

**SHOULD AFRICAN COUNTRIES ENCOURAGE AMERICA'S
DEPENDENCY ON FOREIGN OIL? REVISITING MAZRUI'S 7TH
COUNTER-DEPENDENCY STRATEGY AND THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT**

BY

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INTRODUCTION

In his outstanding book, *The African Condition*, (1980) Professor Ali Mazrui, the Albert Schweitzer Professor of history and political science, presents a compelling diagnosis of the post-colonial condition of Africa as one characterized by the twin evils of poverty and dependency. Borrowing from Greek mythology, he argues that solving the problem behind the African condition is as near-impossible as navigating one's way between Scylla and Charybdis. For his prescription Mazrui holds that the best theory of development for Africa cannot be simply westernization, modernization, or socialism, as many political scientists have claimed, but "**Modernization (-) minus Dependency.**" (Mazrui: 1980, 86)

While modernization would bring the end to Africa's poverty, he believed, a set of seven appropriate counter-dependency strategies, applied simultaneously with modernization would bring the end to her dependency as well. The 7th of these strategies is however too controversial in my judgment and deserves a second look. It calls on African countries to encourage Northern countries, especially the US, to increase its consumption of foreign oil and other luxury goods in order to maximize America's dependency on foreign oil and consequently her vulnerability to Third World pressures. For, as he puts it, "An America self-sufficient in oil is an America invulnerable to external pressures." (Mazrui, 1980. *ibid*)

This paper focuses on the 7th of these strategies which is not only controversial but has also become philosophically interesting given the current economic crises facing the US caused in part by what the Ex President, George W. Bush, terms "America's addiction to foreign oil" and

the fact that Barack Obama, a grandson from Black Africa and one of our own, is now in the White House as the 44th President of the United States.

In supporting this call Mazrui cites the success of OPEC countries in exposing and exploiting America's vulnerability to external pressures in the 1970's under President Jimmy Carter. The call for this controversial counter-dependency strategy and its justification would appear timely for Mazrui and the sympathizers to his theory given the unprecedented spike in oil prices in summer 2008 and its contribution to what is arguably the worst economic recession in US history since The Great Depression. According to President Carter while the US was importing 7 billion gallons per day from the Middle East in the 1970's, the US now imports 14.5 billion per day. (CNN:/King: Feb 8, 2009) So if Mazrui's recommendation should be taken seriously, then this time will be, in the words of Charles Dickens "the best of times." However, assuming Mazrui's recommendation is economically feasible and politically expedient or morally justified then given that a Black President and one of our own is in the White House, this would also appear to be "the worst of times." Since logically this time cannot be both the best and the worst, the paradox of Mazrui's recommendation for Africa towards the US seems inescapable.

The temptation to encourage and to exploit America's addiction to foreign oil or any such commodity, I argue, should be resisted on both logical and moral grounds. To support my case I will deconstruct or analyze Mazrui's theory for Africa's development in relation to other theories of development and show the logical inconsistencies and moral dilemmas created by the 7th counter-dependency strategy. In the reconstructive phase, I show how the 7th strategy could be modified into an instrument for facilitating the effectiveness of the other strategies in Mazrui's theory.

A. MAZRUI'S CONTEXTUALIZED THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT

Mazrui's theory of development published in 1980 as '**Modernization minus Dependency**' represents arguably, the most intellectually serious attempt to re-conceptualize development with the intention of avoiding the Scylla of poverty and the Charybdis of dependency. Hitherto, most scholars in this field have merely analyzed the causes of poverty and dependency and prescribed solutions for one or the other but not for both. The revolutionaries, especially Walter Rodney (Rodney: 1973) and African Marxists like Bade Onimode who advocates total de-linking of Africa from the West to eliminate dependency but without any serious solution to the problem of poverty. (Onimode: 1986, p.21) The neo-capitalists like the Ghanaian political economist, Abgeko Katapu, on their part present very brave proposals to end Africa's poverty through westernization, but provide virtually nothing to eliminate or minimize the dependency problem. (Katapu:1987 p.71) Those identifying themselves as pragmatists call for self-reliance without showing how we could lift ourselves by our own boot straps when we either have no boots or the strength to pull on the straps. Unlike these scholars, Mazrui recognizes the reality and the threat of both poverty and dependence to our survival and wellbeing and prescribes modernization to deal with poverty and several counter-dependency strategies to combat dependency simultaneously.

To the predominantly subjective Western conception of modernization as "westernization" or attempts by less developed countries to imitate Western industrialized countries, Mazrui presents a more objective alternative. He defines modernization as "change in the direction which is compatible with the present stage of human knowledge, and which does justice to the human person as an innovative and social being." (Mazrui: 1986, *ibid*) In analyzing modernization for the Third World Mazrui identifies the key concepts in terms of

secularization, technicalization, and future orientation, as explained below:

1. **Secularization** means a shifting of the balance in scientific explanation and ethics away from the supernatural to the temporal. This does not mean the abolition or suppression of religion as it might first appear, but giving priority to scientific explanations and anthropocentric ethics over the supernatural.
2. **Technicalization** represents a shifting of the balance in technique from custom and intuition to innovation and measurement. This will not only improve our African ways of analytic and scientific thinking and problem-solving, but will also improve our farming, pharmacological, and nutritional skills etc.
3. **Future-Oriented** is a call for a shifting of the balance between preoccupation with ancestry and tradition to concern for anticipation and planning. Contrary to what J. S. (Mbiti and other critics allege regarding the rationality of Africans, this call does not mean Africans lack the potential for futuristic thinking. Instead, it is a call on Africans not to get too romantic about their past and **sankofaism (Osei: 2006, p.59)** but to maximize their potential and propensity for futuristic thinking.

While modernization is necessary for ending poverty, Mazrui maintains, modernization is not enough for ensuring full development anywhere. Northern industrialized states, he argues, are undoubtedly modernized but continue to face such problems as income redistribution, high crime rates, and environmental pollution. Thus, despite all their advances in science and technology, these Northern countries are not yet fully developed. Other Northern countries continue to be challenged by standards of justice between classes, races, cultural subgroups, and the sexes as they pursue full development.

Similarly for Africa, modernization will not be enough for the attainment of full development. For we cannot claim to be fully developed if, after eliminating poverty by modernizing our farms, our industries, our infrastructure, and the means of communication, etc., we are still economically, militarily, culturally, technologically, or psychologically dependent on our former colonial masters and other external powers. Consequently, one can appreciate why Mazrui insists that for Africa now, development must mean “modernization minus dependency” if it could be shown, at least in principle, that the theory can dissolve the dilemma of Africa's development as presented in the conceptual schema below:

B. THE DILEMMA OF AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT

P1. African countries seeking models for development may choose either the socialist model or the capitalist model.

P2. Historically, African countries that choose the socialist model gain a significant degree of autonomy but at the cost of poverty. (Drake: 1974.59)

P3. Similarly, African countries that choose the capitalist model gain a measure of economic growth but at the cost of autonomy. (Wesley, G.W. and Aguibou J: 1980, p.8)

P4. Therefore either the African countries achieve a measure of autonomy (at the cost of poverty) or they achieve a significant measure of economic growth (at the cost of autonomy [Constructive Dilemma, P1-P3])

P.5. Since autonomy and economic growth are desirable outcomes, the real problem of choice for the African countries is not choosing between autonomy and economic growth, but choosing between poverty and dependency.

C: If African countries choose socialism or capitalism they will suffer either poverty or dependency. [Disjunctive Syllogism, P4-P5]

The genius or excellence in Mazrui's theory (**Modernization (-) minus Dependency**) is that assuming his conception of modernization and the counter-dependency strategies are sound, it can in principle dissolve the Dilemma of Africa's Development as outlined above. For, through a sound process of modernization based on the Capitalist Model of development, Africans can maximize productivity and end poverty through improved technicalization of the means of production in agriculture for example, while simultaneously eliminating or minimizing dependency through a set of sound counter-dependency strategies. In effect, Mazrui's approach has the potential for dissolving the Dilemma by showing P3 to be false since pursuing the Capitalist model would no longer lead to dependency.

The theory also implies that the meaning of development for Africa is relative to African needs just as the meaning of development for the Western world is relative to Western needs. For this reason I term Mazrui's theory "A Contextualized Theory of Development."

[Where D= Development, M= Modernization and Di=Dependence and Ca represents an African country, a simple equation for the theory within the African context for the time being would be;
(x)Ca(D = M-Di).]

C: MAZRUI'S SEVEN COUNTER-DEPENDENCY STRATEGIES

Since on Mazrui's account modernization is not identical with development given the problem of dependence, his theory will be incomplete without any means of transcending or overcoming the dependence problem as shown in the dilemma above. For this reason he identifies and recommends seven counter-dependency strategies for the theory of Africa's development. He articulates and justifies each of these strategies on the grounds of their workability as well as their rational and moral grounds:

1. **Indigenization** describes the process of increasing the utilization of indigenous resources, ranging from native personnel to traditional or local technology and language. To attain true liberation in Africa, he argues, there is the need to Africanize to a large extent the administration, the management, and the clerical-manpower positions. Also, when the option of relying on local resources is open, we must resist the temptation to import. For example, greater utilization of hydro-electric power, which can be obtained from damming some of the great rivers in Africa, would reduce dependence on imported coal or oil. He cites Kenya's adoption of the Swahili language in place of the Queen's English for parliament and for public discourse as another good example of indigenization.

2. **Domestication** describes the process of making an imported resource more relevant and appropriate for the African situation. As an example, Mazrui refers to the African university today which, he says, is basically foreign. It is, in his eyes and certainly in the eyes of many African scholars and politicians- including those who have called for the rejection of philosophy from African universities- a foreign institution transmitting foreign culture and ideologies etc, for the entrenchment of Africa's mental and economic dependency. Thus, domesticating the African university would involve making it more relevant to Africa's technological as well as their socio-economic and political needs. It will also become more responsive to the needs of the African student to know more of African history, African culture, and African philosophy whose existence until recently were denied by Eurocentric scholars etc.

Attractive as the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy with all the British royal pomp and pageantry might appear to the African, recent political history has shown that it cannot work in Africa without some significant domestication to suit the African context. Another important aspect of domestication relates to the economy. There is the need to reduce

the importation of foreign foods by focusing on domestic foods. The technique of production also, according to Mazrui, can be domesticated by emphasizing labor-intensive technology over capital intensive ones, since Africans are rich in providing cheap labor but poor in providing capital.

3. **Diversification** This process begins with the assumption that a slave/servant can maximize his chance for freedom by multiplying his masters. This might sound paradoxical until one recognizes that the existence of multiple masters creates the possibility of playing one master against the other and thereby maximizing one's own options. Applied to the African situation, Mazrui argues that it is more expedient for African nations to diversify and sometimes multiply their trading partners and foreign investors, or donors instead of sticking to only their former colonial powers or only a few partners. The rationale is in part to avoid the predicament of excessive dependence on one or few commodities, trading partners, investors, and donors. To do otherwise, will be as irrational as putting all your eggs in one basket.

Mazrui also counsels diversification in cultural and ideological influences on the people. Beyond the dominant external cultural influence the West and the Middle East, the time has come to reduce this cultural dependency by exposing ourselves to other cultural influences from India, Japan, China, and the Soviet Union, etc. African nations' he counsels, need to open their doors to what he calls "the free market of ideas" in order to avoid the hazard of closed-ideological systems that perpetrate mental and intellectual dependency.

4. **Horizontal Inter-Penetration:** This fourth strategy to transcend dependence presumes that hitherto the structure of the world economy has been dominated by two patterns: The North-South trade among the industrialized countries of the North and the developing countries of the South, and the North-North trade among the industrialized countries of the Northern hemisphere.

This strategy calls for a new dimension in world trade among developing countries in the south: “The South-South economic interaction.” as well as political cooperation.

5. Vertical Counter-Penetration: This strategy aims at encouraging Third World countries to penetrate the citadels of power in the North to reciprocate the penetration of the South by the North for centuries since the Age of Exploration. The rationale is to increase the share of the Third World countries in the economies of the developed industrial nations in order to maximize international leverage. He believes that through counter- penetration in solidarity with other Third World countries, African countries can maximize their chance for fair bargain and favor. As an example, he cites the ability of OPEC which was able to use its economic power to stop certain Western firms from trading with Israel. Nigeria was also able to use her oil power to foster what he terms “enlightened Western policies for Southern Africa.” Other examples of Third World counter-penetration include attempts by some Third World governments and companies to invest or buy substantial shares in Western banks.

While most Third World intellectuals and diplomats lament the outflow of African scholars to Western countries, Ali Mazrui sees some positive aspects in this phenomenon called “brain drain”. For him, the outflow is not necessarily evil given its potential to be creatively transformed into a constructive instrument for counter-penetration. Over time, these African intellectuals in Western countries could exercise their collective political pressure on their host governments to influence policies in favor of their African homelands in ways similar to what Jewish Americans, Irish Americans, Polish Canadians, and British Indians have done to the benefit of their respective homelands. With Obama as president, this strategy can be very effective in the US if the African residents concerned are professionals in law, medicine, and international business, etc. and could maintain contacts with influential government officials and

lobbyists.

6. **Domestic Austerity:** A Western visitor to any of the big cities in Africa will marvel at the lifestyles of the rich and famous in the midst of the starvation and decay for which Africa is best known to the outside world. Before we can minimize our dependence, Mazrui argues that it is imperative that we restrain the importation of western luxury goods including expensive American cars, European clothing, foods, and drinks that are hardly within the means of the average middle class American and adopt greater circumspection regarding our consumption patterns. Without jeopardizing the minimum nutritional, medical, and educational needs of the people, African governments must also reduce the importation of various nonessential goods such as private jets, and expensive cigarettes, and alcoholic beverages. Despite the political risk associated with such austerity measures some African countries including Tanzania, Mozambique, Nigeria, and Ghana have successfully implemented some of these counter-dependency measures with more room for improvement.

7. **Encouraging Northern Extravagance:** This strategy is undoubtedly the most controversial of all the seven strategies for overcoming dependence. It is aimed at encouraging Western countries, especially the U.S., to continue their extravagant consumption of oil and similar commodities for which they are vulnerable to external pressures from the Third World. Unless we do this, Mazrui argues, the U.S. might reduce its dependence on foreign oil by encouraging the economical usage of oil at home. If this happens, then the US will be less vulnerable to Third World pressures. True interdependence, however, he argues, requires “mutual vulnerability to each others’ pressures. For, “An America self-sufficient, in oil,” Mazrui maintains, “is an America invulnerable to external pressures.” (Ref...) Judging from this rationale, it is more likely than not that Mazrui would encourage Africa to discourage the US from

seeking alternative sources of energy as President Obama plans to do.

In fairness to Mazrui, he denies that this controversial 7th strategy is aimed at the total collapse of Western civilization. That, he maintains, would be a disaster for the human race since it is the Western civilization that has enhanced man's control over nature, enriched man's own creativity and inventiveness, and deepened our understanding of the ultimate and the spiritual. He however, maintains that, a partial decline of the civilizations of the Northern hemisphere is a necessary precondition for creating, "a genuinely new international order" since the Western world and the Soviet bloc are responsible for some of the most serious problems facing the human race such as environmental pollution, global warming and the threat of nuclear war, and the assault on such values as collective responsibility and the sacredness of human sexuality etc.

By adopting these seven strategies for transcending dependency, in addition to the process of modernization as defined above, Mazrui is convinced Africa can achieve development since development for Africa now simply means "modernization minus dependency."

D. CRITIQUE OF MAZRUI'S 7TH COUNTER-DEPENDENCY STRATEGY AND THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT

With the exception of the 7th strategy just described, it seems to me that all the strategies are morally sound, realistic, and potentially reliable for transcending our problem of dependence. Against this 7th strategy I argue on moral and logical grounds to show that it is morally unacceptable and logically inconsistent with the other counter-dependency strategies, and will consequently create intransigent moral dilemmas for African development. In its place, I make the case for a new counter-dependency strategy: **Promoting International Friendship and**

Collaboration. It is not only morally and logically sound it also has the potential to facilitate the successful implementation of all the other counter-dependency strategies.

To recall, the 7th strategy is that aimed at encouraging Western extravagance as a means of making the West-especially the U.S., more vulnerable to Third World pressure. As Mazrui has claimed above, this pressure, is a necessary pre-condition for securing the partial decline of the civilizations of the Northern hemisphere which is in turn, a necessary precondition for a genuine new international order that allows genuine interdependence among all nations. While such a new international order is undoubtedly desirable, morality requires that the method for achieving it must also be morally sound. The world could easily be reduced to chaos were our world leaders to assume that the morality of the means does not matter in the ethic of international relations, and that it is the end that justifies the means, as some versions of utilitarianism would have us believe.

Mazrui does not provide us with any reason why we should encourage Western extravagance except that it will work as a means of increasing Western vulnerability to Third World pressure and, ultimately, reduce the level of Western civilization. This justification might sound pragmatic and therefore attractive. Such a pragmatic justification however will fly in the face of international justice which requires countries to act in good faith and fairness to each other. Hence, this strategy is morally unsound and should be rejected.

In defense of Mazrui's controversial recommendation one might argue that the strategy is morally justified as a form of **tit for tat** since Western countries since from the on set of the Industrial Revolution European nations have been harming African economies. For example, the proponents of this policy could cite Western history of encouraging extravagance, corruption, and deadly habits in Africa through their unscrupulous commercial advertisements for luxury

goods, cancer-causing cigarettes, and X-rated movies and websites glamorizing sexual promiscuity and violence etc. and by permitting corrupt African government officials to open irretrievable private accounts in their foreign banks.

Plausible as it might sound, such a response will however be morally irresponsible and irrational. It wrongly presupposes that African governments are logistically prepared for the possibility of a protracted **tit-for tat** game with the powerful West, especially the US. The long term consequence for such a foreseeable protracted cold war could be disastrous for the anemic or near-dead economies of the African countries concerned and their people for generations. In short, it will not be in our rational or moral self-interest to initiate such an asymmetrical cold war with the West.

In this connection, African leaders and intellectuals will be well advised to take seriously the words of wisdom from one of Africa's greatest descendants, the Rev Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. His advice to fellow civil rights activists not to resort to violent methods is equally valid for Africans tempted to seek revenge against the West.

Never succumb to the temptation of becoming bitter. As you press for justice, be sure to move with dignity and (moral) discipline, using only the weapon of (**agape**) love. Let no man pull you so low as to hate him. Always avoid violence. If you succumb to the temptation of using violence in your struggle, unborn generations will be the recipients to a long and desolate night of bitterness, and your chief legacy to the future will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos." (King, 1957, 10)

Like the Civil Rights activists of the 1950's and 60's, our demand for international justice will be a noble cause since upholding and respecting such a universal moral principles as justice, the philosophy of nonviolence and **agape** love will not only benefit Africans but will benefit the West as well. The nobility in our quest for justice will however be undermined by harboring any negative intention such as seeking revenge. As King would say, "In your struggle for justice, let your oppressor know that you are not attempting to defeat or humiliate him or even to pay him

back for injustices that he has heaped on you." (King, 1957, *ibid*) Taking the moral highway to justice is also consistent with communalism, the traditional worldview of our African ancestors and elders that encourages all people to consider themselves as members of one big extended family, (**or abusua** in Akan/Ghana) living in harmony and supporting each other as neighbors in a global village.

Moreover, it is surprising that Professor Mazrui failed to realize that this 7th strategy is logically inconsistent with most of the other counter-dependency strategies he advocates above. Take for example, the strategy of domestication. By definition domestication presupposes the availability of foreign goods and, consequently, the cooperation and goodwill of the external source through trade, aid, or donation. Despite Mazrui's **caveat** that this 7th strategy is not aimed at the total collapse of Western civilization, a malicious intention is implied in the very thought of pursuing a strategy that will engineer its partial collapse. By proclaiming such an unfriendly or hostile intention toward the West, African countries would be unwittingly undermining the international goodwill and cooperation necessary for the success of their domestication strategy since domestication presupposes access to foreign goods and ideas.

Both the strategies of **Diversification and Vertical Counter-Penetration** also require international goodwill and cooperation from the advanced West or Northern countries. Without doubt, African countries might succeed in the diversification of their products and ideas, but how can we be sure that Western/Northern donors and investors, sensing their interests threatened by our unfriendly intention, might not consider withdrawing their current or future aid, trade, and investments in Africa?

The strategy of **Vertical Counter-Penetration** into the citadels of power is equally incompatible with the 7th strategy. Deploying this strategy would be impossible unless the host

countries in the West/North are willing to grant visas, work permits or amnesty, etc., to the immigrant students, scholars, or business professionals from Africa. Such willingness or cooperation is, however undermined in principle by the hostile intention implicit in this controversial 7th strategy.

Evidently, the 7th counter-dependency strategy is logically incompatible with most of the other strategies as well as counter-productive. Consequently it must be either modified or rejected to save Mazrui's Theory of Development from incoherence.

As someone committed to ethics and global justice, Professor Mazrui should also be concerned about the universalizability of such a policy within the moral context as required by Kantian Ethics and the Golden Rule. (Mazrui, 1987, 17.) If the strategy is universalizable then Mazrui should be prepared to grant that the West/North also have the moral right to engineer the partial collapse of our fragile democracies by encouraging the extravagant use of oil, medicines, or similar limited resources for which we Africans are dependent on external sources. That however conflicts with our (African) rational and moral self-interest since it will deepen our dependency condition. On the other hand, if it is not universalizable then it is a violation of the first version of Kant's Categorical Imperative since we would be unjustly using Western/Northern countries as **mere means** to our selfish end. Logically speaking, either the principle behind our action is universalizable or it is not. If it is universalizable, it is potentially hurtful to Africa, if it is not, it is unjust to the West/North. Therefore in either case, the strategy is morally unacceptable.

Recent events at the international scene, with particular reference to the Middle East also indicate that the partial decline of the U.S. as a super power will not be in the interest of world peace. For, although the U.S. might not qualify on moral grounds to serve as the **de jure** police

of the world given her own (sometimes) questionable international policies we cannot forget or ignore the noble role she played by acting as **de facto** police of the world when Saddam Hussein invaded and attempted to annex Kuwait for their oil. By organizing and leading an allied army in Operation Desert Storm, the US effectively defeated Saddam's army and liberated Kuwait and halted his ambitions toward Saudi Arabia and other countries. Since the atrocious events of September 11, even if we have philosophical disagreements with the legitimacy of the Iraqi War, we cannot deny that the US has been in the forefront of the war against Islamists extremists in Afghanistan and other places intent on establishing a global Islamic Caliphate through terrorism. (Amanpour, CNN, 2008 It is equally true that no country has made any sustained attempt at bringing peace between Israel and Palestine more than the US. Other morally commendable US interventions include the immediate and massive response to the recent South East Asian tsunami and their continued assistance to Africans afflicted by famine and the AIDS crises. It is therefore imperative that the fragile democracies of the Third World, especially in Africa, support rather than undermine the well-being of the US.

The conclusion to this section is that while one can appreciate Mazrui's initiative in proposing a theory that has the potential to dissolve the Dilemma of Africa's Development, the theory is unacceptable because of the controversial 7th counter-dependency strategy. It has been shown that it is not only morally unsound but it is also logically incompatible with the other strategies. Since an inconsistent theory cannot dissolve any dilemma or solve any problem, Mazrui's theory of development cannot be deployed without modification. I propose and defend such a modification with the potential for dissolving Africa's Dilemma of Development in the next section.

IV. THE CASE FOR “PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP AND COLLABORATION” AS ALTERNATIVE TO MAZRUI’S 7TH STRATEGY

Before making any moral choice, the canons of rationality require that we consider all the options available for a given course of action. There are potentially better alternatives to encouraging the extravagance of the West for the creation of a new international order with justice for all nations. For instance, besides the UN and its agencies such as The Commission on Human Rights and the World Court, there are such international forums as the North-South Dialogue, The Helsinki Accord, Human Rights Watch, the G-20, and the European Union etc. charged with promoting international peace, justice, cooperation, and socio-political transformations in many countries, including those of the former Eastern bloc.

African countries cannot easily forget the role played by some of these international institutions in bringing pressure to bear on the **Apartheid** regime of South Africa and for making it possible for Mandela the prisoner to become Mandela the President of South Africa. Neither can we forget their role in promoting democratization throughout Africa through economic and diplomatic pressures. So, instead of seeking the partial decline of the US or any part of the West/North, African countries would have a better moral and effective alternative in appealing to the moral conscience of the international community through any of these or similar international institutions

Promoting International Friendship and Collaboration, I suggest, will create the necessary conditions that make for moral unity, goodwill and cooperation among all nations. Northern countries will then have the motivation to assist and to cooperate with us as genuine partners in development. International Friendship unlike Mazrui’s 7th strategy has no negative intentions toward any country. It is therefore, more realistic and likely to win the support of

African and other world leaders. The concept is not new. The existence of the African Union (AU) regional economic groupings, such as the Economic Commission of West Africa (ECOWAS); and the East African Economic Community (EAAC), demonstrate that African countries have both the capability and experience for promoting international friendship and collaboration. The role of the West African peace-keeping force in resolving the civil wars in Liberia Sierra Leone and The Ivory Coast with the moral and logistical support of the West/North bears clear testimony that **Promoting International Friendship and Collaboration** is the way to go. When it comes to agents for leading the effort for creating and sustaining friendships, Africa can boast of such experienced diplomats as two former UN secretaries Boutros Boutros of Egypt, and Kofi Annan of Ghana, as well as honorable statesmen like Nelson Mandela, General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria and J.A. Kuffour, the former President of Ghana.(2000-2008)

We do not need to be philosophers of history to realize that “In unity lies strength.” My illiterate, but wise, grandmother used to say in Akan language, “**Dua koro gye mframa a ebu,**” which means “No single tree can withstand the storms all by itself for long without breaking.” Instead of contradicting some of the counter-dependency strategies like Mazrui’s 7th strategy, this replacement will without encountering any contradiction or inconsistency facilitate the deployment of all the other six strategies as a result of the cooperation and collaboration that friendship produces. What does this mean for Africa's Dilemma of Development?

Purged of its logical inconsistencies and fortified with this new morally sound counter-dependency strategy, the reconstructed Mazrui theory of development now has the potential to rescue Africa out of the Dilemma of Development without damaging the good relations between the US and Africa. Unlike the revolutionary approach, which calls for the immediate detachment from the West, what is being advocated here is a gradual but total decolonization through the

gradual transformation of our dependency relation into one of genuine interdependence. Critics might suggest given the African condition that the process is too long and tedious. However, unlike the revolutionary strategy, it is neither unrealistic nor undesirable. It is the path that France, Britain, West Germany, and Japan, etc., took after the devastation of the Second World War to transform their dependence on the U.S into the kind of mutually beneficial interdependence we witness today between them and the U.S.

CONCLUSION

In short, contrary to Mazrui's diplomatic vision, Africa cannot afford to encourage America's dependence on foreign oil. Africa as the mother of all the populated continents, should promote international friendship and collaboration instead of hostility toward the US or any other country. Whatever the anticipated benefits might be, Mazrui's 7th strategy must be rejected since morally speaking, the end (at least in this case) does not justify the means. If there are any legitimate exceptions to this moral rule, it is certainly not within the context of the current US - Africa relation reinvigorated by the historic and symbolic presence of the first Black/African American in the White House. Any African country found to be encouraging America's dependency or addiction to foreign oil it will be violating not only the basic principles in business ethics and international law, but will also be committing a diplomatic blunder of the highest order. Potentially, it will not only embarrass most African countries, it could also precipitate the marginalization of Africa by the US and allied Western countries and deepen Africa's poverty. Far from relieving the theory from the pragmatic paradox generated, President Obama's recent visit to Ghana, and especially his denunciation of slavery from the Cape Coast Castle as morally comparable to the Holocaust, has deepened it virtually beyond salvageability. Modifying or replacing the controversial 7th Counter-dependency strategy has therefore become an imperative.

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