composition and the creation of a new expanse of about 100,000 hectares of fertile land. Other Yugoslav companies were engaged in this work as subcontractors. Only Yugoslav experts and workers participated in the realization. Modern technological standards were adopted and innovative methods were used, which at that time were used by a very limited number of world companies.

CULTIVATING DEVELOPMENT. NON-ALIGNED AGRO-INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMMES IN ZAMBIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

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Agricultural production and its mechanisation was an important pillar of industrialisation projects throughout the 20th century. For developing countries freshly emerged from de-colonization, a rapid growth of agricultural development and trade was a crucial element in the quest to gain economic independence and counter trade imbalances with industrialised countries. Importing machinery and technological know-how, as well as securing preferential trade agreements for the exchange of primary and processed goods, were all important strategies in agro-industrial development. Rethinking the production and trade of fundamental food commodities in view of achieving self-sufficiency was the main driving parameter for this transformation.

The historiography on this topic has so far looked at the exchanges with a strong Cold War lens, focusing on the history of economic transfers between the developing world and either the Euro-Atlantic or the Soviet Bloc. Yet, as this paper illustrates, several exchanges existed between non-aligned countries (such as Yugoslavia and Zambia) as well as “less-aligned” or “never-aligned” ones (Romania, China).

LEVERAGING EAST AND WEST: GHANA'S POSTCOLONIAL INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION EXEMPLIFIED BY THE KOMENDA SUGAR MILL JOINT VENTURE

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Ghana, after becoming the first state in West Africa to gain independence, had to deal with its colonial dependency. Due to the negative experience of colonialism, it did not want to orient itself economically solely towards Western countries. However, it also did not intend to base its transformation on the unquestioning acceptance of the socialist economic model offered by the Eastern bloc, which viewed the penetration of their influence into the newly decolonized states as an opportunity to weaken the position of the West. Under the leadership of President Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana began to seek a specific modernization path between the Western and Eastern development models. As a result, both Western and Eastern European companies started to participate in Nkrumah's vision of transforming Ghana into a modern industrial state by building new industrial units.

This paper will focus on one of the new industrial projects initiated in Ghana in the 1960s, specifically the Komenda Sugar Mill factory. The irrigation of this project was originally planned to be built by a Dutch firm Tiedeman & Van Kerchem, with British and Ghanaian architects and designers developing the construction, while the equipment and operation of the sugar mill were to be provided by the Czechoslovak foreign trade company Technoexport. The aim of the paper is to trace the interests of the different actors and the difficulties that this originally multinational project entailed. The paper is based on Ghanaian and Czechoslovak archival sources and will pay particular attention to the attitudes of Ghanaian government institutions and the intentions of Czechoslovakia, which eventually realized the project in the late 1960s. In this regard, it will also observe how the attitudes of the Ghanaian and Czechoslovak governments towards the project altered after the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966 and to what extent this change in political regime affected it. The paper will thus contribute to the understanding of

the limits of multilateral cooperation in Ghana's development, the economic relations between the global South and North, and, last but not least, the clash of different development concepts.

EXPATRIATION AND AFRICANISATION IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN TANZANIA DURING THE SOCIALIST ERA, 1960S-1980S

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The attainment of independence in the 1960s by most African countries such as Tanzania went hand in hand with establishment of industries as a strategy towards economic self-sufficiency and independence. But this process was faced with a critical shortage of experienced and skilled manpower to take the managerial, administrative and technical positions in the parastatals. In Tanzania, the government's attempt to fill manpower gap involved the expatriation and Africanisation or localisation of manpower. On the one hand, expatriation aimed at solving the short-term manpower gap while Africanisation was a long term strategy which involved investment in the formal education and training that aimed at ensuring self-sufficiency of skilled manpower at least by 1980. Scholarships on the roles of expatriates in Africa's manufacturing enterprises have largely centred on their significance through knowledge and skills transfer to the host country in general and to the workers in particular through various training programmes. There are also a number of scholarships on social and cultural impact of expatriation in Africa. However, there is paucity of studies on the efficacy of expatriates in post-colonial Africa. Furthermore, although the theme of Africanisation or localisation has received attention of researchers, the relationships and contradictions between Africanisation and expatriation in post-colonial Africa has not been clearly studied.

By using the case study of the textile industry in Tanzania between the 1960s and 1980s, this paper has twofold objectives. First, it examines the covert nature of foreign capital that operates in Africa through expatriation. It is argued that the continued demand by African post-colonial states for expatriates have continuously empowered the latter in such a way that obscures the achievement of Africanisation strategies by the former. Second, the paper explores the roles played by the state and the expatriates in shaping the pace of Africanisation of manpower in the textile industry in Tanzania.

The paper uses the political economy approach and world system theories to argue that while the process of expatriation was aimed to train local manpower, it covertly perpetuated neo-colonial relations through the working of foreign capital. The paper relied on documentary archival sources which were collected at Tanzania National Archives (TNA), Dodoma Records Centre and University of Dar es Salaam library as well as oral narratives which were collected from the retired ex-workers who worked at various capacities in different textile establishments in Tanzania in the 1980s and 1990s.

THE UNITED BUS COMPANY OF ZAMBIA (UBZ) AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF A 'NON-ALIGNED' FLEET FROM YUGOSLAVIA, THE UK, WEST GERMANY AND INDIA, 1970S AND 80S

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Following the attainment of majority rule by the black African population in Northern Rhodesia in 1964, under the new name of Zambia, and the subsequent removal of colonial restrictions on movement on the black population within the country, there was a substantial increase in demand for transport within cities, between cities, and between cities and rural areas. In consequence of the Mulungushi economic reforms of 1968, the Zambian UNIP government acquired a majority stake in the national transport company. In 1972, the parastatal transport company underwent a rebranding process and was renamed United Bus Company of Zambia Limited (UBZ). UBZ was responsible for meeting the country's passenger transportation needs, and a significant expansion of its bus fleet was supported by loans from foreign donors to the non-aligned Zambian government. During the 1970s and 1980s, UBZ acquired a number of new bus models from a variety of international suppliers, including those from the United Kingdom (Leyland), Yugoslavia (Dubrava), West Germany (Mercedes), and India (Tata). As will be demonstrated in this paper through the use of archival documents, newspapers, and interviews, while the non-aligned orientation of UBZ was congruent with the Zambian UNIP government, it posed multiple challenges which ultimately adversely affected UBZ's ability to maintain its 'non-aligned' fleet in an operable state. The insufficient provision of spare parts by the manufacturers, the lack of a sufficient workshop network, and the challenges faced by mechanics in repairing a multitude of makes and types were among the challenges resulting from this heterogeneous fleet. For the majority of years, UBZ suffered significant losses, and its effectiveness was severely constrained by idle, damaged, or even burning vehicles.

MYTHS AND MATERIALITIES OF JULIUS BERGER'S WORLDMAKING IN NIGERIA

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In the proposed contribution to the conference “The Business of Worldmaking: New Perspectives on Liminal Actors in Postcolonial Development Cooperation,” I will present the case study of the construction company Julius Berger Nigeria PLC in its history between West Germany and Nigeria.

Following this actor illuminates in-between instances established in interaction with the modernization project of the Nigerian state, not so peripheral after all, breaking with unidirectionalities between former colonial metropolises and colonies.

Within the context of the far-reaching activities of German construction companies in South America, Africa, and Asia throughout the twentieth century, which the “Conquering (with) Concrete” project has researched over the past years, Berger entered the Nigerian market in 1965 due to a major West German project of development aid, the Second Mainland Bridge in Lagos. In the following decade and largely independently of West German development aid, Berger turned into Nigeria’s leading construction company, which it has remained to this day. Although the company has been owned in majority by Nigerian stakeholders since 1976 in accordance to Nigerian indigenization laws, Berger retained important connections to (West) Germany and cultivated a chatoyant image, which can reflect it as rather German or Nigerian respectively. Berger truly appears a liminal actor.

In my proposed contribution, I would follow the history of Berger’s positioning through its myths and materialities and thereby contribute to discussing the conference’s stipulated question how visions of worldmaking related to concrete experiences on the ground. With only few archival sources available, I present both through the company’s publications, including coffee table books and construction site movies. As promotional sources, these publications showcased Berger’s business strategy and narratives of worldmaking, as the company’s myths permeated further into society. At the same time, it is possible to come to findings for Berger’s worldmaking which

are complementary and questioning its myths by focusing on the materialities of one of Berger's decisive construction projects, the Tin Can Island port construction in Lagos in 1976 and 1977.

ZAMBIAN ENGINEERING AND CONSTRUCTION COMPANY (ZECCO): THE RISE AND FALL OF A NON-ALIGNED CORPORATION

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Among numerous parastatal companies established by the postcolonial Zambian authorities ZECCO stood out as the joint venture between the Yugoslav Self-Managed Engineering Corporation Energoprojekt and the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Zambia's ruling political party between 1964 and 1991. After being chosen at short notice as the host of Non-Aligned Movement's Third Summit in 1970 the Zambian state was in urgent need of a constructing company able to construct the conference hall and the surrounding infrastructure at record breaking time. This opportunity launched the Yugoslav-backed ZECCO to the forefront of Zambian postcolonial civil engineering activities. The company which employed Yugoslav engineers and skilled workers and local unskilled workforce started contracting Zambia's most important and sensitive infrastructure projects including the construction of schools, hospitals, airports, roads and luxury villas for top political leadership. ZECCO also had an important role of assisting the process of 'zambianization', meaning the training of the local workforce for the jobs formerly held by white colonialists. The company shared the misfortunes of the Zambian economy and entered into serious financial troubles by the late 1970s. Relying on Zambian and Yugoslav archives as well as interviews with former workers and employees this paper will describe the peculiar business and labor history of a Yugoslav market-oriented socialist company meeting Zambian politically-steered capitalism.

YUGOSLAV MASCULINITIES AND WORLDMAKING IN POSTCOLONIAL ZAMBIA

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In the 1970s and 1980s, thousands of Yugoslav men spent time as labour migrants in Zambia, Yugoslavia's closest non-aligned ally in Sub-Saharan Africa. While their presence as labour migrants in Zambia was predicated on non-Alignment developmentalism, antiracism, anticolonialism and socialist self-management, the experience of being part of an adventuring young white male in postcolonial Africa could, in practice, easily diverge from this normative framework. This contribution explores varying modes of masculinities as articulated by workers from Yugoslavia operating in Zambia through oral history accounts, print media, visual sources and archival documents. The key argument is first, that the normative modes of masculinities at home in Yugoslavia, while never fixed nor stable, were further complicated by tensions inherent to Yugoslavs' role in Zambia. Secondly, unlike their counterparts – 'expats' from Britain and other Western European countries, Yugoslavia's active positioning as a key supporter of independent Zambia and progressive anticolonial groups in neighbouring states, meant that Yugoslav men frequently operated from two positions simultaneously – as a white, relatively moneyed privileged class but also as a progressive anti-racist ally of Zambia willing to assist in development and training in a 'hands on', albeit often paternalistic way.

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