

# UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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## (Course Outline)

FIRST SEMESTER: 2018

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<b>Course Name:</b>	<b>Rethinking Africa's Development</b>
<b>Course Code:</b>	<b>AXL5205F</b>
<b>Focus:</b>	Development theories, with specific focus on Africa's development debates
<b>Convenor:</b>	A/Prof. Horman Chitonge ( <a href="mailto:horman.chitonge@uct.ac.za">horman.chitonge@uct.ac.za</a> ) Room 3.05, Oppenheimer Institute building

For any queries, please contact the course conveners

**Lecture Venue:** **CAS Seminar Room 3. 01**

**Time:** **Monday 10:00 -12:00hrs**

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### Course Description and Focus

This course focuses on development debates in Africa, with specific reference to the manner in which African scholars and others have responded to the challenges of development on the continent. In particular, the course explores and seeks to engage with the various development theories and how these have been applied or adopted in Africa's development strategies. These theories, we would argue, continue to be at the heart of development debates and discussions in Africa. In order to rethink Africa's development, it is important that we understand the development strategies adopted so far. It is on the basis of this understanding that we can seek alternative ways of understanding and doing development in Africa. In this course, we focus mainly on the strategies implemented by independent African countries starting from the 1960s. In a nutshell, the course examines some of the most important and influential theories of development which emerged in the context of the post-Second World War, highlighting how Africans have appropriated or adapted these ideas. The course also reflects on the current economic growth and development dynamics, including the Africa Rising Narrative, which became a dominant discourse after the 2008/09 financial crisis. We give special attention in the course to the critical views of African intellectuals on Africa's development trajectory.

The course is divided into two Parts: Part I looks at strategies adopted by independent (post-colonial) African states to address Africa's development challenges. The underlying conceptual assumptions in these strategies are also highlighted. Part II, focuses on the dominant development theories that are implied in the strategies discussed in part I. Part II focuses on a comparative analysis of the competing theories of development and how these have influenced Africa's development strategies and thinking. The course particularly focuses on how capitalism spread to Africa and what its impact has been on the continent. In the effort to rethink and find alternatives to the past way of thinking

about and doing development, we reflect on the questions of whether we can think of other ways of developing Africa given that the past strategies have not worked so well.

A key concept that captures the current context is “inequality”, manifesting itself in the growing and vast disparities between rich and poor within Africa. Current estimates suggest that the gap between the rich and the poor is not narrowing; if anything, it is getting worse globally, but also in Africa. It is in this context that the rethinking of a development strategy that reduces (not increases) the gap between the poor and rich, become important.

Since the rise of conservative governments in Britain and the USA at the end of the 1970s, the dominant slogan has been that “There Is No Alternative” (TINA). But after dominating the global scene for most of the 1980s and 1990s, there was a renewed response from the “left” that began to challenge the notion that “there is no alternative” (TINA) to global neo-liberal capitalism. The current financial and economic instability in the global economy casts doubts about the sustainability of capitalism, and has created conditions that will not just strengthen the critique of capitalism, but also reflections about the alternative ways to organise society.

African scholars and intellectuals, as will be clear in this course, have been part of this debate. For our purposes, we will focus on the works of a selected Africans scholars focusing on their varied responses to the challenges of development on the African continent. Collective development initiatives by the African leaders such as the *Lagos Plan of Action*, *Abuja Treat* and *NEPAD* will be discussed together with the role of international development agencies such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) in these debates.

## Course Requirements and evaluation

### *1. Class participation – 15 per cent of the course*

This is a seminar based course, organized around 12 themes; one theme for each week(seminars). Regular attendance at seminars is required and this accounts for 15% of the total mark. However, **attendance on its own is not enough; active participation is required in order to get the full 15%**. To ensure maximum participation, there will be a written presentation for each seminar, based on the theme and the readings assigned for the seminar. Each student is expected to present at least once or twice, depending on the number of students in the class. The author of a seminar write-up will not present her/his write-up piece. The seminar write-up will be presented by another student (discussant). The oral presentation will be followed by a discussion of the various key issues identified from the readings by the members of the class. All students are encouraged to bring questions or any issues for clarification and discussion to the seminar.

For this system to work, the author must circulate the seminar write-up at least two days before the seminar, to give others at least a day to prepare for the discussion (**preferably Friday noon**)

### *2. Short essay: 35 per cent of the course*

Students will write a short essay of not more than 3000 words, on the topic of their own choice or on the topic assigned to the class. This essay should be submitted on **23 April (at the end of the seminar)**.

### *3. Research paper: 50 per cent of the course*

As with the short essay, students are expected to choose their own topic in consultation with the course convenor. This essay, which should be between 5000 and not more than 6000 words, could be

based on a “case study” relevant to the theories discussed in the course. The essay should have a title, and be fully referenced.

Please feel free to discuss your topic. The Second essay should be submitted on **May 25**.

## **The Course and reading material**

The course will be presented over a period of 12 weeks. **It is important for students to note that this is a seminar-based course.** This means that students are expected to show great initiative. The success of the course will largely be determined by the level of participation on the part of students.

The readings in this course outline are meant to introduce students to the major development debates in Africa. There are two sets of readings for each seminar: **Required Readings** (which **must be read before** coming to class), and **Further Readings (not compulsory)**. Some readings will be added along the way. In addition, each student is encouraged to search for additional relevant material and share with the rest of the class.

Having said this, it is important for students to note that in their presentations and essays they are expected to demonstrate that they are familiar with the “**prescribed**” material. **Additional readings are not meant to substitute those prescribed in the course.**

In some cases, depending on availability, guest speakers may be invited to give a talk on issues relevant to the course.

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## Part I

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### Approaches to Africa’s Development Challenges

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#### February 19

#### Seminar 1: Introduction to Development Concepts and Perspectives

##### Required Readings

Martinussen, J. (1997). *Society, State and Markets: A Guide to Competing Theories of Development*. (Chapter 3: “Conceptions and Dimensions of Development”).

Ivan Illich(1997). “Development as Planned Poverty” in M. Rahnema & V. Rawtree(eds.) *The Post-Development Reader*. London/Cape Town: Zed/David Phillips. Chapter 9 (pp 94-101).

United Nations Development Programme (1990). *Human Development Report 1990*. Chapter 1.

Sen, Amartya (1999). *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books. Chapter 1

##### Further readings

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Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2.

Pieterse, J. N. 1998: My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-development, Reflexive Development. *Development and Change* 29(2), 343-73.

Rahnema, M. (1997) “Towards Post-development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and

New Paradigms” ,in M. Rahnema and V. Bawtree (eds.) *The Post-Development Reader*. London: Zed Books.

Vincent Tucker, “The Myth of Development: A Critique of a Eurocentric Discourse,” in Ronaldo Munck and Denis O’Hearn (eds.) *Critical Development Theory: Contributions to a New Paradigm*, (London: Zed Books, 1999),

Escobar, A. (1995): “Imagining a post-Development era.” In Crush, J., editor *The power of development*, London: Routledge, 211-27.

Agrawal, A. 1996: “Poststructuralist Approaches to Development: Some Critical Reflections” *Peace and Change* 21(4), 464-77.

Wolfgang Sachs, “Introduction,” in Wolfgang Sachs (eds.) *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992),

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## Seminar 2: February 26

### The Development Decade in Africa

#### Required Readings

Green, Reginal (1965). “Four African Development Plans: Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Tanzania.” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 3, No.2. 249-79

Leys, C.(1982). “African Economic Development in Theory and Practice.” *Daedalus*, Vol. 111, No. 2. 99-124.

Kamarck, A. M. (1967). *The Economics of African Development*. London: Frederick Payer. Chapter 1(African Economic Development in Historical Perspectives) pages 3-20.

#### Further reading

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Frederick C ( 2002). *Africa since 1940*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1

Henry P. (1963). “The United Nations and the Problem of African Development”. Pages 362-375.

Kamarck, A. M. (1967). *The Economics of African Development*. London: Frederick Payer. Chapter 2(The Structure of African Economies) Pages 21-40.

Killick, Tony(1976). “The Possibility of Development Planning.” *Oxford Economic Papers*(New Series), Vol.28, No.2. 161-184.

Shen, T. Y.(1977). “Macro Development Planning in Tropical Africa: Technocratic and non-Technocratic Causes of Failure.” *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 13, issue, 4. 413-427.

Todaro, Michael(1971). *Development Planning: Models and Methods*. Nairobi: Oxford U. Press

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## Seminar 3: March 5

### Roots of Underdevelopment in Africa

#### Required Readings

Amin, Samir(1972). "Underdevelopment and Dependency in Black Africa: Historical Origin." *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 9, No. 2. 105-120.

Rodney, Walter (1972). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle L'Ouverture, Chapter 3

I. Wallerstein, "The three stages of African involvement in the world economy" in P. Gutkind & I. Wallerstein (eds), *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa* (1976), pp. 30-57

### Further Reading

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V. Y. Mubimbe (1988). *The Invention of Africa, Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge* Bloomington and Indianapolis:Indiana University press.

Archie Mafeje (2002). "The Ideology of Tribalism." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 9, No.2.

T. Mkandawire (2003) "African Intellectuals and Nationalism". A Paper Presented at the Conference on the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of CODESRIA.

Franz Fanon. *The Wretched of the Earth* (any edition), chapter 3 in particular

B. Berman & C. Leys (eds), *African Capitalists in African Development* (1994). Chapter 1

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## Seminar 4: March 12:

### Socialism and the Development of Africa

#### Required Readings

Kwame Nkruma (1967) "African Socialism Revisited." Paper read at the Africa Seminar held in Cairo at the invitation of the two organs At-Talia and Problems of Peace and Socialism.

Nyerere, J. K. (1975) "Ujamaa-The basis of African socialism" in (ed) G.M. Mutisco and S.W. Rohio Readings in Africa Political Thought. London: Heinemann.

Mohan, Jitendra (1966). "Varieties of African Socialism." In R. Milliban & J. Sauville (eds.) *The Socialist Register, 1966*: London: Merlin Press. 220-266 (pages 220-35)

#### Further Readings

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Campbell, Horace. *Pan-Africanism: The Struggle against Imperialism and Neocolonialism, Documents of the Sixth Pan-African Congress*. Toronto: Afro Carib Publications, 1975.

Nkrumah, J. K. (1975) "Conscientism" in G.M Mutsoamd S.W Rohio, Readings in African Political Thoughts London: Heineman.

Ayittey, G(1990). "The End of African Socialism", A paper presented at the Heritage Foundation, 24 January, `1990

Onuoha, B. (1971) *Elements of African Socialism* New York: Friendship Press

Anonymous (2010). "African Socialism and its Varieties"

Nyerere, J. "Freedom and Unity." Indiana University Press.

Alexander, A. 2003. "New meanings of Panafricanism in the era of globalisation". The Fourth Annual

Rotberg R. (1966). "African Nationalism: Concept or Confusion?" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 4, I (1966), 33-46

Kodjo, Edem, and David Chanaiwa (1993). "Pan-Africanism and Liberation." In *History of Africa*. Vol. 8: *Africa since 1935*, edited by Ali A. Mazrui. Oxford: Heinemann, Berkeley: University of California Press, and Paris: UNESCO

Friedland, W. H. and Rosberg Jr, C. G. (1964) *African Socialism*. California: Stanford University Press

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## Seminar 5: March 19

### Africa's Lost Development Decades

#### Required Readings

Organisation of African Unity (1980). *Lagos Plan of Action* ( Pages 1-33, & 98-103)

World Bank (1981). *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action (The Berg Report)*. New York: IBRD/World Bank (Pages 1-24)

Browne, S. Robert & Cummings, J. Robert (1984). *The Lagos Plan of Action Versus the Berg Report*. Lawrenceville: Brunswick. Chapter 1.

Owusu, F. (2003). "Pragmatism and the Gradual Shift from Dependency to Neoliberalism: The World Bank, African Leaders and Development Policy in Africa." *World Development*, Vol.31, No.10. 1656-72.

#### Further Reading

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World Bank (2000). *Can Africa Claim the 21<sup>st</sup> Century? (The Gelb Report)*. New York. IBRD/World Bank.

David Moore (2006) *IMF and World Bank in Africa*

World Bank (1986). *Financing Adjustment with Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa 1986-90*. New York: IBRD/World Bank.

World Bank (2005). *Economic Growth from the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform*. New York: IBRD/World Bank.

Pete, R. (2002) *Unholy Trinity: The IMF, World Bank and WTO*. London: Zed Books. Chapter 1.

Williamson, J (2000). "What Should the World Bank Think About the Washington Consensus?" *World Bank Research Observer*, Vol. 5, No.2. 251-64.

Mkandawire T. Soludo, C, (1999). *Our Continent, our Future: African perspectives on structural adjustment (Chapter 1)*

World Bank (1994). *Adjustment in Africa: Reforms, Results and the Road Ahead*. New York.

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## Seminar 6: March 25

### State and Development in Africa

#### Required Readings

Omano, Edigheji(2005). "A Democratic Development State in Africa? A Concept Paper. *Research Report No. 105*, Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg.

Mkandawire, Thandika (2001). "Thinking About the Developmental States in Africa." *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Vol.. 25, No.3. 289-313.

Evans, Peter (2010). "Constructing the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Developmental State: Potentials and Pitfall" in O. Edigheji(2010) *Constructing a Democratic Developmental State in South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC. Chapter 2.

#### Further Reading:

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Jimi Adesina, Yao Graham and Adebayo Olukoshi. 2006. "Introduction". In Adesina et al *Africa & Development, Challenges in the New Millennium: the NEPAD Debate*. Zed Press

Saul, J. & Leys, C(1999). "Sub-Saharan Africa in Global Capitalism" *Monthly Review*, Vol. 51, Issue. 3.

Pender , J. (2003) "From 'Structural Adjustment' to 'Comprehensive Development Framework': Conditionality Transformed?" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.22, No.3.

M Chossodovsky (, 1997). *The Globalization of Poverty: IMF and World Bank Policies in the Third World*. London: Zed Press.

B.J. Ndulu, S. A. O Connell, J. P. Azam, R. H. Bates, A. K. Fosu, J. W. Gunning and D. Njinkeu eds. (2008) *The Political Economic of Growth in Africa 1960-2000: An Analytic Survey* Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

R. Lensink, *Structural Adjustment in Sub-Saharan Africa* (1996).

Gunning, W. & Collier, P. (1999). "The IMF's Role in Structural Adjustment." *The Economic Journal*, Vo. 109, No.459.

Stiglitz, J. (1999). "More Instrumentation and Broader Goals: Moving Towards the Post Washington Consensus." *World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER)/ Review of political Economy*, Vol. 19, No.1.

Bond, P. (2006). "Neoliberalism in Sub-Saharan Africa: From Structural Adjustment to NEPAD" in *Saad-Filho & D. Johnston (eds.) Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader. Chapter 27. Pages 23-30*

## Seminar 8: April 9

### S Africa's Development in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

#### REQUIRED READINGS

Chitonge, H (2015). *Economic Growth and Development in Africa: Understanding Trends and Prospects*. London: Routledge. Chapter 7 (Is Africa Rising?).

Radelet, Steven(2010a). *Emerging Africa: How 17 Countries Are Leading the Way*. Washington D.C.,: Brookings Institution Press. Chapter 1.

Rowden, Robert (2013). “The Myth of Africa’s Rise” available online.

Ncube, Nthuli & Shimeles, Abe (2012). “The Making of the Middle Class in Africa.” African Tunis: African Development Bank

### **Further Readings**

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Dulani, Boniface; Mattes, Robert & Logan, Carolyn(2013). “After a Decade of Growth in Africa, Little Change in Poverty at the Grassroot” Afro-Barometer Policy Brief No.1.

Mahajan, Vijay(2009). *Africa Rising: How 900 Million Africa Consumers Offer More than You Think*. New Jersey: Wharton School Publishing.

Fox, L., C. Haines, J.H. Munoz & A. Thomas(2013). “Africa’s Got Work to Do: Employment Prospects in the New Century.” IMF Working Paper.

African Development Bank (AfDB, 2013). Annual Development Effectiveness Review 2013: Towards Sustainable Growth for Africa. Available at [www.afdb.org](http://www.afdb.org) accessed 23.10.13.

Wai, zubairu (2002) “Whither African development? A Preparatory for an African Alternative Reformulation of the Concept of Development”

M Barratt Brown (1995), *Africa’s Choices: After Thirty Years of the World Bank*, London: Penguin.

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## **Part II**

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# **Competing Development Theories**

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### **Seminar 8: April 16 :**

#### **Origins of Capitalism**

##### **Required Readings**

Wood, E.M (1999 or 2002). *The Origin of Capitalism*. New York: Monthly Review Press. (Chapter 5: “The Agrarian Origin of Capitalism”)

Polanyi, Karl (1944). *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Times*. Boston : Beacon Press. Chapter 4

#### **Further readings**

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Wood. E.M. (on 150 years of the Communist Manifesto) New York: Monthly Review

De Soto, Hernando (2000). *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. London: Transworld.



Marx, K. *Preface to Capital Volume One* (any edition)

Heilbroner, R. 1972. *The Worldly Philosophers* (Simon and Shuster). Chapters 4-6).

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## Seminar 9: April 23

### Nature of Capitalism

#### Required Readings

Hobson, J. 1967. *Imperialism: A Study* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press). Introduction by Siegelman; Chapters 1, pp 15-45.

Lenin, V. 1916. *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* – any edition. Chapters I, VII-X.

Smith, Adam (1968 [1776]). *The Wealth of Nations* (Book 1, Chapter II & III)

Magdoff, H (interviewed by Huck Gutman). 2003. Capitalism as a World Economy. *Monthly Review*, Vol. 55, No. 4, September

#### Further readings

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Block, F. 2001. Introduction to Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, plus Chapter 6.

Marx, K. *Preface to Capital Volume One* (any edition)

Brown, V. 1996. “The Emergence of the Economy” in Hall, S. et. al. (eds.). *Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Polanyi, Karl (1944). *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Times*. Boston : Beacon Press. Chapter 6.

Wood, E.M. 1995. *Democracy Against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (selected parts).

Luxemburg, Rosa (2003 [1913]). *The Accumulation of Capital*. New York: Routledge. Chapter 27.

Block, F. 2001. Introduction to Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, plus Chapter 6.

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## Seminar 10: April 30:

### The Development of Capitalism in Africa

#### Required Readings

Alavi, H (1982). “The Structure of Peripheral Capitalism in H. Alavi and T. Shanin (eds.) *Sociology of Development Societies*. New York: Monthly Review Press. 172-194.

Saul, John & Leys, Colin (1999). “Sub-Saharan Africa in Global Capitalism”, *Monthly Review*, No. 51. Issue 3. 5-24.

Chitonge, H. (2017). “Capitalism in Africa: mutating capitalist relations and social formations” *Review of African Political Economy*,

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03056244.2017.1372280?needAccess=true>

## Further readings

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Castells, M. 2001. The New Global Economy. In Muller, J; Cloete, N and Badet, S. (eds.). *Challenges of Globalisation: South African debates with Manuel Castells*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman

Samir Amin. 1994. *Re-Reading the postwar Period: an Intellectual Itinerary*. New York: Monthly Review Press

Smith, D. Charles (1989). "Did Colonialism Capture the Peasantry? A Case Study of the Kagera District, Tanzania." Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, *Research Report* No. 83.

Hyden, Goran(1986). "The Anomaly of the African Peasantry." *Development and Change*, Vol. 17. 677-705.

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## Seminar 11: May 7

### Competing Theories of Development in Africa

#### Required Readings

Frank, A.G. 1972. "The Development of Underdevelopment", in Cockcroft, Frank and Johnson (eds.) *Dependence and Underdevelopment* pp 3-17 or in *Monthly Review* (18) 1966: pp. 17-31

Pieterse, J.N 2000: After Post-development. *Third World Quarterly* 21 (2), 175-191.

Rostow, W. W. 1960, *Stages of Economic Development: A non-communist manifesto*, Cambridge: University Press.

#### Further readings

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Martinussen, J. (1997). *Society, State and Markets: A Guide to Competing Theories of Development*. (Chapter 4).

Harvey, D. 2000. "The Geography of the *Manifesto*", in *Spaces of Hope* (University of California Press).

Gillian Hart (2000). *Disabling Globalization*: Pietermaritzburg: UKZN Press.

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## Seminar 12: May 14

### Alternative Development Theories

#### Required Readings

Economic Commission for Africa (ECA, 2016) *Greening Africa's Industrialization*. Addis Ababa: ECA. Chapter 3.

Linkenbach, A. 1994: "Ecological Movements and the Critique of Development; Agents and

Interpreters.” *Thesis Eleven* 36, 63-85.

Samir Amin (1990). *Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World*. London: Zed Book.

### **Further Reading**

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Gore, C. 2000: The rise and fall of the Washington consensus as a paradigm for developing countries. *World Development* 28(5), 789-804.

Samir Amin (2006). *Beyond US Hegemony: Assessing the Prospects for a Multi-Polar World*: Introduction (chapter 1) and Conclusion (Chapter 7).

Stiglitz, J. 2002. *Globalisation and Its Discontents* pp. 53-88; 214-252

Fine, B. 1999: The developmental state is dead - long live social capital? *Development and Change* 30(1), 1-19.

Hart, G (2004). “Beyond Neoliberalism? Development Debates in Historical and Comparative Perspectives”

Pieterse, J. N. 1998: My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-development, Reflexive Development. *Development and Change* 29(2), 343-73.

Samir Amin (1990/2011). *Maledevelopment: Anatomy of Global Failure*. Cape Town: Pambazuka

Lehmann, D. 1997: An opportunity lost: Escobar's deconstruction of development. *Journal of Development Studies* V33(Apr. N4), 568-78.