

A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE AFRICAN CRISIS

Bade Onimode



**Institute for African Alternatives
Zed Books Ltd.
London and New Jersey**

Contents

1. The Crisis of Underdevelopment in Africa	1
The nature of the African crisis	1
The paradox of continental wealth and mass poverty	3
Some facts about the African crisis	5
Socio-political aspects of the crisis	8
Towards a theory of the African crisis	11
2. Bourgeois Social Science and the African Crisis	24
Bourgeois social science: its contribution to the African crisis	24
Social science as an apologetic ideology	27
Ideology and curricula	32
Imperialism and the imported social science	33
The reproduction of imperialist social science in Africa	35
Marxist social science as the scientific alternative to imperialist social science	40
Maximising social science contribution	42
Notes	42
3. Multinational Corporations and the Underdevelopment of Africa	45
Multinational corporations as agents of imperialism	45
The scope of MNCs in Africa	47
Decapitalisation and displacement of local entrepreneurship by MNCs	57
MNCs and Africa's technological lag	58
Other adverse effects of the MNCs	60
Class collaboration with MNCs and the neocolonial state	64
Multinationals: 'flywheel of growth'?	65
Notes	67
4. The Export of Capital from Africa	69
Multinationals' pillage of Africa	70
Notes	95
5. Class Formations, Inequality and the Post-colonial State in Africa	97
Class formations in Africa	98

Patterns of class struggles in Africa	107
The structure of inequality in Africa	109
Structural inequalities in Africa	112
The post-colonial state in Africa	120
6. Industrialisation Strategy in Africa	126
Motives for industrialisation	126
Patterns of import-substitution industrialisation in Africa	128
The distortion of ISI in Africa	134
Import substitution and the myth of technology transfer	139
False start in industrial export promotion	141
Alternative strategies of industrialisation in Africa	144
Notes	148
7. The Agrarian Crisis in Africa	150
The food crisis in Africa	150
Other agricultural deficiencies	154
Rural genocide and the proletarianisation of the peasantry	157
The development of agriculture in Africa	159
Basic generating causes of the agrarian crisis	163
Critique of the Green Revolution	166
Agricultural organisation, land relations and peasant power	169
Notes	172
8. Africa's Foreign Trade and Debts	174
Comparative advantage, capitalist international division of labour and trade dependence	174
The structure of Africa's foreign trade	178
Intra-African trade	182
Unequal exchange, terms of trade and balance of trade	187
Foreign trade fluctuations, deficits and external debts	194
Africa's external debt policy	199
Regional and sub-regional cooperation in trade	200
Notes	205
9. Development Planning and Infrastructure	207
The heritage of colonial planning	207
Critique of neocolonial capitalist planning	209
Planning and the colonial status of African physical and social infrastructure	212
Towards alternative development planning and infrastructural construction	219
The use of direct labour in infrastructure	222
Notes	223
10. Social and Political Failures in Africa	225

The conceptualisation of Africa's socio-political crisis	225
Pattern and explanation of major political failures	227
Perverse political culture and poor institutionalisation	232
The profile of social failures in Africa	236
Notes	242
11. Socialist Experiments in Africa: Old and New	244
Old and new African socialist experiments	245
Old socialist experiments	246
Problems and lessons of socialist experiments in Africa	269
The socialist question in Africa	272
Appendix: Text of the Nkomati Accords	273
Notes	276
12. New Masters: IMF and World Bank	278
Introduction	278
The Bretton Woods system	278
The New Masters: IMF and World Bank	280
Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and the recolonisation of Africa	288
The African crises and the capitalist international division of labour	293
Is there a capitalist path?	296
Notes	300
13. Ideology and Political Strategy for a Socialist Africa	302
Introduction	302
The futility of bourgeois reformism	303
The obscurantism of socialism as a foreign ideology	304
The search for indigenous African ideology	307
Bourgeois reformism, utopia and the opium of Africinity	309
Scientific socialism for resolving the African crisis	310
Political strategy for scientific socialist Africa	312
Mobilisation of the peasantry	315
The transition to scientific socialism in Africa	318
Notes	322
Bibliography	324
Index	331
Tables	
1.1 Africa's mineral production: 1973	4
1.2 Global growth levels of GNP and per capita income. 1966/80	6
1.3 GNP per capita in selected African countries: 1979/82	6