

Review

Apemanship: A critique of the modernization theory in Ngugi's selected works and Clement Chihota's "Shipwreck" in No More Plastic Balls

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The paper critiques the Modernization Theory through an analysis of three of Ngugi's selected works and Chihota's short story "Shipwreck". The paper contends that no society has ever developed on the basis of being copycats or following the philosophy of catching up. Development is inextricably linked to that society's history, culture and the envisioned future. This paper argues that the Modernization Theory as a development model tries to push Africa by the wayside of its historical continuity and has therefore always been doomed from the start. It argues that a people's movement into the future is context-bound because borrowed lenses do not make a people see themselves truthfully and holistically. The paper finds that both Ngugi and Chihota represent neo-liberalism as an ideological and historical continuation of the modernization theory that seeks to enforce the 'erasure' of the histories and cultures of African countries that was begun by 'colonial modernity' in the past.. The paper further contends that the issues concerning any country's economic development should not be left to the leadership alone. As the artists have hinted, every citizen has the obligation to safeguard their country's founding national vision, philosophy and ethos. In other words, African leaders of the 21st century should constantly be monitored for they have a propensity to co-opt foreign ideologies entirely unsuitable for their countries' situations and contexts

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INTRODUCTION

Broadly speaking, apemanship refers to the general tendency by Africans to uncritically and slavishly imitate the western philosophies and values. It has its foundations in the belief that because the whites conquered and colonized, their histories, philosophies and idiosyncrasies are worthy of imitation. It is, by and large, a manifestation of the failure of imagination. Nowhere is the concept of apemanship more manifest than in the area of development.

The issue of African development has exercised the minds of many African thinkers for a long time. This has been compounded by the bleak realization that despite the religious adherence to the borrowed development models over the years Africa is still plagued by wars, disease and general stagnation. Before looking at the

basic tenets of the Modernization Theory the research will try and interrogate these basic questions in relation to the theory: Is there really one trajectory to modernity? If so why have the majority of African countries failed to catch up with Euro-America? What and who are the change agents in a society? Are these internal or external or are they a function of both? Is it possible to become modern and still remain an African in a globalizing world inaugurated by the totalizing effects of the modernization thrust? These are questions that will help in analyzing the problematique of the Modernization Theory. Rostow (1960: 309) the brainchild of this theory argues that development takes place through particular stages which must be followed meticulously because "nature never makes a jump". He pontificates that this theory has a universal applicability for all societies that want to develop. Rostow's first quarrel is with traditional values which he sees as antithetical to development. These societies are unscientific and tend to be backward-

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looking rather than forward-looking. Much premium is placed on the past than the future. The societies depend disproportionately on clan and family connections and tend to shut out personal initiative while stressing communal values. He therefore advocates the changing of most of these attitudes and beliefs in order to release the trapped impulses for growth. One of the preconditions for development, according to him, was the conquest of these undeveloped societies by the Western nations in order to 'shock' them into modernity. For him, this "hastened its (traditional society)'s undoing; they set in motion ideas and sentiments which initiated the process by which modern alternative to traditional society was constructed out of culture" (Rostow, 1960:6).

This is a justification of not only colonialism, neocolonialism but also westernization in all its previous and current manifestations. The changes being alluded to go to the heart of political, social and economic institutions of these societies. These changes have to be influenced and enhanced by the pouring in of a lot of cash in the form of aid to these countries. Aid of this kind comes with a lot of conditionalities so that the countries remain beholden upon the seemingly benevolent nations. For these changes to really and fruitfully take place there must exist in these societies a modernizing elite whose ideas about change are borrowed from the west. They are the educated people who must be seen to be more powerful and flamboyant than the custodians of traditional values.

Karl Marx has argued that "the country that is more developed industrially only shows the less developed the image of its own future" (Hettne, 1995: 21). This means that the theories of development as propounded by the Modernization Theory are merely a reflection of the west's past and future to be replicated in Africa. Rostow also talks about his theory as possessing universal applicability when in reality it only reflects the development path followed by Euro-America. That this was successful to them was due to the peculiarities of their history, culture and envisioned future. The history cannot be imposed on a people with a different culture. To attempt to universalize the experiences of Britain, France, Germany and others into a cosmic reality is as hegemonic as the reasoning that westernization is globalization. It shuts out other experiences and other ways of seeing the world or the movement into the future.

Reacting to the tendency of mimicking other people's histories and creating debilitating alienation, Beti (1957: 181) has contended that:

...the tragedy which our nation is suffering today is that of a man left to his own devices in a world which does not belong to him, which he has not made and does not understand. It is a tragedy of a man bereft of any intellectual compass, a man walking blindly through the dark in a hostile city....

This is a cogent interrogation of the sterile apean

politics that characterizes Africa's attempt to march into modernity. It peripherizes the African, renders him hostage to philosophies that are alien, confusing and only half-digested. Beti's argument seems to foreground the use of time-tested institutions that the Africans understood and could therefore creatively and dynamically adjust to the changed circumstances with a certain measure of assuredness. He is railing against developmental deracination that tends to disorient a people so that their creative impulses are halted.

The novelist, rather, esteems the "need to be imagination producers to cope with the rigors of existence" (Muchie, 2000: Paper no 83). He is dismissing a theory that makes Africans imagination consumers. A people should be innovative and inventive if they want to avoid being imposed upon by others. The contention that the Africans need to be conquered and domesticated as advocated by the Modernization Theory is strategic. It results in alienation from their history and rich heritage and also from the very culture they are persuaded to adopt. This is manifested in the Structural Adjustment Programmes and the manner in which globalization is taking root in most African countries. This lends credence to arguments that these are modern forms of conquests that belie continued domination. The point is reinforced by (Fanon 1973: 63) when he opines that the colonized is modernized above his bush status in proportion to his adoption of western cultural standards. He becomes modern as he renounces his Africanness. This kind of modernity is therefore "a constant negation of the other person and forces the African to ask "in reality, who am I"? (Fanon, 1967: 200). Whilst it is true that identities are fluid and constantly being negotiated and renegotiated, this can only be done from a particular and firm historical base. The histories and identities of a particular people or race and the changes that occur cannot be universalized law of history. They are the experiences, histories and identities of that race and there are other experiences equally valid, edifying and worthy of respect.

Zeroing in on this Ngugi (1981: 32) argues that:

"Our grounds are base, and if they are shaky, it is for us to make them firm. It does not say much of ourselves if we have always to borrow grounds for an argument with ourselves or with others".

The writer is making a devastating critique of the tendencies of apemanship. He is suggesting that African societies should revamp, adjust and adapt their own institutions in order to move forward to meet the needs of their people rather than copying the histories and experiences of other societies. There is no need to be the best or worst of others, but of self. This dislocates and implies that the task of modernization is beyond the intellectual capability of the African so that the task has to be entrusted to those with innate intelligence to do so. Memmi (1965: 179) collapses the obfuscatory, self congratulatory myth of the Modernization Theory by

observing that:

“Domination is not the only possible method of influence and exchange among the people.”

Instead, domination produces crippled minds perpetually parroting the master's pronouncements. Such people tend to feel they are intellectual midgets who cannot craft models unique to the needs and exigencies of their own societies.

Amoo (1997) has posited the view that human nature is not a machine to build after a model, and set to do the work prescribed for it, but a tree which requires to grow and develop itself on all sides, according to the tendency of inward forces which make it a living thing. The tragedy with most African countries is that they have tended to pooh pooh these internal dynamics in favor of western developmental models. The results have been the pronounced failure of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes in Zimbabwe in the 1990s and possibly the failure of the Marxist theories of development because these were not rooted in the complexities of the societies they were meant to develop. The paper seeks to interrogate the above issues in Ngugi's selected texts and Clement Chihota's short story 'Shipwreck' in *No More Plastic Balls*. These works were chosen because they offer the experiences of Kenya and Zimbabwe in their dealings with Western nations and financial institutions in the context of globalization with the ever-present threats of market forces and cultural imperialism. Both Ngugi and Chihota employ allegory and metaphor to criticize apemanship and betrayal of the people by a leadership that adopts ill-fitting policies. The research notes that though both Ngugi and Chihota deplore the actions of these short-sighted leaders whose actions demonstrate not only bankruptcy of ideas but high levels of immorality, they differ in that Ngugi offers solutions whereas Chihota ends at satire and a denial of agency for the common man and woman.

The modernization theory in Ngugi's selected works

As stated before, the Modernization Theory advocates the complete eradication of African culture because it claims that it is progress-inhibiting and does not encourage individual ambition but clan ties. The removal of these anachronistic traditional values will galvanize African societies into 'modern' values, where these refer to western values. But Professor Ndumbe (UNDP Development Report, 1993: 5) says:

“Development is only possible when a said country has developed indigenous and clear concept of its own development.”

This is clearly shown in *Devil on the Cross* where Ngugi

uses the allegorical argument of Nyanjiru. Nyanjiru is lured into the unknown by a man eating ogre with the deceptive promises of prosperity which makes him leave the safety and certainty of his society only to be torn limb by limb by the ogre.

Ndinguri, also because of his intellectual indolence and lack of creativity, because he wants to get rich without working, sells his soul to the devil. Both are metaphors of a society that realizes its nightmares instead of its dreams because it decides to choose the easy way out. Instead of working hard to craft institutions that will positively redound on their people, the metaphors show a society drifting hither and thither at the whims of promises by others. There is always the crass proclivity to be magnetized by what is not one's own than improving realities on the ground to forge ahead. This often creates problems for not only the individual but society as a whole.

This is further buttressed in *I will Marry When I Want* where Ngugi rhetorically asks “since when did a person /try to build his hut/exactly like his neighbor?” Ngugi presents an argument against the alleged universal applicability of the Modernization Theory. The analogy is insightful in that it contests the fallacy that two or more societies or races can have the same solutions to their social problems when they have different cultures and histories. Ngugi is contending that trajectories to modernity will invariably be different because of these historical and cultural nuances. Cabral (1979: 14) has observed that:

Culture is...the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history, by the positive and negative influence that it exerts on the evolution of relations between man and his environment and among men or human groups within society, as well as between societies.

This shows the importance of culture as a social, dynamic product useful in reorganizing people in the ceaseless quest for self-sustenance. That the accumulated experiences and knowledge will be different partly accounts for the different stages of development. It does not mean that there are cultures, experiences and histories that are the beginning and the end to be taught to the world as the Modernization Theory pontificates. This is captured by Ayoade (1996: 10) when he says development enriches culture while culture gives development and technology a human face because it is the totality of the individual personality. One can therefore argue that development and culture are not mutually exclusive, contrary to the claim of this theory. This is what Ngugi means through the character Gatura when he says there is no tradition that cannot be developed in *Devil on the Cross* (Ngugi, 1982: 168).

He is arguing for a return to the source but not necessarily returning to the petrified or mummified

traditions because these are never static but always in a state of flux and mutation. They are not hemmed in from outside influences but do influence and are in turn influenced. The dangerous apemanship on issues to do with modernization can unwittingly lend credence to the myth that there was utter nullity in Africa in terms of development before the encounter with the whites. This is why Ngugi (1972: 59) in *Petals of Blood* nostalgically bemoans the annihilation of African institutions when he asks:

Where are the philosophies of our fathers? The centre of wisdom that used to guard the entrance of our national homestead have been demolished, the fire of wisdom has been allowed to die; the seats around the fireside have been thrown on the rubbish heap.....It is a tragedy that there is nowhere we can go to learn the history of our country.

This should not be reductively read as an idealization of the past. Rather it is a pungent castigation of the wrong turn that was taken with eyes wide open in the futile bid to be like the other, to catch up. How does one totally destroy one's home in order to stay in another's? In other words, the global village demands that Africans think globally but act locally depending on the idiosyncratic contexts on the ground.

The habit of viewing the self through the lenses of others often gives rise to distortions of the material realities of the African societies. It results in the suffering of the people and the attendant schisms and conflicts. This is evidenced in *Devil on the Cross* when the United States delegate says that "if you want to be like us, then hang your compassion from trees" (1982:89). In Zimbabwe such jettisoning of compassion was bitterly witnessed in the Adjustment Programmes that brought untold suffering and left many children unable to attend school and many a man and woman unemployed. It is plausible to theorize that these alien development theories render Africans slaves. But can one be a slave and still enjoy the freedom to pursue the higher ideals of progress in society? Development should ordinarily involve choice, plentifulness and happiness untrammelled by forces that prod and cajole it in a given direction. Besides, the history of western development is the history of bloodshed, slavery and colonialism. Are these also to be aped so that African societies leapfrog into modernity where the West is today?

Malcolm (1970: 48) has observed that a nation's wants can best be catered for by the people looking at their circumstances. He says:

An outsider cannot clean up your house as well as you can. An outsider can't take care of your children as well as you can. An outsider cannot look after your needs as well as you can. An outsider cannot understand your problem as well as you can.

Malcolm's statement is a critique of the apean politics as regards development models. It is doubtful if any civilizations in history came about as a result of mimicking others. He is arguing that Africans should be masters of their own destiny in order to arrive at a modernity that has a human face rather than survival of the fittest where rulers ride roughshod over a grumpy populace. In Zimbabwe this found expression in the mantra of tightening belts, which meant accepting poverty as natural whilst those in power widened their own belts.

Thus as far as Ngugi is concerned copying models of development slavishly has resulted in not only social stagnation but also the suffering of the people because these models are meant to benefit the originators. He is suggesting that there should be a paradigm shift so that theories of development are based on the societies for which they are crafted instead of forcing a square peg on a round hole.

Neo-liberalism, a blessing in disguise for political opportunists in Zimbabwe as portrayed in Chihota's "Shipwreck"

In "Shipwreck" Chihota (2000) dramatizes the tragic futility of implementing little understood, foreign-driven economic policies, banking on rhetorical promises of escape from the economic quagmire occasioned by the developing world debt crisis of the 1980s (Sachs, 1989). "Shipwreck" satirizes the implementation of, and the disastrous effects of ESAP in Zimbabwe. It is a double pronged probing of both the devastating ESA programmes of the Bretton Woods institutions and the African leadership. In spite of the "gains made in the provision of social services" following 1980 independence (Muzondidya, 2009: 188), the Zimbabwean leadership blindly accepted the so-called non-interventionist policies at the expense of the general population who had entrusted them with leadership over them. Employing an anti-allegorical style and the metaphors of shipwreck and dependent apemanship, Chihota not only questions the morality of the financially strong nations and financial institutions of the North in forcing upon the weaker nations of the South, a grossly speculative and dubious economic adjustment policy but also doubts the integrity of the implementing country in accepting ESAP. While the ship stands for the multi-wrecked nation, the crackling voice stands for capitalism's greed and immanent power whereas the captain-president stands for betrayed national vision, sovereignty and values.

Chihota's anti-hegemonic story raises these points: the 1990s Zimbabwe is an unequal partner in the world states' gravitation towards the self-regulating markets of the global village. Globalization, through the African political elite, betrayed the generality of Zimbabweans, especially by leaving the workers unprotected from the

relentless assaults of market forces, hence the neo-liberal tendencies of the 1990s are no different from the colonialist/imperialist intents of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Finally, apemanship by the black political leadership precipitates the 'Shipwreck.'

Here, the paper begins by addressing the argument for ESAP, its manifestation and destructiveness before analyzing the short story in detail. The purpose is to show that though ESAP was subtly evil-intentioned and deceptive, according to African artists such as Chihota, the national political leadership were not simply deceived by modern capitalism's illusions of wealth but, like a true representative bourgeoisie class, they dutifully undertook disastrous measures that excluded their nation's workers and other disadvantaged classes from the promised joys. This paper will conclude by arguing that no nation which willfully discards its cultural vision, values and ethos, especially as regards intervening and regulating the economy on behalf of its citizens, can go on to prosper by appendaging its growth-wish onto other people's cultural and imperialist designs.

ESAPs were ostensibly implemented to stimulate the economic growth of sub-Saharan African countries and to spur these countries' market competitiveness through increased investments (Herbert Jauch: www.alrn.org/index.php/nepad/69-glo... n.d.) However, the hegemonic rules of the game were designed by the industrialized west through the Bretton Woods institutions; the South had only to implement these rules. Such institutions as the IMF and the World Bank, the driving forces towards a single global market and economy (Pattnaik, 2008), were bent on keeping the Third World debtor countries indebted to them and therefore continually under their exploitative influence (Chipeta, 1996). In Zimbabwe, ESAP is most notorious, for it launched 'chigumura' or retrenchment, which subsequently led to the social and economic suffering of the common working man/woman, his/her family and the community at large.

Some of the characteristics of ESAPs, as part of neo-liberal global capitalism, were its intent to reduce government deficit through lowered public spending, rationalization and privatization of public institutions and parastatals, liberalization of foreign exchange rules and trade, and deregulation of the labour markets (Jauch, 1996). Other pertinent reforms included cutting back on taxes, government social spending and food subsidies; relaxation of influence on wage issues and price controls (Pollin, 2003; Jauch, 1996). In the Zimbabwean scenario, it appeared the government was persuaded to abandon its shepherdhood over the people, the same people who had built so much hope and trust in their leaders following the protracted anti-colonial liberation struggle. As Mandaza (1996) and Kanyenze (2003) note, ESAP in Zimbabwe did not lead to the creation of any wealth but actually worsened the plight of the poor, caused deindustrialization and economic decline,

adversely impacting on social service delivery.

Simply put, ESAP created the new millennium poor person of Zimbabwe. Between 20 500 and 30 000 persons were retrenched by 1994 (Mlambo, 1997). Western creditors convinced the government to disregard the plight of the multiplying retrenchees, who themselves instinctively turned to their women and children for additional sustenance. This indirectly increased pressure on the poor rural lands (Muzondidya, 2009: 189). However, Chihota seems to be saying, only an inebriated leadership, an abdicated government or a leadership that knew that its own skin was protected could accept destructive policies clearly meant to alienate the general population. Pattnaik (2008: 1) also observes that besides causing inequalities, the influential world financial institutions also manipulated the political elites to serve their interests, often leading to bad governance and loss of accountability in the delivery system.

Through ESAPs, the neo-liberal philosophy of globalization was manifesting itself more shrewdly than that of its openly violent early 20th century modernist predecessor, imperialism. Africa's tragedy was that her leadership believed that, in the global era, the traditional, therefore old and infective economic ways of their own countries had to be substituted for by the neo-liberal ones the same way those of the earlier colonies had been dismantled for their primitivity. Africa's ruling elites, then, had nothing to say on behalf of their cultural institutions thus proving to be a ruling class bereft of even any propaganda.

The two first sentences of the short story introduce readers to the binary nature of relationships dealt with in the story. Firstly, we have the African government 'us', on one hand purportedly trying to lead 'them', that is, the nation, into the 21st century. Secondly, we have the so-called 'senior' governments of the North coaching the 'junior' African government of the South on how to weather the stormy economic seascape. In both cases, the 'us' are not so much interested in the welfare of 'them' but would do anything to prop themselves at the expense of 'them', the other.

Chihota (2000) employs marine and aviation idiom, language and imagery to invoke an atmosphere of perilously high and low seas infested with jagged rocks that could rock and smother the African ship. Expressions "cruising at a very low altitude" and "flying high on the Northern and Western horizons" (Chihota, 2000:144) set the stage for the contrasting fortunes of Zimbabwe on one hand, and the Bretton Woods institutions and their countries on the other. There ends the comparison. What henceforth remains clearly in the reader's mind is the tossing Zimbabwean ship nearly 'sinking' in the turbulence or about to be smashed up among the icebergs of "ESAP territory" that litter the passage to the new millennium. Being in such a precarious near wreckage, then, the fated ship has to receive urgent safety instructions from the West here represented by the

voice of a false *dux ex machina*, 'the crackling sound from the radio'. The advice is the time-old advice to Africa – to dump the baggage of tradition and culture.

To appreciate the African predicament, it is important to employ the ideas of post-development theory. This theory is informed by Foucault's critique of development as constituting a way of thinking about the world, therefore a particular form of knowledge. According to Foucault, it is a precluding kind of discourse which does not accommodate third world definitions and views of the world, therefore is hegemonic (Pattnaik, 2008). Chihota ironically portrays the solution. Instead of providing solutions, Western policies create problems. African governments, Zimbabwe in particular, are hoodwinked to dump the Pan-African philosophy of 'hunhuism' and communalism in order to benefit from neo-liberal policies they can hardly comprehend.

The Zimbabwean ESAP scenario typifies the African experience at the hands of the Bretton Woods institutions. The IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organization have turned themselves into "fortresses of neo-liberalism" that, pitilessly bully Third World countries into opening up their economies' services, industry and agriculture to exploitation by the rich North through privatization and deregulation (Brooks, 2008). The personification of the death of Zimbabwean culture is mirrored in the passage:

Erase from your minds all anachronistic and superstitious ideas. Delete African traditionalism and mysticism. Most importantly, cast down that heavy stone bird which you consider to be the symbol of your nationhood... And be forever silent about gays and lesbians (Chihota, 2000: 145).

It calls to mind Harvey's (2005: 2) criticism of neo-liberalism as a form of capitalist "creative destruction". African values, national vision and nationhood are to be exchanged for a concoction of Western cultural values, neo-liberal consumer culture of the US and Europe, epitomized in a "fat well-fed doctor" who brings the hegemonic measures of development: "Western books, films, pornographic videos, drugs, spirituous drinks, musical tapes and a bale of condoms" (Chihota, 2000: 145). One needs not only look at the youth of today's esteemed values and tastes but Zimbabwean society in general to appreciate the damage here implied in the onslaught by the normative, Western neo-liberal cultural imperialism buttressed and mediated by the new globalized information technologies. The control was not only economic but also cultural and ideological.

Generally, African leadership is represented in "Shipwreck" in the parody of the clueless captain-president and his patronizing cabinet. This elite group of political opportunists is the target of Chihota's satire. The African leadership ironically have their country's destiny decided by foreign hypocrites. Even the president is

reduced to a fictional figure with glaring personal flaws.

He and his repugnant cabinet present a facade that they have been cornered in circumstances beyond their control, yet they endeavor to survive the Shipwreck at the expense of the 'old', 'weak', 'infirm', 'parasitical' and 'excess people' whom they agree should be retrenched in the process of "urgent ballasting of human beings" (Chihota, 2000: 146). What this means is that the hypocritical Zimbabwean government succumbs to the escalating demands of western capitalists to liberalize hence de-industrialize the economy and abandon social service delivery projects. In the short story, the effects of this apemanship by the local elites are to fast track retrenchment thereby causing mass unemployment because the cabinet members are immune to its effects. One consoling idea the selfish cabinet cherished was the indefensible suspicion that:

"The Westerners themselves (did) throw some of their own people overboard in order to achieve their present altitudes" (Chihota, 2000).

Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan are well-known for adopting neo-liberal policies in their economies but, indeed, for Zimbabwe, that was a weak justification of the political elites' abandonment of the people in pursuit of personal salvation. In the end what we see is not so much an existential choice in a globalizing universe that the elite hardly understand but a parody of an indebted, short-sighted 1990s gang who pawned the helpless populations in the selfish hope to hop into the 21st century and atone for their debts to the IMF and World Bank. As was to be expected, their undigested policies could not serve them well and they created fertile ground for Zimbabwe's economic and monetary crises a decade later. More immediately, they triggered the disorientation and unrest of the masses. They ushered militant agitation, what became known in Zimbabwe as mass actions-job boycotts, stay-aways and food riots organized by the increasingly autonomous Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (Raftopoulos, in Raftopoulos and Sachikonye, 2001).

CONCLUSION

Ngugi and Chihota's works seem to be saying the only answer to why the ruling classes of independent Africa ape or seemingly accept the foreign policies informed by Modernization Theory is because these policies place the working classes and ordinary people at a disadvantage while the ruling classes amass the country's wealth, grab the privatizing companies, abuse the loans from the transnational corporations and the IMF and The World Bank. It is protection from such an unscrupulous class of mimic men, who appeared on the African political scene in the 1980s and 1990s, that Ngugi and Chihota seem to

Seek through mostly allegory and metaphor of apemanship. While Ngugi's class vision and collective solutions have been quite explicit, Chihota, content with satire, chooses not to allow the affected workers and citizens any voice in the story. This is despite well-known counter responses already mentioned. However, both artists have been so successful in critiquing the Modernization Theory that their writing reminds readers of Fanon's earlier injunction when he observed:

We need a model..., (we) want blueprints and examples. For many of us the European model is the most inspiring... (But we) have seen what mortifying setbacks such an imitation has led us. European style ought to no longer tempt us and ...throw us off balance (Fanon, 1963: 252).

So what Africa needs are institutions and ideologies best suited for her history and needs. There are a lot of examples from past civilizations from which to draw. What is needed is the will to take the past political, social and economic achievements dust them and creatively graft them to modern political organization. After all Africa is not a brand new player in social and political organization.

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