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THE MUSE OF MODERNITY AND THE QUEST FOR DEVELOPMENT

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Let us confront issues like culture, development modernization and dependency frontally. What do they all mean? What is their significance for African societies? Let us first deal with the complex role of culture.

Culture is relevant for development because of the seven functions which culture plays in society. When culture functions as lenses of perception, it influences how people view themselves and their environment. For example, African cultural concepts of immortality have influenced attitudes to family-size and population growth. Many Africans believe that no person is really dead for as long as the person's blood flows in the veins of the living. Having many children therefore improves a parent's chances of immortality.

Translated in modern terms, no person is really dead as long as the person's genes are still among the living. It is therefore rational to maximize one's genetic legacy by having many children. This conception of immortality has contributed towards making population growth in Africa the fastest in the world, with implications for development - for better or for worse.

Another function of culture is when it serves as a spring of motivation. What people respond to as incentives or disincentives for certain patterns of behaviour is a phenomenon which is greatly influenced by culture. It is for this reason that the work ethic is very often a product of such cultural configurations as Max Weber's concept of "the Protestant ethic" and the more recent phenomenon of work-a-holic behaviour among Japanese executives.

Is the work-ethic in Africa cultivated or stifled by culture? Has the work-ethic been damaged by the consequences of the colonial experience? Is the work-ethic among African women stronger than among African men? Culturally, have African men been damaged more than African women? Needless to say, the work-ethic has enormous implications for development. In the final analysis, the work-ethic is a cultural imperative.

Culture also serves as a standard of judgment. What is right or wrong, what is virtuous or evil, what is beautiful or ugly are all greatly conditioned by culture. What constitutes corruption? Why is taking a chicken to a Chief in traditional society acceptable as a form of

salutation but rejected as bribery in modern society? Is the problem of corruption in Africa compounded by the clash of standards of judgment between the traditional and the modern? Is moral fluidity itself a consequence of a clash of cultures?

The fourth function of culture is in terms of its role as the basis of stratification. Rank, caste, and class are all profoundly conditioned by, if not created by, culture. There is in addition traditional gender stratification. In most sub-Saharan traditional cultures, women were culturally supposed to have a triple custodial role - as custodians of fire, water, and earth.

As custodian of fire the African woman finds herself in charge of rural Africa's most important source of domestic energy - firewood. She treks long distances to collect it. As custodian of water, the African woman ensures water-supply for the home and for the extended family. Again she often walks a mile or two to the lake or river (unless a well is more readily available).

As for the woman's role as custodian of earth, this is linked to the concept of dual fertility - the fertility of the womb (woman as mother) and the fertility of the soil (woman as cultivator). In many African countries even today women are the majority of the farmers - as well as being major suppliers of domestic water and firewood.

What role does culture allocate to men? In societies of mixed husbandry, males (both boys and men) are in charge of the larger domestic animals like cattle or camels. Some cultures allocate responsibility for all domestic mammals (goats, sheep, etc.) to males - leaving only poultry in the hands of women. Men fell trees so that women can use branches for firewood. Men go to cities or mines to work for wage-labour while their womenfolk remain on the farm.

A new division of labour emerged with some colonial economies - women cultivated food-crops like yam and maize while men took charge of cash crops like cocoa, cotton and coffee. But in places like Karicho in Kenya it is still women who pick the tea-leaves at harvest time. It is considerations such as these which make cultural awareness indispensable for effective development planning.

The fifth function of culture is as means of communication. Culture provides all sorts of

nuances in communication and intimation. But above all culture provides language in the literal sense of the legacy of words and lexicon. We shall return to this function of culture more fully in relation to the potential of indigenous African languages in development. Can any country approximate first rank economic development if it relies overwhelmingly on foreign languages for its discourse on development and transformation. Will Africa ever effectively take off when it is held hostage so tightly to the languages of its former imperial powers? We shall return to this theme later in this analysis.

The sixth function of culture is precisely in defining production and consumption and influencing them. Cultures differ widely in productivity not only in the world as a whole but also within Africa. Are the Kikuyu in Kenya really more productive than the Maasai? Are the Igbo in Nigeria really more productive than the Tiv? Are the differences between the groups cultural? Clearly development planners cannot ignore such considerations.

This brings us to the final function of culture - which is culture as a basis of identity. Culture is crucial in defining the "we" and the "they" and marking the frontiers of solidarity. Indeed, what constitutes a Kikuyu or a Maasai, an Igbo or a Tiv, is pre-eminently a function of such cultural variables as lineage-systems, kinship and language. How can development tap into the fountains of identity to achieve results?

These then are the seven functions of culture - as lenses of perception, spring of motivation, standard of judgment, basis of stratification, means of communication, patterns of production and consumption, and culture as a basis of identity. Whether development likes it or not, it is caught up in the complex configuration of those seven functions of culture.

But our conceptual problems are by no means over. We still have to grapple with what the process of development is all about. There are issues of definition, process, and goals involved. Let us look more closely.

Between Development and Modernization

What is development? One possible answer is that development is modernization minus

dependency. But what is modernization? One possible answer is that modernization is change which is compatible with the present stage of human knowledge, which seeks to comprehend the legacy of the past, which is sensitive to the needs of the future, and which is increasingly aware of its global context. This is the positive interpretation of modernization.

If development equals modernization minus dependency, and we have defined modernization, what then is dependency? Dependency could mean either surplus need or deficit control. Country B is dependent on country A if country B needs country A more than the other way round (surplus need).

Another sense of dependency is deficit control. Country B is dependent on country A if country B has less control over their relationship than country B has.

Where does culture enter into this? If development equals modernization minus dependency, there is not doubt about the relevance of African culture in at least that part of the equation which concerns "minus dependence". African culture is central to this process of reducing dependency in the dialectic of modernization.

Identity and Indigenization

One strategy of transcending dependency is indigenization. This includes greater utilization of indigenous techniques, personnel, and approaches to purposeful change. Indigenized modernization would include greater use of African languages in the pursuit of economic and constitutional change. As stated earlier, no country has ascended to a first rank economic power by excessive dependence on foreign languages. Japan rose to dazzling industrial heights by scientificating the Japanese language and making it the medium of its own industrialization. Korea has approximately scientificated the Korean language and made it the medium of its own technological take-off. Can Africa ever take-off technologically if it remains so overwhelmingly dependent on European languages for discourse on advanced learning? Can Africa look to the future if it is not adequately sensitive to the cultural past? Culture as communication and culture as production need to converge.

When two Japanese physicists meet to discuss a problem in physics, it is now possible for them to discuss it in the Japanese language. When two African economists (let alone physicists) meet to discuss economics, even if they come from the same linguistic group in Africa, the chances are that they can only discuss advanced economics in a European language. This lingo-cultural gap may be disastrous for reducing dependency in Africa's experience.

But languages are not enriched only by their scientific discourse. The soul of each language is ultimately in creative literature - among the poets and dramatists, among the writers and story-tellers. Taking African languages seriously would have to include a patronage of the literary arts and an effort to sustain the infrastructure of publishing in indigenous languages, as well as in international languages. Modernization needs some degree of ancientization.

In the twentieth century no language is automatically a scientific language, but every language is automatically a poetic language. African languages need to be made purposefully more scientific. But with poetry the focus should not be on the language of poetry but on the poets themselves - not on making the language artificially more poetic, but on making the poets more naturally productive and engaged. The two policies of scientification of African languages and support for African poets and writers have to be jointly pursued as part of long-term national development. Culture as communication and culture as identity should find a meeting point in literature.

Three Africans have won the Nobel Prize for literature since 1986. It was possible for an Arab to win it for literature written in his native Arabic - Naguib Mahfuz.

It was possible for a South African white to win the Nobel Prize for books written in her native European language - Nadine Gordimer.

But it was not possible for the only Black laureate, Wole Soyinka, to win the Nobel prize for literature written in his native Yoruba. Soyinka could only be in the running for the prize through the imperial language of the Other. Europe's linguistic domination of sub-Saharan African cultures is more uncompromising than Europe's domination of, say, the Arab world. Is this a case of culture as stratification? Is this a rank order of races? Or a stratification of

cultures?

A Japanese may win the Nobel Literary Prize for works written in Japanese; a South Asian for masterly use of Bengali, Urdu or Hindi; a Frenchman for the genius of the French language; and an Egyptian did win the prize for creative accomplishments in Arabic.

However, for the foreseeable future, the Nobel Prize for literature is unlikely to be awarded for brilliant use of an indigenous African language. Are we waiting for modernization to come? Or are we waiting for dependence to leave? In this domain the linguistic Other has precluded the linguistic Self from ever being noticed as being of literary relevance. Is this "great chain of being" racial or cultural?

Rabindranate Tagore won the Nobel Prize in 1913 when India was still decidedly a British dependency. The works for which he won the Nobel Prize were in Indian languages, especially Bengali. He created from his linguistic womb. But in Africa the Euro-Other still inhabits the Afro-Self. When does race end and culture begin? They say African languages are not modernized enough. Or is this a case of Africa itself not being independent enough?

When Tagore won the Nobel Prize for literature written in Bengali before the first intra-civilizational war (World War I) it must have looked like a major step towards a Concert of Cultures, a step towards a partnership of civilizations. Even after making allowances for the influence of W.B. Yeats behind the Nobel scenes, even after allowing for the fact that the award of the prize was probably aided by the fact that Tagore had personally translated a number of his works into English, the award signalled not a clash of civilizations but the potentialities of parity of esteem across cultural divides.

But progress in cultural parity since the Tagore award of the Nobel Prize has been slow and painful. The functions of culture in almost every society continue to feel the hegemony of Western power and the omnipresence of Western civilization. Has the stumbling bloc been Western racism? Linguistic dependence continues to be particularly severe in Africa. We need to elevate African languages. The global culture of stratification needs to be challenged.

The Idiom of Relevance

Next to indigenization as a strategy for transcending dependency is the related strategy of domestication. This second strategy involves making imported institutions more relevant to Africa. For example, the Western-style university is basically a foreign institution in Africa, and yet every African country has attempted to reproduce it, often in unabashed imitativensess. Some of those African campuses were previously overseas extensions of European universities. Makerere in Uganda, Legon in Ghana and Ibadan in Nigeria started as overseas colonial extensions of the University of London, producing graduates with degrees of the British university. Universite Lovanium in Belgian Congo (now Zaire) was conceptually an extension of Louvain University in Belgium.

The strategy of domestication involved trying to make those African extensions more and more relevant to Africa in terms of the subjects they taught, the methods they used, the goals they sought to realize, and the actual people who taught the courses and made policy. In reality it has not been easy to Africanize African universities. In fact, many of them are now decaying, partly because they were not adequately relevant to the needs of their societies, and partly because they were not culturally designed in the image of their societies. They remained "undomesticated" in our terms.¹

If indigenization includes greater use of indigenous languages, domestication includes making the Euro-imperial languages in Africa more relevant for African needs. The imperial culture of perception needs to be changed. Instead of using the French language to promote French culture and civilization, domestication would make the French language a servant of African culture and literature. Great African novels in French are achievements in domestication.

¹ See Ali A. Mazrui, "The African University as a Multinational Corporation," Harvard Educational Review May, 1976. See also Ali A. Mazrui, "Afrocentricity Versus Multiculturalism?: A Dialectic in Search of A Synthesis", James S. Coleman Annual Lecture, University of California, Los Angeles, May 5, 1993.

There are times when the achievements of domestication are at the expense of indigenization. In the second half of the twentieth century it is often much easier to let the Euro-imperial language be the main language of national journalism, national politics, and national education - without bothering to develop indigenous languages for the same roles.

Domestication becomes the soft option as compared with the tough alternative of indigenization.

In such situations domestication may cease to be a method of transcending dependency; it may result in deepening that dependency. In former French colonies the French language is still much more part of the problem (dependency) than it is part of the solution (transcending it).

The muse of modernity is elusive in conditions of acute dependency. Is negritude in Senegal a case of using the French language to serve African needs? Or has it been a case of deepening Senegal's cultural dependency upon France? The poetry of Senegal's Leopold Senghor has been both a garland of African negritude and a chain of cultural dependency. The deep Senegalese dialectic between cultural dependency and cultural liberation continues. Perception is affected by culture-conflict.

In secondary schools in Africa the literature taught to many African children is sometimes still European literature. But what is more to the point is that the African literature taught to African school children is almost never in indigenous languages. The European Other haunts the African Self from a young age in a post-colonial school. Have we been witnessing a clash of civilizations in African schools? Or does literature provide a cover for dependency?

The format of the literature is also often heavily European- derived. The novel is of course a European invention in any case, but even other literary genres in Africa have been profoundly affected by the legacy of colonialism.

Felix Mnthali of Malawi once wrote a poem about "The Stranglehold of English Lit." - a poem dedicated to Molaria Ogundipe-Leslie.

Your elegance of deceit,
Jane Austen, lulled the sons and daughters
of the dispossessed into calf-love
with irony and satire around imaginary people.

When history went on mocking
the victims of branding irons
and sugar plantations
that made Jane Austen's people
wealthy beyond compare!

Eng. Lit, my sister,
was more than a cruel joke -
it was the heart
of alien conquest.²

In this a clash of cultures in the class room? Is it racism in disguise? Or a hopeful beginning of cultural convergence? Alamin M. Mazrui has reminded us that three of Shakespeare's plays have been translated into Kiswahili - Julius Caesar, The Merchant of Venice and Macbeth.³ Shakespeare is being "domesticated".

But what has not been translated is at least as significant. What has not been translated into Kiswahili is the only play by Shakespeare with a Black hero, albeit a tragic hero. Why has it not been translated? Because in the play a Black man was married to a white woman, Desdemona. What is more, the Black hero killed the white woman in a fit of jealousy. The villain of the play is a white man, Iago, who manipulated Othello's jealousies. The play is, of course, Othello.

Why did not Julius Nyerere translate the only Shakespearean play with a Black hero into Kiswahili? Why was not Nyerere's compatriot, Samuel Mushi, fascinated by Othello's wife, the fair Desdemona?

We are still in the shadow of colonial dependency. The Malawian writer, Felix Mnthali, would answer that.

² Mnthali, "The Stranglehold of English Lit." in Modern African Poetry edited by Gerald Moore and Ulli Beier (London: Penguin, 1989 edition) pp. 139-140.

³ Alamin M. Mazrui, "Shakespeare in Kenya: Between English and Swahili Literature", paper presented at annual meeting of the African Literature Association of the United States, Columbus, Ohio, March 17, 1995.

English Lit., my sister,
 was more than a cruel joke -
 It was the heart
 of alien conquest.

Without realizing it, neither Julius Nyerere nor Samuel Mushi had confronted what colonial education had left out of their Shakespearean agenda - Othello. This play virtually never featured in the syllabus of Cambridge School Certificate for the British coloured Empire. Nyerere and Mushi did not translate it mainly because it was not part of the Shakespeare to which they were exposed in their colonial textbooks.

English Lit., my sister
 was more than a cruel joke -
 It was the heart
 of alien conquest.

"Domesticating" Shakespeare in Africa has had its colonial limits. The subtle censorship of imperial racism had censored a tempestuous love affair between a white woman and black man.

If Alamin Mazrui's research findings are correct, these Swahili translations of Julius Caesar, The Merchant of Venice and Macbeth have now become legitimized as part of Swahili literature itself (rather than simply as Swahili translations of foreign literature).⁴

Is this a deeper domestication of Shakespeare and a hopeful trend towards cultural synthesis? Is this another arena where the Euro-Other inhabits the Afro-Self? Why should translated Shakespeare become Swahili literature proper?

Here a comparison is appropriate with the Rubayat of Omar Khayyam by Edward Fitzgerald (1859). Although Khayyam was a Persian, the Rubayat is definitely part of English literature. Is this the equivalent of Nyerere's translation of Julius Caesar becoming part of Swahili literature?

⁴ ibid.

Of course, the main difference was that the Rubayat of Omar Khayyam was not a translation. Fitzgerald breathed his own literary genius into an independent interpretation of the world view of the Persian poet of the 12th century. "A jug of wine, a loaf of bread and thou"; "The moving finger writes, and having writ moves on..."

A mere translation of The Merchant of Venice, on the other hand, should not give us a piece of Swahili literature. Only an indifference to Shakespearean literal authenticity and a readiness to engage in a drastic Swahili reinterpretation of the play would have justified enlisting the work within the corpus of Swahili literature. Only then would it have been cultural synthesis - and a deeper domestication of Shakespeare.

Nevertheless a great area for cultural domestication is precisely such translations of distinguished foreign works into African languages. Civilization has grown out of mutual intellectual and cultural stimulation. Under another strategy we shall later refer to the need to make African cultural achievements available abroad. But under this strategy of domestication, the most relevant translations are from foreign to indigenous languages. Machiavelli has already been translated into Kiswahili, but the translation is not widely available.

Much more widely used are those Swahili translations of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar. The Merchant of Venice and Macbeth. If modernization includes the trend towards globalization, the Africanization of Shakespeare is part of the process of wider modernization.

Diversity and Integration

A third strategy for transcending dependency is that of diversification. In agricultural production that could mean diversifying the range of crops which a country cultivates for both domestic consumption and export. It could mean diversifying a country's markets abroad, to make sure that the country is not too dependent on one or two overseas outlets for its products. Multilateral aid is a form of diversification as compared with bilateral aid. During the Cold War nonaligned countries were even able to diversity their "masters", playing one against the other. Competitive imperialism like that of the Cold War can sometimes give smaller countries more

space for manoeuvre than monopolistic imperialism allows.

Africa must also diversify the foreign cultures from which it seeks to learn. There is excessive reliance on the West as the only Other. And yet what is there in Japanese culture which enabled Japan to beat Westerners at their own industrial game?

In 1868, after the Meiji restoration, the Japanese asked themselves: "Can we economically modernize without culturally westernizing?". They embarked on a crusade of selective industrialization under the slogan of "Western technique, Japanese spirit". Fifty years later they had become an industrial power to reckon with. Their culture of motivation was highly stimulated. What was there in Japanese culture additionally, which enabled them to remain so Japanese culturally and still pull off an industrial miracle before World War II? How did culture as identity and culture as production converge?

Then Japan was briefly occupied by the Americans following their surrender after the use of the atomic bomb on their cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. When the occupation ended Japan started its second industrial miracle - less culturally selective than the first, but even more technologically triumphant. What was there in Japanese culture which made such miracles happen?

Of course, Japanese industrialization has not been without its costs. The culture of production has been allied to Japan's culture of stratification. The environment has often paid dearly, the Japanese women have remained marginalized, the ethnic minorities in the country have been exploited without adequate recognition. But Africa needs to look eastward towards the Japanese experience, as well as northwards towards Europe and westward towards North America, for cultural insights relevant to modernization and development.

Africa should also swallow its pride and look more closely at countries like South Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and others in Asia which had the same per capita income as Ghana in 1957 and which have since left most of Africa far behind in per capita income and industrial growth. To what extent are the economic achievements of the Asian "Tigers" due to cultural factors? Can foreign cultures be studied for lessons which are relevant for others?

Of course Africa has been studying Western culture for decades in the hope of stimulating its development. It is time that Africa diversified the cultural models it examines for developmental lessons. Such diversification may help reduce Africa's dependency upon the West in other areas of endeavour as well.

A fourth strategy in the fight against that dependency is the strategy of horizontal integration. This involves not only national integration within each country but regional integration as well. Pan-Africanism therefore becomes an instrument of horizontal integration, and Pan-Africanism is partly rooted in cultural and racial identification.⁵ The culture of identity is central.

In reality Pan-Movements are born out of a combination of nightmare and dream, anguish and vision. What was the nightmare and the dream which released the forces which culminated in the formation of the European Union as a success story?

Pan-Europeanism had two parents - poetry and war. The poetry provided the vision and the sensibilities of being European; war provided the practical impetus either through conquest (as European nations expanded and contracted) or through a desire to avoid some future war. That was the combination of nightmare and dream.

After World War II the Schuman Plan, and the European Coal and Steel Community illustrated the creation of deliberate Pan-European interdependence to avoid the future risk of war.

The Cold War both divided Europe (between east and west) and united Europe within each camp. Once again nightmare and dream played their paradoxical integrative roles.

The poetry of Pan-Europeanism goes back at least to the European Renaissance as Europeans were stimulated by a new sense of shared civilization. By the time of the French Revolution from 1789 onwards William Wordsworth across the Channel in England could

⁵ The section on Pan-Africanism in this paper is indebted to the author's paper "Pan-Africanism: From Poetry to Power", first delivered as the closing address to the conference on "Africa in the Contemporary World", sponsored by Espace Afrique and Centre de Recherches Enterprises et Societies (CRES), Geneva, November 13-17, 1994.

proclaim passionately:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very heaven.

However, the French revolution was a combination of both poetry and war - the two major stimuli of Pan-Europeanism. The French revolution was both nightmare and dream.

Does Pan-Africanism have a comparable stimulus of poetry and war? The real stimulus for Pan-Africanism has been the combined power of poetry and imperialism, rather than poetry and war. The poetry includes legends of past heroes and makers of history. More recently there have been two schools of Pan-African cultural nationalism - romantic primitivism and romantic gloriana.

Romantic primitivism celebrates what is simple about Africa. It salutes the cattle-herder rather than the castle-builder. In the words of Aime Cesaire:

Hooray for those who never invented anything
 Hooray for those who never discovered anything
 Hooray for joy! Hooray for love!
 Hooray for the pain of incarnate tears.

My negritude [My blackness] is no tower and no cathedral,
 It delves into the deep red flesh of the soil.

On the other hand, romantic gloriana celebrates Africa's more complex achievements. It salutes the pyramids of Egypt, the towering structures of Aksum, the sunken churches of Lalibela, the brooding majesty of Great Zimbabwe, the castles of Gonder. Romantic gloriana is a tribute to Africa's empires and kingdoms, Africa's inventors and discoverers, great Shaka Zulu rather than the unknown peasant. Culture as identity and culture as stratification interplayed.

Both forms of Pan-African cultural nationalism were a response to European imperialism and its cultural arrogance. Europeans said that Africans were simple and invented nothing. That was an alleged fact. Europeans also said that those who were simple and invented nothing were

uncivilized. That was a value judgement.

Romantic primitivism accepted Europe's alleged facts about Africa (i.e. that Africa was simple and invented nothing) but rejected Europe's valued judgement (that Africa was therefore uncivilized). Simplicity was one version of civilization, Romantic primitivism said:

Hooray for those who never invented anything
Who never discovered anything...

Romantic gloriana, on the other hand, rejected Europe's alleged facts about Africa (that Africa was simple and invented nothing) but seems to have accepted Europe's values (that civilization is to be measured by complexity and invention).

The same country in Africa can produce both types of Pan-African nationalists. Senegal's Leopold Senghor has been a major thinker and poet in the negritude school. Negritude is associated with romantic primitivism. Senghor's most hotly debated statement is:

"Emotion is black...Reason is Greek."

On the other hand, the late Cheikh Anta Diop, Senegal's Renaissance Man who died in 1986, belonged more to the gloriana school. He spent much of his life demonstrating Africa's contributions to global civilization. And he was most emphatic that the civilization of pharaonic Egypt was a black civilization. This was all in the grand Pan-African tradition of romantic gloriana.

What of the reality of Africa? It was a fusion of the simple and the complex, the cattle-herder and the castle-builder. It was more than romantic primitivism and romantic gloriana. Real Pan-Africanism must go beyond the twin stimuli of poetry and imperialism.

Pan-Africanism of economic integration will be led by Southern Africa with the new community which has added South Africa to the old SADCC fraternity. The success of this economic sub-regional integration will be partly because one member of the new economic

fraternity (Southern African Development Community - SADC) is more equal than the others - the Republic of South Africa. A pivotal state often helps to assure the success of regional integration. But a shared sense of Africanity will also be needed to sustain SADC. The culture of identity needs to be allied to political stratification in the quest for economic development.

The old European Economic Community soon after 1958 survived partly because some members were definitely more equal than others. Again, here was political stratification. The Franco-German axis was, under Charles de Gaulle, more "Franco" than German. But now German economic might has restored the balance in the new European Union. However, a shared European culture was also needed all along to sustain unification. The culture of identity was invoked.

Similarly, Southern Africa has the advantage of having one member indisputably "the first among equals" - the Republic of South Africa. The pivotal power is the premise of regional survival. But a regional identity has to be culturally strengthened to sustain long term unity.

Pan-Africanism of lingo-cultural integration will probably be led by East Africa with its good fortune of a region-wide indigenous language - the role of Kiswahili binding Tanzania, Kenya, to some extent Uganda, Somalia, and potentially Rwanda, Burundi, and Eastern Zaire. Northern Mozambique and Malawi are also feeling Swahili influence.

Swahili is spoken by more people than any other indigenous language of Africa. It will hit its first 100 million people early in the 21st Century if not sooner. Kiswahili is expanding more rapidly than any other lingua franca in the continent.

Pan-Africanism of political integration will probably be led by North Africa. There is already a kind of economic cooperation fraternity binding five countries - Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania. The economic cooperation has been limping along. However, Egypt has now expressed an interest in joining this movement towards greater North African regional integration. The sub-region is still a long way from political integration, but it is the best placed in Africa for such an adventure - since it shares a religion (Islam), a language (Arabic), a culture (Arabo-Berber) and a substantial shared history across centuries.

Part of the stimulus for North Africa's integration will be European integration. The economies of North Africa and Southern Europe are to some extent competitive. The deeper integration of countries like Spain and Portugal and Greece into an enlarged European Union is ringing economic alarm bells in North Africa. This could help Pan-Africanism in Arab Africa.

Pan-Africanism of military integration is likely to be led by West Africa - with the precedent set by ECOMOG under the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS]. In spite of the difficulties and inconclusiveness of ECOMOG's attempted rescue operation in Liberia, the effort has been a major pioneering enterprise in the history of Pax Africana.

But this issue is precisely the Achilles' heel of Pan Africanism as a whole. Who will keep the peace in Africa as we approach the end of the millennium? Many institutions will be needed. What will also be needed to sustain those institutions will be greater and greater horizontal integration and cultural synthesis. Again a culture of identity needs to be tapped for regional cooperation.

Counterpenetration: A Global Strategy

The fifth strategy for fighting dependency is that of counterpenetration. This strategy involves infiltrating the infiltrators - counterpenetrating the citadels of power. Since we have defined modernization partly in terms of sensitivity to one's global context, counterpenetrating the powerful is a search for a more balanced globalization. It is a quest for a more symmetrical interdependence.

In the second half of the twentieth century Japan has so convincingly counterpenetrated European and North American markets that it is no longer clear who is exploiting whom. South Korea's counterpenetration of the American economy has also been impressive, though on a much smaller scale.

It is also possible for a Third World country to use its raw materials as a source of influence in the world rather than as a basis of dependency. For a brief decade (1973-1983) the

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) exerted some leverage on the world economy on a significant scale. Petro-power from the Third World briefly counterpenetrated the commanding heights of the world economy.

Then there is demographic counterpenetration. Irish Americans are a demographic lobby for Irish interests in the United States; Jewish Americans are a demographic lobby for the state of Israel. Some African Americans like those who support TransAfrica are a demographic lobby for Africa on Capitol Hill. All of these are cases of demographic counterpenetration. So is the case of African professors teaching young Americans in US colleges and universities.

Making African culture available on equitable terms to the wider world could also be not only counterpenetrative but also modernizing for that wider world. The globalization of African culture is a modernizing imperative, provided it is done without exploiting Africa.

Progress is being made in the teaching of courses on African literature, African art, African philosophy and African aesthetics in Western colleges and universities. One day particular African works will no doubt be included in courses on world civilization, and not merely in courses on African culture.

CONCLUSION

_____ We have re-defined the once discredited concept of modernization to mean change which is consistent with the present stage of human knowledge, which seeks to comprehend the legacy of the past, which is sensitive to the needs of future generations, and which is responsive to its global context.

We have defined development as modernization minus dependency. But what is dependency? It is either surplus need or deficit control. Country B is dependent on country A if country B needs country A more than A needs B (hence surplus need). Alternatively, dependency is a situation in which country B has less control over its relationship with country A than country A has (hence deficit control).

The two senses of dependency do not always pull in the same direction. In the history of

imperialism, the imperial power often needed the colonies more than the colonies needed the imperial power. But the colonies had deficit control over the relationship.

If development equals modernization minus dependency, how is the dependency to be subtracted from the modernization? We have suggested five strategies for ending or reducing dependency - indigenization, domestication, diversification, horizontal integration and counterpenetration.

Underlying them all is the continuing salience of culture and its seven function -- Culture as lenses of perception, as means of communication, as a basis of stratification, as a spring of motivation, as a standard of judgment, as a pattern of production and consumption and as the foundation of identity. We have ranged from poetry to Pan-Africanism, from sculpture to the scientification of African languages. The Muse of Modernity is trying to articulate a stanza vibrant with Alexandrian echoes:

A little modernity is a dangerous thing
Drink deep or taste not the Western spring.⁶

What is needed is more of modernity and less of "the Western spring". A non-Western route to modernity is possible for Africa -- provided African culture is fully mobilized as an ally in the enterprise.

⁶ This is a paraphrasing of Alexander Pope's famous thought:
A little knowledge is a dangerous thing
Drink deep or taste not the Pyrean spring.
(Essay on Criticism, 1711).

NOTES