



Politics of Development

Political Science M1

2025-2026

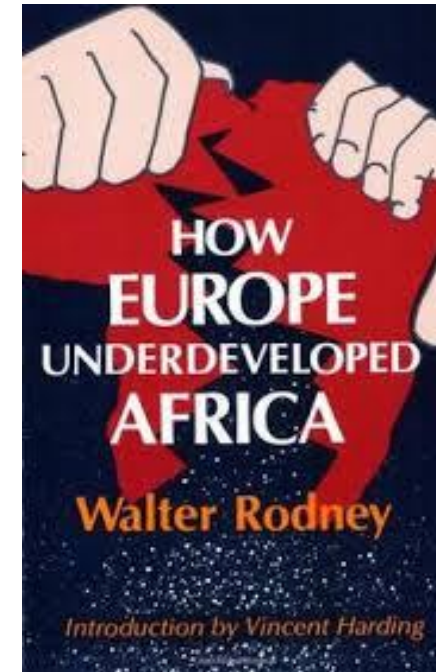
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Today: 'Economic decolonisation'

- Discussion of Walter Rodney's text
- Presentation of dependency theories in Latin America
- The context: 'African socialism'
- The 'Dar debate'
- From theory to practice: the examples of Mali and Tanzania
- Critique of dependency theories
- Work on essays

Intro

- Fundamental question / politics of development = How to explain under-development?
- Also followed by by what kind of politics and relations of power are being produced through these diagnostics?
- What has been the part of colonialism?
- What continuities / discontinuities?
- Discussion of Walter Rodney's first chapter





Walter Rodney 1942-1980

- Born in Guyana
- Studies in Jamaica
- PhD SOAS 1963 *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800*
- 1966: moves to Tanzania, then again 1969-72
- HEUA (1972)= a history of the development of Europe
- Links with Black studies movement in the US
- 1974: back to Guyana VS Forbes Burnham regime

- Links between science and political action ++
- VS other diagnosis of underdevelopment: Walt Rostow's 5 steps
- Rostow = focus on intrinsic (lack of) qualities of 'under-developed' societies.
- Rostow's solution= cash flow, 'modernisation', better integration in capitalist global economy: capitalism has to be parachieved
- Rodney= under-development is *done* to Africa
- Rodney= under-development does not come from lack of global connection (much the contrary)

Dependency theorists

- Critiques of evolutionist dimension of marxism: wrong view of Latin American economies
- Global accumulation produces polarisation
- **André Gunder Frank**: German economist, *Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America*, 1967
- **Immanuel Wallerstein**: World system + Centre / Periphery, *The Modern World System*, 1974
- **Henrique Cardoso** (president of Brazil 1994-2002) and **Enzo Faletto** (Chile), Cardoso, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, 1979.

Samir Amin 1931-2018



- Born in Egypt
- Economist, PhD in France, member of PCF
- Teaches in Dakar (Univ. Cheikh Anta Diop)
- Why didn't capitalism homogenise societies at the **global** level?
- Eur seeks supremacy through 'unequal development'
- Solution = deconnection

No consensus: nuances and disagreements between authors

- Frank / Cardoso: is development possible in the periphery? No according to Frank, possibly according to Cardoso ('dependent development')
- 'The Dar Debate' (1982) between Dan Nabudere and Issa Shivji, over the role of the African elite

Shivji, *The Silent Class Struggle in Tanzania*, 1970

The politics of the production of knowledge *on* development



Dar es Salaam campus end of the 1960s

- The University of East Africa: a colonial project
- The creation of the development studies curriculum in Dar es Salaam (1968)
- ‘Tanzaphilia’ (Ali Mazrui): the complex relationship between intellectuals and nationalist regimes
- The (paradoxical?) support of US foundations
- The creation of CODESRIA (Dakar, 1973)
- ‘African socialism’: not ‘satelites’, creating a third path...

Case study 1: planification in socialist Mali

Source: Alexis Roy, “Peasant struggles in Mali: from defending cotton producers' interests to becoming part of the Malian power structures”, *Review of African Political Economy*, 37 (125), 2010, p.299-314.

- Poor economy to begin with (few infrastructure)
- Growth plan based on agriculture and mobilisation of peasants
- Disagreements between planners and political leaders
- Dependency on aid ++
- Village cooperatives: the replay of old (colonial) patterns? ‘Agrarisme’...

Case study 2: Ujamaa / Tanzania

- Objective = achieve self reliance (ujamaa= swahili for 'familyhood')
- Was Tanzania a fertile ground for African socialism?
- 'Operationalise' an 'African' spirit of community
- 1961-64: dvt plan based on export eco model
- Mutiny in 1964, indep of South Rodhesia: tensions with UK

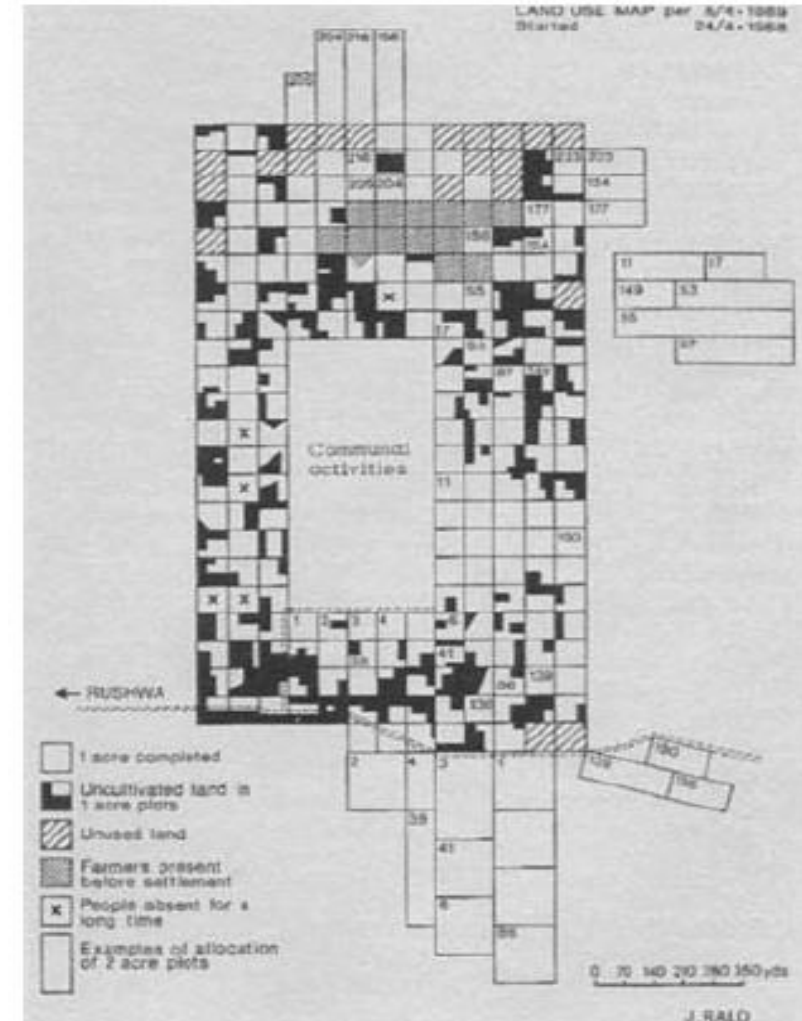


Julius Nyerere in 1975

- Arusha declaration 1967: ideal of self centered development
- BUT NO COMPLETE DECONNECTION (contra Samir Amin)
- Self reliance at all scales, as condition for genuine decolonisation (influence of Frantz Fanon)
- Nationalisation of businesses
- Cultural policy (promote Africanness)
- Mobilisation of students (post-crisis in 1966)

Politics of villagisation

Vijiji vya Ujamaa



- From voluntary migration to forced displacement
- Regroupment and rationalisation of public services

Critiques of dependency theories

- Economic and practical critiques: failure of Ujamaa etc.
- Theoretical critiques:
 - Marxist anthropologists (Cl. Meillassoux): for a study of African modes of production
 - Historians and Political Scientists of Africa (John Lonsdale, JF Bayart): insist on African agency ('in a tight corner') locally and internationally.