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Special:

NAMIBIA'S TRANSITION
AND REGIONAL COOPERATION
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

SADEX





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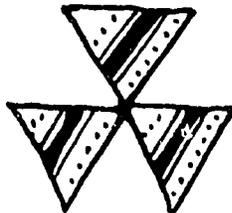
INTRODUCTION

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

The SADEX project is intended to complement and interact with efforts already underway in Southern Africa to establish an economic information and documentation network. SADEX, at the request of the jointly planned UNECA/OAU Pan African Documentation and Information System (PADIS) for economic development, is currently serving as the regional development information network mechanism in Southern Africa, while the states concerned develop their own national information and documentation centers and their own Southern Africa-based regional coordination system linked to PADIS.

The information and bibliographic sections of SADEX focus on the nine majority-ruled states of Southern Africa which participate in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) -- Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe -- and the pre-independent state of Namibia. Although South Africa is not included within the scope of the SADEX project, materials on South Africa, when relevant to the unfolding dynamics of the region, are included under the "Regional" heading in the bibliographic section.

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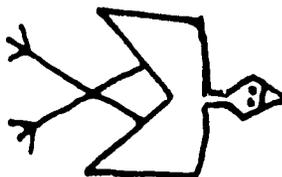
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NAMIBIA'S TRANSITION AND REGIONAL COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

by Francis A. Komegay, Jr., & Joyce R. Mortimer

The independence of Zimbabwe under a democratically elected, internationally recognized government went far in underlining the emergence of a new political-economic order in Southern Africa. Zimbabwe constituted the missing link in the fledgling Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). The February elections were critical in determining whether the new state would provide a much needed center of gravity to the SADCC, or bolster South Africa's constellation strategy of further strengthening a pattern of regional interdependence that already favored Pretoria. The election of a predominantly ZANU-PF regime in Salisbury greatly accelerated inter-state consultations within the SADCC framework on a wide range of matters affecting regional cooperation — not the least in the crucial area of transport and communications where discussions have expanded to include Zaire (see: "Chronology of Recent Meetings Within the Framework of SADCC Priorities," SADEX, September/October 1980).

However, despite the impetus to the SADCC provided by Zimbabwe's independence, the unresolved question of Namibia's fate continues to cloud the future of regional cooperation. As in the case of Zimbabwe, Namibia's future depends on the political outcome of a highly uncertain

decolonization scenario made even more uncertain by the collapse of the Geneva "pre-implementation" talks on the Western-backed United Nations settlement plan. Given the territory's strategic coastal position with its disputed Walvis Bay outlet and its considerable mineral wealth, an eventual settlement is likely to significantly impact on the balance of forces affecting the nature of cooperation in the subcontinent.

I. REGIONAL & INTERNATIONAL STAKES

At the regional level, Namibia's independence will have a definite bearing on the continuing tug-of-war between Pretoria and the SADCC in determining on whose terms Southern African cooperation evolves. Namibia partially holds the answer to the question of future stability for Angola, Zaire and Zambia, with regard to the fate of the Benguela Railway as a vital transport/communications route that continues to be vulnerable to sabotage from the South African-backed guerrillas of Jonas Savimbi's rebel Angolan movement, UNITA. The continuing instability in the southwest-central region of the subcontinent embracing southern Angola, Shaba Province, and the Zambian copperbelt, tends to reinforce black Southern Africa's transport/communications dependence on South Africa. Furthermore, the Republic

has an additional stake in the disputed Walvis Bay as a key port for controlling Southern Africa's south Atlantic trade. Thus, Pretoria's interest in the outcome of a Namibian settlement is clear both in terms of control over regional communications links as well as access to the territory's strategic minerals which include considerable uranium deposits.

South Africa's strategic interest in Namibia from the standpoint of its regional stakes has not received a great deal of in-depth analysis. However, such considerations are explored in a timely and provocative article by P. G. Eidelberg of the University of South Africa (UNISA) in the Vol. 10, no. 2, 1980 issue of Africa Insight, successor to the Pretoria-based Africa Institute's South African Journal of African Affairs. The article, "South Africa Between East and West: Pretoria-Moscow Detente?" (pp. 59-65), includes a look at the Republic's options vis-à-vis Angola and Namibia during the 1980s, maintaining that since the 1975 Angolan war South Africa's foreign policy options in Southern Africa have actually improved -- along with those of the Soviet Union -- at the expense of the West, raising the prospect of a tacit Soviet-South African understanding.¹ The aim would be to strengthen Pretoria's bargaining position with the West based upon Western dependence on Southern Africa's strategic minerals in order to resist anti-apartheid pressures. Thus Eidelberg recommends, "South Africa should view America's currently weakened international position as an opportunity to continue energetic consolidation of its position in southern Africa, if possible in coordination with the Soviet presence in the region. While SWA/Namibia is

eventually to be given independence, this should be done in a way that will not jeopardise its ties with South Africa. To Pretoria, SWA/Namibia is valuable not only in its own right (in particular for its minerals) but also as a means of permitting South Africa to retain its influence in Angola (p. 61, emphasis added).²

Although billed as "an unconventional view of the power game played in southern Africa by Pretoria, the West and the Soviets," Eidelberg's Machiavellian vision may actually agree with a certain element of reality based on a November 26, 1980 Financial Times expose on "S. Africa's Treasure and the Kremlin Connection" (which is also referred to in the November 28th issue of Africa Economic Digest, "East and West Race for Southern Africa," p. 7). The Financial Times article establishes a measure of "collusion" between Moscow and Pretoria, concerning "the marketing of gold, diamonds, platinum and other precious metals," based on a visit to Moscow by Gordon Waddell, former son-in-law of Anglo-American and DeBeers Consolidated Mines magnate Harry Oppenheimer. Waddell is slated to become chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investment (41 percent owned by Anglo and the major shareholder in the world's largest platinum mine). Also noted is Soviet backing for Mozambique's role in African efforts to secure a Namibian settlement. (Maputo was initially considered for hosting the Geneva conference.) The Anglo and DeBeers groups also play a major role in exploiting Namibia's uranium and other mineral deposits, "and have a vested interest in Namibia's political and economic future."³

WALVIS BAY

With respect to Walvis Bay, South Africa's strategic interest is clearly reflected in an item published in the November 14, 1980 issue of To the Point, "SWA/Namibia: Coastal Link-up Could Become a Reality," by Jean Fischer (p. 19), which explores the prospect of a "grand concept" come true: "freight trains thundering through the desert wastes of the Kalahari and the Namib, from Palapye in Botswana on the main Cape-Zimbabwe line to the SWA/Namibian rail junction at Gobabis which in turn is already linked up with Walvis Bay." Fischer goes on to point out how "the Botswana to Walvis Bay rail link fits in with South African Prime Minister P. W. Botha's concept of a constellation of southern African states" while the SADCC, grossly misrepresented as "pro-Marxist," aims to reduce dependence on "the South African transport system." Fischer then asserts, "Obviously the pro-Marxist states favor a rail link through Maputo which is advantageous for coal and other exports to the Far East" (and by implication the USSR). However, conveniently ignored is a Botswana-Namibia-Angola rail link which is also among the SADCC list of transport/communications priorities.

In his opening address of the first SADCC meeting in Arusha, Tanzania on July 3, 1979, the late President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, stressed the "need for more transport and communications facilities in my area," after acknowledging that "I am not unmindful of the fact that some of the systems already exist but are of no use to some of us because of the political situation in the

region" (emphasis added). President Khama then pointed out how "a Trans-Kgalagedi railway line and a road from Francistown in the north of Botswana to Angola and Namibia would encourage trade and communications among the three countries, as well as enabling us to have access to the seaports of Namibia." However, as Fischer points out, "the link would also give the South African government considerably more clout on an international basis with regard to the South African-owned port and settlement of Walvis Bay" (emphasis added) — which explains Pretoria's intransigence on the Walvis Bay issue as compared to other aspects of the Namibia question, and raises the possibility of a major confrontation between South Africa and a newly independent Namibia if the territory's regime is SWAPO or SWAPO-dominated. In short, the question of Walvis Bay is anything but a purely legal issue; it is also a political one with important implications for shaping the still very malleable new order of regional cooperation that is emerging in the subcontinent.

It seems clear that South Africa's intentions are to ensure that an independent Namibia will — even with a SWAPO regime — give substance to its regional constellation scheme beyond what is now generally referred to as its 'inner constellation' of 'independent' homelands. Or, at least, by holding out on Walvis Bay, Pretoria will be in a stronger bargaining position vis-à-vis the SADCC's progress toward "economic liberation" based upon greater autonomy in the transport/communications sector.

THE FIFTH PROVINCE

Another consideration is Namibia's integration into the South African political economy as a virtual fifth province, which prompted Roger Murray to write in the January 1979 issue of African Business that, "whoever rules Namibia in the future, true independence will only be achieved when the country's economy is unscrambled from that of South Africa, (but that) casting off the shackles of economic domination will not be a simple task. And the South Africans won't let go easily...." (see: "Namibia: Breaking South Africa's Economic Stranglehold," pp. 14-15, including table on territory's revenues and expenditures). Namibia, as a South African colony, is also automatically a member of the Pretoria-dominated Southern African Customs Union (SACU) along with Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, and was represented at economic talks between South Africa and the 'independent' homeland administrations of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda that took place in Pretoria in October.

An in-depth study of Namibia's economic links with South Africa was prepared in 1977 by Wolfgang Schneider-Barthold of the German Development Institute, entitled Namibia's Economic Potential and Existing Economic Ties with the Republic of South Africa. Along with the Walvis Bay issue, these special economic ties to the Republic indicate that any pronouncements proclaiming the collapse of Pretoria's constellation scheme are apt to be a bit premature to say the least (see for example: "The Collapse of Botha's Constellation Strategy," by Hennie Serfontein in Africa, November 1980, pp. 47-50). On the other hand, the failure of

Pretoria's anti-SWAPO surrogate, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), to seriously address these questions of dependency on the Republic is cited in the final issue of To the Point (December 19, 1980), as one of the major reasons for DTA's uncertain political future (see: "SWA/Namibia: New Priorities Demanded as DTA Loses Ground," by M. Meiring, 1980, p. 17).

NAMIBIA: A WESTERN MINERALS COLONY?

"...since virtually all mining in Namibia is in the hands of investors from RSA, Britain, France, Japan, USA, Canada and other countries, and organisations that have invested directly or covertly through South Africa, it means that the proportion of GDP that accrues to these foreigners represents how much Namibian labor and resources contribute to the development of the economies of foreign nations, to the detriment of its own development." —Wilfred W. Asombang, "Export Marketing Strategies for Economic Development in Namibia," in SADEX, November/December 1980, p. 2.

Revelations of discreet relations between Moscow and South African mining capital suggest a broader international interest in stabilizing Southern Africa that is more obviously displayed by the involvement of the Western Five (U.S., U.K., West Germany, France and Canada) in the Namibian settlement negotiating process. (See: "Namibia - Regional Conflict and a World Problem," by Robert von Lucius and Gerhard Totemeyer in Aussenpolitik, Hamburg, 1st Quarter, 1979,

pp. 73-87). These negotiations have taken on an added urgency in the wake of Zimbabwe's independence and a growing concern in the West over access to the region's strategic minerals — a concern reflected in the U.S. throughout 1980 in a variety of press reports, articles and studies undertaken or commissioned by Congress, such as Sub-Saharan Africa: Its Role in Critical Mineral Needs of the Western World, by Nevada Representative James Santini, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Mines and Mining; and Imports of Minerals From South Africa by the United States and the OECD Countries, prepared for the Senate Subcommittee on Africa by the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service. This concern is further heightened by a sense of growing competition with the Soviet Union for Southern Africa's minerals. For example, the November 3rd issue of U.S. News & World Report contends that, "the Soviet Union is shifting from a net exporter to a net importer of many of these minerals. Some experts see a collision coming between the two superpowers over key raw materials" (p. 16). It is just such a collision that the Western Five hope to avoid over Namibia, although at the constant risk of colliding with South Africa.

Because of its own regional and domestic political stakes in a Namibian settlement, Pretoria has sought acceptance for an 'internal settlement' that would preserve "the stability of the status-quo along with SA's protection, although South African big business and transnational mining houses prefer a settlement legitimized by international recognition" (see: "SWA/Namibia: Two Stable Choices," and "South West Africa: Force Feeding

the Economy," in the March 21 and September 20, 1980 issues of the Johannesburg Financial Mail). The global economic and political stakes of the Western Five tend to endorse that latter course. Nevertheless, Western involvement in Namibia has engendered considerable controversy among anti-apartheid movements in the West and suspicion in much of Africa, particularly over the exploitation of the territory's uranium. As a result, scrutiny of the involvement of the Western Five in Namibia — with particular reference to transnational mining concerns -- has gained increased attention in published articles, books and pamphlets.

One such survey is contained in Namibia: The Strength of the Powerless, a pro-SWAPO "dossier" by Heinz Hunke published in 1980 by the Rome-based International Documentation and Communication Center (IDOC). Hunke begins with a review of the Southern Africa policies of the U.S., West Germany, the U.K., the Nordic countries, and the communist powers, followed by a critical examination of Western investment and nuclear collaboration with South Africa. He views the Namibian conflict as a struggle against a "worldwide network of economic and strategic interests," attracted to Namibia's alluring mineral wealth, including "its uranium, which already today ensures more than 16% of French, British and German uranium needs..." (p. III). Despite the liberal internationalism of the Carter Administration, the Social Democrats in West Germany, and Britain's Labour government, Hunke criticizes their tendency to compromise anti-apartheid/colonial commitments to economic and strategic interests. However, he does not ignore the

shortcomings of Soviet policy either: "The lack of economic involvement in the Third World on the part of the Soviet Union and the COMECON in general, and its compensation of supplying military assistance even to non-progressive regimes (like Idi Amin) is increasingly felt and criticized by African states" (p. 23).

Few aspects of Western involvement in Namibia have generated as much controversy as the issue of uranium mining. Two companion contributions to the October 18, 1980 issue of The Nation illustrate the type of protest generated by this issue: "Uranium Colony: The Illegal Exploitation of Namibia," by Archie W. Singham, pp. 371-73, and "R.T.Z.'s Wonderful Multinational Money Machine," by Jane Margolies, pp. 373-75. A UN conference on this issue was finally convened in July 1980, bringing together in New York expert witnesses from England, France, Japan, the Netherlands, West Germany and the U.S., to testify in hearings (see: "UN Hearings Target Uranium Mining," in Southern Africa, September/October 1980, pp. 20-21). Inter-governmental agencies such as the International Atomic Energy Agency also participated, while documentation on clandestine shipments of Namibian uranium was presented in the film, "Follow the Yellow Cake Road," produced by British journalist Ian McBride.

In Britain, the issue of uranium exploitation inspired the birth in 1977 of the Campaign Against the Namibian Uranium Contracts (CANUC), as an activist research project jointly coordinated by the Namibian Support Committee, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and the Halsmere Group. In January 1980, the results of CANUC's

findings were published in a booklet entitled The Rossing File: The Inside Story of Britain's Secret Contract for Namibian Uranium. The pamphlet focuses on Britain's importation of uranium through the company, Rio Tinto Zinc (see: Rio Tinto Zinc in Namibia, by Trevor E. Jepson, London, Christian Concern for Southern Africa, 1977). It contends that "on no less than three separate occasions — in 1968, 1970 and 1974 — the Cabinet was deliberately deceived over the source of supply, the amount of uranium to be delivered, and the availability of alternative supplies" (p. 6). Highlighted are the roles of current Conservative Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, formerly on the RTZ board of directors, former Labour Party leader and ex-Prime Minister James Callaghan, and — yes, controversial left-wing Labourite leader Tony Benn!

France also has a growing stake in Namibia's uranium. According to the September 17, 1980 Africa Confidential: "We now hear hitherto undisclosed reports of an increasing French interest. Elf-Aquitaine, 70% controlled by the French state concern, ERAP, may have made a uranium discovery in Damaraland, north of Rossing. Between 30 and 40 tons of raw ore is soon to be shipped to Europe for detailed metallurgical analysis." (See: Pointer, "Namibia: Diplomacy, Secret Transport, Uranium Discovery.") France's interest in Namibia's uranium is not without corresponding signs of increased French diplomatic interest in Southern Africa in the wake of Zimbabwe's independence. The August 20, 1980 Johannesburg Star perceived Paris as launching "a major diplomatic offensive into Anglophone and Lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) Africa in

recent months in a determined bid to increase its influence outside the traditional areas of French-speaking Africa (for) pressing political and economic reasons, (noting that) Rhodesia's transformation into Zimbabwe left the door open for an economic free-for-all into which France has unhesitatingly plunged" (p. 12). Moreover, there is a domestic political angle that impinges directly on Namibia. With French presidential elections coming up in 1981, Gaullist Mayor of Paris Jacques Chirac has criticized the lack of an activist French diplomacy in Southern Africa and proposed the convening of an all-parties Namibian settlement conference that would have been presided over by Ivorian President Houphouet-Boigny (see: "Chirac's African Challenge," in Foreign Report, October 8, 1980, pp. 7-8, and "France: Chirac Calls for Paris Talks on SWA," in To the Point, October 3, 1980). However, France has not been without diplomatic influence with regard to the Namibian issue, based upon the initiatives of such francophone leaders as former President Leopold Senghor of Senegal. At the beginning of January 1976, Senghor hosted the "Dakar International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights," involving the UN Commissioner for Namibia, the Human Rights Commission and its Special Group of Experts, and the International Institute of Human Rights (see: Dakar International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights, 5-8 January 1976, International Institute of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France).

Of all the Western Five involved in the Namibia negotiations, West Germany has a direct vested interest based on the territory's ethnic German settler community.

It is a link that is not without complications for Namibia's political and economic development. In an interesting and detailed account in the October 1980 issue of New African, Gottfried Wellmer explores these ties in an article entitled, "Germany's Tentacles in Namibia." Wellmer draws connections between the South Africa Foundation, the German settlers, and right-wing West German collaboration with Dirk Mudge's Republican Party within the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). Namibia's German settler community is also examined by Hunke in Namibia: The Strength of the Powerless (pp. 61-63), including German settler connections with such vehicles of white extremism as the National German Association and the White Resistance Movement (WWB), which "has pledged the use of arms for the defence of White South West Africa, (and has compiled) a deathlist that includes prominent black church leaders, and even the Administrator General..." (p. 62).

While pro-DTA leanings are evident among the opposition Christian Democratic elements in the German Federal Republic, the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD) has kept channels of communication open to SWAPO, much to the displeasure of Pretoria. Particularly noteworthy was SWAPO President Sam Nujoma's early November visit to Bonn —his first visit to West Germany —comprised of consultations with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, talks on economic cooperation with Parliamentary Secretary of State Alwin Bruck and with the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Deutscher Bundestag (Federal Parliament), and contacts with major non-governmental organizations such as the influential

Friedrich-Ebert Foundation and a colloquium of experts on the German economy in Hamburg. Nujoma and his delegation also met with the SPD Party Executive at a luncheon given by Klaus von Dohnany, MP Minister of State in the German Foreign Office.

Despite these overtures to SWAPO, West Germany has been criticized for its involvement in Namibia's uranium and nuclear collaboration with South Africa. An in-depth investigation of this connection is detailed in The Nuclear Axis: Secret Collaboration between West Germany and South Africa, by Zdenek Cervenka and Barbara Rogers (London, Julian Friedmann, 1978). Chapter 4, devoted to "South Africa's Uranium," includes a lengthy examination of the Rossing mining operation in Namibia, and a subsection on "Secret West German Involvement in Rossing" (pp. 134-42), based on cypher telegrams and secret reports, mainly between former South African Ambassador to Germany (and presently Ambassador to the US) Donald B. Sole and the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria.

U.S. POLICY IN TRANSITION

U.S. policy toward Namibia and toward regional cooperation in Southern Africa is currently in a state of flux. Part of Pretoria's two-track stalling strategy on Namibia during 1980 has been widely attributed to the American presidential election and the Botha regime's hope that a change of administration would result in a U.S. policy more in sympathy with its objectives. For example, on the eve of the American elections, the

Johannesburg-based Southern Africa Forum published a position paper (Vol. 3, no. 24, 1980) on a New Approach to SWA/Namibia Peace?, by Reagan public relations consultant Peter D. Hannaford, which proposes a modification of the current Western Five negotiating framework into a joint Anglo-American initiative to arrange a Lancaster-style all-parties conference. The Hannaford proposal coincides with similar ideas put forth by such prominent South Africans as the former Administrator-General for the territory, Gerrit Viljoen, and was subsequently revised into the latest abortive UN talks in Geneva.

After the election victory of Ronald Reagan, the Paris meeting between former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and South African Foreign Minister Roelof 'Pik' Botha was widely suspected as a confirmation of the Republic's hopes in light of Kissinger's membership among the President-elect's blue-ribbon panel of foreign policy advisers. The results of the Kissinger-Botha meeting were not made public — at least not to the American press. However, a November 28, 1980 To the Point article entitled, "SWA/ Namibia: Pressure by West and UN Virtually Scuttles Talks" (p. 18), assesses the results of Foreign Minister Botha's tour through Europe. "Botha's reception was particularly frosty in Belgium and France. In Britain, Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington expressed himself delighted to repeat his 'triumph' in handing over Rhodesia to a Marxist administration. But the biggest blow came when Dr. Henry Kissinger, now a foreign policy adviser in President-elect Ronald Reagan's transition team, told 'my old friend' that the United States would not guarantee to veto United Nations

sanctions against South Africa" (emphasis added). Despite this South African account of the Kissinger-Botha tete-à-tete, the U.S., under a Reagan Administration, is not expected to do what the Carter Administration could not bring itself to do -- apply economic sanctions against South Africa. Nevertheless, To the Point's reading of the Kissinger-Botha meeting seems to reflect what Reagan transition team advisers on Africa have thus far signalled -- no radical reversal on a Namibian peace process that appears close enough to the implementation stage to result in independence by the end of 1981 -- barring further South African maneuvers.

But uncertainty remains, fueled by such reports as appeared in the December 11, 1980 Washington Post, which revealed that Marion Smoak, a registered foreign agent for South Africa on behalf of Namibia's DTA-dominated internal administration, was a member of the State Department transition team with responsibility for reviewing the work of the Bureau of African Affairs! Furthermore, Smoak's Washington, D.C.-based U.S.-South West Africa/Namibia Trade and Cultural Council, Inc. recently succeeded in halting direct U.S. support for the Lusaka-based U.N. Institute for Namibia, which is charged with training black Namibians to take over the administration of an independent Namibia. Other members of the transition team at State Department responsible for Africa beside Smoak were Chester Crocker of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies (and chairman of the Africa Subcommittee of the Republican National Committee's Foreign Policy Study Group), and John Carbaugh, aide to North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms.

The incoming administration is certain to take into account the Namibian interests of its NATO alliance partners among the Western Five: "Mr. Reagan has frequently addressed the need to strengthen the Western alliance, and any unilateral American repudiation of the Western and United Nations initiatives on Namibia would hardly augur well for Western cooperation on such issues as the Persian Gulf and North Atlantic Treaty Organization defense expenditures" (see: "Reagan and Africa," by outgoing House Subcommittee on Africa Chairman, Stephen Solarz, in the New York Times, December 5, 1980, p. A31). Other sources that examine the possible course of U.S. policy toward Namibia are: "The Reagan Presidency and the Third World," in Toward Freedom, Chicago, November 1980, p. 3; "McHenry: 'Real Limits to Reagan Changes,'" in Africa News, November 24, 1980, pp. 6-8 (interview); and especially, "Southern Africa: A U.S. Policy for the '80s," by Chester A. Crocker and others, in the November/December 1980 issue of the Freedom House journal Freedom at Issue, that includes a section on "The Problem of Namibia and Angola" (pp. 13-15). This latter piece commends the negotiating process pursued by the Carter Administration on Namibia but raises the need for a fall-back position in case the UN/Western Five plan breaks down. However, a fall-back position is not articulated, giving increased importance to the Anglo-American proposal put forth by Hannaford as a Southern Africa Forum position paper. Further, as if in anticipation of complications at the talks in Geneva, the January 1, 1981 edition of Africa Confidential indicates the possibility of compromise arrangements whereby certain constitutional "guidelines" placing

constraints on nationalizations and on a one-party system might precede U.N.-sponsored elections.

NIGERIAN OIL FACTOR

If the current UN plan should ultimately dissolve into a 'fall-back' option that some Reagan advisers are contemplating, it will still need substantial support in black-ruled Africa to have credibility. Meanwhile, the continued drawing-out of the Namibian negotiations by Pretoria's delaying tactics presents the Western Five with the ever unpleasant issue of sanctions against the Republic. The question may come down to who is in a position to call whose bluff between Nigeria's hints of the use of oil as a politico-diplomatic tool, and South Africa's recent threats of retaliation on the minerals front if sanctions are applied (accompanied by appropriate siege-mentality psychological warfare applied by Foreign Minister 'Pik' Botha to prepare Afrikanerdom for the 'inevitable').

Interestingly, this showdown comes at a time when there has been some debate within high-level Nigerian circles about the tactical advisability of brandishing the oil weapon. For example, vocal Nigerian opposition leader, Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Unity Party of Nigeria) criticized Lagos' South Africa policy with regard to hints made about the possible use of oil sanctions against Western governments: "...we cannot afford, for instance, to refuse to sell oil to America, which is our biggest buyer so far....That sort of threat can only encourage consumers to find alternative sources" (Financial Times, London, November 20, 1980). Awolowo's remarks

were anticipated by the lead commentary in the November 3rd issue of West Africa entitled, "The Oil Boomerang," which noted that: "An important article in the Daily Times by Kayode Soremekun recently pointed out that oil can be a double-edged weapon and wielding it can injure Nigeria. Nigeria has an almost absolute dependence on her income from oil, which represents 90.2 percent of her exports. Other oil exporters are less dependent. The last years of the military regime illustrated the disastrous effects that a diminution of oil income can produce when expenditures have been based on a projected rising income," concluding that, with regard to forcing the pace of change in Southern Africa, "Oil, it seems likely, can only play a small part."

Were it not for the Iran-Iraq war, these cautionary warnings on the use of the Nigerian oil weapon in the Namibia/South Africa issue would greatly inhibit Nigeria's role in current African diplomacy in Southern Africa. However, the impact of the Persian Gulf war on calculations regarding a Namibian settlement was reported as follows in the November 25, 1980 Washington Star ("Namibian Independence Could Come Next Year"): "High U.N. sources said they believe that South Africa is now in a position where it will have to co-operate...They believe that if Pretoria backs out, now that its conditions have been met, the West would find it difficult to resist the clamor for economic sanctions, particularly since the U.S. oil imports from Nigeria, second only to Saudi Arabia's, have become even more vital since the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war" (emphasis added). These calculations are further strengthened by the apocalyptic economic call-to-arms in the so-called

'Stockman Manifesto' (Avoiding a GOP Economic Dunkirk), drawn up by former Michigan Representative Dave Stockman, who now heads the Reagan Administration's Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Stockman points out in reference to "Commodity Shocks" that: "The U.S. economy is likely to face two serious commodity price run-ups during the next 5-15 months. First, if the Iran-Iraq war is not soon terminated, today's excess worldwide crude and product inventories will be largely depleted by February or March. Under those conditions, heavy spot market buying, inventory accumulation and eventually panic bidding on world markets will once again emerge. Indeed, unless the war combatants exhaust themselves at an early date and move quickly back into at least limited production, this outcome is almost certain by spring" (Washington Post, December 14, 1980, p. C5).

South Africa, on the other hand, can no more afford to cavalierly threaten economic warfare than Nigeria. The November 19th issue of London's Financial Times reported strong resistance from the South African mining industry over Pretoria's hints at using minerals as a political weapon, pointing out that the "withholding of supplies might have a serious effect on the country's balance of payments (since minerals sales), excluding gold, accounted for almost a third of total exports" in 1979. Furthermore, "the industry contends that effective implementation of such counter-boycotts would be difficult. Diverting or withholding minerals would mean the severance of contracts" (see: "S. Africa Threatens Retaliation on Sanctions"). On balance, given the global oil picture, withholding

mineral supplies would not benefit the South African economy and a Western "fall-back" negotiating position might strain the patience of African states well-disposed to the Western diplomatic effort over Namibia.

II. INTERNAL STAKES POLITICAL & ECONOMIC OPTIONS

While the Western Five — with their vested economic interests — contend with South Africa, SWAPO, and the frontline states in an effort to mediate Namibia's decolonization, the unfolding of the territory's internal political dynamics will obviously determine its future economic development and interaction with neighboring states. The political victory of militant African nationalism in Zimbabwe via a Western-backed settlement process has not encouraged South Africa to want to risk a similar democratic process in Namibia. This could have domestic repercussions on an apparently sharpening factional power-struggle within the Republic's ruling National Party, which in turn could lead to an unpredictable scenario of change within South Africa itself, thus Pretoria's stake in drawing out the Namibia negotiations in order to consolidate a DTA internal administration on an equal footing with SWAPO (the stages of which are described in "SWA/Namibia: Hough Flies In," in Financial Mail, October 10, 1980, p. 166).

The Botha regime is apparently not sanguine about its ability to survive a SWAPO victory in Namibia in its domestic political struggle with the Treurnicht-led Transvaal Nats. Nevertheless, Prime

Minister Botha's plans for Namibia were decidedly not enhanced by the drubbing taken by the Republican Party of Council of Minister's Chairman Dirk Mudge in Namibia's two-tier ethnic elections. The territory's National Party won 11 of 18 seats in the Legislative Assembly. According to the November 21, 1980 To the Point: "The NP's insistence that the ethnically elected assemblies must dictate the composition of the National Assembly would destroy the fragile, Black/White alliance that Dirk Mudge's Republican Party has welded together in the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance" (see: "Disunity Weakens Anti-SWAPO Alliance," p. 10). The magnitude of the complications posed by the outcome of these ethnic elections and future implications are explored more fully in the same issue of To the Point, in an article entitled, "A Step Into Darkness for Namibia's Whites," pp. 10-12.

While SWAPO and the DTA are the most prominent contenders in Namibia's political outcome, there are other lesser, but by no means unimportant parties that could affect the shape of a future Namibian government. These include the Namibia National Front (NNF), dominated by the South West Africa National Union (SWANU); the anti-Nujoma SWAPO-Democrats who have been unable to fashion a black-dominated political center between SWAPO and DTA by merging with the NNF; the small white liberal Federal Party which broke away from the NNF to flirt with the DTA-dominated National Assembly; the AKTUR alignment led by the South West Africa National Party (which in turn is aligned with the 'verkramp't' wing of the South African branch of the NP); and the South West Africa HNP (Herstigte

Nasionale Party) — both to the right of Dirk Mudge's 'verligte' Afrikaner Republican Party. A very useful survey of these minor political parties and their socio-economic orientations bearing on the development of a future independent Namibia is contained in chapter 4 of Heinz Hunke's Namibia: The Strength of the Powerless, "The Freedom Struggle of the People of Namibia," particularly the section concerning the main political parties inside Namibia, pp. 55-63. Also relevant to this survey is chapter 6, devoted to an historical examination of the role of the Christian Churches in Namibia, which have influenced the territory's politics from the earliest colonial period to the present movement toward independence. Although focusing primarily on Ovamboland, some of the same ground is covered in Namibia Old and New: Traditional and Modern Leaders in Ovamboland, by Namibia-born Gerhard Totemeyer, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1978.

An indication of how the political tangle linked to the independence struggle may impact on Namibia's future economic options can be gleaned from a few recent studies that are particularly useful in clarifying the territory's post-independence choices. These include: "Export Marketing Strategies for Economic Development," by the U.N. Institute for Namibia's Wilfred W. Asombang, SADEX, November/December 1980; and an unpublished paper presented by Donald Sparks of State Department's Office of Economic Analysis presented at the October 1980 annual meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA) in Philadelphia entitled, Namibia's Economy at Independence. Both contributions — Asombang's and Sparks' — put forth

possible economic and export options based upon the degree to which a future independent government would intervene in the economy to control exports and pursue a radical development policy. Asombang does not allude to the actual political contenders, but offers a brief explication of export strategies that could be matched against options that might be followed by a regime under SWAPO, DTA, or any coalition of the two and/or other internal parties. Sparks, however, is more explicit in speculating on strategies that might be followed by SWAPO, the DTA (or other internal parties), or by a combined SWAPO/DTA leadership. Should SWAPO emerge victorious in the political struggle, Sparks forecasts more options for its leader Sam Nujoma compared to those available to Robert Mugabe in confronting Zimbabwe's post-independence problems, pointing out such factors in the case of Namibia as: "the limited contact of the subsistence sector with the modern economy, no sizeable black middle class nor a resilient white settler class" (p. 11). Another set of options that would also hinge on the political outcome of the independence sweepstakes are outlined in a contribution by Wolfgang Zehender entitled, "Namibia's Dependency in External Economic Affairs: Options for Re-Orientation," in the German Development Institute (GDI) collection, Perspectives of Independent Development in Southern Africa: The Case of Zimbabwe and Namibia (1980), pp. 163-83.

III. SURVEYING THE NAMIBIAN ECONOMY

The Asombang and Sparks studies along with the GDI report, illustrate the literature beginning to emerge to fill in the

knowledge gap on Namibia's transitional-colonial economy. For the most part, it is only in the past two years, as international attention has focused more and more on the conflicts in Namibia and Zimbabwe, that economic/development themes have gained ground in the literature on both areas. With regard to Namibia, critical attention that has focused on its economy has often reflected anti-apartheid concerns about fuel and non-fuel mineral -- particularly uranium -- exploitation involving Western governments and transnational mining companies, and issues of foreign investment and nuclear collaboration that are an extension of the focus on South Africa. However, a standard disclaimer that qualifies all projections relating to Namibia's economy is the scarcity of reliable, up-to-date statistics which, for the most part, are "unpublished, non-comparable and non-continuous." Until recently, South Africa has pursued a strict policy against divulging such data and suspended publishing separate statistics on the territory in 1965. This policy was changed at the end of 1980, when it was announced in the December 12, 1980 issue of the Johannesburg Financial Mail that South Africa was preparing to release, through Windhoek, detailed information on the Namibian economy. Perhaps transnational corporations operating in the territory who have pursued a similar policy of withholding data will follow Pretoria's lead.

RECENT LITERATURE: 1978-80

The Asombang, Sparks and GDI materials are among the more recent studies on the Namibian economy in the wake of Zimbabwe's independence and the shift

of political and diplomatic focus toward Namibia. The Zehender contribution in the GDI publication (cited above) is the concluding essay among several other contributions that analyze types and degrees of internal and external dependence in major economic sectors: "Development Perspectives for Agriculture in an Independent Namibia," by Hartmut Brandt, pp. 75-99).-"The Phenomenon of External and Internal Dependence in Namibian Manufacturing Industry and Prospects for Overcoming It," by Wolfgang Schneider-Barthold, pp. 100-127.-"Perspectives for Decolonizing Health in Namibia," by Gudrun Lachenmann, pp. 128-62.

Other recent materials include "Namibia's Political Economy," a May/June 1980 fact sheet (no. 63) of the London-based Africa Bureau (excerpted from an article by Prof. Reginald Green in the 1979/80 Africa Contemporary Record), which surveys the economy within the context of the liberation war and describes SWAPO's "Nationhood Program" in addition to brief comments on the mining and agricultural sectors and ailing fishing industry (see: "SWA/Namibia: Too Many Fishermen Could Chase Away the Big Ones," in To the Point, November 7, 1980, p. 40). Also, "Small and Medium-sized Enterprises in South West Africa/Namibia," by Sue Collett, a senior economist for the Anglo-American Corporation, in the South African Journal of Economics, Vol. 48, no. 3, 1980, pp. 276-87. This latest in a series of articles and studies on the Namibian economy by Collett argues on behalf of small- and medium-sized enterprises and intermediate technology in the territory's development by outlining the structure of the economy -- particularly in the

"secondary and tertiary sectors" -- with an assessment of Namibia's development potential. Collett concludes that "the range of options open to S.W.A. is much narrower than that open to the larger developing countries in Africa and South America and the densely populated countries of South East Asia," and therefore "planners, policy-makers and administrators may have no choice but to make small-industry industrialization work" (emphasis added). Furthermore, "such a policy is compatible with the existing supplies of factors of production, markets, and transport links" (p. 287).

A more general survey of the Namibian economy by Collett was published in the Vol. 28, no. 4, 1980 issue of the Anglo-American Corporation's Optima, entitled, "The Human Factor in the Economic Development of Namibia," pp. 191-219, accompanied by tables pertaining to population; the territory's economic characteristics; comparative per capita GDP and estimated employment (by sector) for 1977, and demographic and labor force characteristics in selected countries in 1970 (South Africa, Tanzania, Botswana, Zaire, Kenya, Ghana, the U.S.); and estimated GDP from 1970-77 by economic activity and by expenditure. An earlier unpublished study was conducted by Collett in 1978. The Economy of South West Africa: Current Conditions and Some Future Prospects (45 pp.) covers eight areas: economic activities, broken down by sectors -- mining, agriculture, fishing, industry and commerce, and tourism; factors of production -- labor, capital and infrastructure; gross domestic product and balance of payments; foreign investment; public finance; economic integration;

regional development between the territory's north and south; and economic viability. The author concludes that Namibia could ultimately become viable without necessarily being self-sufficient.

Perhaps the major published work on the Namibian economy is the 368-page Economic Development in Namibia: Towards Acceptable Development Strategies for Independent Namibia, by Wolfgang H. Thomas (Kaiser, Grunewald, 1978), adapted from a preliminary report entitled, "Towards Acceptable Development Strategies for Independent Namibia," prepared after the author's deportation from South Africa in 1977. Support for the preliminary report was provided by a research grant from the "Katholischer Arbeitskreis für Entwicklung und Frieden," of the Catholic Church in West Germany as part of their own research project on Southern Africa: "Forschungsreihe zum Konflikt im südlichen Afrika." The stated purpose of the study was to make up for the lack of "detailed analysis and discussion about the current economic situation and the development prospects of an independent Namibia." The material is presented in five sections: "The Namibian Economy: An Overall View."-"Economic Issues in Namibia's Political Development."-"Strategies for Economic Development."-"Strategies for Social Development."-"Resources for Development,"-with a concluding chapter on "The Wider Perspective."

Thomas points out that "the high degree of confidence about the future which characterises much of the discussion in this study is to a large extent the result of a basic assumption about the longer run

evolution of the competition between rival political groups in Namibia," observing that, "if one compares the socio-economic programmes of these groups, leaving aside some of the mere rhetoric, goals and strategies — if detailed at all — differ relatively little" (pp. 279-80). Nevertheless, Thomas is at pains to temper his optimism in considering the short-term and finds himself in agreement with an observation made by Schneider-Barthold in his 1977 GDI study on Namibia's links with South Africa (see "The Fifth Province," above), that the territory's potential can only be exploited for the good of the Namibian population when "Namibia is politically independent and when its government is prepared and in a position to call into question the close economic ties with the Republic of South Africa and to eliminate or in part modify these ties" (p. 279, emphasis added). The researcher on Namibia will also find the Thomas volume valuable for the copious notes and references to the chapters, an appendix of statistical data, and an extensive bibliography.

Two other noteworthy publications on Namibia with a specific economic theme concern the question of labor: the special January/February 1978 double issue of the South African Labour Bulletin (Durban, Natal) devoted to a "Focus on Namibia," 194 pp.; and The Workers of Namibia, by Gillian and Suzanne Cronje, published in 1979 by the London-based International Defense & Aid Fund, 135 pp. Both publications are highly critical of Namibian labor conditions under South Africa's illegal occupation regime.

The Labour Bulletin's focus is in two parts: "The View From the Shop Floor,"

based on interviews with black workers and covering such areas as labor law and discrimination, wages and living costs, industrial relations, and workers' consciousness and collective action; and "Namibian Workers Under Colonial Rule," covering South African labor policy from 1915 through 1975, migrant workers in relation to the formation of SWANLA, organizational aspects of labor protest among contract labor, workers' consciousness and the contract workers' strike of 1971-72, labor conditions at Rossing, the socio-economic status of farm laborers, and a brief survey of the territory's economy. Also included in this volume are documents from the 1971-72 general strike of contract workers, the "Strikers' Manifesto" and the "Draft Constitution of the Namibian Workers' Union (NAWU)." The Cronjes' publication covers much of the same ground, including the strikes of 1971-72, which are of considerable importance not only due to their implications for Namibia but also as a precursor to the rise of black labor militancy in South Africa during the early 1970s, leading to independent anti-apartheid labor formations of the present.

Slightly earlier studies of labor conditions in Namibia, including a general survey of the economy are: Labour and Discrimination in Namibia (Geneva, ILO, 1977, 126 pp.), and Mines, Masters and Migrants: Life in a Namibian Compound, by Robert J. Gordon (Johannesburg, Raven Press, 1977, 276 pp. -- distributed by Hans Zell, Ltd.). With regard to the specific question of labor migration, there is the unpublished 15-page report on Migrant Labour in Namibia, presented at the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa's April 4-8, 1978, "Conference on Migratory Labour in

Southern Africa," held in Lusaka, Zambia.

THE INTERNATIONAL DONOR COMMUNITY

Economic studies prepared and/or funded by national and international donor agencies go back to the mid-seventies when the U.S., in particular, began to seriously consider the need to anticipate development assistance requirements that would flow out of the quickening pace of the decolonization process in Namibia as well as Zimbabwe in the wake of the sudden take-over of revolutionary regimes in Angola and Mozambique. Two U.S. Agency for International Development (AID)-funded documents were produced during this period: Namibia: Anticipation of Economic and Humanitarian Needs (1976), prepared under the sponsorship of the African-American Scholars Council (AASC); and the "Namibia" country paper prepared for the Office of Eastern and Southern African Affairs by Stephen C. Wilcox of Louis Berger International, Inc. (1977). Besides providing an economic overview, this latter study includes a discussion of development assistance and sector analyses of agriculture, mining, fishing, manufacturing, water, transportation, power and communication, employment and manpower, education, health services and territorial administration.

The hurried manner in which AID/Africa's 1976 Southern Africa project was conceived and the climate of suspicion which surrounded U.S. intentions in Southern Africa (in the wake of the abortive Angola intervention in tacit collaboration with South Africa) did not

enhance the work of the project. But a useful base was established for the much more carefully designed AID/Africa effort that got underway in 1978 with the launching of the congressionally mandated "Southern Africa Development Analysis Project" (SADAP). Resulting analyses included Namibia: A Report to the Congress on Development Needs and Opportunities for Cooperation in Southern Africa (March 1979, 129 pp.). The paper focuses on the "socio-economic effects of political policies," including sector analyses of social infrastructure: education, manpower, and health; macro-economic trends, including employment and labor migration; and the constraints to growth in such sectors as mining, fisheries, agriculture, manufacturing, and transport/telecommunications. The report also includes discussion of past and present development goals as reflected in South Africa's administration and through its DTA surrogates, followed by an examination of the role of foreign assistance and post-independence strategy options for eliminating dependency on South Africa. Two separate sector reports on agriculture and health were also prepared in conjunction with the country paper, The Agricultural Sector of Namibia: A Brief Assessment, by Kurt R. Ansel and Russell H. Brannon in cooperation with the Southeast Consortium for International Development (SECID), the U.S. Department of Agriculture as well as AID (August 1978, 60 pp.); and A Review of Health Care in Namibia: Issues, Analyses, and Recommendations, by Family Health Care, Inc. and Africare (December 31, 1978, 56 pp.).

USAID was not alone among Western donors in conducting studies of the

Southern African regional economy and its component national economies during the period 1977-79. In West Germany, the GDI Namibia studies cited above reflected the interest of the Federal Republic in the quickening pace of change in Southern Africa, and especially in Namibia with its German settler community. The GDI (or "Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik" -- DIE) performs a major policy-oriented research role in the FRG and is directly funded by the Financial and Technical Cooperation Ministry, and to a lesser extent, by the Berlin municipal government. Much of the data published in GDI's 1980 volume on Zimbabwe and Namibia, Perspectives of Independent Development in Southern Africa, resulted from a sectoral study of the Namibian economy that got underway during the summer of 1978. Sweden's SIDA (Swedish International Development Authority) also published in August 1978 a study entitled Namibia, by Bengt Oberger and Kaj Persson, 84 pp. Although Sweden is not a member of the Western Five negotiating group concerning the UN Namibia settlement plan, the Swedish government and others in Scandinavia are intimately involved in Southern Africa in a donor assistance capacity, including support for the liberation movements (see: Canada, Scandinavia and Southern Africa, ed. by D. Anglin, T. Shaw and C. Widstrand, Uppsala, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1978). Another Scandinavian study on Namibia is currently underway at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs in Oslo.

In Britain, the Commonwealth Secretariat is playing a particularly supportive role to the SADCC, and through

the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC), has commissioned several studies on Southern Africa, including The Mineral Industry of Namibia: Perspectives for Independence, by Roger Murray, presumably published in 1978 although the date of publication is not specified. This 127-page study by Murray, a widely published journalist on African economic affairs, is intended as "a factual survey of existing mineral developments in Namibia with a descriptive analysis of their economic, fiscal and legal implications." A useful source for following Commonwealth development assistance activities in Southern Africa, including its "Commonwealth Programme for Namibians," is through its monthly news publication, Commonwealth Currents. The December 1980 issue, for example, describes two training projects: one for Namibian refugees in camps in Angola and Zambia -- "Namibian Refugee Learning System"; and an overseas program for 100 trainees -- "More Training Offered to Namibians," p. 4.

THE UNITED NATIONS INSTITUTE FOR NAMIBIA

Despite South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, the UN has managed to fulfill its responsibility for preparing the territory's citizens for eventual independence through the Institute for Namibia, which was established by the Council of Namibia in 1974 in Lusaka, Zambia. A brief descriptive note on the Institute appears in the November/December 1980 issue of SADEX, p. 46, based on the Institute's Prospectus 1979, a 36-page booklet which describes structure and organization, the media resource center,

library, finance, relations with outside agencies, students, teaching and research programs, location, publications, academic and administrative staff.

In the economic field, the Institute has published the 55-page Manpower Estimates and Development Implications for Namibia, by Reginald H. Green (1978), and the 72-page Toward Agrarian Reform Options for an Independent Namibia, by S. Mshonga (1979). Both studies focus on the dynamics of socio-economic change based upon the political-economic framework articulated by SWAPO and the "basic human needs" strategy set out in the 1976 World Employment Conference and in International Labour Organization (ILO) documents. The Institute studies do not repeat the omission of many other economic studies on Namibia which neglect to analyze the situation of African women under an exploitative apartheid system that routinely denies them access to more than rudimentary training. In terms of manpower training, the Green study points out that: "The abilities, qualifications and specific needs of women are no more homogeneous than those of men. Quite varied specific actions are therefore needed. At managerial and administrative levels, the key question may be whether the 40% of UNIN students who are women receive posts broadly comparable to the 60% who are men. If they do, then Namibia would be well ahead of Cuba and Tanzania after 15 years of effort. In technical trainee selection, SWAPO has paid more attention to ability and less to sex than the vast majority of manpower development programs. For example, in the SWAPO/ITU program, 20% of the trainees are women including some for skills never previously acquired by women in East and

Central Africa," p. 21. Aside from the Institute's publications, another useful continuing source of information on Namibia within the UN system is the UN's quarterly Namibia Bulletin.

The Namibia Institute plans to develop further as a repository of information, a center for documentation and research on Namibia's socio-economic development needs and a center to train a competent cadre for independence. In the past two years, the Institute's library staff has expanded to include an assistant librarian; two University of Zambia library assistants; and has had the consultant services of archivist A. O. Eborokhai of Nigeria, who compiled A Descriptive List of United Nations Reference Documents on Namibia (1946-1978), 161 pp., in 1979 for the Institute. The Institute also has a publications editor responsible for its publications and publishing program, and there are plans to establish a separate documentation center or division which would concentrate on setting priorities for research activities and focus on the intake of statistical data about Namibia, its economy, resources, etc.

As an educational and technical training institution, there are two schools of thought about how the Namibia Institute should evolve once Namibia is independent. One foresees the Institute becoming a full-fledged university, although some think this is not feasible because the level of higher education enrollment does not justify such an institution at the very outset. Also, there is the feeling that more concentration is needed on the enrollment of secondary level students. The second school of thought prefers to see the Institute continue its role of training administrators

by evolving into a school of public administration, since the recent past in post-colonial Africa has shown the administrative sector's need for a high degree of external assistance. However, this course would allow for the Institute to eventually expand into a broader and more diversified institution of higher education and training.

In the final analysis, the Institute's future will depend greatly on the outcome of the independence negotiations and the status of SWAPO in the regime which succeeds the current Pretoria-sponsored internal administration. Whether as a university or a school of public administration, the continued functioning of the Namibia Institute would seem to figure as an important factor in how independent the new nation will in fact become vis-à-vis South Africa.

One area of training not covered by the Institute is in the area of professional diplomacy. However, the Dar es Salaam-based Center for Foreign Relations, jointly established by Tanzania and Mozambique in 1978 to train their nationals in the spheres of international cooperation and diplomacy, has received trainees from Namibia for the 1980-81 academic year.

IV. GENERAL & REFERENCE

There are several useful general works on Namibia that include relevant information about the territory's economy as well as bibliographical and reference tools that serve as useful guides to other aspects of knowledge about the territory. Recent South African sources include

Namibia/SWA Prospectus, by Erich Leistner and others, 1980, published by the Africa Institute of South Africa, which, despite a pro-DTA bias, provides useful sections on "the economy on the eve of independence," pp. 34-38; and a "sectoral survey of the economy," pp. 39-50; accompanied by a section on "basic statistics," pp. 51-59, that may include some of the most up-to-date data (covering in some cases 1978-79). Also a new slick-covered economic/commercial magazine called Spectrum SWA/Namibia, is published by the Windhoek-based Namibian Dawn Promotions SWA. The January/February 1980 issue includes such selections as: "F.N.D.C. - Its Role & Function," by Walter Louw. - "The South West Dairy Industry." - "South West Diamonds Attract World-Wide Interests." - "Business Opportunities in SWA/Namibia." - "New Agricultural Opportunities." - "Tourist Attractions in SWA/Namibia."

In the U.K., the September 1980 Bulletin of the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at Sussex is devoted entirely to examining the theme, "Southern Africa: The Political Economy of Inequality," and includes two essays on Namibia: "Namibia: The Ideology of National Liberation," by Kimmo Kilijunen, pp. 65-71; and "The Unforgiving Land - Basis for a Post Liberation Programme in Namibia," by Reginald Green, pp. 72-76. Particularly useful is an introductory summary of these and other contributions to this volume. This edition of the IDS Bulletin should serve as a valuable resource on contemporary issues of development in Southern Africa as a whole. There is also the London-based Economist Intelligence Unit which publishes the Quarterly Review of Southern Africa. This publication

provides continuous updated surveys of the Namibian economy and relevant political developments.

In the U.S., the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) at Georgetown University published Namibia at the Crossroads: Economic and Political Prospects, by Chester A. Crocker and Penelope Hartland-Thunberg in 1978, 55 pp. Included is a section on the "Economic Prospects and Effect of Political Variables," which examines Namibia's economic resources, leadership skills, the issue of dependence, and ideological factors such as SWAPO's orientation and the "implications of Marxist regime for trading patterns." The assessments by the authors in this section are reasonably objective and avoid depicting SWAPO and its political and economic outlook in rigid, pro-Soviet Marxist terms while raising pragmatic considerations and non-Marxist influences that currently and in the future will shape the movement and a possible SWAPO regime. A less favorable view of SWAPO as a popular nationalist movement is offered in an August 1978 "Backgrounder" entitled Namibia: South Africa, SWAPO and the Settlement, by Jeffrey B. Gayner, Director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Heritage Foundation, also based in Washington, D.C. (18 pp.).

Among bibliographic and reference tools, an extensive bibliography and essay on "Namibia," by Barbara Rogers, pp. 47-114, appears in the African Bibliographic Center's American-Southern African Relations: Bibliographic Essays, edited by Mohamed A. El-Khawas and Francis A. Kornegay, Jr., Greenwood Press, 1975. The

Rogers survey covers general introductory works, factual data on the territory's administration, its economy and foreign investment, and works focusing on internal developments. Economic and other materials on Namibia are regularly indexed in the African Bibliographic Center's quarterly, A Current Bibliography on African Affairs (Baywood), as well as in its bi-monthly SADEX, successor to the Afriecon/SADAP Accessions Bulletin which provided an annotated bibliographic identification of current materials on countries in Southern Africa from May 1978-March 1979, as a documentation service to the AID/Africa-funded Southern Africa Development Analysis Project (SADAP).

These latter sources reflect a growing demand for development information and documentation on the transitional Southern African economy and the interdependent national economies that comprise it. Such demand is also reflected in such useful items as "Namibia and Rural Development Planning: The Need for Library Resources," by Sholto Cross (pp. 6-9) in the 1978/4 issue of ffhc/Action for Development issued by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) in Rome. Cross, a rural sociologist on the faculty of the Overseas Development Group at the University of East Anglia (U.K.), edited a 29-page Bibliographic Handbook: Namibian Documents Collection Prepared for the UN Institute for Namibia in 1977. He is currently preparing what is intended to be a comprehensive annotated bibliography on the territory which should be available sometime during 1981. Another major source of documentation on Namibia has been the Basler Afrika Bibliographien in

Basel, Switzerland, which published in 1978 the Namibian National Bibliography, 1971-1975, by Eckhard Strohmeyer, 244 pp., which includes a useful introductory essay on documenting Namibiana.

Other recent bibliographies on Namibia are: South West Africa/Namibia: An International Issue, 1920-1977, compiled by Elna Schoeman, 161 pp., at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) in Braamfontein (1978); and most recently, A Select Bibliography on South West Africa/Namibia, compiled by Simon Rapule Mokobane, 25 pp., and issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg. The Schoeman bibliography is the more useful of the two, with an identification of main sources, a chronology, and sections on "General Surveys."-"International Status of South West Africa/Namibia."-"Administration."-"Economics, Development and Finance."-"Labour."-"Laws, Legislation and Legal Matters."-"Political Organizations."-"Racial Policies and Establishment of Homelands."-"Role of the Churches."-"Select List of Bibliographies," as well as an author index and additional subject guide. In all, 1,110 entries are cited. Although issued in February 1980, the Mokobane bibliography is essentially an undifferentiated reading list of 287 entries.

As the focus of international attention on Southern Africa shifts to Namibia, a proliferation of quickie "basic" reading lists and guides to Namibia can be expected from different vested interest pressure groups that will reflect a superficial treatment of relevant information sources on the territory. An example of such a 'pop' guide is: "Introducing Namibia: A Basic Reading List," by William Minter of Africa

News, in the November/December issue of Southern Africa, pp. 28-29, which is particularly deficient in identifying current and continuing sources of information and documentation on Namibia.

With Namibia holding center-stage in the unfolding drama of Southern Africa's transition, many more useful materials can be expected in the months ahead. The following are a few additional recent sources:

"Botswana: Trans-Kalahari Rail Link Studied." In: Africa Economic Digest, London, January 2, 1981, pp. 26-27. Explores Botswana's stake in the eventual development of a trans-Kalahari rail link for coal exports through Walvis Bay except for one hitch, the political status of Namibia. Zambia's interest in such a link is also examined.

"Briefing: Namibia in the Frontline: The Political Economy of Decolonization in South Africa's Colony." In: Review of African Political Economy, London, January/April 1980, pp. 71-82. Outlines recent history of the political struggle over the future of Namibia between South African colonialism, the Western powers and the liberation movement (SWAPO). Sees the crux of the argument in recent years between South Africa and the West as "whether a stable neo-colonial regime can be established in Namibia as the West wants at the expense of much of South Africa's direct economic stake, or whether colonial rule -- however disguised -- is essential to the preservation of Western as well as South African interests, as the South Africans have argued," while SWAPO

declares its opposition to both forms of foreign exploitation.

CLOUGH, MICHAEL. "Namibia, 1981?" In: African Index, Washington, D.C., December 17, 1980, pp. 79-82. In the wake of the latest agreement over the Waldheim proposals for implementing the UN plan for Namibia, the history of South Africa's strategy in the territory is outlined: incorporation, 1920-62; internal self-rule, 1962-77; Turnhalle strategy, 1974-77; 'dual track,' 1977-80. In a note on the economy it is reported that South Africa is finally preparing to release detailed information.

"False Hope on Namibia." In: The Seiler Report, Poughkeepsie, New York, Issue No. 6, November 1980, pp. 3-4. Analyzes South African options in accepting UN Secretary-General Waldheim's proposal for a January pre-implementing meeting on Namibia. Sees little reason for optimism for a break in the diplomatic deadlock over likely course of incoming Reagan Administration.

FISCHER, JEAN. "SWA/Namibia: Tourism Thriving Despite The Political Problem." In: To the Point, Johannesburg, November 14, 1980, p. 39. Unlike other countries in Southern Africa, tourism in Namibia has reportedly not been adversely affected by conflict.

"Guerrilla Chief Discusses Guns, Goals, Whites." In: New York Times, New York, January 18, 1981, p. 3. Interview with SWAPO President Sam Nujoma following collapse of all-party talks on Namibia in Geneva, covering territory's political and economic prospects, the role of whites, the interests of transnational companies and relations with South Africa.

KNOWLER, DON. "Nujoma - Leadership in Danger?" In: The Star, Johannesburg, December 13, 1980, p. 9. Speculates on possible opposition to Sam Nujoma's leadership of SWAPO and a future independent Namibia. Raises the jailed Herman Toivo ja Toivo as an alternative.

_____. "SWA/Namibia: A Country Divided Against Itself..." In: Ibid., December 20, 1980, pp. 12-13. Describes divisions in white settler community reflected in the defeat of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance's white Republican Party in two-tier elections. Mentions disappointment of German settlers in loss of Republicans to Nats with whom Germans tended to align in the past.

_____. "Toivo - Still a 'Spiritual Leader' for Some." In: Ibid., December 13, 1980, p. 9. Brief profile of Herman Toivo ja Toivo currently detained on Robben Island. Attempts to contrast Toivo as a moderate to Sam Nujoma's militant leadership of SWAPO.

MUSKIE, EDMUND S. Africa and U.S. Policy. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1980. 4 pp. ("Current Policy," No. 250). Reprint of speech delivered December 4, 1980 by then Secretary of State Muskie to the African-American Historical and Cultural Society and World Affairs Council of Northern California. Comments on opportunities for incoming Reagan Administration in Southern Africa, including prospects for Namibia settlement.

"Namibia: Crisis for the International Community." In: Africa Today, Denver, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1979, pp. 7-54. Contents:

"No Free and Fair Settlement in Namibia: The Collapse of the Western Five Plan," by G.W. Shepherd, Jr.-"Namibia: Forces and Factions," by W. Johnston.-"Namibia and Its Neighbors," by R.L. Dillingham, Jr.-"Support for SWAPO's War of Liberation in International Law," by C. Theodoropoulos.-"Detentions in Namibia: An Exchange of Correspondence."

"Namibia: Last-Ditch UN Manoeuvres." In: Africa Confidential, London, October 29, 1980, pp. 7-8. South Africa is seen to be moving increasingly toward ending delaying tactics over Namibia settlement. Tactical UN maneuvers are described that would sufficiently "de-recognize" SWAPO to overcome Pretoria's objections.

"Namibia Lobby Gathers Storm." In: Southern Africa, New York, November/December 1980, p. 23. Describes setting up of pro-Democratic Turnhalle Alliance lobby in Washington, D.C., known as the U.S./South West Africa Namibia Trade and Cultural Council.

"Namibian Conference: Breakthrough or South African Success?" In: Washington Notes on Africa, Washington, D.C., Winter 1980/81, pp. 5-6. Written prior to Geneva talks, article examines the motives of South Africa and the West behind the convening of the conference.

O'CALLAGHAN, MARION. Namibia: The Effects of Apartheid on Culture and Education. Paris, Unesco, 1977. 169 pp. \$11.50. Study covers the historical background to Namibia's current status, its political and economic incorporation into South Africa and the corresponding development of education in the territory

and impact on indigenous culture.

PEEL, QUENTIN. "The Future of Namibia: South Africa Digs in Its Heels." In: Financial Times, London, January 16, 1981. Examines the collapse of the Geneva all-party talks on Namibia against the background of Western interest in the territory's strategic importance and mineral wealth, South Africa's calculations in terms of domestic politics and the incoming Reagan Administration, and how the outcome affects SWAPO and the frontline states.

"Pretoria: 'Waiting for Reagan.'" In: The Guardian, New York, January 21, 1981, p. 23. Sums up South Africa's strategy on Namibia as "waiting for Reagan" to explain the collapse of the Geneva talks.

"Representative of Current OAU Chairman Addresses Solemn Meeting on Namibia Day." In: OAU Bulletin, New York, September 1980, pp. 1-5. Address delivered by George Gelaga-King of Sierra Leone.

RODRIGUES, SARA. "Talks Open in Geneva: Namibia Negotiations at Key Stage." In: The Guardian, New York, January 14, 1981, pp. 1, 15. Explores background to Geneva "pre-implementation"

conference on Namibia, seen as diplomatic victory for SWAPO.

ROOT, CHRISTINE. "Reagan's Africa Policy Suits Pretoria." In: The Guardian, New York, January 21, 1981, pp. 13-14. The second of two articles speculating on Reagan's Africa policy. Focuses on expected Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker who is described as a "pragmatic reactionary." Also focuses on Namibia and Angola as important indicators of policy toward Southern Africa and examines the campaign to re-involve the U.S. in covert operations.

"Sam Nujoma: Where SWAPO Stands." In: Financial Mail, Johannesburg, September 19, 1980, p. 1357. Interview with leader of the South West Africa People's Organization, including discussion of economic policy in an independent Namibia.

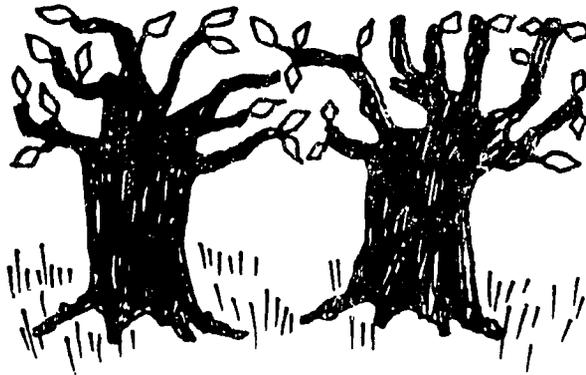
SWAPO of Namibia: Information & Comments. London, SWAPO Western European Office, 1979-. Frequency: bimonthly; subscription rate: available upon request. "A selection of press cuttings, information from our own sources, copies of extracts from currently relevant documents and a SWAPO comment on the current situation." Publisher's address: 188 North Gower St., London NW1, England.



Footnotes

1. Eidelberg also examines South Africa's regional options vis-à-vis Zimbabwe and Mozambique during the 1980s (pp. 63-64), which tend to confirm that Pretoria has a definitive stake in destabilizing anti-regime activities in both Angola and Mozambique in order to undermine SADCC transport/communications objectives and maintain South African hegemony over regional communications links.
2. For a more conventional analysis of South Africa's regional options, see: South Africa's Narrowing Security Options, by Robert S. Jaster, International Institute for Strategic Studies "Adelphi Papers" no. 159, especially the last section on "Options for the Eighties," pp. 36-47.
3. The Anglo and DeBeers groups also play a major role in exploiting Namibia's uranium and other mineral deposits "and have a vested interest in Namibia's political and economic future."

* Ms Mortimer is with the National Council of Negro Women, International Division.



CONFERENCES & MEETINGS

FORTHCOMING, CURRENT & PAST

SADEX readers are encouraged to send information on conferences and meetings, especially those related to the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), as well as copies of conference proceedings, papers and reports for indexing in the SADEX bibliographic section.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON "SOUTHERN AFRICAN METALS AND MINERALS IN A WORLD CONTEXT," May 11-12, 1981, Johannesburg, South Africa. Organized by Metals and Minerals Research Services in cooperation with Metal Bulletin. Scheduled to be opened by South African Finance Minister Owen Horwood. Topics include: European investment in the mining industry in Southern Africa; non-monetary demand for gold; gold -- a central banker's view; Southern Africa's position in a competitive world coal market; and future international markets for uranium. Contact: Metals and Minerals Research Services, 222-225 Strand, London WC2 R1BA, England.

SYMPOSIUM ON FOOD PROBLEMS IN AFRICA, April 23-25, 1981, Urbana, Illinois. Papers to be presented will deal with environmental factors; food supply problems; food use and human welfare; public policies; and options for the future. Contact: Food Problems in Africa, African Studies Program, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1208 W. California, Room 101, Urbana, Illinois 61801.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES IN AFRICA, April 9-10, 1981, Geneva, Switzerland. Ministerial-level conference convened by the U.N. Secretary-General, in cooperation with the OAU and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, to mobilize assistance for refugees in Africa. African countries will be assisted in identifying priorities, and the international community is being asked to promote maximum support for the conference. Contact: Secretariat for the ICARA, U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.

C.A.S.L.E. CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA REGIONAL SEMINAR, March 31-April 3, 1981, Lilongwe, Malawi. Contact: Commonwealth Association of Surveying and Land Economy, 12 Great George Street, Parliament Square, London SW1, England.

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON "COMPUTING FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT," March 23-27, 1981, London, England. Scheduled topics include computers and agriculture, fisheries, communications, finance, transportation and water resources. Expected participants

include policy makers, development planners, software designers, consultants, engineers, government officials, economists and educators. Contact: Conference Secretariat, British Computer Society, 13 Mansfield Street, London W1M 0BP, England.

REGIONAL WORKSHOP ON IMPROVEMENT OF HEALTH IN RURAL AREAS THROUGH MASS EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS, March 1981, Lusaka, Zambia. Sponsored by: African Adult Education Association, Kenyatta Conference Center, P.O. Box 50768, Nairobi, Kenya.

SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR WOMEN, February 15-21, 1981, Gaborone, Botswana. Co-sponsored by the Botswana Federation of Trade Unions and the African-American Labor Center for trade union women from Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Theme: "The Rapid Emergence of Women in the Labor Market: A Challenge to the Labor Movement." Topics include: migration, the increasing number of female-headed households, problems of union participation, trade union education, health care, child care and vocational training. To request a copy of the conference report contact: African-American Labor Center, 1125 15th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

1ST FULL-SCALE MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH MINISTERS OF AGRICULTURE AND FOOD, February 11-13, 1981, Dacca, Bangladesh. Designed to discuss cooperation in the fields of agriculture and food production and to review current Commonwealth and other collaborative programs. Contact: Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5HX, England.

WORKSHOP ON "EAST AFRICAN BANKING/SMALL FARMER AGRICULTURAL CREDIT", February 2-6, 1981, Nairobi, Kenya. Co-hosted by the Agricultural Finance Corporation and the Cooperative Bank of Kenya, and co-sponsored by the African Regional Agricultural Credit Association and Agricultural Cooperative Development International, for participants from Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Seychelles and Mauritius. Designed to explore common operational problems concerning credit programs dealing with small farmers; to exchange experience; and to point the way to courses of action that will improve banking/agricultural credit services to farmer borrowers. To request a copy of the conference report contact: Mr. Umesh Mally, Executive Assistant, Agricultural Cooperative Development International, 1012 14th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

CONFERENCE ON "URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING IN THE THIRD WORLD", January 31, 1981, Toronto, Canada. Presented by the Third World Centre, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute; and sponsored by the Canadian International Development Agency. Topics include: low-income housing; regional planning in the Third World; training planners in Canada; and the politics of planning in developing countries. Contact: Third World Centre, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, 50 Gould Street, Toronto M5B 1E8, Canada.

MEETING OF OPEC FINANCE MINISTERS TO DISCUSS OPEC DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, January 30-31, 1981, Vienna, Austria. Attended by representatives of all 13 OPEC member

states. Scheduled to consider major expansion of the OPEC Special Fund and to discuss OPEC contributions to the International Fund for Agricultural Development and to programs providing energy aid to developing countries. Contact: OPEC Special Fund, P.O. Box 995, 1011 Vienna, Austria.

U.N.-SPONSORED PRE-IMPLEMENTATION MEETING ON NAMIBIA, January 7-14, 1981, Geneva, Switzerland. Opened by U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, with closed working sessions chaired by Under-Secretary-General Brian Urquhart. Principal participants were a delegation from SWAPO led by SWAPO President Sam Nujoma, and a delegation of internal Namibian parties, including the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, led by South African Administrator-General Danie Hough. Attending as observers were representatives of South Africa; the frontline states (Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Botswana); the 'Western Five' who helped draw up the U.N.-backed settlement plan for Namibia (the U.S., Canada, Britain, France and West Germany); Nigeria; and the Organization of African Unity.

It was hoped that by the end of the meeting the South African-led delegation and SWAPO would have agreed on a date for a cease-fire and on moving toward implementation of the U.N. settlement plan, leading to independence for Namibia by the end of the year.

At the opening of the meeting Mr. Nujoma said SWAPO was ready to sign a cease-fire agreement with the delegation of South Africa "here in Geneva during this meeting," and to cooperate with the U.N. Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to ensure implementation of the U.N. plan. However, Mr. Hough said the meeting was concerned in part with establishing trust and confidence among the parties and that "after the meetings of the last few days it would be premature to agree to a definite date for the implementation." Thus the meeting ended without agreement.

MEETING OF FRONTLINE STATES TO DEVELOP A COMMON STRATEGY FOR THE U.N.-SPONSORED TALKS ON NAMIBIA, January 3, 1981, Luanda, Angola. Attended by the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia; the Deputy Foreign Minister of Zimbabwe; the Tanzanian Ambassador to Angola; and a SWAPO delegation led by SWAPO President Sam Nujoma. In the official statement released after the meeting, the frontline states termed the scheduled Geneva meeting a step forward in the process of ensuring the independence of Namibia and re-iterated their support for SWAPO in its struggle to achieve Namibia's independence.

3RD MEETING OF THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE ON THE CAIRO-GABERONE TRANS-EAST AFRICAN HIGHWAY, December 16-(?), 1980, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Agenda items included the establishment of the Trans-East African Highway Authority, the publication of an African Highway Code and the African Highway Master Plan. Admitted as full members of the Co-ordinating Committee -- joining Egypt, Botswana, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania -- were Burundi, Malawi and Zimbabwe. Contact: U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

1ST CONFERENCE OF EXECUTIVE HEADS OF ECA-SPONSORED MULTINATIONAL REGIONAL AND SUB-REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROMOTION INSTITUTIONS, December 15-19, 1980, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Intended to inaugurate regular periodic meetings of the institutions. Topics included: implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action; horizontal cooperation among the institutions; and political and financial support for the institutions from ECA/OAU member states. Institutions participating: Association of African Trade Promotion Organizations; African Association of Cartography; African Centre for Applied Research and Training in Social Development; African Development Bank; African Regional Centre for Engineering Design and Manufacturing; Association of African Central Banks; African Centre for Monetary Studies; Eastern and Southern African Management Institute; Eastern and Southern African Mineral Resources Development Centre; African Institute for Higher Technical Training and Research; Port Management Association of Eastern Africa; African Institute for Economic Development and Planning; Regional Centre for Training in Aerial Surveys; United Nations Development Programme; West African Clearing House; Regional Institute for Population Studies; Regional Centre for Services in Surveying and Mapping; African Regional Organization for Standardization; Multinational Programming and Operational Centres at Gisenyi (Rwanda), Lusaka (Zambia), Tangiers (Morocco), Niamey (Niger), and Yaounde (Cameroon); and American University, Cairo. Contact: U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

5TH GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES, December 13-20, 1980, Yamoussokro, Ivory Coast. Theme: "The Adaptation of the African University to Development Needs"; sub-themes: "The University and Permanent Education" and "Problems of Research and Development." Contact: Association of African Universities, P.O.B. 5744, Accra-North, Ghana.

2ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE AFRICAN REGIONAL AGRICULTURAL CREDIT ASSOCIATION (AFRACA), December 8-17, 1980, Conakry, Guinea. Agreed to establish 3 rural credit training centers to train agricultural cooperative banking and credit personnel, with Tanzania selected to host the center for the East African sub-region (including Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia). Other centers will be established in an anglophone West African country and in a francophone country. Contact: Dr. Opuku Owusu, Interim Secretary-General, African Regional Agricultural Credit Association, P.O. Box 1628, Accra, Ghana.

MEETING OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT (IFAD), December 8-11, 1980, Rome, Italy. Topics included replenishment of the Fund for the 1981-83 period. Admitted as new members were Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Solomon Islands and Zimbabwe, bringing total membership to 135 countries, including all 9 countries participating in the SADCC. Contact: International Fund for Agricultural Development, Via del Serafico 107, 00142 Rome, Italy.

2ND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE IMPACT OF VIRAL DISEASES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN AND MIDDLE-EAST COUNTRIES, December 1-6, 1980, Nairobi, Kenya. Topics

included the control of viral diseases at the regional level. Contact: Professor E. Kurstak, International Comparative Virology Organization, Faculty of Medicine, University of Montreal, C.P. 6128, Succursale A, Montreal H3C 3P8, Canada.

1ST UNIDO CONSULTATION MEETING ON THE PHARMACEUTICALS INDUSTRY, December 1-5, 1980, Lisbon, Portugal. Designed to promote development of the pharmaceuticals industry in the Third World. Attended by 215 experts representing 65 countries and 13 international organizations. Topics of discussion included an extensive report on the pharmaceuticals industry prepared by the UNIDO Secretariat, which listed 26 essential drugs that could be produced in Third World countries if the necessary technology were made available. A list of 49 offers of technology for 9 of the drugs was provided by the International Federation of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Associations. Contact: U.N. Industrial Development Organization, P.O. Box 300, A 1400 Vienna, Austria.

MEETING OF PLENIPOTENTIARIES RESPONSIBLE FOR SURVEYING, MAPPING AND REMOTE SENSING IN THE EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA SUB-REGION, November 28, 1980, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Endorsed the recommendations contained in the report of the Technical Advisory Committee and approved the Programme of Work for the period 1981-1986. The observer from the U.S. announced that the U.S. Government is prepared to contribute approximately \$4 million towards the Regional Remote Sensing Facility at Nairobi; and the observer from Poland reaffirmed his Government's willingness to take part in the Geodetic Continental Network Project, the implementation of which is charged to the Nairobi Centre for Services in Surveying and Mapping. Contact: U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

2ND SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COORDINATION CONFERENCE (SADCC-2), November 27-28, 1980, Maputo, Mozambique. Opened by Mozambican President Samora Machel; chaired by Botswana's Finance Minister, Peter Mmusi; and attended by representatives of the 9 SADCC member states (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) and by ministers and senior officials from 38 countries and 17 international organizations.

Designed to explain to the international community SADCC's plans for regional development and to secure financial pledges from governments and international agencies for 97 priority development projects -- particularly in the area of transport and communications -- estimated to cost approximately \$1.946 billion.

Pledges received during the conference totalled \$680 million for national and regional development projects. Among the reported pledges were: \$384m from the African Development Bank; \$50m each from Italy and the U.S.; \$32m from the Netherlands; \$15-20m from the United Nations Development Programme; \$11m from Sweden; \$10m from Denmark; \$8.5m from Belgium; \$6m each from Norway and Finland; \$1.5m from West Germany; and \$1m from Australia. In addition, the European Economic Community pledged \$100m for regional projects in the 7 SADCC countries that are members of the Lome Convention (while some EEC member states -- including Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands

and Norway -- made clear they are willing to finance projects based in Angola and Mozambique, despite their non-membership in Lome).

Countries and organizations not making specific pledges but said to be considering financing SADCC projects include: Austria, Brazil, Canada, France, the German Democratic Republic, Great Britain, Ireland, Japan, the Kuwait Development Fund, the OPEC Fund and Venezuela.

While disputes arose over how much of the pledges represented "new money," it was evident that significant new monies had been generated and that additional pledges might well be forthcoming, including perhaps a sizeable contribution from the OPEC Fund.

At the conclusion of SADCC-2, Chairman Mmusi termed the conference "highly successful," adding, "we are very pleased...SADCC is now in business"; while conference spokesman Fernando Honwana told reporters that the results had gone beyond pre-conference expectations.

The conference was preceded by a two-day officials' meeting and a one-day ministerial meeting. Future plans call for a meeting of ministers or heads of state in Swaziland in May, and SADCC-3 in Malawi in November 1981.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INTER-AFRICAN COFFEE ORGANIZATION, November 24-28, 1980, Luanda, Angola. Established a working group to prepare for renegotiating quotas under the International Coffee Agreement, due to expire in September 1982; called for closer cooperation with the Organisation Africaine et Malgache du Cafe; and recommended that a study be made of the possibility of affiliating with the OAU. Contact: Organisation Interfricaine du Cafe, BPV 210, Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

MEETING OF THE TECHNICAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONAL CENTRE FOR SERVICES IN SURVEYING AND MAPPING, November 24-25, 1980, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Attended by representatives from the 12 member states of the Eastern and Southern Africa sub-region and by observers from Nigeria. Discussion topics included the report of a three-man mission which visited all the countries of the sub-region and a detailed report on the development of the permanent site for the Centre in Nairobi. Both reports were adopted for consideration by the Governing Council of the Centre and the Meeting of Plenipotentiaries, November 27-28, 1980, Addis Ababa (see above). Contact: U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON FOOD STRATEGIES IN AFRICA, November 23-25, 1980, The Hague, Netherlands. Co-sponsored by the Government of the Netherlands and the World Food Council, for representatives of 19 African countries, 8 industrialized countries and 10 international organizations. Participants examined the African food situation, the need for food strategies, the concept of food strategies, their implementation, and external assistance required. Contact: World Food Council, Via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy.

DEVELOPMENT INFORMATION BRIEFS

This section is intended to provide, for information purposes, abstracted news briefs 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

U.N. Declares Industrial Decade for Africa: The U.N. General Assembly recently "proclaimed an Industrial Decade for Africa, called for measures to increase food and agricultural production in developing lands, adopted principles for the control of restrictive business practices and urged steps to carry out the programme for the establishment of a new and more equitable international economic order." (U.N. PRESS RELEASE, December 12, 1980, p. 2) B(344)

Tanzania & Zimbabwe - Cooperation: "Zimbabwe and Tanzania on December 5th signed a number of agreements aimed at fostering political and economic cooperation between the two countries at a ceremony held at the Prime Minister's office in...Salisbury. The Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe, and the President of Tanzania, Mr. Julius Nyerere, signed a friendship and cooperation agreement. Three agreements on

economic, technical, and scientific cooperation, air services between and beyond their respective borders, and telecommunications were (also) signed..." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, December 31, 1980, p. 5734) B(345)

Zambia - World Bank Loan: "The World Bank has approved a \$15 million loan to the Development Bank of Zambia. The loan will be used to support the development bank's efforts to promote medium- and large-scale industrial, agro-industrial, and agricultural enterprises. The World Bank loan will provide foreign exchange for maintaining and expanding productive capacity in the country, especially of agricultural and agro-industrial firms that would support the national effort towards achieving self-sufficiency in food production. As a result of the loan, more than \$48 million in total investments will take place and some 1,800 new jobs will be created. The Development Bank of Zambia will also

Zimbabwe - Aid and Trade: "The Minister of Finance, Senator Nkala, says that within two years Zimbabwe should be able to stand on its own two feet with the need of foreign aid largely falling away. However Zimbabwe will still need aid here and there and especially for rural development. Aid agreements had been signed with Britain, West Germany, Saudi Arabia, Italy and many others." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, January 13, 1981, p. i) B(347)

Zimbabwe - People's Bank: "The Minister of Finance has announced that the Zimbabwe People's Bank will start operating early next year. Its main function will be to assist emergent businessmen and farmers." (IBID., November 4, 1980, p. A2/8) B(348)

AGRICULTURE

Mozambique - Fisheries Support: "There will be increased government support for fishing on Lake Nyasa. Secretary of State for Fisheries Joaquim Tenreiro de Almeida announced recently that the support would be for artisanal fishing and for a planned state fishing company. An ice plant, cold store and boat repair yard will be built at Metangula. Biological studies of the lake are also planned. The government has created a state fishing enterprise, Unipesca, to support and supply small-scale fishing." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, November 14, 1980, p. 21) B(349)

Mozambique - Grain Warehouses: "Warehouses for storing up to 15,000 tons of grain will soon be constructed in Beira ... (as) part of the PRM food security

program....The construction of these warehouses is the first phase of 8 projects that aim to provide the country with a 60,000 ton grain storage capacity. The projects will be carried out under the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Commerce, with technical assistance from the FAO and financial assistance from Switzerland." (TEMPO, 30 de Novembro de 1980, p. 2, translated) B(350)

Tanzania - Livestock Sale to Uganda: "Tanzania is selling Uganda 30,000 head of cattle to revive the Ugandan livestock industry, which suffered big losses during the war which ousted President Amin early in 1979. The agreement, signed recently in Dar es Salaam, includes the supply of 10,000 breeding heifers, as well as ranching stock. Deliveries are expected to start before the end of the year, with most of the cattle being transported in ships across Lake Victoria from the Tanzanian port of Musoma." (AFRICAN BUSINESS, November 1980, p. 54) B(351)

Zambia - Dairy Project: "The proposed FAO-World Bank K7m dairy project is intended to raise Zambia's milk production from 7m litres a year, and will employ 1,200 people in the Chisamba, Lusaka, Mazabuka and Monze areas. The Commercial Farmers' Union has called for higher producer prices to encourage production." (IBID., December 1980, p. 73) B(352)

Zambia - Storage Sheds: "Construction is expected to start early next year of 64 steel sheds as storage facilities for the National Agricultural Marketing Board by the Canadian International Development Agency at a cost of Can \$37

million (\$31.2 million). A further ZK 2.5 million (\$3.1 million) is being provided by the EEC for 11 multi-purpose storage sheds." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, December 5, 1980, p. 24) B(353)

Zimbabwe - Regional Dairy Exports Cut:
"The Dairy Marketing Board (DMB) is not renewing contracts with Botswana and Zaire, a DMB official said in Salisbury on 2 December. The DMB has already cut exports of dairy products to Malawi, Mozambique, Seychelles and Comoros. The decision was taken because milk production is running at 1 percent below last year's level and because of soaring local demand with the return of refugees and higher wages." (IBID., p. 26) B(354)

See also: B(346); B(367)

EDUCATION & TRAINING

American Colleges to Train African Environmentalists: "American colleges and universities will help 13 African countries to undertake an ambitious program to protect their environments. The 32 institutions of the Southeast Consortium for International Development, including 17 black schools, will participate in the program. About 1,500 African government officials and technicians will attend a series of workshops at which the U.S. experts will advise them how to detect early signs of drought, control soil erosion and safeguard water supplies. The \$11 million, five-year project will be funded by a grant from the Agency for International Development and by contributions from the participating African countries. The project will train more environmentalists for Africa and enable U.S. researchers to undertake

needed environmental research and training in Africa." (AFRO-AMERICAN, November 22, 1980, pp. 3-4) B(355)

Botswana and Swaziland - EDF Railway Training: "The EDF is contributing \$1.2m towards a regional training scheme for Botswana and Swaziland... Botswana and Swaziland have very different railway systems, but even so the EDF reckons that there are enough common elements to justify a common approach, starting with a director, who is charged with the responsibility of making collaboration desirable. Most of the funds in the first phase will go on paying for training outside the two countries, practically all of it being in the UK, although some will take place in Kenya." (WORLD AID DIGEST, October 10, 1980, p. 2) B(356)

Tanzania - Bulgarian Aid for Training Centre: "The Bulgarian foreign trade organisation Machinoexport and Tanzania's National Development Corporation (NDC) have signed an agreement worth TShs300m to establish a technical training centre in Mwanza due to open in October 1983. The centre will open with nearly 700 students, rising to 2,000. They will be trained in mechanical, electrical and chemical engineering. Construction for the main buildings is expected to start in December, 1981." (AFRICAN BUSINESS, December 1980, p. 75) B(357)

Tanzania & Zimbabwe - Railway Training Accord: "Zimbabwe Railways will this month (November) start training Tanzanians on attachment in Zimbabwe. The programme is financed by the Canadian International Development Agency. An accord for Tanzanians to take advanced manpower training in Zimbabwe was reached last July when Tanzania Railway

Corp. officials toured Zimbabwe Railways." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, November 18, 1980, p. A2/5) B(358)

Zimbabwe - Cotton Training Center: "The managing director of Shell Chemicals... donated \$60,000 to the Cotton Growers' association for the establishment of a cotton training centre in Gatooma. He said the donation was made because of his company's long association with the cotton industry. He said the gesture has been made in order to look after the cotton industry, which spends more than \$8,000,000 annually. (He) added that support for the establishment of a cotton training centre will help to assure optimum use of pesticides by cotton farmers. He also pointed out that the establishment of the centre is a major step towards filling the gap in the pest control process." (IBID., December 2, 1980, p. A2/6) B(359)

ENERGY

Botswana - Power: "The CDC (Commonwealth Development Corporation) is providing £5m to the Botswana Power Corporation for the expansion of Gaborone Power Station. The CDC is the only source of external finance for the project. Expansion plans include the installation of two 3mw turbo-alternators, two coal-fired boilers and the necessary plant auxiliaries." (WORLD AID DIGEST, November 21, 1980, p. 3) B(360)

Mozambique - New Power Station: "Quelimane, capital of Zambezi province in north central Mozambique, has recently solved its years-long problem of a shortage of electrical power with the

opening of a new power station, according to a story in Mozambique's popular weekly magazine, Tempo. The new enterprise came into operation as an experimental programme in mid-November....The new power supplies are provided by two groups of generators with Mirrlees motors. Their potential power is equal to 3.4 mw each and have a total capacity of 6.8 mw when installed....The experiment will mean a complete absence of any power restrictions in any sector. For technical and economic reasons, it is even desirable that demands for electrical power increase significantly....The new power station represents an investment of 125 million meticals (almost five million dollars). As well as the urban area, it will supply electricity to a water pumping station in Louari and to Nicuadala and Sococo districts." (AIM: AGENCIA DE INFORMACAO DE MOCAMBIQUE, November 1980, pp. 20-21) B(361)

Namibia - Link to South African Power: "Work will begin (in February) on a new 70,000,000-rand power transmission line which will link Windhoek in South West Africa with the South African power grid. The line, which will be completed by the end of next year, will be used to supply power generated by the South African Electricity Supply Commission to consumers in the southern and central parts of the territory." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, January 20, 1981, p. ii) See also: B(238) B(362)

Zambia & Zimbabwe - CAPCO Surplus: "The Central African Power Corporation, (Capco), the statutory body jointly owned by the Zimbabwe and Zambian governments responsible for the Kariba power project, ended the year to 30 June

with an operating surplus of Z\$9.2 million (\$14.5 million) and a net surplus of Z\$5.5 million (\$8.7 million). Total energy supplies during the year were 12,327 million kWh, an increase of 7.6 percent over the previous year. Capco's annual report said the increase in Zimbabwe was 11.4 percent and in Zambia 3.2 percent." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, December 19, 1980, p. 27) B(363)

Zimbabwe - Hydro-Power Tests: "The Central African Power Corporation, (Capco), which was responsible for the Kariba project, will begin test drilling soon on two potential hydrological sites on the Zambesi river, in the Maputa and Datonka gorges. A sum of Z\$1 million (\$1.6 million) has been set aside in Capco's budget for the work this year. A third site, at Devil's Gorge, near the western end of Lake Kariba, will be investigated next year. Exploratory drilling is also going on at the Kariba South site where Capco wants to install two additional turbines." (IBID., November 7, 1980, p. 22) B(364)

FOOD & NUTRITION

Lesotho - State of Emergency: "A state of national emergency was declared on 16 December to cope with the serious drought. Prime Minister Chief Jonathan called for international emergency food aid and relief for rural areas. Drought has hit other areas of southern Africa including South Africa's Natal province, southeast Lesotho and parts of Mozambique." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, December 19, 1980, p. 24) B(365)

Mozambique - Emergency Aid: "West Germany will provide \$1.1 million worth of

drought relief assistance in collaboration with other aid agencies, it was announced in Maputo on 10 November. Maize worth \$800,000 will be provided through a link-up with the West German Red Cross. In addition, \$300,000 worth of food, medicines and soap has been given. Other donations include \$1.1 million from Sweden to buy wheat and \$2.7 million from the U.N.'s World Food Programme in the form of emergency food aid. The government made an appeal last August for international assistance for the 1.5 million people directly affected by drought in six of the country's ten provinces. (IBID., November 14, 1980, p. 21) B(366)

"The World Food Programme is to give Mozambique food assistance worth \$19,371,000 to support forestry activities in the provinces of Maputo in the south and Manica in the north of the country. An agreement for the project, which covers a five-year period, was signed in Maputo on November 12....The aim of the project is to stimulate the flow of labour from depressed and food-deficit areas to work in the forestry areas and to generate finance for forestry and other development activities in the two provinces." (AIM: AGENCIA DE INFORMACAO DE MOZAMBIQUE, November 1980, p. 22) See also: B(328) B(367)

Zimbabwe - Offers Maize Alternative: "African nations that are forced to buy maize from South Africa despite their detestation of apartheid will now have an alternative source - Zimbabwe. In 1980, Zimbabwe had its biggest maize crop ever, partly because of the economic policies of the Mugabe government, which encouraged farmers to switch

from tobacco to maize. Zimbabwe is expected to have a surplus of about 1 million tons over its domestic needs of 900,000 tons and this will probably be sold to Zambia, Mozambique and Zaire as part of southern Africa's effort to lessen dependence on South Africa." (JOHANNESBURG STAR, December 27, 1980; quoted in SOUTH AFRICA/NAMIBIA UPDATE, January 21, 1981, p. 3) B(368)

See also: B(35); B(354); B(368); B(387)

INDUSTRY & TRADE

Mozambique - Portugal Opens Credit Line: "Portugal has opened a \$100 million line of credit to Mozambique....The terms of the credit mean that Portuguese commercial banks will be able to respond to credit requests from companies wishing to do business in Mozambique without lengthy recourse to the Portuguese central bank." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, November 7, 1980, p. 20) B(369)

Namibia - Trade Rules: "South West Africa will in future handle its own imports and exports. A statement released in Windhoek said that control over all imports and exports to South West Africa, which was presently being enforced by the South Africa director of imports and exports in Pretoria, would be taken over by the South West African Department of Economic Affairs with effect from 5th November." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, November 11, 1980, p. A2/4) B(370)

Swaziland - Industrial Projects: "Eight industrial projects, including expansions to existing plants, are due to start production before July 1981. The

cost of these projects is estimated at SL 10 million (\$13.3 million), and they will create 465 new jobs. They include: a tool and die plant at Matsapha, to open in December; a cotton ginnery at Matata; a fertiliser manufacturing plant, toilet paper factory and maize mill at Matsapha; a brake and clutch lining plant at Ngwenya. Investment in this alone will amount to SL 4.7 million (\$6.2 million) and will employ 200 people." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, November 7, 1980, p. 20) B(371)

Tanzania - Ammonia Fertilizer Plant: "Agrico Chemicals, a subsidiary of Williams Companies of Oklahoma (US), has signed a joint venture agreement with the Tanzanian Government to build a \$450m (£184.7m) ammonia fertiliser plant, one of the biggest projects of its kind in Africa. Preliminary technical surveys have been completed and it is hoped to have the plant in production in about four years' time, US officials said. The plant will be built at Kilwa Masoko, 150 miles south of Dar es Salaam and will use natural gas from Tanzania's off-shore Songo Songo field. The officials said the plant would eventually pay for itself through the export of up to 90% of its output. The Songo Songo field was first discovered during a World Bank-funded drilling programme in 1976." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, November 30, 1980, p. 5721) B(372)

Zimbabwe - British Trade Credit: "British banks have granted Zimbabwe a credit worth \$5,000,000 to buy British goods and services. The credit...will pay up to 85% of the cost of British goods and services needed by Zimbabwe. Zimbabwean buyers will have to fund the remaining

Zimbabwe - Malawian Tea Requires License: "Following representations by the Zimbabwe Tea Growers' Association, it has been decided to delete tea of Malawian origin from the open general import license....In future, importers of tea of Malawian origin will be required to obtain import licenses." (IBID., January 13, 1981, p. A2/2) B(374)

Zimbabwe - Unlocks Funds: "A statement published by the Ministry of Finance says the Ministry will introduce a set of measures that will allow foreign companies and individuals to get money out of the country from January next year. The Ministry says the procedure has been designed to avoid an immediate and massive withdrawal of funds to allow the Government to carry out the rebuilding of the country's economy." (IBID., December 9, 1980, p. A2/4) B(375)

See also: B(344); B(346); B(349);
B(359); B(390)

MEDICINE & HEALTH

Mozambique - Maputo Bay Pollution: "The water and food hygiene laboratory of the Ministry of Health has reported that serious pollution in Maputo Bay poses a threat to fishing and swimming. Polluted water there between Ponta Vermelha and Minigolfe carried diseases such as cholera, typhoid, polio and hepatitis." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, December 23, 1980, p. A2/1) B(376)

Zambia & Zimbabwe - Health Agreement: "Zambia and Zimbabwe have signed a health technical co-operation agreement.

The two countries have agreed in principle to exchange patients requiring specialist treatment and to co-operate in drugs procurement, training of health personnel, recruitment, development of traditional medicine and exchange of consultants." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - POLITICAL, SOCIAL & CULTURAL SERIES, November 15, 1980, p. 5846) B(377)

Zimbabwe - Salisbury Health Services: "Salisbury city health department says that, with the introduction of the free health service in September, out-patient attendances at clinics increased from 24,000 to more than 50,000 by the end of September, and the maternity bookings from 370 to 555." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, November 18, 1980, p. A2/6) See also: B(271) B(378)

NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Angola - Oil Refinery: The crude oil production (presumably throughput) of the refinery of Petrangol, Angola's oil company, has reached 1,223,701 metric tons in 1980 and the volume of processed products is expected to reach 1,300,000 tons in 1981. Moreover, the extension of Luanda's refinery included in the five-year plan 1981-1985 will also make it possible to provide oil products for the other countries of the continent, especially southern Africa." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, January 20, 1981, p. A2/1) B(379)

Angola - Oil Exploration Agreements: "A three-year oil and gas exploration agreement was signed between the International Energy Development Corporation

(IEDC) and the state oil company Sonangol in Luanda on 21 November. IEDC will explore and have production rights to 5,600 square kilometres in the central offshore area known as block 7. IEDC - set up in November 1979 - is incorporated in Geneva. Its shareholders are AZL Resources of Phoenix, Arizona, US, Sulpetro of Canada, Kuwait Petroleum Establishment and Volvo of Sweden. IEDC will conduct seismic studies and drill several wells. In the event of commercial deposits of oil being found, production will be shared out according to Angolan procedures." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, December 5, 1980, p. 23) B(380)

"The Yugoslav news agency reported on November 21st that INA (Industria Nafta) and Naftagas would begin prospecting for oil 'along the Angolan coast' early in 1981. Delivery of Angolan oil to Yugoslavia had been discussed in Luanda by a Yugoslav economic delegation. The successful talks had ended on the 21st and had covered future cooperation in mining, light and heavy industry and metallurgy." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, December 31, 1980, p. 5755) B(381)

Botswana - Coal Production Increase:
"Moropule colliery production will be boosted from the present 30,000 tonnes to 45,000 tonnes a month when the new coal-fired station comes on stream in 1986, mine manager Chris Thomas is reported to have said. During the next 10-15 years power station demand for coal could rise as high as 75,000 tonnes a month, he said." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, December 19, 1980, p. 24)
See also: B(201) B(382)

Lesotho - Uranium Find: "Citing a U.N. representative in Lesotho, Salisbury radio on 4th January reported that prospectors sponsored by the U.N. Development Programme had discovered uranium in Lesotho; a final report was 'still being withheld.'" (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, January 13, 1981, p. ii) See also: SADEX, Vol. 1, no. 2, "Lesotho - Uranium," p. 41. B(383)

Tanzania - Zanzibar Oil Storage: "The Government of Zanzibar on 26th November signed an agreement with a Kenyan company, Scope, for the construction of four petroleum storage tanks costing more than 5,000,000 shillings. Each tank will have the capacity of 400,000 litres of oil." (IBID., December 9, 1980, p. A2/3) B(384)

Zambia - Lubricants Plant: "The director general of the Zambian Industrial and Mining Corp., Ltd., Mr. James Mapoma, says the state holding company has signed a 6,000,000 kwacha agreement with Mobil Oil of the United States for a lubricants factory. Mr. Mapoma said he expects the plant to save Zambia between 4,000,000 and 6,000,000 kwacha in foreign exchange in its first two years of operation. The plant near the copper-belt city of Ndola, where the Tanzania-Zambia oil pipeline ends, is expected to produce 100,000 barrels of lubricants a year." (IBID., December 2, 1980, p. A2/5) B(385)

Zambia - Joins Mineral Center: "Zambia will become a full member of the Eastern and Southern African Mineral Resources Development Centre (ESAMRDC) before the

end of the year." (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN - ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL & TECHNICAL SERIES, November 30, 1980, p. 5701) See also: B(277) B(386)

See also: B(372)

REFUGEE ASSISTANCE

Zimbabwe - Aid Targets Met and Set: "The aid target of Z\$110 million (\$173.8 million) for primary refugee resettlement and reconstruction of primary schools and water projects has been fully met. The emphasis is now on the supply of food, UN High Commissioner for Refugees director for external affairs Ole Volfgang said in Salisbury. First estimates for resettlement had been 'amazingly correct,' he said. Original estimates of food requirements - now totaling Z\$40 million-50 million (\$63.2 million-79 million) had fallen short. The first phase of the full programme will end in March, coinciding with Zimbabwe's first post-election harvest. The government plans a pledging conference for the last week in March." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, December 19, 1980, p. 28) B(387)

Zimbabwe - Nigerian Aid for Refugees: "During the opening debate of the 31st session of the Executive Committee of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Programmes, Mr. O. Adeniji, Nigeria's Ambassador, announced the Federal Government's decision to contribute N500,000 (US \$905,797) to UNHCR for use in the Programme of Humanitarian Assistance to Returnees and Displaced Persons within Zimbabwe. The programme, implemented by the appropriate services of the government of Zimbabwe, covers the

basic needs of transport of refugees and displaced persons to their areas of residence, shelter, repair of health and educational facilities and the immediate short-term agricultural services to encourage the resumption of productive activity and self-sufficiency. With the contribution announced by the Government of Nigeria, the contributions made directly to UNHCR for use within the Special Programme in Zimbabwe amount to about N55 million." (WEST AFRICA, November 3, 1980, p. 2200) B(388)

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Lesotho - Smallholders Support: "The Lesotho government is to spend \$7.78m on an agricultural support programme with special emphasis on smallholdings run by women; \$1.3m will be government funds, and IFAD is lending \$6.15m, as well as making a technical assistance grant of \$0.33m. About 13,000 small farms, averaging 2 ha, in the project area are mostly operated by women, because of the high rate of migration of the rural males....The project will support agricultural credit, marketing facilities and other essential farm supports, besides fostering a national cooperation structure and supporting institutionalised credit by the Lesotho Agricultural Bank." (WORLD AID DIGEST, December 19, 1980, p. 6) B(389)

Tanzania - Rural Cooperatives Revival: "Responsibility for purchasing and marketing food and export crops is to be returned from the centralised state enterprises to rural cooperatives, which were disbanded in 1976, official sources said on 30 November. The decision is aimed at reducing bureaucracy and boosting production of export crops. It will

involve the dismantling of the National Milling Corporation (NMC), until now responsible for buying food crops, processing and distributing them. The NMC has been making huge losses and a report prepared for the government...said its indebtedness...was a major cause of the country's growing financial crisis." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, December 5, 1980, pp. 11-12) B(390)

TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATIONS

Botswana - Telecommunications: "The AfDB (African Development Bank) is to lend Botswana \$13m towards the \$19m cost of a telecommunications project, the remainder of costs, including customs duties, being met by the government. Three new digital local/transit exchanges are to be installed in Gaborone, Mahalapye and Francistown, including 10 RLU's totaling about 14,300 lines. Thirteen new buildings are to be constructed to house the switching equipment." (WORLD AID DIGEST, December 5, 1980, p. 3) B(391)

"An agreement has been signed with the U.S. for the establishment of a space tracking station near Gaborone. It will be a voice communication link for the next series of U.S.-manned space flights with the re-usable space shuttle." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, December 12, 1980, p. 24)

Botswana - World Bank Loan for Road: "The World Bank has approved a \$17 million loan to Botswana for a project to improve the road network and strengthen road maintenance in the country. The project, costing a total of \$23 million, will be the fifth road project which the Bank is assisting in Botswana. Under

the project, the paving of the road linking the north-south artery with Zimbabwe will be completed, and three roads in the Tuli Block and adjacent mining areas will be improved. The Roads Department in the Ministry of Works and Communications will be strengthened with the provision of consulting services and staffing of the Roads Training Center. A soils and materials testing laboratory and road maintenance depots will also be built." (WORLD BANK PRESS RELEASE, no. 81/46, January 8, 1981) B(393)

Lesotho - ICAO Approves Airport Aid: "The International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) has approved a large technical aid programme for Lesotho airport. The ICAO will help the government to monitor progress in improvements to Maseru international airport, ensure proper aircraft design and construction standards are applied, improve domestic airfields, introduce and apply airworthiness and aircraft licensing rules, provide efficient air traffic services and instruction in air traffic control. ...Total cost of the Lesotho project is \$1.5 million of which the U.N. Development Programme will provide \$1.2 million." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, November 7, 1980, p. 20) See also: SADEX, Vol. I, no. 2, "Lesotho Airport," p. 43) B(394)

Malawi - Weather Equipment: "The French Company Sofreavia is to provide the Department of Civil Aviation with meteorological equipment worth MK 7 million (\$8.4 million). The company, which has French government interests, is to supply very high frequency (VHF) air-ground communications equipment, radio navigation and landing aids, weather radar and

radio-sounding apparatus and a meteorological satellite receiving station. The financing for the equipment is being provided by a loan, half of which will come from the French treasury at 3 percent interest with a 25 year repayment period, including 10 years' grace. The remainder of the cost is to be met by a commercial loan guaranteed by Credit National and Banque Francaise du Commerce Exterieur at 7 3/4 percent interest with a 10 year repayment period. Sofreavia is also providing training in the use of the equipment." (IBID., January 2, 1981, p. 25)

B(395)

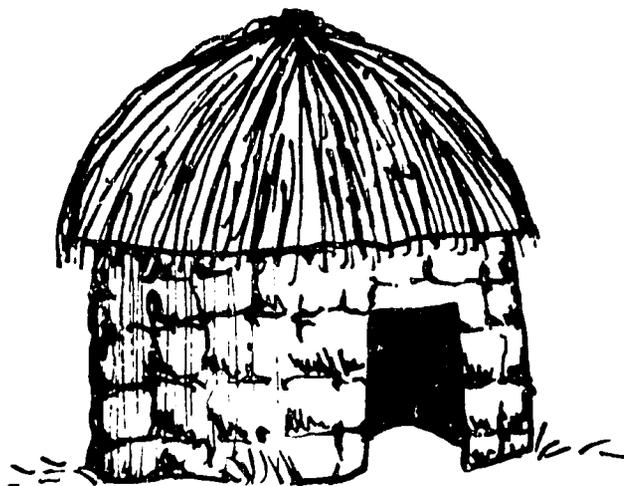
Malawi & Zambia - Railway Completed: "A ceremony on 24th October on the Malawi-Zambia border at Mchinji marked the end of the Malawi railways development project. The project, which started in 1975 in Salima, has a total rail mileage of 140.8, and its second phase, which

started from Lilongwe to the Zambian border in 1978, has a total rail mileage of 71.8." (SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS, 4, WEEKLY ECONOMIC REPORT, November 11, 1980, p. A2/3) See also: B(284) B(396)

Zimbabwe - Airport Loans Sought: "Foreign, low-interest, long-term loans are being sought for the Z\$70 million (\$112 million) first stage of Salisbury's new international airport. The project will include detailed planning of a new airport to meet air traffic needs to the turn of the century and the construction of a terminal to handle 2,000 passengers an hour or an overall capacity of 3 million a year. The government has given the project high priority because of the limitations of the present terminal, and the land has already been set aside." (AFRICA ECONOMIC DIGEST, November 7, 1980, p. 23)

B(397)

See also: B(356); B(358)



DEVELOPMENT INFORMATION & RESOURCE CENTERS

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT
AND CULTURAL RESEARCH (NIR)

University College of Botswana
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The National Institute of Development and Cultural Research (NIR) was established in 1975 as an integral part of the University College of Botswana to "stimulate, coordinate, implement and follow up research that will contribute to processes which ultimately benefit large and less privileged parts of the population or promote the self-reliance of the country as a whole." The Institute includes a research section and a documentation/library section, which together serve to implement the various activities of NIR: research, seminars, training, documentation/library services and publications.

Research is directed specifically toward activities and projects which form part of a broad, multidisciplinary approach to development problems and which aim at improving the living conditions of the less privileged population groups and/or areas of the country. Priority is also given to projects which contain a substantial training component of Botswana graduates and students, and which promote the educational and training activities of faculties and departments of the University College of Botswana. Particular areas of research interest include: environmental and rural development; education; health and nutrition; and settlement.

The Institute provides a variety of information and documentation services. Its specialized research library contains 4,500 titles on social, economic and cultural development relevant to Botswana, other parts of Southern Africa and Third World nations. Documents include research studies, government publications, conference proceedings, and NIR's own publications; NIR cooperates with over 100 institutions in exchange of publications and research activities. A press clipping file is also maintained which covers current issues in Botswana and Southern African countries. Bibliographies are compiled on request, and are supplemented wherever possible by material from the press clipping files.

NIR regularly publishes the results of its research and other activities in various series: Working Papers, NIR Research Notes, Seminar Proceedings, Working Bibliographies and Accession Lists. Publications are available either directly from NIR or from the Botswana Book Centre, P.O. Box 91, Gaborone.

BOOK REVIEWS

Outposts of Monopoly Capitalism: Southern Africa in the Changing Global Economy, by Ann Seidman and Neva Seidman Makgetla. Westport, Connecticut, Lawrence Hill & Co., 1980. 370 pp. \$8.95 (paperbound).

This latest book by Ann Seidman and Neva Seidman Makgetla expands on their earlier critique of South African-based transnationals, South Africa and U.S. Multinational Corporations (1978). Outposts of Monopoly Capitalism examines how these transnationals have become veritable partners in the underdevelopment of black-ruled Southern Africa, and how the formation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) constitutes a major step toward reversing this trend. Even excluding South Africa, the nine member states of the SADCC together possess "the essential resources to build complex basic modern industries required to provide productive employment and raise the living standards of the entire regional population."

Instead of this potential being realized, however, the authors argue that "the transnational corporations' participation in South Africa's industrial transformation was integrally tied in with -- in fact, in part built upon -- that nation's domination of neighboring countries." These countries provide "low-cost labor reserves," as

well as markets for South African manufactures; while many transnationals find it advantageous to use the Republic as their regional headquarters for collaborating with South African mining finance houses and parastatals in exploiting copper, iron, chrome, diamonds, uranium and other mineral resources in the rest of the sub-continent. This complex interaction between transnational corporations and South Africa is outlined at length in Part II of this volume.

Part III is devoted to the problem of regional underdevelopment and efforts toward economic transformation, including a look at the development of colonial Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), and the efforts to construct socialism in Angola, Mozambique and Tanzania. However, it is the last chapter that is of particular interest, as the authors outline their blueprint for the strategy that the SADCC should pursue to promote "integrated regional development." The authors foresee a two-stage process, with the formation of the SADCC as the first stage followed by the liberation of South Africa, which would multiply the potential for rapid regional transformation by building on its extensive industrial base.

The authors focus particularly on stage one, stressing the need for the SADCC and member states to pursue a

"poles of growth" strategy in planning regional industrial transformation by creating new institutions to coordinate this process through "joint state control" of key raw material resources: a regional iron and steel complex for Zimbabwe; regional copper processing in Zambia; regional oil refining and petrochemical production in Angola; regional fertilizer production in Tanzania; and tinned and frozen meat processing in Botswana. However, in the short run, it is recognized that, "simply expanding the exchange of information would help improve coordination among the countries," as well as provide the basis for more ambitious regional development.

Despite the usefulness of the blueprint offered by the authors, their pronounced left-wing ideological bias does not allow them to consider the options of the SADCC and member states in furthering their regional economic development objectives with the support of Western capital. Beside the support of government donors (which was addressed at the Maputo conference at the end of November 1980), Western private investment has a critical role to play, as the leaders of the SADCC member states well appreciate. The crux of the authors' critique of "monopoly

capitalism" in Southern Africa is its role in contributing to the non-development of the black-ruled periphery by failing to invest in the region, and concentrating instead on the Republic. The authors cannot bring themselves to make an outright pitch for investment by "monopoly capitalism" in the black-ruled states, although this could certainly provide an alternative to continued investment in the Republic's apartheid economy.

Thus, the Seidmans offer no positive corporate investment strategy for Southern Africa, other than to suggest that by banding together, the SADCC has the potential to overcome the limited markets that handicap most of the countries individually. Increased transnational investment in these states will require a concerted campaign by and on behalf of the SADCC (which might actually require the creation of a promotion mechanism expressly for this purpose, while also helping to channel such investment into areas that accord with SADCC priorities). Unless the urgent need for "integrated regional development" in Southern Africa during the 1980s is placed in such a context, the commendable message that the Seidmans are trying to convey may be lost.

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"African Fisheries Development and U.S. Investment Potential." In: Africa Business & Economic Review, Washington, D.C., June 16, 1980, pp. 142-44. Fourth and final article in a series on African fisheries; focuses on specific countries: Ghana, Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique, Kenya and Sudan. S(2342)

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"Airfreight Survey." In: African Business, London, November 1980, pp. 47-52. Contents: "Africa Hit by the World Trade Recession," by R. Murray.-"African Airlines at 'Airfreight in Action.'" S(2344)

AKINSANYA, ADEOYE A. The Expropriation of Multinational Property in the Third World. New York, Praeger, 1980. 386 pp. Explores international legal rules governing the expropriation of foreign property, motives behind expropriation and a survey of expropriations in Africa (as well as in Latin America and the Caribbean, the Mideast

and Asia). The issues that are raised are treated along with a look at the future of foreign private investments in developing countries. S(2345)

ANISE, LADUN. "Development and Dependency in the New Revolutionary African States." In: Black Scholar, Sausalito, California, May/June 1980, pp. 2-13. A survey of developments among Africa's newer revolutionary states that attempts to show that "problems of power consolidation and revolutionary legitimization have occupied the major attention of all these regimes with the exception of Tanzania and Algeria." S(2346)

"The Brandt Report." In: Third World Quarterly, London, October 1980, pp. 669-720. Partial contents: "North-South and East-West Keynesian Paradoxes in the Brandt Report," by A.G. Frank.-"North-South: Muddling Morality and Mutuality," by D. Seers.-"The Brandt Report: A 'Northwestern' Point of View," by H.W. Singer.-"Brandt on 'Transnational Corporations Investment and the Sharing of Technology,'" by S. Lall.-"The World Monetary Order," by S. Dell. S(2347)

"Brazil's 'African Year.'" In: African Index, Washington, D.C., July 14, 1980, p. 46. Analysis of Brazil's African policy, concentrating on the economic links that are being established. S(2348)

"Canada Focus." In: Africa, London, September 1980, pp. 77-81, Survey of Canada's political and economic relations with Africa. S(2349)

CHALLENGER, HERSHELLE S. "Refugees and U.S. Policy: The Continuing Crisis." In: TransAfrica News Report, Washington, D.C., Summer 1980, pp. 2, 6. Summary of U.S. refugee policy and contributions. S(2350)

CRAWLEY, EDUARDO. "The Politics of Food." In: South, London, December 1980, pp. 22-27. Examines the political implications of the current world food shortage within the context of North-South relations. S(2351)

FREY-WOUTERS, ELLEN. The European Community and the Third World: The Lomé Convention and Its Impact. New York, Praeger, 1980. 290 pp. Explores EEC relations with the Third World through the negotiations of the Lomé Convention and its provisions; the EEC's raw material needs as well as the development needs of the ACP countries; the EEC and the issue of a new international economic order and future prospects beyond Lomé. S(2352)

GERMANY. FEDERAL MINISTRY OF ECONOMICS, MINERAL RESOURCES, GEOSCIENCES AND MINING SECTION. Metals and Minerals - Markets and Trends. Bonn, 1979. 124 pp., illus., maps. A report on the international market emphasizing development, investment and trends in mineral and metal resources. S(2353)

- GITELMAN, SHELDON. "Latin America: The African Connections." In: Africa Report, New York, September/October 1980, pp. 4-9. Analyzes prospects for inter-regional cooperation between Africa and Latin America. S(2354)
- GLASS, GEORGE A. "East Germany in Black Africa: A New Special Role?" In: World Today, London, August 1980, pp. 305-12. Examines the development of the GDR's relations in Africa since 1973 when it became a member of the United Nations. Focuses on East German activities in Southern Africa, including economic and military links. S(2355)
- HALLETT, ROBIN. "Cuba and Africa." In: International Affairs Bulletin, Johannesburg, Vol. 4, no. 2, 1980, pp. 44-55. Attempts "to see what the world in general and Africa in particular looks like when viewed through Cuban eyes." S(2356)
- HAWKINS, A.M. Multinational Corporations and Developing Countries, Salisbury, University of Zimbabwe, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, May 1980. 43 pp. Issues in Development Reprint no. 5. Paper originally presented in July 1977, assesses the contribution of multinational enterprise to the development process. S(2357)
- HOWE, JOHN. "Fact and Fiction About Africa's Roads." In: African Business, London, December 1980, pp. 15-16. An assessment of patchy progress made by African countries to fulfill OAU objective of setting up strategic highway network, by the Director of Intermediate Technology Transport. S(2358)
- HUBBARD, DIANA. "EDF - Why the UK Is Losing Out." In: Africa Economic Digest, London, December 5, 1980, pp. 4-5. Discusses problems of British firms in competing for projects financed by the European Development Fund. Cites the UK's Tropical Africa Advisory Group. S(2359)
- "The IMF and Africa." In: Africa Business and Economic Review, Washington, D.C., November 16, 1980, pp. 21-22, 27-28. Explores whether or not the IMF can meet Africa's needs during the 1980s. S(2360)
- "IMF: Small Change for the Third World." In: South, London, November 1980, pp. 5-11. Contents: "Small Change for the Third World," by A. Federman.-"How the IMF Works."-"The Cost in Human Terms," by A.H. Jamal.-"PLO Observer Battle."-"Alternatives to the IMF," by S. Griffith-Jones. S(2361)
- "India & Africa." In: New African, London, January 1981, pp. 45-66. Contents: "Nextshore Neighbours," by H.S. Chhabra.-"Indians in East Africa."-"India's Industrial Progress," by B. Mehta.-"Indian Joint Ventures in Africa," by R.G. Agrawal.-"India's Rural Electrification Leap." S(2362)
- INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT SERVICE. Agricultural Assistance Sources. 2nd ed. New York, 1979. 222 pp., illus., bibl. S(2363)

"Japan in Africa." In: Africa, London, November 1980, pp. 59-74. Contents: "Why Japan Must Get More Involved in Africa."-"Africa Investments on the Increase."-"Petroleum Refinery in Nigeria."-"Aid from Tokyo Up But Trade Gap Widens."-"Technology: It's Time to Listen to What Africa Wants."-"A Strengthening of Trade Ties."
S(2364)

LAISHLEY, ROY. "Brazil and Cuba Court Africa." In: South, London, November 1980, pp. 15-18. Examines the growth in Latin America's trade with Africa while focusing on Brazil and Cuba, "the most ardent wooers of the African continent."
S(2365)

_____. "Common Fund: Still Plenty of Doubts." In: African Business, London, October 1980, p. 18. Reports some second thoughts among some nations before ratifying a Common Fund. Indicates how Zaire and Zambia, as copper producers, might benefit from Fund.
S(2366)

_____. "World Uncertainty No Help for African Exporters." In: Ibid., November 1980, pp. 39-40. Cites commodities: cocoa, coffee, tea, sugar, cotton, copper.
S(2367)

LANGA, A. "Africa's Links with EEC Lead to Dependence." In: African Communist, London, 3rd Quarter 1980, pp. 44-50. Critical of Africa's economic links with Western Europe through the Lome Agreement. Cites Comecon as more positive alternative.
S(2368)

LAWRENCE, ROBERT. "Reagan's Africa Arsenal." In: Southern Africa, New York, November/December 1980, pp. 19-21. Looks at several of the think tanks and individuals associated with foreign policy and especially Africa under President-elect Reagan.
S(2369)

LUCE, PHILLIP ABBOTT. The New Imperialism: Cuba and the Soviets in Africa. Washington, D.C., Council for Inter-American Security, 1980. 71 pp. \$4.00. A simplistic critique of Soviet and Cuban involvement in Africa by one who once-upon-a-time was a true believer in the Cuban revolution and the black movement in the U.S.
S(2370)

MANNING, ROBERT A. "Why Reagan Sees Red in the South." In: South, London, December 1980, pp. 7-9. A preliminary assessment of the incoming Reagan Administration's likely approach to Third World relations with a survey of prospects in different regions, including Africa.
S(2371)

_____. "The World Bank: A Harder Line?" In: Ibid., pp. 72-73. The Carter Administration's choice of A.W. Clausen to succeed Robert McNamara as President of the World Bank is interpreted as "another clear sign that the West wants the official international lending institutions to close ranks with the private banking system."
S(2372)

Marvo Networker. Preview Issue. Washington, D.C., Project Marvo, December 1980. Frequency: monthly; Subscription rate: \$15 per annum. Newsletter of Project MARVO (Make African and American Relationships Valued Opportunities). Intended as a resource exchange for "women-to-women development" for African women and women interested in Africa. Regular feature: "Afri-scanner," with selected current information on issues affecting African women. Publisher's address: Box 4447, Washington, D.C. 20017. S(2373)

"More Aid, Less Food." In: South, London, October 1980, pp. 40-41. Examines the contradiction between the increase in international aid to agriculture in the Third World and the declining growth rates of Third World countries. Sees political expediency at bottom of food crisis. S(2374)

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL HEALTH. Directory of U.S.-Based Agencies Involved in International Health Assistance. Washington, D.C., June 1980. 248 pp. "The Directory is arranged alphabetically by type of organization and cross-indexed by categories and geographical regions of assistance." S(2375)

"Notes on the Reagan Transition." In: Africa News, Durham, North Carolina, December 15, 1980, p. 7-8, 10. Looks at the Reagan transition process with respect to Africa policy and the lower-level competition for influential sub-Cabinet positions. Includes comment on prospects of Senator Helms aide John Carbaugh, who has been mentioned as a possible candidate for heading up State Department's Africa Bureau but who reportedly prefers a Latin American post. S(2376)

"Railways Get-Together on the Cards." In: To the Point, Johannesburg, November 14, 1980, p. 15. Reports pan-African decision by African Railways Union to foster greater coordination of continent's railway systems as "the spearhead of African development." S(2377)

RAKE, ALAN. "How OPEC Milked Africa." In: African Business, London, December 1980, pp. 11-13. Contends that OPEC has much to answer for in Africa for reaping a \$120 billion surplus while the continent's poorest countries are saddled with huge deficits. S(2378)

RAPHAEL, ARNOLD. "Africa's Food Fiasco." In: Ibid., November 1980, pp. 12-13. Assesses the world situation and Africa's predicament noting that food production in Africa has fallen to such an extent that South Africa has emerged into a position of being able to use maize as a new diplomatic weapon. Zambia, Mozambique, Kenya, Zaire, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Angola, Ivory Coast, Mauritius and Tanzania are cited as customers. Zimbabwe's improving situation is noted. "The Maize Drain" map is included. S(2379)

"Reagan and Africa." In: Africa, London, November 1980, pp. 50-52. Compares the incoming Reagan team with the Carter Administration in terms of Africa policy, citing some of the key personalities and institutions. S(2380)

"Reagan and Africa: The Players and the Policy." In: Washington Notes on Africa, Washington, D.C., Winter 1980/81, pp. 1-4. A speculative examination of possible Reagan policy toward Africa focusing on the background of Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Chester Crocker, who is expected to become Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. S(2381)

"Reagan's Africa Policy?" In: African Index, Washington, D.C., November 24, 1980, pp. 75-77. The reprint of a "Position Statement on Africa," prepared for President-elect Ronald Reagan by his advisory group prior to the November 4th election and essentially reaffirmed by his post-election transition team. Primary focus is on strengthening economic relations, working for regional development in Southern Africa and peaceful change in South Africa while avoiding the Republic's "destabilization." S(2382)

"Reagan's US: A Pro-South Africa Tilt?" In: New African, London, December 1980, pp. 43-45. While citing Cold War as a factor in Carter's Africa policy, the incoming Reagan Administration is seen as prone to actual intervention in African conflicts as well as openly courting South Africa. Blue-ribbon foreign policy advisory group who's who listed. S(2383)

SHREEVE, GAVIN. "Africa Views Hawkish Reagan in Power." In: Africa Economic Digest, London, November 7, 1980, pp. 7-8. A review of African reactions to President-elect Ronald Reagan, accompanied by a presentation of the views of Reagan's top African affairs adviser, Chester Crocker (Center for Strategic and International Studies). S(2384)

_____. "Mechanising African Agriculture." In: Ibid., August 8, 1980, pp. 2-3. Looks at growing competition among tractor manufacturers for a foothold in the African market with higher priority given the mechanization of agriculture. S(2385)

"A Silver Lining Behind the Oil Clouds." In: To the Point, Johannesburg, October 10, 1980, p. 19. Full-page examination of the impact of the Iran-Iraq war and the general problem of rising petroleum prices since 1973 on African economies, affecting mainly such Eastern and Southern African States as Mozambique, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Ethiopia. This is offset by the oil discovery and prospecting boom in West Africa. Classifies African states in three categories with respect to oil importation, production and export. S(2386)

SMITH, ANTHONY. "The Global Data Bank: Information - The Newest Resource." In: The Nation, New York, September 6, 1980, pp. 169, 184-88. Examines the growing debate over the free-flow control of information with its political and economic implications in terms of North-South relations. S(2387)

South: The Third World Magazine. Volume 1, Number 1, October 1980-. London, South Publications Limited, 1980-. Frequency: monthly; subscription rate: \$22.00 per annum. A news magazine focusing on Third World economic, political and cultural issues with

particular emphasis on the evolving North-South dialogue. Publisher's address: 13th Floor, New Zealand House, 80 Haymarket, London SW1Y 4TS, England. S(2388)

STEVENS, CHRISTOPHER: "EIB Lending Takes a Fall." In: Africa Economic Digest, London, June 20, 1980, p. 6. Describes fall in European Investment Bank loans to Africa. S(2389)

"U.S./Africa: 'You Can't Eat Guns.'" In: Africa News, Durham, North Carolina, October 20, 1980, pp. 5, 10. Interview with House Subcommittee on Africa member William H. Gray III, who also chairs the Congressional Black Caucus' brain trust on foreign affairs. S(2390)

U.S.S.R. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. Present-Day Development of Africa. Moscow, 1980. 221 pp. Partial contents: "The Present Stage of the Anti-Imperialist Revolution in Africa," by A. Gromyko.-"The National Liberation Movement: Problems and Prospects," by E. Tarabrin.-"Topical Problems in the Development of African Productive Forces," by L. Goncharov.-"Decolonisation of African Society," by L. Yablochkov.-"National Integration in Tropical Africa: Difficulties and Trends," by R. Ismagilova.-"The Revolutionary Democrats: Ideology and Politics," by N. Kosukhin.-"The Development of Economic Thought in Africa," by L. Alexandrovskaya.-"The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Third World Economies," by G. Smirnov.-"Solution to the Problem of Backwardness: Socialist Orientation Plus the Revolution in Science and Technology," by G. Starushenko. S(2391)

REGIONAL

ALBRIGHT, DAVID C. "Soviet Policy in Southern Africa." In: African Index, Washington, D.C., November 3, 1980, pp. 71-74. Analysis of Soviet policy and strategy in Southern Africa including assessment of political, economic and military assets. Also considers likelihood of a Soviet military campaign against South Africa. S(2392)

ASHTON, E.H. A Tale of Three Cities. Salisbury, University of Zimbabwe, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, May 1980. 26 pp. Issues in Development Reprint no. 3. Paper originally published in June 1977, examines various aspects of municipal development in Bulawayo, Lusaka and Nairobi. S(2393)

"Boycott of SA 'Would Cripple Black Africa.'" In: To the Point, Johannesburg, November 7, 1980, p. 49. Examines the possible impact of economic sanctions against South Africa and neighboring states that are dependent on the Republic. Estimates that "at least 12 Black African states" would be affected. S(2394)

"Countering the Migrant Flow." In: New African, London, November 1980, pp. 31-32. Discusses how black-ruled Southern African states, through their labor ministers, are confronting the problems of their dependence on labor migration to South Africa,

citing Mbabane summit on this issue in October 1980. Mozambique's Minister of Labor Teodato Hunguana is interviewed. Establishment of Lusaka-based Southern Africa Labour Commission is also mentioned.

S(2395)

CROCKER, CHESTER A. and others. "Southern Africa: A U.S. Policy for the '80s." In: Freedom at Issue, New York, November/December 1980, pp. 11-18. Paper commissioned by Freedom House as a "guide to its own formulation of positions on the crucial choices facing American policy-planners in Southern Africa. Special sections focus on Namibia and Angola, and options on South Africa.

S(2396)

DANHAUSER, J.A. Southern Africa in a Global Context. Craighall, South Africa, Southern African Forum, Vol. 3, no. 25, 1980. 6 pp. Argues that for Southern Africa to maintain its status in a world context there must be: "self-reliance in food production for individual states; adequate housing and medical services for all inhabitants of the respective countries; safeguarding of individual national sovereignty; acknowledgement of human diversity; and balanced utilization of domestic assets with regard to national and international interest."

S(2397)

DE SMIDT, LORNA. "New Western Strategies for Africa's Trade Union." In: New African, London, January 1981, pp. 33-36. Examines split between the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the U.S. AFL-CIO and how this is being manifested in Africa, especially in competition to influence labor unions and movements in South and Southern Africa.

S(2398)

DE VLETTER, FION. Migrant Labour Conditions in South Africa: A Case Study of the Gold Mines. Geneva, International Labor Office, Migration for Employment Project, 1980. 44 pp. WEP 2-26/WP 49. Paper analyzes some of the labor control mechanisms characteristic of South Africa and the views of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions, followed by the highlights of survey conducted in Summer 1977 involving Swazi migrants. Part two of study: "Conditions Affecting Foreign Black Workers in South Africa: A Case Study of the South African Gold Mines."

S(2399)

GUELKE, ADRIAN. "Southern Africa and the Super-Powers." In: International Affairs, London, Autumn 1980, pp. 648-64. In the wake of Zimbabwe's independence Southern Africa is seen as remaining "an important area of superpower competition and rivalry, despite its being in most respects peripheral to their vital strategic interests." An historical review of developments from the 1960s to the present is offered, while noting that white supremacy in South Africa will continue to make the region as a whole an arena for East-West rivalry.

S(2400)

GULHATI, RAVI. Eastern and Southern Africa: Past Trends and Future Prospects. Washington, D.C., World Bank, August 1980. 24 pp. Staff Working Paper no. 413. Overview of past economic developments and future prospects in Eastern and Southern Africa. Addresses questions: why did growth in per capita income lag behind that of other parts of the world; why did current account deficits in the balance of payments

widen substantially; how did countries adjust to changes in the international economic situation; what are the future economic prospects of these countries; what is the nature of the policy change adopted or under consideration by several African governments; what changes in assistance policies of donors and creditors would support the efforts of these economies to regain their development momentum? S(2401)

HALL, P.H. "The Revenue Distribution Formula of the Southern African Customs Union." In: South African Journal of Economics, Braamfontein, September 1980, pp. 268-75. Examines Customs Union formula involving South Africa and the BLS countries, suggesting "that the formula implies that there exists an alternative state of the world with the BLS nations outside SACU in which they would be just as well off in some important senses as if they remained members under the terms of the agreement." S(2402)

HOSKINS, LINUS A. "The Foreign Policy of Caribbean Governments Toward Southern Africa: An Overview, 1960-1978." In: A Current Bibliography on African Affairs, Washington, D.C., Vol. 13, no. 2, 1980-81, pp. 149-65. A survey of the policies of Cuba, Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica. S(2403)

JASTER, ROBERT S. South Africa's Narrowing Security Options. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1980. 51 pp. Adelphi Papers no. 159. Analyzes the evolution of South Africa's security strategies under National Party rule. Includes substantial examination of South Africa's relations with its neighbors. Sees increasing isolation of the Republic over the next decade while the economic vulnerability of the Southern African countries will provide South Africa the leverage in the region during the 1980s. Nevertheless, a real rapprochement with neighbors is ruled out unless there is substantial change in apartheid. S(2404)

JOHALA, ANTONIO. "Lusaka Nine Set to Negotiate from Strength." In: Africa Economic Digest, London, November 21, 1980, p. 8. Anticipatory view of Maputo SADCC conference involving international donors, citing the strength of the "Lusaka Nine" in terms of what they offer as an economic bloc. However, opposition in the U.S. and the U.K. among elements who would like to see these countries remain dependent on South Africa is noted. S(2405)

_____. "Maputo Conference Raises \$800 Million." In: Ibid., December 5, 1980, pp. 2-3. A report on the international donors' conference convened by the SADCC in Maputo on November 27-28, 1980. S(2406)

KNOTTS, MARY ANN. An Assessment of the Membership of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland in the Southern African Customs Union. Paper prepared for the Southern Africa Development Analysis Project (SADAP), USAID, 1978. Unpublished. S(2407)

MACHEL, SAMORA. Opening Address by President Samora Machel to the Second Southern African Development Coordination Conference in Maputo, November 27, 1980. Maputo,

Agência de Informação de Moçambique, 1980. 9 pp. Supplement to AIM Bulletin no. 53. S(2408)

MAGYAR, KARL P. South Africa's Economic Impact on Africa: Future Perspectives. Glendale, Arizona, American Graduate School of International Management, 1980. 24 pp. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association in Philadelphia, 1980. Explores South Africa's economic relations with the rest of Africa within a context of South Africa's relations with the West and the question of internal change in its apartheid system. S(2409)

MATTHEWS, JACQUELINE. "Import Policy: The Case for a South African Scheme of Generalized Preference." In: South African Journal of Economics, Braamfontein, March 1980, pp. 45-54. Recommends that South Africa "offer tariff preferences to manufactured and semi-manufactured products from developing African countries." S(2410)

MEIRING, MARIETJIE. "Black Link-up Still Far From Materialising." In: To the Point, Johannesburg, November 21, 1980, p. 19. Highlights points of division between the frontline states making up the SADCC, including unrest and economic woes in Zambia and the Nkomo/Soviet factor in relations between Lusaka and Salisbury. Cites problems with rail links, including Mozambique National Resistance sabotage in Mozambique. South Africa is seen as main beneficiary of these perceived deepening divisions. S(2411)

"Migrant Labour to South Africa: Abolish the Present System." In: AIM Bulletin, Maputo, October 1980, pp. 1-3. Reports on the October 7-10, 1980 meeting in Mbabane, Swaziland, of ministers from seven Southern African countries "to work out a common approach to the problem of migrant labour to South Africa." S(2412)

MUHLEMANN, CHRISTOPH. "Report from Southern Africa." In: Swiss Review of World Affairs, Zurich, July 1980, pp. 8-11. Contents: "Mugabe's Shadow over Namibia." - "Zimbabwe in Transition." (2413)

MURRAY, COLIN. "Migrant Labour and Changing Family Structure in the Rural Periphery of Southern Africa." In: Journal of Southern African Studies, London, April 1980, pp. 139-56. Seeks to identify some sources of confusion in the analysis of contemporary family structures, and to clarify the empirical evidence relating to the structure of small communities and to the validity of particular descriptive stereotypes of the family. S(2414)

"Reagan's Foreign Policy: (2) Southern Africa." In: Foreign Report, London, November 12, 1980, pp. 7-8. Surveys likely names that may contribute to shaping Reagan Administration Southern Africa policy, noting the influence of minerals report by Democratic Congressman James Santini on candidates for Secretary of State (Haig, Armstrong, Jackson) and the more liberal leaning of possible Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker. S(2415)

- "Rockefeller Policy Review." In: Seiler Report, Washington, D.C., September 1980, pp. 1, 3. Examines the evolution and workings of the Foreign Policy Study Foundation, set up in 1979 to undertake the Rockefeller "Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa." Identifies key individuals involved in Commission study. S(2416)
- ROOT, CHRISTINE. "Reagan to Cozy Up to South Africa." In: The Guardian, New York, January 14, 1981, p. 14. A preliminary critique of incoming Reagan Administration on Africa policy with particular focus on Southern Africa, citing the views and background of Secretary of State-designate Alexander Haig and prospective Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker. S(2417)
- "SADCC-2." In: AIM Bulletin, Maputo, November 1980, pp. 1-11. Reports on the 2nd Southern African Development Coordination Conference, with information on pledges, Mozambique-EEC relations, the question of economic sanctions against South Africa, and proposed projects and objectives regarding ports and railways, Southern Africa telecommunications, and civil aviation and roads. S(2418)
- S.A.R. & H. Johannesburg, Financial Mail, September 26, 1980. 64 pp. Special supplement to the Financial Mail, surveying South African Railways, including a section on "transport diplomacy," which examines South Africa's transport links to the rest of the subcontinent and dependency of neighboring states on the Republic's communications infrastructure. S(2419)
- SCHEEPERS, C.F. "The Possible Role of a Customs Union-Type Model in Promoting Closer Economic Ties in Southern Africa." In: Finance & Trade Review, Pretoria, December 1979, pp. 82-99. (2420)
- SERFONTEIN, HENNIE. "The Collapse of Botha's Constellation Strategy." In: Africa, London, November 1980, pp. 47-50. A discussion of the divergent goals of Southern Africa's rival 'constellations' in pursuing close regional economic cooperation. S(2421)
- SHREEVE, GAVIN. "East and West Race for Southern Africa." In: Africa Economic Digest, London, November 28, 1980, p. 7. Between the alignments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, increased East-West competition is noted prior to SADCC donors conference in Maputo. Also cites apparent coordination between South Africa and the Soviet Union in marketing of gold and other metals. S(2422)
- SOUDAN, FRANÇOIS. "Les Commerces particuliers." In: Jeune Afrique, Paris, 30 juillet 1980, pp. 34-35. Analysis of African countries' economic ties with South Africa. S(2423)
- "South Africa: Concentrating on the 'Inner Constellation.'" In: To the Point, Johannesburg, November 7, 1980, p. 19. While noting that South Africa has to concentrate on the homelands and its internal racial situation or 'inner constellation,'

quiet diplomacy and economic cooperation with Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are described. S(2424)

"Southern Africa: Pledging Conference a Mixed Success." In: Africa News, Durham, North Carolina, December 8, 1980, pp. 6-9. Reviews donor conference in Maputo for pledging aid commitments to the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) list of development priorities, especially in transportation and communications. Cites Zairean participation, the role of the EEC, the status of Angola and Mozambique, and COMECON as well as U.S. aid. S(2425)

"Southern Africa: The Political Economy of Inequality." In: Bulletin, Sussex, September 1980, 79 pp. Partial contents: "Southern Africa: Frameworks for Thinking - Introduction," by P. Selwyn.-"Some Aspects of Labour Use in Southern Africa - Problems and Policies," by C. Colclough.-"Southern African Development Coordination: Toward a Functioning Dynamic?" by R.H. Green.-"Work on Southern Africa by IDS Fellows." S(2426)

SOUTHERN AFRICAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION. Eastern Africa's Economic Crisis. Craighall, South Africa, Vol. 3, no. 22, 1980. 4 pp. A survey of the socio-economic ills of countries on Africa's "eastern flank" ranging from the Ciskei and KwaZulu homelands in South Africa to the Horn. Cites widespread drought, famine, poverty, disease. S(2427)

_____. Railways as a Vehicle for Co-operation. Craighall, South Africa, Vol. 3, no. 8, 1980. 4 pp. Examination of Southern Africa's railway system as a colonial legacy and as a factor for regional economic cooperation, including South African participation. Notes Western donor assistance to help develop Africa's railway network, while expressing concern over tendencies to help black Southern African states reduce dependence on South Africa. S(2428)

_____. Regionalism in Africa. Craighall, South Africa, Vol. 3, no. 18, 1980. 4 pp. An assessment of regional organizations and cooperation in Africa from a South African perspective that promotes South Africa as the main guarantor of economic development in the continent were it not for its being politically despised. Considers regional arrangements in which it participates as successful (SARCCUS, Customs Union, etc.) because they are "non-political." S(2429)

"Southern Nine: A Two Billion Dollar Question." In: Africa, London, November 1980, p. 43. Focuses on the SADCC quest for \$2 billion in funding to begin reducing dependence on South Africa in the transport and communication sectors. S(2430)

"Special Report: The Minerals Debate." In: South Africa Foundation News, Johannesburg, November 1980, pp. 2-3. Presents excerpts from three reports: House Subcommittee on Mines and Mining (Santini); Senate Subcommittee on Africa prepared by Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service (McGovern); and South Africa: The West's Achilles Heel, a "standing committee memorandum of the British Conservative

Party Bow Group written by Colin Coulson-Thomas and published by the Foreign Affairs Standing Committee, September 1980." S(2431)

TAMBS, LEWIS A. Securing Sea Lanes and Strategic Minerals. Craighall, South Africa, Southern African Freedom Foundation, Vol. 3, no. 23, 1980. 4 pp. Contends that the Soviet Union is already waging World War III by trying to strategically outflank the West and encircle the People's Republic of China through a game of "denial (of) the oil of the Middle East and the ore of Southern Africa as their immediate objectives." Makes recommendations for U.S. policy to "assure continued Western access to the mineralized zones of Angola, Zaire, Zambia, Mozambique, SWA/Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa" by: 1) not "openly embracing South Africa," although "direct or indirect" aid to liberation movements should cease; 2) supporting the overthrow of the governments of Angola and Mozambique; 3) resuming the use of the Simonstown naval base in South Africa. S(2432)

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UNIVERSIDADE EDUARDO MONDLANE. INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGAÇÃO CIENTÍFICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE. CENTRO DE ESTUDOS AFRICANOS. The Constellation of Southern African States: A New Strategic Offensive by South Africa. Maputo, April 29, 1980. Analysis no. 2. Discusses moves and counter-moves by the Southern African frontline states and South Africa in organizing the political and economic relations of Southern Africa, "concentrating in particular on the objectives and strategies underlying South Africa's constellation proposals." S(2434)

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(where Republicans will control Senate). Identifies State Department posts that are likely to be most relevant in determining Reagan policy. S(2437)

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BRIDGELAND, FRED. "The Forgotten War." In: The Star, Johannesburg, December 20, 1980, p. 15. Full-page article on a typical day in the Angolan bush organizing opposition to Angolan regime and Cuban troops based on interview with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi. S(2440)

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- CHONCHOL, MARIA-EDY. Guide bibliographique du Mozambique: Environnement naturel, développement et organisation villageoise. Paris, Librairie-Éditions L' Harmattan, 1980. 135 pp. (2472)
- DAVID, LUIS. "Cidade cresce ao ritmo dos salários (1)." In: Tempo, Maputo, 25 de maio de 1980, pp. 18-22. Examines instances where salaries have been raised with no regard to whether there has been a corresponding increase in production or productivity, which is seen as contributing to the rural-to-urban migration problem. S(2473)
- _____. "Energia de Cahora-Bassa desenvolve centro-norte do país." In: Ibid., 11 de maio de 1980, pp. 17-22. Reports on the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric power scheme and its role in the fight against underdevelopment in Mozambique. S(2474)
- FAUVET, PAUL. "Mozambique's 'Rebels' Shift to a New Master." In: New African, London, December 1980, pp. 28-30. Examines the links of the Mozambique National Resistance to South Africa in the wake of Zimbabwe's independence. S(2475)
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- LANGELLIER, JEAN-PIERRE. "Mozambique Five Years On: Africa's El Dorado?" In: Manchester Guardian, London, January 4, 1981, p. 14. Focuses on country's economic aspirations and potential and the continuing reality of underdevelopment. Cites the "denationalizing" of 'people's stores' as pragmatic measures being taken to spur development through private as well as state initiative. S(2481)

_____. "Mozambique Five Years On: Guerrillas Worry, but Don't Frighten, the Machel Regime." In: Ibid., December 28, 1980, p. 14. A fairly detailed article about the Mozambique National Resistance, its history and backers (which include South Africa), and efforts by the Mugabe and Machel regimes to coordinate counter-insurgency against MNR. MNR seen less and less in Pretoria's interest. S(2482)

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"Maputo: Os problemas desta cidade." In: Ibid., pp. 6-11. Based on the work of the 2nd Extraordinary People's Assembly of the City of Maputo, outlines major problems the city is experiencing; includes report on measures announced by President Samora Machel to address these problems, such as the creation of an office to coordinate development of a green belt (zonas verdes) around the city composed of small farms and market gardens. S(2486)

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"Objectivos do sistema de contrôle dos recursos laborais: Experiencia-piloto nas Provincias do Maputo e Gaza." In: Ibid., 18 de maio de 1980, pp. 30-34. In the context of the pressing need for effective management of manpower resources, reports of the Ministry of Labor pilot project soon to be carried out in Maputo and Gaza provinces.

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"8a Sessão do Comité Central do Partido FRELIMO: Partido deve dirigir aplicação do plano." In: Ibid., 28 de dezembro de 1980, pp. 22-26. General report on the 8th Session of the Central Committee of Frelimo, followed by an excerpt from the Central Committee resolution on the steps to be taken to meet the goals of 1981 State Plan.

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- "Multinational Firms Drain Namibia of its Uranium Resources." In: Developing Country Courier, McLean, Virginia, October 1980, pp. 196-97. Reports on U.N. hearings concerning the exploitation of Namibian resources by South Africa and the West, in violation of a 1974 U.N. ruling. S(2500)
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- "South West Africa: New U.N. Initiative." In: Africa Bulletin - Political, Social & Cultural Series, Exeter, England, February 15, 1980, pp. 5555-57, map. Outlines U.N. efforts, led by Lt.-Gen. Prem Chand, to establish a demilitarized zone along the Namibia/Angola border. S(2502)
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- HILL, WILLIAM THOMAS. Food, Energy and Population: Are They "World" Problems? An Analysis of Policy Responses in Brazil, Tanzania, the United States and Yugoslavia. University of Massachusetts, 1980. 369 pp. Ph.D. Dissertation, Political Science. (2515)
- JIGGINS, JANICE. "Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania." In: Third World Quarterly, London, January 1981, pp. 89-95. Review article of Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry, by Goran Hyden, Heinemann, 1980. S(2516)
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