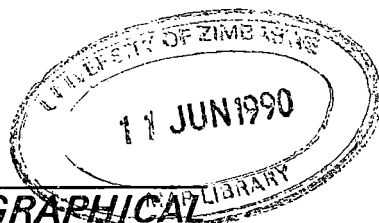




**GEOGRAPHICAL
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PROCEEDINGS OF 1982/1983

Number 14

September, 1983

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Notes on Contributors:

Prof. G. Kay is Head of the Geography and Sociology Department at North Staffordshire Polytechnic, England.

Mr C.M. Rogerson is a Lecturer in Geography at the University of Witwatersrand, South Africa.

Miss S.D. Harvey is a Lecturer in Geography at the University of Zimbabwe.

Mr J. Beaumont is a Lecturer in Geography at Keele University, England.

Dr N.M.D. Mutizwa-Mangiza is a lecturer in the Regional and Urban Planning Centre, University of Zimbabwe.

Mr D. Mazambani is a Research Fellow at the University of Zimbabwe.

Mr J.R. Whitlow is a Lecturer in Geography at the University of Zimbabwe.

The authors alone are responsible for the opinions expressed in these articles. Articles intended for publication and all correspondence regarding Proceedings should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, c/o Department of Geography, University of Zimbabwe, P O Box MP 167, Mount Pleasant, Harare, Zimbabwe. (Tel. 303211-265).

UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION:

THE CASE OF MOZAMBIQUE

by

C M ROGERSON

INTRODUCTION

A notable feature of the global industrial system over the past two decades has been the expanding share of world production accounted for by countries comprising the socialist bloc (Linge and Hamilton, 1981). In response to this changing industrial milieu, the nature and principles of organizing industrial production under socialism have been examined in a number of geographical studies (for examples, see Hamilton, 1974, 1976, 1978). Not surprisingly the mass of this literature concerns processes of industrialization and spatial industrial systems in the centrally planned economies of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Much less well documented are those issues surrounding the planning of industrialization in underdeveloped socialist countries. Indeed, in the literature of manufacturing geography, the recent investigations on the problems of industrial planning in North Viet Nam (Limqueco and McFarlane, 1980) and the role of multinational corporations in the industrial system of Tanzania (Van der Wees, 1981) represent pioneer contributions towards an understanding of socialist industrialization in underdeveloped countries.

The paucity of research concerning socialist planning of industrialization is regrettable in light of the continuing, if at times halting, spread of socialism on the global scale. In particular, socialism has recently taken roots in certain peripheral 'Third World' states, especially in Africa. In a famous speech, made early in 1973, President Nyerere of Tanzania put forward the thesis that socialism was the only "rational choice" for underdeveloped countries characterised by poverty and national weakness (Nyerere, 1973). The spread of socialism in Africa has occurred along two different channels (Cliffe, 1978). First, there are those African states in which the ruling parties or movements inherited a 'neo-colonial' situation and subsequently rejected it in favour of a socialist development path. Examples of states which at some period in their post-colonial history fall into this category are Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the Somali Democratic Republic and Tanzania. The alternative road towards socialism is that traversed by Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, which are states that have emerged as a result of a

protracted national liberation struggle. In both these groups of African states therefore we have the makings of new socialist development strategies. Despite many specific differences in their development paths all these states (to a greater or lesser degree) have sought to harness industrialization to the twin goals of overcoming underdevelopment and constructing the bases for a socialist society. In pursuing these goals, many problems confront the peripheral African state; the inherited colonial space-economy must be restructured, linkages with the international economy reordered and the bases for a socialist transformation laid amidst the constraints of a capitalist world-system. These complex tasks distinguish the industrial systems of these incipient socialist states in Africa from those of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe or even China. Moreover, these countries' efforts to shape socialist industrial systems provide important alternative models to the dominant pattern of neo-colonial or dependent industrialization in Africa (Rogerson, 1981a).

It is the intention in this paper to examine the historical background and initial efforts made to structure a new socialist industrial order by one peripheral African state, Mozambique. Such a study constitutes a further geographical contribution to that meagre literature examining the planning of socialist industrialization in underdeveloped countries.

FRELIMO AND THE CONCEPT OF 'NATIONAL LIBERATION'

To understand Mozambique's path of socialist development necessitates first some appreciation of the nature and specific objectives of FRELIMO (the Mozambique Liberation Front) which are shared, in broad terms, also by the other national liberation movements of Southern Africa.

The struggle for national liberation was defined by Amilcar Cabral (1972) as the rejection by a people of the negation of their historical process, the regaining of their historical personality and their return to history through the destruction of imperialist domination. The historical process of colonized peoples is seen as negated through the subjugation of their productive forces to those of foreign domination. This results in a loss of control over the use of their own resources and their own destiny. The specific type of foreign domination today is viewed as imperialism. Following Lenin, imperialism is understood as an historical necessity in the expansion of capitalism into a world-system, operating through various methods and forms of state to achieve its permanent goal of subordinating

the productive forces of much of the world to the needs and interests of the economically advanced countries. In this view colonialism has been superseded as the primary form of imperialist domination by neo-colonialism or indirect imperialist domination through local national ruling classes (Ntalaja, 1979a, 1979b).

The concept of national liberation must never be confused with that of decolonization for the latter, as a simple transfer of political power from a colonial bourgeoisie to a national ruling class, is viewed as the form taken by the transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism (Ntalaja, 1979a, 1979b). Unlike decolonization, national liberation in its fullest sense is interpreted as a revolutionary process, one that involves the complete overthrow of imperialist domination in both its colonial and neo-colonial guises. National liberation implies a social revolution whose end is an egalitarian-oriented society in which the economy is organized to serve the needs of workers and peasants (Ntalaja, 1979a, 1979b).

On 25 June, 1975 power was transferred from Portugal to FRELIMO, an occasion which marked for the people of Mozambique not simply decolonization but the first phase of national liberation.

"Decolonization does not mean the geographical transfer of the decision-making centres from Lisbon to Lourenço Marques, which the deposed regime was in fact already proposing to do, and neither is it the continuation of the oppressive regime, this time with black-skinned rulers, which is the neo-colonial pattern.

To decolonize the State means essentially to dismantle the political, administrative, cultural, financial, economic, educational, juridical and other systems which, as an integral part of the colonial state, were solely designed to impose foreign domination and the will of the exploiters on the masses". (Machel, cited in Houser and Shore, 1975, p.64).

Unlike many nationalist movements elsewhere in Africa where the exclusive concern was to capture the colonial state, FRELIMO emphasises that independence is only the beginning of a much larger process to dismantle exploitative institutions and transform basic economic and social relationships (Isaacman, 1978a). Always one of the most theoretically advanced aspects of FRELIMO ideology has been its anti-imperialist stance (Saul, 1974). As Mozambique's President Machel writes "Our war of liberation must be accompanied by the radical transformation of the socio-economic structure of the country" (Machel, cited in Houser and Shore, 1975, p.47). The new era of 'People's

Democratic Revolution' in Mozambique is to be constructed within FRELIMO's chosen framework of Marxist-Leninism (Machel, 1978). Based on socialist principles, this new era envisions "the construction in Mozambique of a society ... where the material living conditions of the people are constantly improving and where their social needs are increasingly satisfied" (cited in Isaacman, 1978b, p.17). The extent to which FRELIMO achieves these objectives hinges upon its success in transforming the legacy of Portugal's colonial underdevelopment.

THE LEGACY OF COLONIAL UNDERDEVELOPMENT

At independence Mozambique's new rulers were bequeathed an economy underdeveloped and distorted by four centuries of Portuguese colonialism. Indeed, as Saul (1979, p.4) argues, "no country in Africa has inherited from colonialism an economy so viciously distorted" as that of Mozambique. The gross national product was dominated by a 65 per cent contribution from migrant labour earnings, port fees accruing from South African and Zimbabwean transit traffic, and tourism. Colonial Mozambique's economic status was sharply defined in terms of the Portuguese Constitution: "... the economic organization of each overseas territory was dependent on the Portugal national economy and should consequently be integrated in the world (capitalist) economy" (Martins, no date, p.120). In pursuit of this objective the colonial regime subordinated and manipulated the local economy such as to maximize the appropriation of Mozambique's natural and human resources (Isaacman, 1978a; Martins, no date). Lisbon created only a weak and dependent colonial infrastructure, one that owed much to mercantilist thinking. The colonial economy of Mozambique was moulded firmly in the classical role of supplier of raw materials and cheap labour for Portugal and South Africa (Munslow, 1980). In exchange, the colony was to consume Portugal's manufactured goods, many of which were based on the raw materials of Mozambique.

Only at the eleventh hour of Portuguese colonialism did the patterns of Mozambican underdevelopment begin to shift (Mittelman, 1978). Paradoxically, change was stimulated by the beginnings of FRELIMO's liberation struggle. As the financial burden of war began to increase, the policies of limiting both foreign capital and industrialization in Portugal's African possessions began to be abolished (Marcum, 1972). The new inflow of U.S., British, German and South African multinational corporations asserted a growing imprint on the direction of Mozambique's economy (El-Khawas, 1974). Foreign investors entered those economic sectors (particularly, the production of

raw materials for export) which guaranteed high returns for their investment regardless of the long-term consequences for the local economy. In the view of many observers, the activities of these multinational enterprises provided the financing for Portugal's continuing colonial wars (Marcum, 1972; El-Khawas, 1974). One consequence for the economy of Mozambique was that colonial dependence on Portugal was replaced by a more complex pattern of 'diversified dependence' in relation to the core countries of the capitalist world-system.

The history of colonial industrialization in Mozambique parallels these shifting relationships with the Portuguese metropole. Prior to 1926 the meagre industrial base of the colony was confined almost exclusively to the simple processing of agricultural commodities (Torp, 1979). Nevertheless, with the growth of a settler population there began during the 1920's and 1930's a limited expansion in import-substitution manufactures, including the production of soap, cement, beer, cigarettes and bricks. The momentum of a growing sector of import-substitution manufacturing was maintained after the Second World War with the introduction of industries such as textiles. But, throughout the period until 1960 colonial industrialization remained primarily export-oriented, concerned with the processing of Mozambique's agricultural products (Martins, no date). With the lifting of the restrictions upon foreign investment in 1960 there opened up a new era for industrial development in the colony. The manufacturing base of Mozambique was extended with the further expansion of Portuguese capital and the advance of new foreign capital (Torp 1979). Between 1961 and 1973 the industrial workforce increased from 64 100 to almost 100 000 persons (Torp, 1979). During this period there occurred a considerable expansion in the export valorization of locally produced raw materials such as cotton, cashews, prawns and sugar. However, by far the largest increase in manufacturing was accounted for by industries producing for the internal rather than external market (Torp, 1979; Munslow, 1980). At the close of the colonial era the structure of colonial industrial production (Table 1) was such that almost two-thirds of Mozambique's industrial output was directed towards the domestic market (Torp, 1979). It is striking also to note the initiation during this period of a range of intermediate goods manufactures, notably oil refineries, machinery repairs, iron and steel rolling mills and fertilizers (Torp, 1979). This particular group of industries were heavily reliant upon imported raw materials and foreign technologies. The major beneficiaries of this colonial expansion of manufacturing were the settler community (Munslow, 1980). The sharpening divide of "economic apartheid"

TABLE 1

The Colonial Industrial System of Mozambique, 1973

<u>S.I.C. Group</u>	<u>No. of Enterprises</u>	<u>Employment</u>	<u>%</u>
Food, Beverages and Tobacco	796	45 751	45.9
Textiles, Clothing and Footwear	131	16 679	16.8
Wood, Furniture	173	12 139	12.2
Paper, Printing	54	3 809	3.8
Chemicals	67	4 232	4.3
Pottery, Glass	62	4 688	4.7
Iron and Steel	3	1 131	1.1
Metal, Electrical	143	10 442	10.5
Other	9	632	0.6
TOTALS	1 438	99 503	100.0

Source: Adapted from Torp, 1979 Table 3.

within Mozambican society meant that this new phase of industrial expansion in the colony failed to produce a substantive increase in wealth for the mass of the African population (Munslow, 1980, p.180). Such was the nature of the colonial industrial system of Mozambique inherited in 1975 by the FRELIMO government.

TRANSFORMING THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

It is against the background of this legacy of colonial underdevelopment that FRELIMO sought to implement a programme of 'national reconstruction' to revitalize the economy. The Third Party Congress of FRELIMO declared the movement's commitment to Marxist-Leninist principles and defined Mozambique's broad goals for the future. "In the stage of People's Democratic Revolution the Party's economic policy is aimed at the construction of an independent, planned and advanced economy, capable of satisfying the basic needs of the people, and achieving the conditions for the passage to the higher stage of the socialist revolution" (cited in Isaacman, 1978a). In terms of this policy, the transformation of agriculture is to receive the highest priority (Isaacman, 1978a, 1978b). Nonetheless, in the long-run FRELIMO's hopes for industrialization have led it to articulate a programme of "making the building of heavy industry the decisive factor in the battle to break with imperialist domination" (cited in Hendriksen, 1978, p.449). At the First National Planning Conference, held in March 1978, Machel reaffirmed this strategy for socialist development. The future expansion of heavy industry is to become "the main factor in the creation of the material basis for socialism and the generator of the national proletariat" (A.I.M. Information Bulletin, March 1978).

In common with planning in other underdeveloped socialist states (cf. Linqueco and McFarlane, 1980) the central directions for economic policy in Mozambique are set forth in the state plan. The draft of Mozambique's first long-term economic plan for a decade of "victory against underdevelopment" was issued in 1981 (A.I.M. Information Bulletin, October 1981). It is claimed that the plan is not a mechanical transposition of any imported socialist model. Rather, it constitutes "a Mozambican model" (p.10) that represents "Marxism applied with creativity to concrete conditions of underdevelopment" (Machel, 1981, p.6). The draft plan crystallizes those guidelines earlier laid down at the Third Party Congress. It is envisioned that by 1990 Mozambique will "stop being an underdeveloped country and enter into the new Decade as a country developing towards advanced socialism" (Machel,

1981, p.9). More specific objectives for Mozambique during the plan period include:

" - the promotion of the radical transformation of our economic and social structure with the creation of a dominant socialist sector.

- the promotion of higher standards of living for all our people, aimed at satisfying basic necessities"

(Machel, 1981, p.2).

Central to the attainment of these goals is the progressive "socialisation of the countryside" through stimulating the state agricultural sector and the programme for establishing communal villages (Rogerson, 1981b). Nevertheless, the most fundamental dimension of socialist development in Mozambique is "without doubt the industrialization plan for the country" (Machel, 1981, p.4). Under consideration are projects for the production of, inter alia, iron and steel, aluminium, oil and gas, coal and building materials (A.I.M. Information Bulletin, October 1981). If implemented fully, these ambitious proposals would reduce markedly the country's present economic and technological dependence. The making of this heavy industrial base is inseparable both from a restructuring of Mozambique's international linkages and from the implantation of new socialist forms of industrial production. To an examination of the initial steps being taken towards a transformation of the industrial system of Mozambique, attention is now turned.

Reordering International Linkages

A reordering of Mozambique's inherited colonial linkages within the capitalist world-system is viewed as at the heart of the country's path of socialist transformation. In particular, the long-term objective pursued by FRELIMO is to reduce the country's economic dependence upon South Africa. Towards this objective Mozambique is a key participant in efforts to forge new networks for regional economic cooperation between the states of Eastern and Southern Africa.

Mozambique has sought to extend cooperation with ideologically sympathetic Black African states. More particularly, the FRELIMO government has extended international linkages with neighbouring Tanzania. Three months after FRELIMO's accession to power the two countries established a Permanent

Commission for Cooperation. The Commission argued for "complementary and rationalized" (Southern Africa, April, 1978) industrial cooperation between the two states, a recommendation which prompted inter-governmental discussions on the future allocation of basic industries. Further extended cooperation between Tanzania and Mozambique was confirmed by an agreement to establish a free trade area during 1979 (Quarterly Economic Review of Tanzania and Mozambique, 1/1979). The prospects for regional cooperation and of programmes for "collective self reliance" (Seidman and Seidman, 1977) were enhanced with the formation in 1979 of the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference. Mozambique was one of the founder members of this grouping of nations in Southern Africa (Figure 1) with the common commitment of reducing economic dependence upon apartheid South Africa (Green, 1980). Addressing the second Southern African Development Coordination Conference during 1980, Machel argued:

"Within the framework of the economic complementarity of the countries in this region, we wish to develop industry, create basic industry ... We do not intend to be merely the external suppliers of raw materials" (Machel, 1980, p.7).

Notwithstanding the long term goal of restructuring linkages with South Africa, in the short term certain special problems stem from Mozambique's economic dependence. The inherited linkages of Mozambique's economy to that of South Africa (da Silva Peres, 1975) represent a major contradiction. On the one hand FRELIMO can not make the transition to socialism and also remain deeply dependent on the apartheid regime; on the other hand, immediate disengagement from South Africa would have meant economic suicide. For example, at the steel mill in Maputo, 95 percent of inputs (iron ingots, wood, coal and machine parts) come from the Republic, which is by far the cheapest source for these materials (Saul, 1979). The short-term choice for Mozambique was either to close such plants and save resources but at the expense of rising unemployment, or alternatively to incur the economic costs in keeping them operative. Indeed, FRELIMO confronts the difficult prospect of implementing two potentially contradictory policies simultaneously. On the one hand, sustaining something of the inherited structures in order to avoid economic collapse, on the other beginning to search for avenues towards a new socialist system. In pragmatic fashion "FRELIMO necessarily sought to consolidate national independence, nurturing the impetus for socialism at home and biding its time in external relations" (Mittelman, 1978, p.52).

Fig. 1: The Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference : Member States (Shaded)

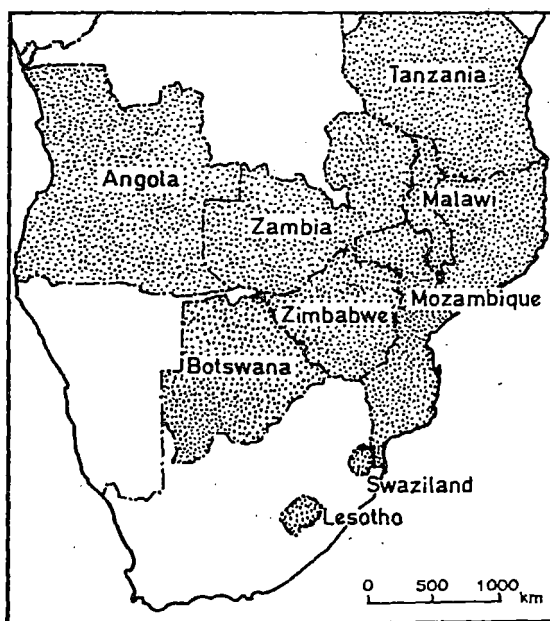
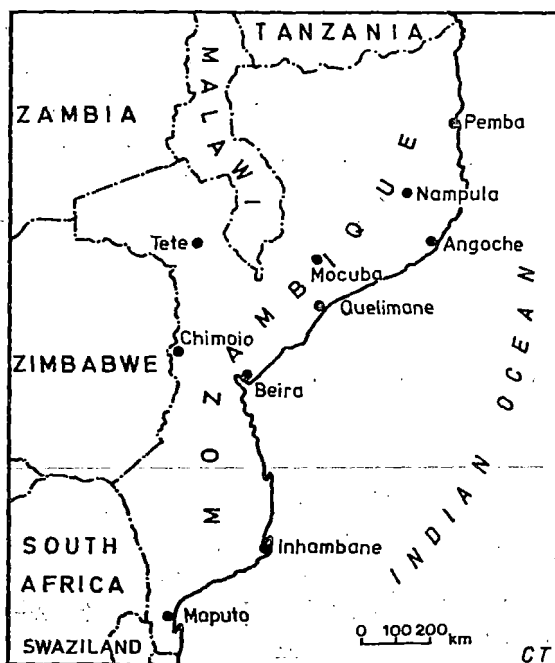


Fig. 2 : Mozambique - Location Map



Towards Socialist Industrialization

The imperative of creating a state apparatus and new institutions in order to transform the political economy and restructure the industrial system occupied the early post-independence period (Torp, 1979). As is the case in all socialist states, there is a marked trend towards a growth in state ownership of the means of production and concomitantly of the nationalization of industry. Through nationalization the Mozambican State exercises an increased measure of control over the use of surplus which, in turn, permits greater direction over the type of industries to be established. Surplus is to be channelled away from luxury import-substitution manufactures, that characterize a dependent path of industrialization, towards other forms of industries, more particularly those concerned with mass consumer goods and producer goods. Since independence, certain factories heavily reliant upon imported raw materials have closed down; others are being converted into alternative uses. For example, the former motor-body assembly plant in Beira is not to produce agricultural implements (Rogerson, 1981a). The emphasis upon new mass consumer goods manufactures is illustrated by the building at Mocuba of a new textile mill, the largest in Mozambique (A.I.M. Information Bulletin, May 1981). The reordering of Mozambique's path of industrial development necessitates close scrutiny of the operations and linkages of firms still in private ownership. It is estimated that half of Mozambican industry remains privately owned; much of this is accounted for by foreign capital (Torp, 1979). A pragmatic policy towards foreign capital is presently being pursued by FRELIMO; the Third Congress emphasised that foreign capital had a potential role in 'national reconstruction' but only "within the framework of the State's economic policy" (Lodge, 1979, p.19). That said, it is recognized that nationalization and the transition to state ownership in Mozambique is still a long way from constituting a socialization of production (Torp, 1979). Steps towards this goal of socialized production are being taken in programmes to reorganize work processes at the factory level.

One of Mozambique's major achievements in the post-independence period is the reorganization of labour and the effective incorporation of workers into decision-making processes (Isaacman, 1978a). The creation of new social relationships of production facilitates greater worker control over production tasks and the organization of the work place. Two phases in this reorganization may be recognised (Lodge, 1979). First there was a short period of very real workers' control over production processes. This phase

of autonomous working class action was short-lived, however, coinciding with the exodus of the Portuguese and the abandonment of many factory installations. With the cessation of hostilities FRELIMO replaced these independent workers' councils with a more formal institutional framework. The second phase of reorganization, beginning in October 1976, saw the initiation of shop floor Production Councils to oversee the daily operations of each plant (Lodge, 1979). The Production Council is to be "a weapon which will lead to the destruction of old capitalist relations of production and the establishment of new social relations of production" (People's Power in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, Oct-Dec., 1977). It is through the operations of these Councils that workers are provided with the opportunity to exercise a measure of collective control over the means of production (Isaacman, 1978a). The programme of restructuring the factory work process in Mozambique, albeit one still in its infancy, means, as Isaacman (1978a, pp.64-65) avers:

"... that for the first time those who were oppressed are now centrally involved in the basic decision-making processes over the allocation of scarce resources giving them some control over their own destiny and a heightened commitment and political consciousness. This is an important step toward the creation of a socialist society".

Within each state enterprise the supreme decision-making authority, is, however, the state appointed General Director. The General Director is expected to maintain close contact with the local FRELIMO party cell and to ensure that his initiatives are coordinated with theirs. Moreover, the General Director is meant to establish "direct contact with all the workers, not only to explain the most important questions in the life of the workplace but also to ensure that the workers take part in the search for adequate solutions to the company's problems" (A.I.M. Information Bulletin, October 1981). The involvement of workers occurs through the medium of "working collectives" the tasks of which include helping to draw up the annual company plans, supervising their implementation, studying the best ways of organizing the workforce, analysing the problems of individual workers and resolving their problems (A.I.M. Information Bulletin, October 1981).

One final dimension in the making of Mozambique's socialist path of industrialization is the attempt to remould spatial patterns of production. At the close of the colonial period in 1973, 50 percent of enterprises were located in Maputo and a further 16 percent in Beira (Figure 2). This high degree of spatial industrial agglomeration is not unusual in the setting of

underdeveloped African countries (cf. Mabogunje, 1973). In Mozambique the concentration of manufacturing in Maputo reflected both the location of markets as represented by the settler-community and the advantages of the port location in terms of access to imported raw materials (e.g. oil for refining, phosphates for fertilizer production). But Maputo was also the location for several agricultural processing plants using raw materials produced in the Northern provinces. In the post-independence period the FRELIMO government has sought to encourage the decentralization of industry, favouring new factory developments away from Maputo in northern centres such as Pemba, Nampula and Mocuba (Quarterly Economic Review of Tanzania and Mozambique Annual Supplement 1980, p.28). The thrust towards the spatial dispersal of manufacturing encourages the location of factories in those areas of Mozambique where the majority of the country's population lives and the siting of new industries close to the sources of raw materials, particularly of agricultural products (Torp, 1979).

CONCLUSION

The assertion that socialism is the only 'national choice' for peripheral underdeveloped states fails to be matched by adequate conceptualization of strategies consistent with the making of socialism in such countries. Thomas' (1974) study remains the only theoretical attempt to discuss comprehensively the economic basis for socialist transformation in Third World states. This glaring lacuna in the literature of socialist development planning is highlighted the more so when it is recalled that most African states, including Mozambique are small economies. Inevitably they would face severe scale and resource difficulties in seeking to follow the classic path of socialist industrialization based on the Soviet model. Moreover, recent theoretical debates on the various issues which surround the nature and direction of socialist industrial planning for peripheral states proved inconclusive (see Palmberg, 1978).

It is against this backdrop of theoretical uncertainty that the Mozambican experience must be carefully monitored in future. FRELIMO seeks to operationalize a radically different course of development to that being followed throughout much of Black Africa. Against the common model of neo-colonial dependent development FRELIMO is implementing a programme for socialist transformation. In terms of industrial systems, Mozambique ventures to break away from the typical African pattern of dependent industrialization and instead to create a new socialist industrial order. Further research into

the various efforts being made in Mozambique, and elsewhere in Africa, to create such new forms of socialist industrial system is urgently needed within industrial geography.

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