



United Nations
Economic Commission for Africa

Journal of African Transformation

Reflections on Policy and Practice

Revue des mutations en Afrique

Réflexions sur les politiques et les pratiques

Volume 7, Number 1, 2022

ISSN 2411-5002

Rethinking African Development in the Twenty-first Century

(Special edition in honour of Thandika Mkandawire)



A.21-01315

Editor-in-Chief / Rédacteur en Chef

Said Adejumobi, Economic Commission for Africa

Editorial Assistant / Assistant à la Rédaction

Ludovic K. Feulefack

Guest Editor

Vusi Gumede, University of Mpumalanga, South Africa

Editorial Advisory Board / Conseil consultatif editorial

Amos Sawyer	Former President of Liberia and former Chair, Liberian Governance Reform Commission
Stephen Karingi	Economic Commission for Africa
Andrew Mold	Economic Commission for Africa
Mama Keita	Economic Commission for Africa
Brahim El Morchid	Université Cadi Ayyad
Paul Tiyambe Zeleza	United States International University-Africa
Adama Diaw	Université Gaston Berger
Mame Fatou Diagne	World Bank
Fantu Cheru	American University
Patrick Willien	Université d'Orléans
Célestin Monga	World Bank
Mamadou Diouf	Columbia University
Winnie Mitullah	University of Nairobi
Souleymane Bachir Diagne	Columbia University
Justin Yifu Lin	Peking University
Faustin Kalabamu	University of Botswana
Lloyd Sachikonye	University of Zimbabwe

Contents

Editorial.....	iii
<i>Vusi Gumede (Guest Editor)</i>	iii
Development discourse in Africa: thinking about Thandika Mkandawire	1
<i>Yusuf Bangura</i>	1
Democracy devoid of development in Africa: what is to be done?.....	15
<i>Khabele Matlosa</i>	15
Is good governance good for African development?.....	25
<i>Jomo Kwame Sundaram, Anis Chowdhury and Michael T. Clark</i>	25
Democracy, development and the national project in Africa: breaking bread with Thandika Mkandawire	38
<i>Siphamandla Zondi</i>	38
Rethinking African politics: the new age of political parties	48
<i>Peter Anyang' Nyong'o</i>	48
Neoliberalism, the coronavirus disease pandemic, and the public health-care crisis in Africa	56
<i>Emmanuel Ndhlovu</i>	56
Developmental State ambition of South Africa	67
<i>TK Pooe and David Mohale</i>	67
Developmentalism and the transformation of Africa.....	81
<i>Toyin Falola</i>	81
Thandika Mkandawire and Samir Amin on socioeconomic development in Africa.....	91
<i>Vusi Gumede</i>	91
Thandika Mkandawire: a short profile	101
<i>Fantu Cheru</i>	101
Contributors	103

Editorial

Vusi Gumede (Guest Editor)

The continent of Africa stands at a critical juncture. Almost 70 years after the end of colonial rule, the continent struggles to break the shackles of poverty and underdevelopment. More important, the task of building an inclusive and democratic society remains a work in progress, and often, democratic reversals have become a common phenomenon. At the global level, the continent plays a marginal role in shaping the rules governing international economic relations. To the contrary, bad rules, unjust trade agreements, conditional aid, and debt structures are the means by which African development is regulated. As a result, the ability of African countries to chart their own independent development path is severely restricted. Such externally imposed policies have produced multiple black holes of social exclusion and pockets of slums, and made disabled nation-States more accountable to external forces than to their own citizens.

To fully grasp the reasons behind Africa's underdevelopment and its marginal position in the twenty first century, one must take a retrospective view of the theoretical and political underpinnings of the aborted national project of the early 1960s. To do so, it is important to revisit as a starting point the development thinking of the late Malawian economist Thandika Mkandawire if Africans are to embark on alternative pathways for achieving structural transformation, long-term growth, and policy independence.

Development was the central or overarching theme in Mkandawire's publications and other materials, including his speeches and presentations. He published extensively on social policy (Mkandawire, 2001a), developmental states (2003), regional integration (2014), and economic development, as well as various macroeconomic and political economy issues (2002). He looked at all these themes from a developmentalist perspective (2005). Mkandawire was unusual among economists given his work on nation building, national and social questions (2009), social cohesion, social compacts and pacts, and other phenomena, usually outside mainstream economic thinking. He challenged neoliberal perspectives and extensively critiqued structural adjustment programmes (Mkandawire and Soludu, 1999) and other schools of thought that have either oversimplified the African development challenge or misunderstood it (Mkandawire, 2010 and 2015).

Mkandawire was inspired by the political thinking of early nationalist leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Modibo Keita, Sekou Touré and Nnamdi Azikiwe, among others. His essay "Thinking about developmental states in Africa" captures the full thrust of the nationalist project (Mkandawire, 2001b). The nationalist project, first and foremost, focused on nation-building and national development, overcoming the institutional legacies of colonialism, and bringing the fruits of social and economic growth to the population. In concrete terms, the national project was oriented towards achieving a more equitable appropriation of the productive forces at the local level, while playing a critical role within the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of 77 and China, and the United Nations for a new international economic order. As a result of deliberate actions, African economies registered impressive growth rates during the 1960s and early 1970s, given the initial conditions at the time of independence. Physical infrastructure was greatly improved, in particular in the areas of health, education, and communications. Elaborate social programmes were developed that helped to diffuse social tensions.

As Africa entered the 1970s, however, the national project was being threatened from within and without. At the national level, the national project was undermined by poor political governance. Under the guise of nation-building and national development, post-independence African Governments pursued top-down development strategies that stifled the productivity of their own citizens. Policies came to be determined solely by concern with the means rather than the conditions for development. This gave rise to a preoccupation with structures, leading to centralization and a top-down approach to the management of public affairs. Thus, barely halfway into the second decade of independence, the vision of an independent Africa had started to fall apart, and the gulf between the State and society widened considerably in the process.

With the ascendance of neoliberalism in the early 1980s, a subject on which Mkandawire wrote extensively, African countries were forced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to implement harsh structural adjustment programmes to service outstanding debts and gain access to development finance from donor institutions. In exchange, they were obliged to open their markets, dismantle many aspects of the African State and institute minimal democratic procedures that were essential for the proper functioning of the market. The development welfarism of the 1960s, a central plank of the nationalist project, was completely erased from the neoliberal development package. Thus, policymaking, an important aspect of sovereignty, was wrenched from the hands of the African State.

It is, therefore, important to recognize that the development crisis in Africa is embedded in historical and structural circumstances. What is normally accepted as development in Africa is simply an imperial project designed to serve powerful western interests (Cheru, 2009). As the late Claude Ake (1996, p. 275) aptly put it: "... Because of exogeneity, Africa never had a development agenda, but a confusion of agendas." Moving forward, policy interventions, to be effective, must first address these contextual factors.

The collection of papers in this issue of the journal provides interesting insights on alternative development thinking in Africa, drawing heavily from the writings of Thandika Mkandawire. The contributors have covered five themes : democracy and development; the developmental State; social policy and development; the national project and Pan-Africanism; and neoliberalism and the unmaking of the African State.

In this editorial, I specifically focus on Mkandawire's views regarding development broadly and his take on regional integration, African nationalism, and Pan-Africanism. The special issue opens with **Yusuf Bangura's** examination of Mkandawire's understanding of development. The central message from Mkandawire's works is that development has been the preoccupation of the founding fathers of the political independence of Africa, and that post-independence Africa, as a "late-comer", is urged to "run while others walk" to "catch up" with the so-called developed world (Mkandawire, 2003 and 2011). It is in this context that Mkandawire disagreed with various explanations put forward by other leading development scholars as far as economic development is concerned for Africa. This is followed by a detailed discussion of Mkandawire's key works under four themes: combatting Africa's maladjustment; developmental States and neopatrimonialism; advancing the development agenda in social policy; and grounding development in democratic processes.

Khabele Matlosa explores two important themes propounded by ika Mkandawire: (a) the democracy-development nexus; and (b) the question of the developmental State. The main thesis of the paper is that current electoral /liberal democracy in Africa is devoid of

development and, therefore, socially hollow. Second, Africa's development trajectory has been influenced greatly by the externally imposed structural adjustment programmes that have weakened African States and their ability to pursue alternative strategies of development and social transformation. Considering these conclusions, Matlosa makes a case for Africa to transcend the liberal model and embrace developmental democracy. This will require building developmental States as key drivers of such a democracy. While Mkandawire acknowledged that authoritarian regimes, such as those governing the four Asian tigers, have promoted economic growth, he reminds us that such positive socioeconomic outcomes can only be sustained under democratic regimes.

Jomo Kwame, Anis Chowdhury and Michael T. Clark, inspired by Mkandawire's writings, question the relevance of the concept of good governance as a myth advocated by the World Bank as the prescription for Africa's underdevelopment. The authors outright reject the relevance of the concept by drawing on case studies where, despite poor governance indicators, growth has continued to be recorded in some fast-growing Asian countries. The authors argue that, while good governance reforms are necessary for development, they have not only created unrealistic expectations, but have also unnecessarily complicated the work of Governments. Good governance advocates have seldom been right about how best to improve governance. Drawing from Mkandawire's radical thinking, they conclude that good governance is certainly neither necessary nor sufficient for development. The overwhelming evidence is that development leads to improved governance, not the converse. The authors recommend that a pragmatic approach, which first identifies the major constraints to development and progress, is required. Such an approach should be able to empower Governments to analyze and formulate appropriate, pragmatic, and realistic strategies to address development challenges.

Siphamandla Zondi makes the argument that, while Mkandawire has been recognized for his incisive analysis on the idea of the developmental State in Africa or transformative social policy, his contribution to the larger debate about the conditions facing the national project after colonial rule is perhaps the basis on which his later contributions to the debate on the developmental State were founded. Mkandawire's contribution to the debate on the national project is useful in connecting nationalist forces to global forces and connecting the democratic project to the pursuit of development. The post-colonial national project in Africa has been a subject of much debate, especially concerning such questions as the decolonization of the political machinery, the role of an inheritor State, the democratic transition, development imperatives, economic policies, and the project's relations with the peoples of Africa. Zondi clarifies for us what a comprehensive African epistemic lens for such a discussion might be.

Peter Anyang' Nyong'o revisits issues and debates on Mkandawire's thesis regarding a national, democratic, and developmental State. He argues that the thesis advanced by Mkandawire needs to inform Africa's political practice in democratic governance. To build democracy on the continent, it is critical that democracy be promoted so as to organize citizens politically to capture State power to promote social, economic, political, and cultural relations for the greater good of society. The opposite of these values constitutes what amounts to bad governance, oppression, and dictatorship. The task of building democracy in Africa cannot be accomplished without the active role of political parties, notwithstanding historical, cultural, and regional differences. Political parties will continue to play a central role in the process of democratization and development in Africa.

Emmanuel Ndhlovu revisits Mkandawire's critique of neoliberalism with the intention to demonstrate how his critique has now been confirmed by the unfolding global coronavirus

disease (COVID-19) pandemic. The pandemic has exposed the ineptness of neoliberalism as a useful development ideology. Building on Mkandawire's critique, the Ndhlovu takes issue with the neoliberal doctrine of laissez-faire markets and its promotion of individualism over collectivism, which many African countries adopted in the 1980s and which led to the collapse of their public institutions. Neoliberalism promoted the reduction of public expenditure, privatization, and liberalization of public institutions with the hope of improving their effectiveness and efficiency. This has had calamitous effects on public health-care systems in Africa, which are now in a state of incredible dereliction, thereby increasing the vulnerability of the poor majority on the continent to the pandemic. Drawing from Mkandawire's archive on a critique of structural adjustment programmes, Ndhlovu posits that, for Africa to weather the COVID-19 storm, an effective, efficient, and inclusive health-care system that is overseen by the State, as opposed to private actors, is critical to saving the lives of the poor majority who cannot afford private-sector health-care services.

Kagiso (TK) Pooe and David Mohale critically examine whether the Government of South Africa under the auspices of the African National Congress (ANC) in the post-1994 period can be considered a developmental State. The ANC-led Government has long desired to be considered and operate as a developmental State. Drawing on Mkandawire's (2001b) seminal paper "Thinking about developmental States in Africa", the authors argue that South Africa does not meet the prerequisites that Mkandawire identified for being considered a developmental State. Mkandawire demonstrated in that seminal piece that, for a country to become a developmental State, ideological and structural components have to be in place. ANC documents like "Ready to govern: ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa" (1992), "The state, property relations and social transformation" (1998), "Economic transformation for a national democratic society" (2007), among many others, illustrate the predominance of the concept in ANC thinking and stated desire for how the State should operate. While in agreement with Mkandawire's contention that certain foundations or components need to be in place for a State to be considered a developmental State, Pooe and Mohale argue that a more empirical assessment now exists for finally deciding whether States like South Africa are developmental States. The COVID-19 pandemic is both a sophisticated and a rather crude means of finally determining South Africa's developmental State credentials.

Toyin Falola focuses on developmentalism to frame the contributions of Mkandawire to the subject as a theory for the transformation of Africa. To attempt a comprehensive discussion, Falola traces the genesis of developmentalism in the United States in the mid-1940s, as part and parcel of America's foreign policy to spread the virtues of American-style free-market capitalism as the way forward for newly independent countries, so as to lure them away from communist ideology. While foreign aid played an important role in that strategy, and a few developing countries did indeed register growth, the strategy did not bring the desired results across Africa and Latin America. By the early 1970s, American-style developmentalism was in decline, with the ascendance of more critical and radical southern perspectives on developmentalism that attributed the global South's underdevelopment to imperialism. More important, the rise of newly industrializing countries of Asia that followed heterodox policies to engineer their spectacular development called into question the relevance of the neoliberal economic policies of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to Africa's development. The Falola concludes that, without understanding the history of developmentalism, it is difficult to evaluate the place of Mkandawire in African scholarship.

In the concluding chapter, I revisit the debate on economic and social development in Africa, drawing from the works of Thandika Mkandawire and Samir Amin. I start by arguing

that African economies were advancing well prior to the advent of colonialism, in particular the pre-mercantilist period in Africa, until they were disrupted, distorted, and maimed. Since independence, attempts to revive their disrupted and distorted development trajectory have continued to be hampered by the negative effects of the global economy on Africa. The 2007/2008 global economic crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic, among other factors, have further compromised well-being in Africa, even though the economic crisis originated in the United States while the pandemic originated in China. I propose that, if Africa is to reconnect with its glorious past and embark on a path of structural transformation to improve the well-being of its citizens, it is important to pursue some of the ideas propounded by Mkandawire and Amin.

预览已结束，完整报告链接和二维码如下：

https://www.yunbaogao.cn/report/index/report?reportId=5_31234

