
Summaries

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JÓZEF CHAŁASIŃSKI

THE RISE OF AFRICAN HUMANE THOUGHT

Europe's contacts with the African continent and its peripheries reach far into antiquity. As early as the 5th century B. C. Herodotus visited Egypt. At that time too, the north-western coast of Africa, probably up to Sierra Leone, was known to the Carthaginians. Then, beginning with the 7th century, the said continent was being penetrated by the Arabs. Ibn Battuta, the famous Arabian traveller, sailed along the eastern coast of Africa in 1330 visiting on the way Berbera, Mogadiscio, Mombasa and Kilwa. The 15th century was the time of African expeditions of the Portuguese navigators. It was, however, only the 19th century that saw the commencement of systematic study of African peoples.¹ It was then that the amateur interests turned into actual ethnographic and anthropological studies. The African tribes were investigated as "primitive societies" belonging to remote past and not to the present.

The intellectual interests of contemporary Europe in contemporary Africa are of an entirely different character. Georges Balandier, eminent French Africanist, went to the Black Continent in search of "the most universal and least misleading aspects of human nature."² The re-discovery of Africa by intellectual Europe after the Second World War took place amidst the atmosphere of a crisis of European consciousness.

Europe has lost self-confidence. Not only the political Europe, which has been faced with powerful rivals in the East and in the West, i.e. with the USSR and the USA, but also the intellectual Europe, whose splendour was a decoration of the system based on exploitation of colonial peoples. There were not many intellectuals who would justify that system with so glaring an arrogance towards the rest of the world as was done by Ernest Renan. "Nature has created the race of workers" — said Renan. "This is the Chinese race having an amazing manual skill and no sense of honour [...] The race tilling land are the Negroes. Be good and humane to them and everything will be in perfect order. The race of masters and soldiers are the Europeans."³ In one of Renan's dialogues there is to be found the following item: "It is quite clear that an absolute power of one part of mankind over another evokes disgust, if we assume that the ruling party is governed by personal or class egoism. However, the aristocracy which I mean here would be the very personification of reason..."⁴

¹ From among Polish sources it is worth recalling: S. Szolc-Rogoziński, *Pod równikiem* (Near the Equator), Kraków 1886. Also *Rysy charakterystyczne murzyńskiego narzecza Bokoviri* (Characteristic Features of Negroe Dialect — Bokoviri). By the same author: *Voyage à la côte occidentale d'Afrique dans la région des Camerouns* (1885), and *Huit années d'exploration dans l'ouest d'Afrique équatoriale*, Kraków 1893.

² G. Balandier, *Afrique ambiguë*, Paris 1962, p. 10.

³ E. Renan, *La réforme intellectuelle et morale*, Ed. VIII, Paris 1871, p. 93, 94.

⁴ E. Renan, *Dialogues et fragments philosophiques* (1876), *Oeuvres complètes* 1947, Calman-Levy, Volume I, page 614.

That Europe-centred vision of the whole mankind fell to ruin. The vision born in, and cultivated by Europe according to which the latter — confident in its intellectual supremacy — considered itself a metropolis of the civilized world not only in the economic but also in the intellectual and the general spiritual sense. There is a special significance in the fact that the preface to the book by the African writer Frantz Fanon — *Les damnés de la terre* (1951) was written by Jean Paul Sartre — the leading representative of the philosophy of existentialism. Fanon's book is a socio-philosophical manifesto of African revolution. "France, is the name of the country. Let's beware of its becoming — in 1961 — the name of a mental illness."⁵ These are the words from Sartre's preface to the said book. The preface is dated September 1961, at which time France was experiencing the most acute stage of Algerian crisis.

How far — in these words of Sartre and in his preface to Fanon's book — did the intellectual Europe depart from the arrogant haughtiness of Renan! Existentialism is the philosophy of a European who has not only lost the sense of intellectual superiority over the rest of mankind, but also the faith in the sense of his existence in the world created by himself and felt as alien. And yet, in the 18th century — in the age of Promethean Rationalism — the European was so promising, he seemed a torch enlightening the road of mankind's progress.

Mongo Beti, the African writer from the Cameroons concludes his novel *Mission terminée* in the following words: "The tragedy now experienced by our nation consists in the fact that man is left to himself in a world which he neither created nor understands."⁶ Whose intellectual position is depicted in these words, that of the African intellectual? His own only? Certainly not. This is also the situation of his "twin brother", the French existentialist — a twin for they were born together yet as intellectually shipwrecked and mutually alien men in the disordered world of the day.

This common existentialism of the French and the African intellectual is by no means the only meeting ground of intellectual Europe and contemporary intellectual Africa. This is not the only platform for a meeting of the French existentialist J. P. Sartre with the intellectual — F. Fanon. For it is generally understood that this contemporary meeting of Europe and Africa involves, above all, other non-philosophical problems of our day.

Moreover, this is not even a meeting Europe and Africa alone. Other continents also participate in it: America and Asia and, first and foremost — the USA. In his correspondence from New York ("Le Monde", January 4th, 1967) Philip Decraene admits he is greatly impressed by the African studies in the USA that have rapidly been developing for ten years past and, thus, outdistanced those in other countries. It is highly interesting to read the article by a French journalist — published by the Paris daily which has won for itself the highest recognition for its intellectual standards — and pointing to what an extent France has been outdistanced by America also as far as publication are concerned on former French colonies which still find themselves within the orbit of the French economic, political and cultural influence. "And indeed — says Decraene — as if by paradox several of the best works on the countries of French Africa were published in English." "In France — the country of old colonial tradition — goes on the author — a scholar wanting to master the secrets of Hausa, the language used by millions of people over West

⁵ F. Fanon, *Les damnés de la terre*, Paris 1961, p. 26. With preface by J. P. Sartre.

⁶ Quotation according to G. Moore: *Seven African Writers*, Oxford University Press, London 1962, p. 86—87.

Africa has but one outway: to enlist at the school of oriental languages where there is the only chair of Hausa language in France. An American scholar in the same situation has at least half a dozen of solutions from among which to choose: the University of California, Columbia University in New York, Duquesne University in Pittsburg, Ohio University in Athens (Ohio) [...] In the United States there are at least twenty big centres for African studies, the research workers of which enjoy world-wide reputation."⁷

Let us add that this interest of intellectual America in Africa is entirely different in its essence from the discovery of Africa by a contemporary French existentialist. The American intellectual discovers the rising, new and young Africa from the view-point of the nation which is young itself. It is worth mentioning here the excellent book by S. M. Lipset, U. S. sociologist — *The First New Nation* (New York 1963) which is a most telling illustration of this attitude. The first new nation. What nation does Professor Lipset refer to? The American nation. Why the first? Because it was the first from among former European colonies that won independence and became a nation. It was the same nation-shaping road that has been entered upon by the countries which until recently were the European colonies in Africa. Under the impact of that process of the rise of new nations, and against that comparative background, the American sociologist unfolds his views of his nation, the American nation and, thus, to a certain degree of his own nationality, national consciousness, of himself.

And now a few reflections concerning the past. Contemporary Africa, in the discovery of which Europe meets with America and Asia, France and Great Britain meet with the United States and China, is a phenomenon new in its reach and significance. Moreover, in the transformations of the world of today, it is by no means something marginal but, on the contrary, a component of the processes touching its very basis and core.

Nonetheless this phenomenon, new in its scope and its significance to our times, appeared much earlier. It began already in the days when Bronisław Malinowski, Professor of Social Anthropology at London School of Economics in 1927—1942, helped Jomo Kenyatta — then his student and today the President of Kenya — to make the first steps on the road of new national self-determination. Malinowski, a Pole by origin, chose London, instead of Cracow, as the place of his life and work.

Kenyatta's book — *Facing Mount Kenya* was published in 1937 with a preface by Bronisław Malinowski. The French translation of the book — *Au pied du mont Kenya* appeared in Paris in 1960. In that French version, Malinowski's preface was substituted by that by Professor G. Balandier.

Let us return now for a while to the above mentioned French journalist Decraene, so much impressed by the flourishing of African studies in the USA. Decraene quotes as an anecdote, which nonetheless contains a good deal of truth, the saying of a Professor of Columbia University that a politician from the Ibo tribe who wants to improve his knowledge of the neighbouring tribe of Yoruba, goes to New York rather than to Lagos — the capital of Nigeria to obtain the necessary information.

Nowadays the anecdote starts to depart from reality, in view of the steadily rising number of the universities and research centres set up in African countries. But even so it still reflects the profound truth that the humane thought of con-

⁷ Ph. Decraene, *Les états unis à la recherche d'une politique Africaine*, „Le Monde”, January 4 th, 1967.

temporary Africa is shaped by Africans together with many humanists from beyond that continent. And it is worth emphasizing there are among the latter numerous enthusiasts of the rising new Africa and its ideals of African humanism.

What is the contemporary Africans' view of the reality of social relations and culture of both, their countries and Africa as a whole? The scholars engaged in research on contemporary Africa are by no means surprised by the fact that among Africans themselves, the humane studies on the transformations of their continent are combined with active participation in these transformations. And, indeed, the most characteristic representative of contemporary humane studies carried on by the Africans is not a scholar working in the quiet of his university studio, away from the stormy current of the life of his country. On the contrary, the rise of new Africa is as if reflected by the humanist finding himself in the very centre of the processes which he investigates and controls, not infrequently playing an eminent part in the socio-political life of his country and of Africa as such.

In that part, however, it is not only the socio-political aspect that matters. The cultural aspect is also essential. The great humanist of Senegal — and, at the same time, President of that state — Leopold Sedar Senghor takes part in the processes of the formation of new Africa not only as a practical politician but also as a philosopher and ideologist of the rise of African nations on the road of "African socialism". Suffice it to mention his dissertation *Nation et voie Africaine du socialisme* ("Présence Africaine", 1961).

Senghor is also a poet, Mrs. Sophie Lihau-Kansa, Minister of Social Welfare in the Government of Congo-Leopoldville when asked in an interview about her favourite books ("Jeune Afrique", December 4th, 1966) mentioned the poetical works of Senghor and Césaire, after Fanon (1925—1961) as the leading thinker of contemporary French-speaking Africa. Always alive — in spite of his untimely end — Fanon, the romantic spokesman of spiritual independence of Africa, is honoured by two articles: *La science au service de la révolution* and *L'idéologie Fanonienne* published on the fifth anniversary of his death by "Jeune Afrique" (September 4th, 1966) a periodical issued in the French language in Tunis.

The social and cultural situation and the psychical conditions, under which African humanities are being born, have been characterized by N'Sougan Agblemagnon, an African intellectualist, when he pointed to the specific features of African belleslettres ("Afrique Nouvelle", February 17th—23rd, 1966). N'Sougan Agblemagnon, who made his Ph. D. degree in sociology, is the Professor at the Sorbonne University and Togo's permanent delegate to the UNESCO. In Agblemagnon's opinion that literature is rooted in the personality of man in search of self-determination, the need for which results from the departure from traditional society and the rise of a new one, from the clash of the culture of colonization with that of de-colonization. That literature expresses the processes of liberation from the old and becoming engaged in creation of the new. In the works of some writers the most prominent place is taken by the motif of the return to Africa which one has betrayed (Aimé Césaire), in those of others — by the need for affirmation of authenticity of Negroe culture (Leopold Sedar Senghor). Proceeding with his deliberations Prof. Agblemagnon expounds the view that the said literature is marked by being interested in the collective, group aspect of human existence and not with its personal, individual element. "The Europeans — says Agblemagnon — extol themselves (as individual human beings) — the Africans extols their peoples."

In the same issue of "Afrique Nouvelle" there is to be found an interview with the Commissioner for the World Festival of Negroe Art organized in Dakar. This first festival of African art has become a great cultural event. "La semaine" published in Brazzaville called the Festival the „Bandung of Culture" which represented 29 African and Asian countries with 1,400,000,000 people e.g. more than half of mankind according to the figure for 1955. Likewise, the bulletin issued by L'agence de Presse Senegalaise also discussed that great manifestation of African culture: "For the first time we are proud to be Negroes and return to our negritude. At last we have come to understand the profound sense of our own selves. Hence the consciousness, we have to change our behaviour, to stop imitating the civilized and to be ourselves at last" ("L'Afrique Nouvelle", April 28th, 1966).

It is also to call attention to Julius K. Nyerere's article *The University in a Developing Society* („*Presence Africaine*", No 61, I trimestre 1967). Nyerere writes: „For if it is acknowledged that only a united effort for development will enable the transformation of the underdeveloped nations of the world, then it must also be acknowledged that the Universities of those nations, their staffs and students, must also be united with the rest of those societies in that task [...] It can only happen if the University graduates merge themselves back into the communities from which they came, and transform them from within [...] Graduates and illiterates would then accept their tasks as distinctive, and as making different demands on them, but as being in both cases but a part of a single whole."

The studies herewith presented to our Readers were prepared by research workers of the Research Centre for Social and Cultural Problems of Africa, Polish Academy of Sciences.

ZYGMUNT GROSS

SOME PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN MUSIC

The classification system of primitive tribes does not comprise a determination of music in the sense and terminology used by the societies with literary traditions and "written" culture. Nonetheless, the musical productions of those tribes are evaluated in consonance with fixed principles and rules. Moreover, a specific kind of critical attitude is also to be perceived among the primitive peoples. The logical connections and psychological interpretation are subjected to collectively established norms and criteria. Suffice it to mention, the Basongs have a large scale of appraisal according to which they contrast beauty with ugliness and estimate the departures from tradition and the shortcomings of the works concerned. The phenomena included in musical traditions, like the elements of the language, are also linked with the needs resulting from concrete local conditions. For it is by no means inessential whether the musical instruments used by the given artist are made of conch, bone, horns of an antelope, of wood or metal. The timbre and fingering depend on the material from which the instrument is made. The form of musical scales and systems is a parallel of a definite development stage of civilization. Harmonic chords appear in supra-tribal systems, harmonic tones — in the music of societies with a high standard of material culture. There is a close interrelation between civilization and the kind of musical implements and instruments, between

musical scales and systems and the level of knowledge of the world and Nature. Musical instruments exert an influence upon the rise and shaping of customs and traditions. Among the primitive peoples of Black Africa which availed themselves of instruments included in the group of the wind ones, the appearance of the chief or king was announced by the music of horns, flutes and trumpets. In the Alur tribes, the approaching king was preceded by an orchestra composed of eight musicians who marched slowly blowing flutes, sounding horns and trumpets, playing a melody defined as the "king's call". In the Azanda tribe, that courtly ceremonial was beautified by whistles and bells. And, in turn, in the Banyoro tribe, the arrival of the king was announced by a bugle call played on an instrument called makondere and made from antelope horn. That tune called on the tribesmen to pay homage to the king. These customs were also observed on the courts of European rulers. In Shakespeare's *Hamlet* the appearance of the royal couple (Act III, Scene II) is preceded by a call sounded on trumpets in the rhythm of a march. The origins of these forms were comprised already in the "fossilized" cultures, the archaic forms being but given different colouring. The forms as such, however, retained their meaning throughout centuries.

The transformation effected by linking the creative work of Western artists with elements of the traditions of primitive peoples may be partly compared with the history of the influence exerted by the attainments of classical antiquity in the period of the Renaissance. Turning of the interest to primitive peoples has, in turn, resulted in a better understanding and more correct evaluation of human nature. In the province of aesthetics, however, it has brought about a widening of the scope artistic vision and power of perception as well an enrichment of creativeness by the experience which, for centuries past, was persisting, always alive, in the forms of the said "fossilized" archaic cultures.

Among the peoples living south of Sahara, there is to be noticed a great wealth of styles, beginning from songs in the form of archaic incantation and ending with tendencies appearing in post-Webernian music. The present essay deals with the ethno-musicological analysis of two kinds of style — the song in the form of an incantation and the ballade of a bard from Baganda tribe kept in tonal key scheme. In incantations, we deal with facts not only different from the viewpoint of musical expression but, also, completely departing from the mode of the reception of music by the peoples with written, literary culture. All attempts at transposing those forms onto contemporary phenomena would be but tantamount to misunderstanding. Moreover, in incantations, there are to be noted, apart from musical structure, also the elements incorporating forces of "magic" power. A symbiosis is attained of a few elements of culture which, though completely separate, nonetheless make a whole as a result of those natural links being united. Moreover, in incantations, music is as if an intermediary in the communion with gods, as if a principle based on immemorial tradition handed down to succeeding generations in the form of social institution. The participants consciously subject themselves to the operation of certain moral rules implying their being put into a state of ecstasy. They believe in the power of magic forces contained in the music of the sounds immanent in the religious rite concerned. The sound structure is composed of works uttered in whisper, with various agodynamic intensity and in different order. These words may be the names of tutelary gods and they form a certain kind of lilting declamation. The latter is treated as if is "percussively" — the sound field being usually extended by calling the remaining participants in the rite. The said calls are raised at strictly measured intervals and with different

intensity. Among the members Baganda tribe, the custom has been preserved of passing down history in the form of songs. This may be compared to that of a specific "institute of history" which saves from oblivion the glorious deeds — extolled in semi-literary ballads. *The Bard's Song of a Hangman* is preceded by a lengthy introduction played on a harp. The latter as the voice equivalent to that of the singer sometimes operates within a fourth and a quint. Moreover, crystallization of the scale is to be observed. The chords touched by the harpist coincide with leit-motif structure whereas the central note "f" is not situated in the centre of the musical mass but constitutes a starting point, as if the lower limit of the whole composition.

The solo parts resembling a declamation, employ the technique of "animated" sounds and the "hold out" ones — uttered through closed or semi-closed mouth. In the vocal part, a certain role is played by ornamentations and, also, by fragments of alleatoric character, similar to poetical improvisation. This song testifies — it seems — to infiltration of distant cultures since a harp, with metal strings, could appear but in societies having at their disposal relevant raw materials i.e. copper and bronze and knowing the art of metal working. The problem attracting the attention of a scholar is that of harmonic tones and chords. Is there sufficient ground to ascribe their discovery to Baganda tribe? If there is not, where do they come from and how did they penetrate to Equatorial Africa? The mother-land of harmonic tones and chords were probably the civilizations of the Euphrates and Tigris valley and the cultural expansion of the states of ancient East was also directed towards the African continent.

ELŽBIETA REKLAJIS

FERHAT ABBAS AND THE TRAGEDY OF HIS GENERATION

"This chapter tells the story of a defeat" — so begins the autobiographical part of Ferhat Abbas's book *La nuit coloniale*, written in 1960. It shows the author's political evolution from an acceptance of Algeria's integration into France, through federalism up to Algerian nationalism.

Ferhat Abbas was born in 1899 in a mountain village of the Taher district near Djidjelli on the Mediterranean coast as one of the local *cadi's* sons. When still a boy, he developed a strong feeling of solidarity with the fellahs, which he gave proof of in his later years of public life.

He attended the French lyceums in Philippeville and Constantine and both schools became a decisive influence in Abbas's pro-French views, in his cult of freedom, equality and brotherhood of peoples, in his faith in democracy. The truly liberal and democratic views of his French teachers became exemplary for him. The biographies of other representatives of the Algerian *élite* that came under European influence — known as the *evolués* — show the same process of development, to mention for instance Naroun or Bouzar.

"If my generation rejected the idea of superior or inferior races — says Abbas in *La nuit coloniale* on page 110 — as false and debasing, it still accepted the relationship of »master« and »pupil«. It believed that education and modern technics will create a new Algeria. Mental discipline was to be the first step leading to freedom."

When faced with racial discrimination, with the corruption of the authorities and the poverty of the Algerian population, the élite thought that in order to improve the situation they had only to turn to republican and liberal France to get support against the colonialist and oppressive France of the Algerian "colons".

As a student at the Faculty of Pharmacology in Algiers, Ferhat Abbas showed a keen interest in literature, journalism and politics; he became active in Moslem and student organizations and kept in touch with people from different walks of life. Students were carried away by President Wilson's 14 Points, by the changes World War I wrought in Europe, by the emergence of the USSR and communism, by the League of Nations, New Turkey, the war in Rif (Morocco).

The celebrations connected with the centenary of France's conquest of Algeria in 1930, came as a shock to young educated Algerians.

In 1931, Abbas published his work *De la colonie vers la province. Le Jeune Algérien*. It was a selection of articles that have appeared over the years in which the author laid down the principles France should have followed in her Algerian policy: a respect for Islam, Arabic and Moslem civilization; the rejection of racial prejudice; equal law for Frenchmen and Moslems. In this he saw the basis of a common future for both nations. He went on to explore the idea of reshaping and modernizing the Moslem community through the educational activities of the élite — the *evolués*. The book was a manifestation of the "assimilative" spirit. It did not refer to the Algerian people or nationalism — a fact that Ch. A. Julien, author of *L'Afrique du Nord en Marche*, 1952, considers a characteristic feature of the period.

"Algeria is a French land. We are Frenchmen of a Moslem personal status" — wrote Ferhat Abbas.

Indeed, the tragedy of the *evolués*, who stood for assimilation, consisted in their not belonging. After having for years nursed the conviction that their place is in the *Cité française*, after many frustrated attempts to reach it, they were forced to admit they were wrong. In everyday practice their tragedy became apparent in the incessant obstacles they encountered on their way to assimilation, with both French (above all the colons) and Moslem public opinion (the traditionalist and nationalist circles that began to form) working against it.

The colons fought the assimilation drive because they considered it a menace to their superiority and made use of "legal" and illegal practices, such as: opposing general education, forging elections, barring Moslems from public office. These planned difficulties, as one might call them, were accompanied by mental stresses ensuing from the resentment and contempt of the European community towards the *evolués*, who nevertheless remained so devoted to France that any imputation of national feelings would have seemed to them a harmful charge of treason towards their French fatherland. A note of French patriotism rings throughout Ferhat Abbas's article *La France c'est moi*, published in the weekly "L'Entente" on February 27th, 1936.

The *evolués* identified the idea of honour — which occupies such a formidable place in the mentality and social life of Arabs and Kabyles — with loyalty to France. This may well be one of the reasons for the unbelievable tenacity of their pro-French assimilative attitude.

The changes this attitude was undergoing were shown in *Un Algérien raconte* by Nouredine Meziane, 1960, where a Moslem clerk's devotion to France turns to bitter disappointment under the impact of the 1954 revolution.

Many Algerians have rejected the myth of "mother France" much earlier.

Nadir Bouzar's autobiographical novel *J'ai cru en la France*, 1954, tells the story of such a "re-evolution" (that took place at different times and in different ways) in the mentality of two Algerians — father and son — who in their respective youths were attracted to the assimilation adventure but whose later experiences gradually stripped them of all illusions.

Believers in assimilation had against them also the Moslem community, that looked on the adoption of French culture, language and customs as on a threat to the Moslem Personality. Anyone becoming a French citizen (an act entailing the rejection of the Koranic personal status) was considered a renegade from Islam and the Moslem community. Despite this, the *evolués* fought on all Assemblées for a larger "naturalization" quota that would not involve a change of the personal status, since they saw in naturalization a means of emancipation and progress for the Algerian people.

After graduating, Ferhat Abbas settled in Setif where he opened a chemist's shop and began his political career. He sat on the District General Council, on Setif's City Council and he took part in Algerian financial delegations. He founded the weekly *L'Entente* and the *Union Populaire Algérienne*. He used these institutions as a legal vehicle to fight for the emancipation of the Algerian people — the idea of an Algerian nation still appeared unrealistic to him.

But events utterly incompatible with his vision of a "powerful, just and noble" France came into play: the rejection in 1938 of the Blum-Violette bill, which proposed the extension of civic rights to some categories of Moslems; the débâcle of France in 1940 and the ensuing Vichy Government; the growing high-handedness of the colons, eager to free themselves from the control of the metropolis in order to gain an upper hand in the exploitation of the "natives".

In his report addressed to Petain in 1941, Ferhat Abbas presented the situation of Algeria's Moslem population calling for immediate reforms. This was to be his last move undertaken in the spirit of assimilation. Under the influence of changes taking place in the world, of France's standpoint in the matter, of his contact with the Allied Powers, he began to look for a solution of the Algerian problem on a federal basis.

This view is expressed in the Manifesto of the Algerian People, 1943, and in its *Additif*; in the programme of *Amis du Manifeste et de la Liberté*, and finally in the draft of a new Statute for Algeria submitted by Moslem members of Parliament in 1946 and in the programme of the UDMA founded in the same year.

But the evolution Ferhat Abbas was undergoing did not turn him against France. He kept trying to achieve his goal in a legal way, though he did resign his seat in the French Parliament after it had passed in 1947 a Statute for Algeria with utter indifference to Moslem demands.

At this time Ferhat Abbas was becoming aware of the changes taking place in Algeria and was beginning to speak of the "Algerian Personality" and the "Algerian Fatherland".

The years 1948—1954 were a time of forged elections and of repressions and purges among Algerian nationalists. Every attempt Abbas made to approach France, miscarried in an atmosphere of misapprehension and bad will on the part of the French authorities or French officialdom.

A sense of defeat after twenty five years of ceaseless efforts is not an encouraging factor. It might be assumed that Abbas came to the conclusion that his time has passed (thinking in terms of history was always his way of seeing

things) and that the young generation was ready to take over, though he by no means gave up fighting himself. He considered it necessary to sponsor and join the revolution of 1954. Only when he saw what the leaders of this revolution had accomplished: the emergence of a nationally conscious people rallied round one political organism; the unity of the people and the élite and the unification of the various trends in the national movement — only then did he begin to realize why he had failed. He came to see that under colonial rule the method of "legal struggle" he followed so far was quite useless. The logical consequence of his life experiences forced him to declare himself on the side of an armed struggle against France, though his heart and his past life spoke against it. Yet he never ceased to be himself. The law-abiding man he always was protested in 1963 against the abuse of presidential power by retiring from Algerian public life.

TERESA PFABÉ

EGYPT'S CULTURAL AND LITERARY RENAISSANCE AND TAWFIK AL-HAKIM'S PLACE IN IT

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE EGYPTIAN RENAISSANCE

The event that set off Egypt on her way to a permanent contact with Europe and drew her into the domain of European influences, while an awareness of her ancient culture and contemporary conditions of life gradually developed in Europe — was Napoleon Bonaparte's landing in Egypt. He arrived there with a more than one hundred strong group of scholars, whom the failure of the war venture did not prevent from staying on and continuing their research. To provide a suitable ground for their explorations, the Institut d'Égypte was founded. It comprised the departments of literature and art, of mathematics, physics, natural sciences and political economy. Between others one finds there Napoleon's officer and aide-de-camp, the Pole Józef Sułkowski, a man of wide scholarly interests with a good orientalist education, worked on the Institute's political-economic section. He examined the situation of the Egyptian fellah and outlined a number of reforms in his essay *Description de la route de Caire à Saleheyeh*. The Institute's main objective, however, was to conduct research and provide information on the country that was part of a cultural domain, which began to fascinate Europe already in the Age of Enlightenment and had given rise to the first centres of orientalist studies. The beginning of the XVIIIth century, i.e. the year 1704 — which is the date of the Frenchman A. Galland's translation of *Arabian Nights* (*A Thousand and One Nights*), a book received in Europe as a revelation — is a memorable date indeed, for it incited Europe's interest in eastern culture and marked the beginning of the impact oriental thought and literary forms were to have on European literature. But it should be remembered that East-West cultural contacts and the infusion of the crystallizing pattern of European culture with oriental elements had already begun in the Middle Ages.

In the rising tide of oriental trends and explorations, important work was done by the Pole Wacław Rzewuski (1785—1831) who studied Arabic in Vienna under the Vienesese University Professor, the Maronite Antun Arida, and who, together with the then well-known scholar Józef Hammer, started the publication of

Fundgruben des Orients — a paper of paramount scope in those times. They managed to attract as contributors scholars from all over the world. Rzewuski began his travels in the East — undertaken, by the way, with the aim of purchasing Arab horses — by first visiting Egypt, where he volunteered for Muhammad Ali's Army. He was wounded in battle and the ruler of Egypt conferred on him the title of Emir el-Umara (Emir of the Emirs) together with the by-name Tag el-Fahr (Crown of Glory), a name he was fond of using ever after.

Meanwhile the discovery of the famous Rosetta Stone and research connected with the reading of hieroglyphs revitalized Europe's interest in Egypt and Egyptology became a branch of serious study. The gradual access to a great ancient culture explored by special teams of scholars arriving in Egypt from overseas and appreciating its beauty, became an important source of Egyptian nationalistic and patriotic feelings along the lines of European ideas of nationality, while the awareness of an unbroken through the ages territorial identity with ancient Egypt helped to strengthen these feelings different from the traditionally Moslem idea of a people as an ethnic-religious unit.

The work of the Institut d'Égypte and of French scholars roused Arab scholars from their lethargy and turned their interests towards the new subjects and methods of study.

The first newspaper *Le Courier d'Égypte* (1798) and the first serious magazine *La Décade Égyptienne* (1798) were founded on Napoleon's orders. Both were published in French and were destined mainly for French expedition members and residents in Egypt, yet they played an additional role: they drew Egypt's attention to journalism — a medium still quite unknown in the Near East — and to the importance of printed information.

France's withdrawal from Egypt did not entail Egypt's severing her ties with Europe. The first ruler of contemporary Egypt, Muhammad Ali, devoted all his energies to the modernization of his country and to the creation of a strong army, organized on the principles of a European military force as a safeguard to his power. He invited French and Italian specialists to come to Egypt. He created a military and merchant fleet, hospitals and schools with French teachers. He also began to send Egyptians to France and Italy, so that they should acquire a command of modern sciences, particularly technical ones.

One of the outstanding personalities of this period, a man whose views on State and nation had weighed on the further development of these concepts, was Rifa Rafa'i al-Tahtawi; he was among the first to enjoy the scholarship to study in France.

Tahtawi left a written record of his journey to Europe and his stay in Paris. His book presented the first picture of Europe as seen by an Egyptian and was addressed to the contemporary Arab world. It became a kind of text-book on the European civilization. Muhammad Ali himself had it read to him and school teachers were instructed to include it in their programmes.

On his return from Europe, Tahtawi taught French at the Medical College and in 1835 he was appointed Director of the newly opened School of Languages and of the Translation Office attached to the School. Books translated into Arabic were chiefly on technical subjects. Europe's influence on Egyptian literature was not to be felt before the second half of the XIXth century. Tahtawi and his pupils translated about 2,000 books and pamphlets on a variety of subjects. They were printed at the Bulac Press, founded by Muhammad Ali in Cairo and still in existence. The first Egyptian paper *Al-Waqa'i al-Misrija* (*Egyptian News*), founded

on Muhammad Ali's orders as a government paper and published in both Arabic and Turkish (between 1828—1856 it was to be the only Egyptian paper), was subsequently taken over by Tahtawi, who also started the scientific paper *Rawdat al-Maaref* (*Garden of Knowledge*). Tahtawi's activities were stunningly versatile. He was the first Egyptian writer to launch the idea of the Egyptian nation. He distinguished two kinds of loyalty — one towards people bound by a common religion; another towards compatriots sharing a territory within definite geographic frontiers. He also translated the *Marseillaise* and wrote several patriotic poems, known as the *wataniyat*. The word denoting a country in the sense of the French *patrie* (in Arabic *watan*) now enlarged the vocabulary of Tahtawi's times. *Al-Watan* was the title of one of the first unofficial Egyptian papers founded in 1877. When the outstanding teacher and grammarian of al-Azhar Hussein al-Marsafi wrote in 1879 a book explaining the meaning of words "most frequently appearing on the lips of people", he included the word *watan*.

Such were the beginnings of the Egyptian and in a wider sense also of the Arab Renaissance, though certain forces leading up to it were already at work in the XVIIIth century. One of them was the Wahabit movement led by Muhammad Ibn Wahab (1703—1787), who called for a revival of old Islam in the Arab world and whose influence on the development of Islamic thought in the XIXth and XXth centuries was very considerable indeed. Also Catholic and Protestant missions paved the way for an Arab re-awakening when they simultaneously deployed in Syria and the Lebanon their vigorous cultural and religious campaigns, a fact that accounts for the important role the Syrians and Lebanese played in the Arab Renaissance of the XIXth century.

Egypt's contacts with Europe — particularly with France, at the time usually identified with Europe — had been improving steadily.

The next great Egyptian ruler after Muhammad Ali, Ismail, who reigned in the second half of the XIXth century declared that Egypt no longer belonged to Africa but to Europe. His reign (1863—1875) was marked by the all-round drive to modernize the country and by his efforts to establish an autonomous Egypt in her relations with the Caliphate and the Turkish Sultan. In 1869, the Suez Canal was opened. But Egypt's economy broke down completely — it could neither provide sufficient means for current expenditure nor pay the country's debts to France and England. Suez Canal shares held by Egypt had to be sold to England and this gave England a hold on Egyptian affairs, a supremacy that a few years later led to Britain's open occupation of Egypt. It started a new era in that country's relations with Europe.

Egypt's cultural Renaissance, however, was not arrested by these events. Expanding ideological discussions began to penetrate into the Egyptian press and literature. The Egyptian intelligentsia — a new social class educated on new ideas and in new schools — became nationally conscious and alive to the gravity of the situation their country had found itself in when European nations had ceased to be cultural models only and had become political enemies.

The XIXth century was the scene of conflicting trends and ideologies in Egypt. The Moslem University al-Azhar for ten centuries remained the centre of traditional learning and its *ulema* were the country's only intellectual élite. Part of them held conservative views, they were hostile to any kind of modernization and looked upon European ideas with fear; however another part of the *ulema* realized how hopelessly out of date many of Egypt's ways and institutions had become and strove to reconcile Islam to modern science, to bring about some

reforms and give a new spirit to the country. Many Egyptian modernists and reformers of Islam came from their midst. The most distinguished of them, Muhammad Abduh, was a pupil of Gamal ad-Din al-Afgani, the great champion of the Moslem people's emancipation and the panislamist. During his stay in Egypt, al-Afgani (1839—1897) became the master of a whole group of young people, mostly graduates of al-Azhar, that still remained the country's only university; the Dar el-Ulum (House of Learning), a kind of pedagogical college, was to be founded in 1872 and the public University of Cairo as late as 1925.

In his lectures al-Afgani pointed to the danger of European intervention and called for national consolidation and a greater unity that would enable the country to oppose this danger; he also made it clear how important it was for Egypt to adopt a constitution and to curtail the power of the ruler; at the same time he laid great store on a higher kind of unity, which Arab tradition recognized as the natural unity of Islamic peoples. He encouraged his pupils to write, to run newspapers, to shape public opinion; his views and aspirations stimulated their awareness of and dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs, made them want to join in the work of saving their country and to cease being the tools of authority. Al-Afgani's inflaming ideas became widely known from India to Western Europe.

After he had been forced to leave Egypt, he came to Paris, where the already mentioned Muhammad Abduh met him in 1884 and both men set out to organize a secret Moslem Society, which was to work on the unification of Moslem peoples and on the reforming of Islam. They also started in Paris the paper *Al-Urwa al-Wuthqa (Strong Bond)*, whose eighteen issues not only showed Islam's weakness, not only outlined reforms to come, but also laid the foundations of panislamism and called for the unity of all Moslems bound by a common creed and sharing a common cultural heritage.

The new-born national consciousness and the pride in a great common past awakened in Arabs an interest in their common history and prepared the road for the national and political revival of the majority of Arab countries. On the other hand, when al-Afgani and Muhammad Abduh attempted to bridge the gap between religious and scientific truths and recognised the necessity of bringing the law of Islam closer to the demands of the modern age, they prepared people's minds for the new ideas of State and religion — ideas differing from those valid hitherto. During al-Afgani's stay in Paris, his personality and opinions stirred a considerable interest in Europeans engaged in exploring the Arab world. Al-Afgani was involved in a fierce dispute with Renan on the question of Islam's relation to science. The latter declaring Islam and science — and in a broader sense Islam and modern civilization — quite incompatible.

MUHAMMAD ABDUH AND THE EGYPTIAN MODERNISTS

On his return from France, Muhammad Abduh (1849—1905), a pupil of al-Afgani and a graduate of al-Azhar, devoted himself to the task of gradually modernizing his country. He was the first to set al-Azhar on its road towards becoming a contemporary university with reorganized teaching programmes, new subjects and fixed times of study ending in compulsory exams. From now on the university was to be ruled by a Council, consisting of three *ulema* and two State officials.

A group of disciples rallied round Muhammad Abduh spreading his ideas in a variety of fields, so that up to this day he is referred to as the Father of Egyptian

modernism. They frequently worked in institutions created under Abduh's influence, like the School for Training Shariah Judges, opened in 1908. On the School's teaching staff were both sheikhs of al-Azhar and young men educated in Europe. Islām was taught by sheikhs with a modern world-outlook, many of whom had been studying at the already mentioned Dar el-Ulum, where Abduh himself had been teaching. Thus the new educated class was made up of those who had studied abroad and of those who went to Egyptian schools, that now laid stress on the student's capacity to use his own judgement in matters of scholarly research.

Abduh's disciples followed a variety of modernist trends. Rashid Rida (died 1935), a Syrian by origin who spent most of his life in Cairo, belonged to the rigidly Islamic group that nevertheless saw the necessity of reforms. He founded the paper *Al-Manar* (*The Torch*) which became the organ of the reformists and achieved great popularity. It shaped the opinions of a wide reading public in Asiatic and African countries. Rashid Rida published almost everything he wrote in *Al-Manar*, which he edited personally most of the time, and his articles dealt with all the major problems facing Islam: its relations with the Caliphate, the emancipation of women, Arabic literature and Arab politics; he also published in his paper a detailed biography of his master Abduh.

Another representative of the same trend in reforms and an apologist of Islam as Abduh understood it, was Muhammad Farid Wadẓdī, author of *Al-Madaniyah wa-l-Islam* (*Civilization and Islam*). He set out to show that Islam was not responsible for the decline of the Moslem world. An entirely different trend, that was to have a considerable influence on the new face of Egyptian culture, was evolving thanks to the Syrians and Lebanese, who had settled in Egypt. In their homelands with a large percentage of Christians, the Catholic and Protestant missions have gained a strong foothold in the XIXth century by opening schools run along European models. The ethnically Arab population was not automatically a Moslem community, while panislamism isolated to a certain extent the non-Moslems from the community as a whole. It was among the Syrians and Lebanese that the idea of a community held together by a secular loyalty, based on common descent and language, began to evolve. Educated Syrians and Lebanese, for the most part Christians, vigorously participated in the new impetus of Arab culture and contributed a great deal towards the creation of an Arabic secular literature that revitalized its language; they also did excellent work in acquainting the Arab world with the culture of Europe. The distinguished Bustani family played a great role in this, to mention the famous Maronite Butrus al-Bustani (1819—1883), a Syrian who was the author of an Arabic dictionary, who started the huge Arabic Encyclopedia *Da'irat al-Ma'arif* (*Circle of Knowledge*) and who edited a newspaper on top of all these activities. It was his work and later the work of his sons and family that contributed so vastly to the birth of the new Arabic prose, that kept faithfully using the old grammar and syntax and yet was supple enough to express in clear terms contemporary thought. From the circle of Bustani's family and friends were to come the later masters of new literary forms and of the new Arabic journalism.

For the fact that Arabic became a fine instrument for transmitting contemporary thought was due mainly to journalism. There were sceptical voices that classical Arabic would prove too rigid for the expression of contemporary ideas, and so a neo-classical or „intermediary“ Arabic was worked out; it was a modernized and simplified classical Arabic created by journalists or writers, and it still remains the language actually used by the Arab press, radio and TV. From

among the Syrians and Lebanese living in Egypt came Saruf and Nimr, two important men who founded the paper *Al-Muqtataf* (*The Anthology*). They believed in XIXth century liberal European thought, they followed the development of science in Europe and strove to popularize science and the humanities in Egypt. When their paper was transferred to Cairo, purely scientific subjects that took up most of its space up to now, began to give way to sociological matters, to questions connected with Egypt's social problems. Among the paper's contributors was Shibli Shumayyil, the first interpreter of Darwin's ideas and of socialism in Egypt. Evolution came to mean chiefly the development of society. Many intellectuals carried on in this spirit. One of them occupied an independent and individual place among Muhammad Abduh's disciples. His name was Qasim Amin (1865—1908) and he was the pioneer of Arab women's emancipation. But he had more to say in his writings. He called for a social and intellectual revolution, though he first thought the principles of Islam would provide a starting point for reforms. Islam was to him a pure source, polluted with the passing of time. His book *Tahrir al-Mar'ah* (*Woman's Emancipation*) though quite moderate in spirit, caused a storm of opposition. In reply to the vehement criticism it met with, Qasim Amin wrote in 1900 *Al-Mar'ah al-Gadida* (*The New Woman*), where he no longer refers to Islam and its suitably for the occasion interpreted laws, but looks for support to the science and social thought of XIXth century Europe, with Herbert Spencer leading the way. He considered the freedom of woman as the basis and criterium of all other freedoms. Some Egyptian women became active in the same way and at the same time as the European suffragettes. One of them was Malak Hifni Nasif, daughter of a civil servant, born in 1886. She supported Qasim Amin and wrote articles for such papers as *Al-Mu'ayyad* (*Your Help*) and *Al-Garida* (*The Journal*), in which she called for moderate reforms. She travelled in Turkey and Europe. Another Egyptian suffragette was Hoda Sharawi (1882—1947). She founded the Egyptian Feminist Union and the paper *L'Égyptienne*, published in Arabic and French.

The years of expanding journalism, which were also notable for non-fictional pamphlets and works as well as European works adapted for Arab readers, were a period that laid the foundations for the future Arabic literary production — the novel, the short story and the drama. Cleared of superfluous rhetoric and complex grammar, Arabic became an instrument subtle enough to express contemporary ideas and problems.

THE TRADITION AND DEVELOPMENT OF LITERARY PROSE AND OF THE NOVEL

Arabic literary prose appeared in the VIIIth century with the *adab*. It had to contain aesthetic values and serve didactic aims; it drew perhaps on old parables and *hadithes* — stories about the Prophet's behaviour in various situations, intended to become a model of life for the Moslem. Also the gnomic tradition of imparting wisdom by means of a literary work can be traced in the *adab*. The conviction that literature has to fulfill some didactic purpose, that it is meant not only to entertain but also to teach, was to hold strong in the Arab world up to modern times and was to account for the fact that purely entertaining works by authors following the European model were considered — in the XIXth and even at the beginning of the XXth century — immoral and unworthy of a true Moslem's interest.

In the VIIIth century, Ibn al-Muqaffa was named the Father of Arabic prose. His chief work was a translation of the Indian *Book of Kalila and Dimna*

into Arabic. Ibn al-Muqaffa transplanted into Arab culture the literary form of "advice for the prince", which was to penetrate into European literature at a later date together with some motifs from *Kalila and Dimna*. Here was a piece of old Indian wisdom — lessons in morality for the prince, delivered under the guise of fables with animals and birds as their heroes.

Another distinguished and still read man of letters was al-Ghaziz (IXth century), author of *Kitab al-Bukhala* (*The Book of Misers*). It is a collection of stories about people and communities in the country that extended from Irak to Persia, where conditions of life are shown with exactness and realism.

A purely Arabic literary tradition was established by the *maqamat* (the session). It appeared in the Xth century and is now considered the prototype of the Arabic short story and novel. It was made up of realistic scenes and episodes told in rhymed prose. The celebrated author of *maqamat*, Hamadani, introduced into his stories the character of a narrator, Isa Ibn Hisham, who tells about the extraordinary adventures of the shrewd Abu-l-Fath al-Iskandari. These two characters have now become almost symbolic. They were immensely popular in the medieval Arab world and later became known also in Europe; echoes of Iskandari's exploits can be traced in the *fablieux*, in the picaresque novel, even in Voltaire's *Candide*. After attaining its top form in the Xth and XIth centuries, the *maqamat* became fossilized and finally withered away. But when at the turning of the XIXth century a part of Arab writers set out to revive old Arabic literary forms, they chose Hamadani for their master. The evolving Arabic novel might be said to begin with Muhammad Muwailihi's book *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* (*Isa Ibn Hisham's Story*), written in 1907, which is sometimes classified as a novel. We shall however abstain from calling it a novel. It is written in rhymed prose and presents a critical picture of the Egyptian society the author came in touch with. Attempts to revive the *maqamat* failed and it can be said to have no direct bearing on the further development of the Arabic novel. At the same time as Muwailihi's book appeared a similar work by the poet Hafiz Ibrahim; it was published in Cairo under the title *Lajali Satih* (*Satih's Nights*). It is noteworthy that in both books the hero is a man risen from the dead. The idea of a human being called back to life after he had been dead for many years, seems singularly attractive to Arab and particularly Egyptian thought. There is also the story of the Seven Sleeping Brothers in the Koran, whose cult is very strong among Moslems. They are to Islam — wrote Massignon — the heralds of the resurrection of the body.

For thousands of years, life after death seemed to have been much more worthy of concern to Egyptians than life here and now, and Egyptian mythology knew the mystery of death and resurrection as shown in the story of Osiris and Isis. Moreover, the motif of life after death, reflected even in the myth of the Phenix, which was supposed to have emerged from its ashes with renewed youth in Heliopolis (now a district of Cairo), seems to explain the somewhat natural appearance of this theme in Egyptian literature. This will be clearly seen in the work of Tawfik al-Hakim, to whom the Egyptian Renaissance was to mean precisely a revival of this theme that runs through Egyptian mythology and the Christian-Moslem tradition.

There is a marked influence of the medieval romance and folk tale on the contemporary Egyptian short story and novel. Particularly of such works as: *Sirat Banu Hilal* — the story and migrations of the Hilal tribe from the Arabian Peninsula through the Nile Valley towards Maghreb; or the story of Sultan Baibars's

deeds in Egypt (XIIIth century) and how he came to drive the Crusaders out of Syria; or the chivalric romance *Sirat Antara* — a story of Antara's heroic deeds and of his romantic love for Abila; and finally a series of stories glorifying the platonic love of Arab heroes, among which there is the story *Magnun Laila*, etc. Yet the work that became a literary model was *Arabian Nights*, a collection of stories whose final form became fixed in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries when Egypt was ruled by the Fatimids and Mamluks.

There's an undeniable affinity between the romance and the new historic novel in Arabic. The term *riwayat*, used by Gurgi Zaydan to describe the novel, meant a folk romance in the old times. To this day there is a certain divergence in Arabic terminology with regard to the novel, the short story, the novelette. In the inter-war period, the Egyptian short story writer Mahmud Taymour launched the term *qissa*, which suggests also a fragment of reality. Now both terms are in use.

Traditional literary subjects, which any Arab with an average education was familiar with, having either heard or studied them, now became overlaid with European literary patterns.

The first translations of European literary prose first appeared in the press, often without the author's name. In 1849, the Egyptian Rifa Rafa'i al-Tahtawi was among the first to translate a European novel — Fenelon's *Télémaque*. This didactic novel intended to stimulate the moral sense of the young Duke de Bourgogne, was probably chosen by Tahtawi in keeping with the tradition of "advice for the prince" from the school of Ibn al-Muqaffa. The translation was first published in book form in 1867.

At the end of the XIXth century, newspapers began to run more translations of fiction. The paper *Al-Ahram* (founded in 1876) serialized *Les Deux Dianas* by Dumas the Father, yet the paper *Al-Muqtataf* would have nothing to do with fiction, because its editor considered the majority of such writing — especially love stories — pernicious for the morality of the young generation. And so translations were at first chosen primarily from a moral point of view, in the spirit of the *adab* tradition by which imported literature was judged. Gradually, however, newspapers began to devote more space to novels and short stories. Then, at the turning of the XIXth century, two major novelists appeared on the Egyptian literary scene and their work set off the Egyptian novel on its way of development. They came from the Syrian and Lebanese communities in Egypt.

Gurgi Zaydan (1861—1914) is known as the founder of the paper *Al-Hilal* (*The Crescent*), which is still appearing in Cairo and enjoys the opinion of a serious paper. Zaydan was passionately concerned with Arab life in its manifold aspects: ethics and sociology, politics, language, history and literature. He also became the first widely known author of Arabic historic novels reminiscent of the novels of Sir Walter Scott.

The other man who became a paramount force in Egyptian literature — though his was a different road from Zaydan's — was Farah Antun (1874—1922). He edited newspapers, especially the well-known *Al Gami'a* (*The Collection*). He studied French and acquired a good command of French literature, which he strove to make accessible to Egyptian readers. In the preface to his novel *Ursalim al-Gadida* (*New Jerusalem*), he laid down the principles of his own kind of novel, as it were. Among other things, Arabic literature owes to him the translations of. Renan's *Life of Jesus*, Bernardin de St. Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* and Rousseau's *Emile*.

A steady influx of translations and adaptations, rather undistinguishable

from one another, began to make itself felt in Arabic letters. French sentimental and romantic literature became a permanent influence in Egyptian writing. The most popular translations, adaptations and original works written in those styles were produced by al-Manfaluti (1876—1924). He translated, or rather adapted, such works as: Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*, Alphonse Carr's *Sous les Tilleuls*, Francois Coppeés *Sous la Couronne* and Bernadin de St. Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (already translated by Farah Antun). Al-Manfaluti, who represents the sentimental idiom in Egyptian writing, is still much read, chiefly owing to his fine modernized style. Yet he remains a somewhat lonely figure in the Egyptian literary landscape. Though in his time he was considered a man of the "new" literary school of Egyptian modernists and one of its first exponents, the highly sentimental pitch of his stories created a barrier between him and writers of the realistic trend, that manifested itself in Egyptian literature after World War I and has never lost its appeal to Egyptian writers.

LUTFI AS-SAYID — TEACHER OF A GENERATION — AND THE "EGYPTIANIZATION"
OF EGYPT

The inter-war period represents a whole age in the life of Egypt. In 1919, the revolution for the country's independence broke out and its leader Saad Zaghlul became the symbol of patriotism. It ended with England conceding partial independence to Egypt in 1923. Egypt's ties with Turkey had already been cut off after World War I; later the breaking up of the Caliphate severed the religious bond between the two countries. The king became Head of the State and the country adopted parliamentary government. Political parties began to expand, Cairo University was opened in 1925 as a State establishment and British heads of secondary schools were replaced by Egyptians. But Egypt was not a truly independent country yet. Two main issues set the pace of her political life: the struggle for full political independence and the drive to curtail the king's power in favour of parliament. The Egyptians began to see themselves as an individual nation. Panislamic and panarabic doctrines lost ground to the "pharaoh" ideology, which claimed that Egypt's political status of an independent and individual nation has been long established and continues in an unbroken line from ancient times to our day. The discovery of Tut-anch-Amun's tomb in 1923 showed what a magnificent culture and what wealth Egypt possessed some three thousand years ago, and this demonstration of her power coincided with her disappointment with European civilization after World War I. All this strengthened Egypt's awareness of her own worth. Comparisons were made between the cultures of the East and West and their characteristics and differences brought to light. The by-name of Teacher of a Generation (*Ustaz al-G'il*) was given to Ahmed Lutfi as-Sayid, son of a country squire and representative of a class that was to supply the greatest number of statesmen, intellectuals and writers at the time. Born in 1872 he received a "modern" education, first at a secondary school in Cairo and later at the Law School, an education centre assembling the country's intelligentsia of advanced views. In Lutfi as-Sayid's circle "Egyptianity" was the main topic of discussion, for according to him, Egypt's ancient history had been for thousands of years shaping the country into a national entity; the paper *Al-Garida*, which he founded, was bent among other things on defining the idea of nationalism. Lutfi as-Sayid was also one of the founders of the *Umma* (*The Community*), the moderate nationalist's party that was in opposition to Mustafa Kamil's party of extreme nationalists, who had their own paper *Al-Liwa* (*The Banner*). From the

more radically-minded branch of the *Umma* came the first members of the *Wafd* (Delegation), a party of later times that was considered the symbolic voice of the nation. Representatives of the *Wafd*, with Saad Zaghlul as their leader, went in 1918 to the Paris Peace Conference to claim on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points support for Egypt's political independence.

The inter-war period was notable for its rich literary crop and for the emergence of the modern Egyptian novel, committed to and dealing with Egyptian affairs. The first work of contemporary fiction was Hussein Haykal's *Zainab*. Another writer, Taha Hussein, nowadays considered the greatest humanist of the Arab world, who has to his name extremely important theoretical works and essays, produced some novels too. And so did the poet al-Mazni and the master of the Egyptian short story Mahmud Taymour, and Tawfik al-Hakim, who was also one of the first Egyptian dramatists and is still attracting large audiences to the theatre. As a novelist Tawfik al-Hakim made a name for himself with his novel *Awdat al-Ruh* (*The Rebirth of the Spirit*), certainly the most significant book of the whole inter-war era, whose message and power place it among the most important works in contemporary Egyptian literature.

TAWFIK AL-HAKIM AND THE FIRST PHASE OF HIS INTELLECTUAL FORMATION

Tawfik al-Hakim was born in 1898 in Alexandria. His father was a judge and came from an old Egyptian country family deeply attached to the fellah tradition. His mother, however, was proud of her family's Persian descent and of the fact that her ancestors had lived in Turkey before they finally settled in Egypt.

The writer's father — finished the Law School, where Ismail Sidki (the later statesman and premier) and Lutfi as-Sayid (the later Teacher of a Generation) were among his fellow students. When he graduated, the family found him a wife, who had been his only wife and who bore him two sons: Tawfik and Zahir.

The family came to Cairo when Tawfik was ten; he was sent to a primary school named after Muhammad Ali in the Saida Zainab district of Cairo — one of the most characteristic quarters of the capital with a life of its own.

In those years Tawfik al-Hakim began to make great use of his father's library. Apart from religious and historic works, it contained also stories about ancient Egypt, Greek writings and European novels. Among his father's books were, for instance, *The Iliad*, *The Odyssey*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Robinson Crusoe*, Anderson's short stories and fairy-tales — a collection of literary works that came close to the spirit of ancient Arabic literature. His father's frequent official transfers took the family to different places and Tawfik was left with relatives while he attended secondary school. He was to describe them later in *Awdat al-Ruh*. His reading list included now Dumas (Father), G. H. Wells (among other Wellsian novels *The First Men in the Moon*) as well as old Arabic prose and poetry. In his last secondary years Tawfik became less keen on fiction and turned to philosophy. He read Herbert Spencer, just then translated into Arabic. This interplay of influences, the meeting of the new with the old — sometimes in sharp contrast and sometimes in mutual accord — shaped the future writer's personality within the intellectual circle of his generation. What distinguished him from his contemporaries, however, was that throughout his whole life he never committed himself to active politics and never joined any political party or group. Yet he was a patriot committed to his country's fate, but he expressed this through the medium of his books. He put in a play what the revolution of 1919 meant to him

when he was in his last secondary school year. It was his first literary work and its title was *Al-Daif al-Thaqil* (*The Troublesome Visitor*). The British were to him such troublesome visitors. He also began to write patriotic verse and music to go with it. Meanwhile his father wanted him to choose a legal career and Tawfik entered the same Law School his father had been in. To cope with the School's programme he had to study French. He began to read French authors in the original. He read — as he says — everything he could lay hands on at French booksellers. He mentions Anatol France, Alphonse Daudet, the plays of Alfred de Musset and Marivaux, essays on the French classical, romantic and contemporary theatre. While still studying law, he began to write light vaudeville plays; one of them was *Al-Aris* (*The Fiancé*), which was in fact an adaptation of a French play and was much played by private theatrical companies in Cairo in the twenties.

Just as Muhammad Hussein Haykal published his first novel under a pen-name, so did Tawfik al-Hakim write his vaudevilles under the pseudonym Tawfik Hussein, in order — as he says — to spare the family name unwanted publicity. On graduating from the Law School, he decided to become a writer. He began by writing plays for companies he came in close contact with. This met with a fierce opposition from his father, who asked for advice on his son's future his former fellow student, the Teacher of a Generation — Lutfi as-Sayid. Sayid suggested that Tawfik should continue his studies in France. His autobiography ending with his leaving for Europe bears the significant title *Sign el-Omr* (*The Prison of Life*). The theme of resurrection, of coming back to life like the awakening of the Sleeping Brothers or like the resurrections in Egyptian mythology — (al-Hakim's play *Isis* deals with this) — finally the vision of the reborn spirit, that is the vision of reborn Egypt (*Awdat al-Ruh*) coupled with the Islamic image of the "hidden imam" — all this was to become the vital substance of al-Hakim's work. The image of a rebirth or resurrection, so strongly rooted in Tawfik al-Hakim's Egyptian mentality, stems from a mental tradition, that had been passed on for thousands of years by people inhabiting the Nile Valley, who despite the fact that they had accepted and absorbed several cultures in succession, never lost their profound belief in the unreality of death. The pharaoh imprisoned in the pyramid was destined to come back to life, and so was the dismembered Osiris, so were the Sleeping Brothers, who after many years were to break free of the cave they had been walled in.

The resurrection or rebirth motif, so passionately voiced in anything Tawfik al-Hakim wrote in the twenties and thirties, was no chance theme. Egypt, nominally an independent but practically a British ruled country, was becoming alive to the „pharaoh" ideology and strove to recover her Egyptian, not Arab, personality. To achieve this she had to recall her unbroken links with the ancient culture of the Nile Valley (Lutfi as-Sayid's school of thought).

But Tawfik al-Hakim's vision of man's imprisonment in matter (Nature) and of his freedom as a thinking creature (freedom of the spirit) was worked by the writer also into a pattern of Nature versus culture (an acute problem of XIXth century European thought), with culture meaning an individual, independent "cultivation" or shaping of Nature. Such a vision was tantamount to the acceptance of individuality and to the rejection of Islam's secular philosophy — a philosophy demanding submission to and dependence on the heritage we receive in trust to be passed on to future generations. Rebirth was to come from an understanding of the necessity to add new, individually developed qualities to qualities inherited,

from a rejection of man's "driving belt" function of merely passing on values already fixed and unchangeable.

This attitude of revolt was not kindled by the *Arabian Nights*; it was stirred by another literature, read partly in translation and partly in the original French and English.

TAWFIK AL-HAKIM'S PARIS YEARS AND THE RESULTS OF HIS DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE WEST

Paris was to Tawfik al-Hakim — as it was to other Egyptians of his generation — a world where freedom also meant an individual's right to put to the test truths that have ceased to be sacred, an individual's freedom to air them in the light of his own brain, no longer considered just the seat of memory but an instrument of grasping the nature of things.

He was to call the years spent in Paris „the flower of life” and such was to be the title of the novel, in which he continued his autobiography, richly sprinkled with reflections on European art and literature. The story of a young Egyptian unfolds in his letters to a French friend; the young man is keen on art, the theatre, music and literature (chiefly French, of course) and neglects his legal studies; indeed, the young man was to return home without the doctorate he was supposed to get, but with a couple of manuscripts in his bag.

In his preface to *Zahrat al-Omr (The Flower of Life)* al-Hakim informs his readers that the novel was written in French at the very time it describes, i.e. in the years 1924—1930 (which seems to confirm the authenticity of the letters). The novel was first published in Arabic in 1943, with some changes as there is ground to suppose. Some parts of the narrative develop into self-contained short stories and the letter idiom is abandoned for a while.

In these days Tawfik al-Hakim began to read Marx, Freud and Oscar Wilde, together with a host of younger and older writers of fiction. He also became well versed in the fashionable literary currents, such as dadaism and surrealism. He tried his hand at these idioms and wrote a number of short pieces: *Al-Nafs (The Soul)*, *Al-Qibla* (qibla means the direction towards Mekka) and *Abu-l-Hul (The Sphinx)*, but he made surrealism a vehicle for his own messages. He is known to have written a play at the time, which most probably was *Ahl al-Kahf (The Sleeping Brothers)*.

He confesses that when he wrote the play, he had not only the Koran in mind but also the ancient Sacred Books: the *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, the *Torah* and the *Four Gospels*.

This goes to show that contemporary French ideas, and in a wider sense European thought, engaged al-Hakim's peripheral interests, while his creative inspiration came from the deep layers of his own cultural heritage.

Zahrat el-Omr contains a good deal of what its author thought about love and marriage at the time he was writing the novel. Romantic love of the Platonic order, or rather the *udhri* kind of love, an ancient Arabic tradition, which — according to some orientalists — can apparently be found then in the poetry of the provençal minstrels and the celebrated *amour courtois*, seems to reflect old Arabic love patterns in al-Hakim's work. Indeed, the fact that he was raised on the folk romances *Antara of Magnun Laila*, which were the literary embodiment of *udhri*, makes this rather obvious.

The novel *Usfur min al-Sharq (Bird from the East)*, based also on the author's Paris experiences, tells the love story of Mohsen — a young Egyptian studying

law at the Sorbonne — and Susie, a French girl who sells tickets at the Odéon theatre. Mohsen's long talks with his friend André about love — the kind of love wish-fantasy breeds — as well as other conversations in the novel, seem to a certain extent to reflect the author's stream of consciousness that produced arguments for and against the two philosophies, the two codes of behaviour — one inherited and traditional but slowly losing its hold on the author's mind, the other new, still alien, and in some sense always to remain so, yet considered useful in the new surroundings, though not necessarily given preference to. Old spontaneous reactions are still more powerful than the doubts that have already crept into the young man's thoughts.

The conflict between wish-fantasy and reality is presented in the novel in all its complexity and entails manysided arguments. The novel makes use of the love story of an Egyptian boy and a French girl to show through their behaviour the difference of the two cultures they belong to, but it develops into a general comparison of the two worlds. The author introduces a new character — the Russian nihilist Ivan. In his talks with Mohsen, a reversion of roles takes place: the Egyptian represents a highly Europeanized point of view, while his Russian opponent, of whom the author says that he stands half-way between East and West, becomes an exponent of the author's own beliefs.

The novel unfolds on two levels. As in other al-Hakim's works, it reveals more than one plane. One is quite easy to follow and shows events and situations more often than not taken from the author's life; the other transfers the realism of the first into the realm of symbols and makes it clear that the situations were chosen in such a way as to illustrate the more universal truths the author is out to state. This too is reminiscent of the fable convention so favoured by the East.

After four years of absence, Tawfik al-Hakim returned to his country. He felt very lonely at first, though he went to live with his parents in Alexandria. Sometime after his return, he began to take a new interest in Arabic and its literature and he came to the conclusion that to consider Arabic inadequate for science or philosophy was to confess to a poor knowledge of it. He emphasized the importance of Arabic folk literature, particularly of such works as: *Antara*, *Magnun Laila*, *Kasir Azza*, with the *Arabian Nights* as the most magnificent of all. He did not overlook romances of a later date: *Abu Zaid al-Hilali*, *Saif Ibn Zi Yazan* and *Al-Zahir Baibars*.

Tawfik al-Hakim's attitude towards religion and the influence his stay in Europe had on his opinions are shown in the *Bird from the East*. His faith began to waver under the impact of contemporary culture.

Al-Hakim came to the conclusion that modern man can no longer have the faith of the first Christians or of Mahomet's disciples when the Prophet was still alive. He thought that the West had received from the East a pure religion, but that it went on distorting and corrupting it until European civilization began to question the very existence of a non-material world. He came to see the pernicious results of modern civilization and discoveries and went on to show these results in his books. Later, however, he was to write an essay *Rihla ila-l-Ghad (Journey into the Future)*, published in 1957, where he no longer condemned modern machinery and technics. But he was not isolated when he thought that European civilization was undergoing a moral crisis. Public opinion both in Egypt and Europe supported this view after World War I. For instance, Guenon published in 1927 his *Crise du Monde Moderne*, where he expressed a fairly negative opinion of industrial civilization. We may assume that Tawfik al-Hakim had read this book. Also

Cahiers du Mois ran an enquiry at the time under the heading *L'appel d'Orient*, that must have stirred Arab students studying in Paris.

On his return from Europe in the thirties, Tawfik al-Hakim published most of the works that were to make him famous. Among them were the plays: *Ahl al-Kahf* (*The Sleeping Brothers*), 1933; *Sheherazade*, 1934; *Muhammad*, a biographic study of the Prophet in the form of a dialogue, which was a new literary treatment of the Prophet's life (written about the same time as M. Hussein Haykal's *Life of Mahomet*), 1936; and finally the novels: *Awdat al-Ruh*, 1933; *Yawmijāt Naib fi-l-Ariaf* (*The Diary of a Village Attorney*), 1937, and *Usfur min al-Sharq* (*Bird from the East*), 1938.

The Diary of a Village Attorney takes place in the thirties and begins where the author had left off his autobiography in the novel *Zahrat el-Omr*, that is when the young Tawfik al-Hakim took up his first job in a small village where he carried out the work of an attorney's deputy. The *Diary* is a series of brief, for the most part satirical, scenes from the life of the Egyptian provinces and is written in a tone reminiscent of Gogol. But not Gogol was al-Hakim's model, though the *Diary* is one of the few books in Arabic that go down extremely well with Europeans and it reminds us at first sight of the diaries many literatures have produced. But once again al-Hakim was inspired by the *Arabian Nights*, as he himself admits, and he supports this surprising fact by his opinion that contemporary Arabic literature, even in its most modern aspects, has not gone away — subconsciously no doubt — from traditional Arabic literary techniques. The days of the *Diary* are described like the nights in the *Arabian Nights* — that is each could be treated as a separate story while all the stories are held together by the characters to whom things happen, just as the case is with *Sheherazade*. Shahriyar and Dinazad in the *Nights*. Apart from the *Diary* with its surprising literary affinities, al-Hakim's last novel *Al-Ribat al-Muqaddas* (*Holy Bond*) published in 1914 should be mentioned. It is the story of a young Egyptian woman, who under the influence of books begins to live as a free European woman and in consequence ruins her family life.

During and after World War II, al-Hakim wrote several plays and essays on art and philosophy. He gave up his legal career in 1936 and devoted himself entirely to literature, winning great prestige among intellectuals and the general reading public alike. His post-war production — while he consistently kept away from politics — contains a number of dramas (among them one in the style of an Egyptian Beckett, recently published and much discussed). His novel writing phase might be considered to have ended in the inter-war period. But he recently began to publish in the paper *Al-Ahram* instalments of prose in a new form, which he calls *Al-masriwayat*, a term made up of two literary idioms: *masrahijāt* — drama and *riwayāt* — novel. He says that by this work he intends to bring about the marriage of the drama with the novel.

Tawfik al-Hakim married in 1946 and is now father of a son and a daughter.

The list of Tawfik al-Hakim's published works embraces forty two titles. Among his works translated into European languages are: *Sheherazade*, *The Sleeping Brothers*, *Bird from the East*, *The Diary of a Village Attorney* and *The Rebirth of the Spirit*. The 1960 edition of *The Rebirth* brings also thirteen notices from the French press, including notices published in 1937 in such important papers as *L'Aurore* or *La Critique Littéraire*, when the novel was first translated — or rather adapted — into French; it was an abridged version of the original that did poor justice to it, yet even so, the notices show that the novel stirred French

literary opinion. It is considered one of the most outstanding novels in contemporary Egyptian writing.

Tawfik al-Hakim, who for many years held the post of Director of Cairo's National Library, is now an active member of the Council of Art, Literature and Social Sciences and of the Arabic Academy. He is also on the board of the most important Egyptian paper *Al-Ahram*, where he supervises the literary section. For his outstanding literary production he has been awarded several national distinctions. One of the recently opened Cairo theatres is called Al-Hakim's Theatre, in recognition of the distinguished work he has done for the development of the contemporary Arabic theatre.

«THE REBIRTH OF THE SPIRIT» AUD TAWFIK AL-HAKIM'S VISION OF EGYPT'S
RENAISSANCE

Awdat al-Ruh (The Rebirth of the Spirit), written while al-Hakim lived in France — he tells how he came to write it in his autobiographical novel *Sign el-Omr* — is a sort of escape into childhood and adolescence; this was a literary course often followed in Egyptian writing, as for instance in M. Hussein Haykal's novel *Zainab*. On the other hand, memories of the 1919 revolution acted as a patriotic incentive in Egypt (just as the French revolution stirred French writers) and yielded a rich crop of patriotic literature: poems and *qasidahs*, to mention Hafiz Ibrahim's celebrated *qasidah*; the press brought daily stories about political events that excited public opinion. The idea of Egypt's unbroken cultural succession found a fertile soil in the permanence of some elements that withstood the onslaught of various civilizations and became the basis of the nation's re-awakening. One of the elements that has remained unchanged since the times of the pharaohs to this day in the Nile Valley, are the people inhabiting it. The rebirth of the Spirit — the Renaissance of the country — depends on the fellah, just as Egypt's land is reborn to harvest each year by his hands. Tawfik al-Hakim reverts to ancient Egyptian symbols to convey the idea of his country's Renaissance. The symbolic level of his writing has been explored with great insight by Ali al-Ray, author of a recently published book on contemporary Egyptian fiction.

After he completed *Awdat al-Ruh* in Paris (the date given at the end of the novel is 1927), al-Hakim seemed to have put it away. It was sometime after his return to Egypt that a friend read the manuscript and then sent it to the printers. The novel appeared in 1933, its two volumes running to over 500 pages. Each of them opens with a motto from the ancient Egyptian *Book of the Dead*. Like al-Hakim's previous novels, it is firmly rooted in real life and autobiographical on one level. It tells the story of an Egyptian middle class family.

Its literary frame is — as it has already been pointed out — the frame of the *Arabian Nights*. Its opening and closing scenes are almost identical and differ only in some nuances; like a recurring musical movement Arab music is so fond of, the frame-stories bring the beginning and the end of the novel together in a perfect circle — the symbol of eternity and an indication of the work's timeless nature.

The described family consists of: three brothers — Hanafi, Abduh and Selim — their young nephew Mohsen (the author), their unmarried sister Zanuba and the family servant Mabruk. They all live in Cairo, in the Saida Zainab quarter, in Salama Street. Hanafi, the eldest of the brothers, is a teacher; Abduh, the next one, an engineer, and Selim, the youngest, is a captain in the army; their cousin Mohsen is still in secondary school.

The first volume tells the story of Mohsen's love for Saneya, daughter of a doctor who lives in the neighbourhood.

The tone of this volume is mainly lyrical, though it has a satirical ring as well; it can be treated as an introduction to a *qasidah*, where a lyrical opening precedes the main theme of a different nature. For there is a change of atmosphere in the second volume. Its story is meant to emphasize the unity of the Egyptians, to strengthen their sense of belonging to a well-knit community, to infuse their actions with the community spirit.

The descriptions of fellah life in the novel make it clear that the author considers the fellah the true guardian of the unbroken cultural succession of the Egyptian people. His main message in the novel, delivered in the form of a dialogue, is the "Egyptianity" of Egypt, that is the source of the Egyptian Personality. He puts this in the mouth of a foreigner.

The French scholar voices the author's conviction that the Pyramides are proof how much ancient Egyptians understood the importance of a united effort. They toiled and made the greatest sacrifices for the pharaoh, because he was a god and a symbol of an ideal to them. To make the Egyptian people undertake such toil, to make them attain a great and difficult goal in our day, a leader personifying their spirit and hopes, a man regarded as a symbol of an ideal is needed. We know that such a leader was to be found in the person of Saad Zaghlul, while the 1919 revolution demonstrated the unity and one-mindedness of the whole Egyptian nation in its struggle for political independence. Though the novel can now be considered a historic one, it is not dated; it is the favourite book of Egypt's next leader and builder of new pyramids — Naser.

The novel reaches its ideological climax in the pages dealing with Egypt's destiny. It ends with the Frenchman's political forecast coming true. Meanwhile the lives of the characters have undergone various changes.

The breaking out of the revolution brings the novel to its end. All the characters are involved and take part in demonstrations that bring them all together again.

On closing the novel, we are left with the picture of a certain period in the life of a family, who lived in Cairo in Salama Street. We know its troubles and worries, the petty absurdities of its members. We also get an idea of what other educated Egyptian families were like at the time; what were their customs, what was the position of their women, how much old customs have changed. We see some new elements finding their way to the Egyptian home and some being stopped on the threshold.

We can grasp the beauty of the Egyptian countryside, though the author does not indulge in long descriptions of nature but rather uses short flashes to throw light on some points he wants to make; they replace the epic description. The tangible and realistic world of the novel is subordinated — as in all al-Hakim's work — to a reality of a higher order: the vision of Egypt, whose power resides in the common purpose and the community spirit of her people. This is made clear by specially chosen situations on the realistic level of the narrative. A third level, that evolves from the second, is the mythological undercurrent — the resurrection of Osiris, suggested also in the title of the novel, whose meaning has shades of all the three levels.

Over and above the various levels that can be unearthed in this significant novel, there is yet another not directly connected with it, which should yet be given some attention on closing the book. Who in the light of his work is Tawfik

al-Hakim? A former student of the Sorbonne, a passionate reader of a wide range of books, the product of European and Arabic culture, an admirer of Beethoven and Michelangelo, in a word, a typical product of the multi-level tradition of the Egyptian Renaissance — a Renaissance that was not bent on the absorption of European culture, but which in the maze of crossing and re-crossing currents strove to discover and work out its own kind of contemporary culture. At some very deep level in all his work, our contemporary Tawfik al-Hakim is also a continuator of the literary idiom of the *Arabian Nights*. Not only was he inspired by the subject matter of this work, but he also carried on its formal construction. His novels, even some of his dramas dealing with contemporary life, even his novel *Bird from the East* that is set in Paris, even his books with a detective story bent like *The Diary of a Village Attorney* — all are worked in the pattern of separate stories woven into the main narrative, all often begin and end with the same motif used as a frame-picture and in all the author is fond of the narrator and listener technique. This production — particularly the works of the inter-war period we have attempted to examine here — stands as a convincing reminder that — as Czarnowski puts it — elements of a foreign culture in a writer's work have a rather peripheral character, even if they seem an integral part of it.

Values we consciously or unconsciously identify ourselves with at the subconscious level — and here belong our way of seeing and defining reality and the aesthetic preferences handed over to us by previous generations — these values are something we part with very reluctantly indeed.

Tawfik al-Hakim's novels, in which the author is committed to the problems that absorbed Egypt's intellectual élite of the Arab Renaissance and brings them up for discussion, have — like the greater part of the literary production of the period — two faces. One looking West is open and easy to read; the other is never wholly uncovered and can never be wholly understood by an "alien" — it looks East towards its own literary and cultural tradition.

ANNA MROZEK

MUTUAL RELATIONS OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN TRIBES OF THE SUDAN — POSSIBILITIES AND REALITY

The article aiming at an analysis of mutual relations between the Northern and Southern part of the Sudanese Republic mainly deals with the convergent elements uniting both the regions.

Despite the currently voiced theses on racial difference of the population of the said parts of the Sudan, the article tends to prove that the tribes in the North and the South of the country are ethnically related (the Nile-Hamitic tribe of the Baris with numerous branchings in the South of the Sudan and the Negroid-Hamitic Bedja tribe in the North. In both the regions there also live the Negroid tribes: Azande, Nuba, Fung and Fur). Contrary to the thesis, frequently put forward in scientific and popular literature, on the opposition between the Arab North and African South, the authoress goes on to prove that the said view does not find confirmation in the actual ethnic composition of North Sudan. The latter, apart from the above mentioned tribes of Negroid and Hamitic origin, is also inhabited by those that came into being as a result of the mixing of immigrated Arab population with the aboriginal one of Negroid origin. It is worth mentioning

a certain number of Northern tribes, though speaking Arabic and considering themselves the descendants of the Arabs, in fact had no Arab ancestors (e.g. the Fung tribe).

Neither correct is the thesis on the compact and uniform character of the "Arab" North compared with the tribal fragmentation of South Sudan — as often emphasised in contemporary dissertations on this country. And though the tribes of the North have undoubtedly attained a higher level of social and cultural development than those of the South, and though they are united by the common religion of Islam, in their case, too, like in the South, tribal differences still prevent the rise of a broader national unity, even if not taking into account the separatist tendencies of the some Northern tribes.

These superfluous, purely external similarities between the tribes of the North and the South are the starting point of a more penetrating analysis aimed at discovering akin elements in the manner of living, in culture, customs and beliefs of the population of both these areas. The said analysis was based on the statement that in the North, as well as in the South, there existed the tribes marked by similar or identical way of living — the Baqqara, Bedja and Fur in the North and those of the Shillouks, Nuers, Dinkas and Baris in the South of the Sudan, live mainly by cattle breeding. Similar manner of living and similar, as yet sources of sustenance (cattle breeding, traditional agriculture) — as a result of the low degree of industrial development in the North, account for the relationship of the patterns of culture and customs of the population inhabiting both parts of the Sudan. This relationship is to be easily observed even today, despite the fact of the religion and culture of Islam having been adopted by the North. In the Sudanese Islam, which is a synthesis of the culture of the aboriginal population and that of the immigrated Arab one, there distinctly appear the elements characteristic of the culture of the present-day tribes of South Sudan. Suffice is to mention the cult of ancestors and, above all, of the progenitor of the family frequently represented in the South by the person of the king or chief of the tribe to whom supernatural properties are attributed and, in the North, by those of religious, but also tribal leaders. Another characteristic feature is the belief in good and evil spirits, conjurations, talismans and, even, magic practices; the fetishistic and animistic worship and practices also appearing in the North as an addition to Islamic rites (e.g. among the Bedja, Nuba and Fung tribes).

Those common features in the sphere of culture and customs point not only to the relationship of the tribes of North and South Sudan but also to the specific character of Sudanese Islam on the one hand, and on the other, to the easiness of some traditional African rites being combined with Islam. While dealing with the specifics of the Sudanese Islam, the authoress points to its sources, the period and mode of its penetration (the ideas that have mainly been adopted were those of various mystic schools of Sufism brought to the Sudan in the beginning of the 16th century). The fact is emphasized that the principles penetrating to that area were favourably linked with traditional culture and, thus, rapidly disseminated there. Starting from this affinity of contemporary customs and cultures of the tribes of North and South Sudan and, also, from the specific features of the Sudanese Islam, the authoress makes an attempt at showing that the latter is undoubtedly closer to the pagan tribes of South Sudan than Christianity and that adoption of the rules of Islam by the population of this area is feasible.

This is indicated by if only a cursory analysis of the rules and practices of

Islam, the religion once born under desert conditions, among the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes. As a consequence it has retained and consolidated certain customs of pre-Islamic Arabs. e.g. the elements of fetishism, animism and magic so very characteristic of the beliefs of the South Sudanese tribes of today. It is worth indicating, by way of comparison, to the cult of the stone of Caaba, faith in jinns, good and evil spirits inhabiting the continents and the seas, the rites observed in killing the animals, meant to be a symbolic act of offering the latter to Allah, the ritual character of the prayer consisting in repetition of fixed formulae etc. From among other factors facilitating adoption of Islam by the tribes of South Sudan the following should be indicated: patrilineate, exogamy and polygamy, characteristic of the internal structure of those tribes and also underlying the beliefs and customs of the Muslims. There is one more reason favouring easy assimilation of Islam not only among the South Sudanese tribes but also in Africa as such and, namely, the facility of the principles of that religion which does not demand from the faithful to learn to know God or to experience Him intellectually but only to observe simple religious duties pertaining to the body rather than to the spirit (i.e. the ritual prayer accompanied by definite bows of the body, fasting, pilgrimage etc.). On the other hand, formalism characteristic of the religious practices of Islam opens up wide possibilities of one's own traditional ritual symbolism being linked with it what can be observed in the African continent (not only in the Sudan but also in other parts of Africa). The thesis about possibility of assimilation of Islam by the tribes of South Sudan is confirmed by the fact that in the relatively short period of the activity of Arab merchants in that regions despite the extremely unfavourable conditions of establishing friendly relations between representatives of the South and North (slave trade) has actually been initiated among some of the Southern tribes (i.e. the Shillouks and Dinkas). The process levelled by the later separation of the two areas in the days of Egyptian-British Condominium was clearly reflected by the uprising of the Dinkas solidarizing themselves with the movement of Mahdi. It is worth adding the said uprising (1882—1883) was also inspired by a prophet who united then all tribes descending from that of Dinka, in the common fight against Egyptian administration.

As already indicated, the main body of the article is devoted to the converging elements potentially uniting both the parts of the Sudanese Republic of today. Nevertheless, the concluding items present an analysis of some causes of the present conflict between the South and the North. In view of the scarcity of materials pertaining to the problem (South Sudan continues to be a closed area, hence lack of data informing about the actual course of events there), the matter has been tackled in a fragmentary way. Special attention has, however, been paid to the history of the Sudan which gives ground to draw conclusions concerning the germs of the present antagonism between the North and the South.

One of the causes of that conflict — says the article — is the historical isolation of the tribes of South Sudan, complete lack of contacts and alliances (both political and cultural) with the outer world, until the discovery of the sources of the White Nile by Egyptian expedition in 1839. As a result of this state of affairs, the area discussed was not prepared for establishing trade contacts with foreign new arrivals, whether Arabs or Europeans and eventually became a prey to plunder and easy spoils. The exploitation of the area was inspired by European merchants but put into effect by the Arabs i.e. Muslims constituting a majority of the personnel of trading stations set up by the first. As a consequence, the resistance

and hatred of the natives was mainly directed against Arabs and the Islam and the memory of the events of that period (carefully cultivated under the British rule) is the basis of to-day's opposition of the South against its Union with the North. True, this is not, or at least originally this was not, an opposition on the part of the entire population of the South against such a union, but, rather, the stand taken in the matter by politicians and representatives of this area in the central government mainly recruiting from among former officials of the British administrative apparatus. They are marked, for the most part, by a lack of flexibility and objective appraisal of the situation on the one hand, and by an extreme anti-Arab and anti-Islamic attitude, on the other. This state of affairs, by no means facilitates providing of a peaceful solution to the problem of the South.

However, the very lack of flexibility and of readiness to a conciliatory settlement of the said problem is also characteristic of the representatives of the North Sudan. It is worth mentioning here the latter's confidence of the superiority of its religion (what is a component of Islam) and of its culture. This confidence is all the greater as the panislamic trends constituted one of the basic elements of the national-liberation movement of North Sudan what has notably enhanced the moods of religions fanaticism. This results in the ideology of islam being but too frequently and stubbornly passed off upon the South Sudanese population and of course, in the latter's defensive attitude towards these attempts. Thus, the contradictions are growing and the old antagonisms revived what finds a reflection in the struggles fought in the South.

Under these conditions, the prospects for an actual unification of the peoples of the South and the North Sudan — despite of their ethnic and cultural relationship — are rather poor.

WANDA LEOPOLD

EAST AFRICA'S LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

What distinguishes East African countries from other parts of the African continent east of the Sahara is the existence in this area of a living supertribal language — Swahili. The article deals in the first place with the history of this language then goes on to examine its standardization process, speeded up by missionaries and students of colonial affairs; it also makes reference to the historic account on the subject by the famous Polish writer Henryk Sienkiewicz who travelled in Africa in 1891. But above all the article explores the possibilities open to Swahili in our day in the changing societies of East African independent States. It records discussions on a number of practical problems created by the prospect of declaring Swahili the official language of Tanzania. In connection with this, Professor Webston's views expressed in *Law in Swahili — Problems in Developing National Language* as well as the activities of the paper "Swahili" and of the Institute of Swahili Research are examined at considerable length. The article shows that these discussions have produced convincing evidence that Swahili can cope efficiently with the problems of a contemporary and expanding State. It is handicapped by a shortage of teachers and text-books, of dictionaries and reading matter, yet the fact that it is developing a literature of its own

stands for its efficiency and vitality as a cultural agent. Here the work of Shabaan Robert, probably the most important East African writer, comes to the fore.

Further, the article brings to light the social-psychological forces at work in the development and popularization of Swahili: its wide democratic range and the growing need among Africans — as they become increasingly nationally conscious — for their own individual national language.

This section of the article airs the activities of some East African cultural institutions and centres, such as for instance Chemcheni Creative Centre, East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs, East African Institute Press — all of them catering for a whole region and recognising the necessity of using other languages beside English. Their activities have contributed a great deal towards the emergence of common cultural patterns for the whole area.

The second part of the article examines the role played in this area by the first centre of higher education Makerere College, now University of East Africa. At the time of independence movements, this college, which has been frequented by the majority of East African political leaders, acted as the breeder of liberation ideas among the region's élite. It also became the inspiring force in the first attempts at creating an East African literature in English. The article analyzes these endeavours taking as a point of departure David Cook's anthology of East African writings *Origin East Africa. A Makerere Anthology*, a collection of literary works of various kinds chosen from the student literary paper "Penpoint", which first appeared in 1958. The work of James Ngugi is examined separately, particularly his novel *Weep Not Child*, that was awarded First Prize for an English written novel at the Dakar Festival of Negro-African Art in April, 1966.

The article ends with the following conclusions.

2. East Africa's supertribal integration processes are taking place on two planes: a) within the various States, which drew apart owing to their different histories under colonial government and the establishment of frontiers kept up to this day; b) in the cultural sphere transcending the political differences of the various States and rooted in their common cultural institutions — the higher education centre and language.

2 One of the key problems in East Africa's search for a unifying force is the language problem — the arguments for and against Swahili becoming that force are equally convincing. What seems to speak for Swahili is on the one hand its wide social appeal, since it satisfies the emerging national pride in Africa, and on the other the fact that it has been recognized the official language of one State. But what seems to make it undesirable is the lack of many basic materials and of a teaching staff, the still vital necessity to use English in certain domains of public life as well as the fact that it is rather convenient for and adds up to the prestige of a country if it uses English — a widely accepted medium in international relations. Consequently, all the arguments against Swahili as a unifying force in East Africa, speak in favour of English in that role. It is rather difficult to predict at this junction, which current will prevail and what form it'll take. Both are in their dynamic phases and both — though each in a different social aspect — are becoming a force of integration.

3. The simultaneous cultural start of both trends is made possible by the fact that African literature in both English and Swahili is as yet in its budding stage. Chronologically Swahili (in the Latin alphabet) leads the way by a small margin of time and has at least one man worthy of the name of a distinguished writer — in the opinion of English critics as well — Shabaan Robert. Whereas

the first literary star writing in English — James Ngugi — began to shine only between 1964–1966. On the whole, however, the literary utterances in English and Swahili are still in their beginnings and it is too early to call them literature *sensu stricto*. East African English writings lag at the moment far behind the literary production of South Africa or of the West African countries.

4. East African works available in English deal in the first place with problems differing considerably from those mirrored in the literatures of other parts of Africa and seem to reflect characteristic subjects and attitudes vital to the whole of this area, regardless of the State they actually refer to. Here come the problems of land ownership, of man's attachment to his piece of land and the hard work he is putting into it — an attachment that takes on a mystical-sacred character and predetermines the East African's approach to all religions.

It also shapes his attitude to work in general — not just farming — work being treated more seriously and valued much higher in the writings of this region than in the literatures of West Africa. Finally, judging by the characters presented in East African stories, it looks as if neither tribal feuds nor social contrasts are as acute in the emerging new society as they appear to be in West African countries. The East African social scene presents a picture of greater equality, though one can already sense that the élite's relations with the masses are becoming something of a problem.

5. The development of a cultural model transcending tribal cultures has created the term *Eastafricanness*, which has no counterparts in other African regions. For instance West Africa means a purely geographical entity, whereas its States, tribes, post-French or post-British territories fall into so many different categories. The endeavours of West African countries to work out a wider culture have taken the form of theoretical concepts, such as: Panafrikanism and Pannegroism (*Négritude*). *Eastafricanness* is a more modest and non-theoretical term, it seems to be first of all describing actually existing ties. One of its statements approaching a theoretical concepts is its call — voiced by Nyerere and taken up by many other writers — for a friendly co-existence, based on an equal access to work and goods, of the various races inhabiting one and the same earth.

KRYSTYNA CHAŁASIŃSKA

MZEE JOMO KENYATTA AND MONO-PARTY POLITICAL SYSTEM OF KENYA

In the book *Nearer Africa* (J. Chałasiński, K. Chałasińska, *Blżej Afryki*, Warszawa 1965 Pax), the history of contemporary Kenya was concluded with the day of the having been proclaimed a republic on the 12th of December 1964.

Amalgamation of the two political organizations of Kenya — Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) -- which took place in November 1964 is an event worthy of consideration for many reasons. The most prominent among them is the fact that that voluntary switching over into the mono-party system was affected so easily. It would appear that the centralism voiced by the programme of the KANU, and the programme of regionalism represented by the KADU, determined, in a basic and lasting way, the separate political lines of these two organizations. The events, however, did not confirm this supposition. The fusion of the said organizations was tantamount to a rallying

of the moderates around Jomo Kenyatta whose great prestige and popularity among the broad strata of the population was combined with the moderate stand taken by him in the affairs of both, home and foreign policy.

However, in Kenya there existed a trend of social radicalism rejecting the government's moderate policy. Independence neither brought nor could bring in its wake an radical transformation of the economic structure of the country. The policy pursued by the government with regard to land economy was subject to particularly sharp criticism. The government tended to reduce the area of land held by the Europeans, in favour of Africans. This programme, however, was implemented by rendering support to Africans buying up land from Europeans. Bildad Kaggia, Member of Parliament, while criticizing that policy expounded the view that nationalization of land and big enterprises would provide the government with a powerful instrument for the struggle against unemployment in face of which it seemed helpless. Kaggia also emphasized that by its policy of selling land the government was in fact supporting the richer part of the population to the detriment of the poorer one, as a result of which that policy paved the way for the formation of the black bourgeoisie.

Bildad Kaggia was by no means alone in his criticism of the governmental policy. He came out together with one of the leading politicians of Kenya and, namely, with Oginga Odinga, Vice-President of the Republic, the second statesman after President Kenyatta and, at the same time, Deputy Chairman of the KANU. The year 1965 started under the sign of a campaign of the "moderates" against the left wing of the KANU which the former accused of importing Communism to Kenya.

An essential feature of that political ferment was the fact that it also embraced the political ruling circles of the KANU and, in a certain sense, also of the government. President Kenyatta and the government had as an opponent Vice-President Odinga. In the turbulent months of the early period of independence, the Vice-President participated more than once in the political meetings at which he accused President Kenyatta of yielding to British influence. Other leaders of KANU and members of the government, inclusive of Tom Mboya, were simply called by him the lackeys of imperialism.

The counterattack prepared by Kenyatta and Mboya was a well-thoughtout one. It was launched at KANU conference held in March, 11th—13th, 1966. The objective of the conference was reorganization of the KANU, Tom Mboya proposed the latter's new statute which provided, inter alia, for elimination of the post of Deputy Chairman until then held by Oginga Odinga. According to the new statute, instead of one Deputy Chairman there were to be eight regional chairmen. All the changes proposed were approved and adopted. Oginga Odinga ceased to be Deputy Chairman of the KANU. A month later, on April 14-th 1966 he resigned from the post of Vice-President. While speaking at a press conference about the causes of his resignation Odinga declared that the leading statesmen of the country had become but passive tools in the hands of an "invisible government" which represented for the most part foreign commercial interests and the international forces of an ideological colonization of Kenya.

Oginga Odinga withdrew from the KANU but remained in the Parliament — having joined the opposition. Manifesting their solidarity with Odinga, thirteen trade union leaders also withdrew from the KANU. Moreover, twenty one members of Parliament and nine senators likewise left the ranks of the KANU. Oginga Odinga became the leader of a thirty person-strong parliamentary opposition.

The latter came out with the request for announcement of new elections. A new party came into being — the Kenya People's Union (KPU) with Oginga Odinga as its Chairman.

The chancellery of President Kenyatta promulgated a long official declaration which condemned both, the groundless accusations addressed to the government and the activity of the opposition — detrimental to the interests of the young state. Following that declaration, the Parliament passed an appendix to the Constitution by virtue of which, a Member of Parliament who withdrew from the KANU already upon having been elected, shall be obliged to have his election confirmed by his constituents before the end of the session concerned. As a result of adoption of that appendix, it was necessary to carry out new elections of the thirty Members of Parliament who withdrew from the KANU.

In the beginning of May 1966, President Kenyatta effected changes in the government. The post of Vice-President of the Republic was entrusted to Joseph Murumbi, until then Minister for Foreign Affairs. Moreover, Murumbi was also appointed Minister without Portfolio. Foreign affairs have been taken over by President Kenyatta himself.

In June 1966, by-elections were held in Kenya. Twenty one members of parliament and 9 members of the senate were elected. The results of the election were as follows: KANU won 13 seats in the Lower House and eight seats in the Senate. The KPU — seven and two seats, respectively. The total number of votes cast for the KANU amounted to 144,301, of those for KPU, to 165,121. Oginga Odinga was elected in his constituency by an overwhelming majority of votes: 16,695 against 1,942 cast for his rival — Walter Obede (Tom Mboya's father-in-law). Bildad Kaggia, Deputy Chairman of the KPU failed in the elections.

A few weeks later, in the beginning of August 1966, the authorities of Kenya arrested six persons from among the nearest co-workers of Odinga in the leadership of the Kenya People's Union. The warrants were issued by virtue of Preservation of Public Security Act. According to the report of "East Africa and Rhodesia" (August 11th, 1966) "Odinga told a news conference that having failed to destroy his party, the Kenya Government was resorting to desperate and cowardly tactics of detention, thus undermining the workings of democracy."

Two members of Luo tribe — Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga fight against each other. Mboya, a young trade union activist is also a leader of the right; Odinga, twenty years his senior and a rich businessman, is the leader of the left. And between them, there is the wise Mzee Kenyatta — a statesman and to many of his countrymen — a sorcerer.

HALINA MANNA BOBROWSKA

NOVELS BY SENEGALESE WRITERS — ABDOULAYE SADJI AND OUSMANE SEMBENE

The analysis of some works by two Senegalese writers — Abdoulaye Sadi and Ousman Sembene is preceded by a brief outline of social relations and history of their country. At the outset, the activities are discussed of General Feidherbe, Governor of Senegal in 1854—1865. In this connection the role is emphasized of the traditions of French culture rooted in Senegal for more than hundred years

past due to a systematic expansion of the network of schools, based on French educational system.

The data quoted by the authoress were drawn from an article published by the French sociologist, P. Mercier, in the "Bulletin International des Sciences Sociales — UNESCO" and dealing with African élites. The type of hierarchic, stratified structure of the Senegalese society is discussed and — against this background — the role of the newly rising intellectual élite and of the Senegalese writers. Another subject tackled is that of the development of Senegalese literature, in French language, and of the literary and artistic attainments of Leopold Senghor.

There is also to be found a marginal mention about the exhibition of African books organized in by l'Union culturelle Française in Paris, December 1965, which depicted the literary achievements of Contemporary Black Africa of the French language zone where Senegal represented the largest number of titles and names. Cheik Anta Diop's theory on the native languages of Africa is explained by the authoress on the example of translations (from French) into Wolof and Serer languages of various items of scientific, dramatic and poetical works. Other statements in support of the native languages of Africa are those by Ki-Zerbo, Professor of History in Upper Volta (drawn from Józef Chałasiński and Krystyna Chałasińska's book *Blżej Afryki*) (*Nearer Africa*) and by Mr. Fr. Dei-Annang, a historian and journalist from Ghana (after his article published in "Presence Africaine" special issue, No 27/28, 1959).

The literary work of Abdoulaye Sadjí is discussed on the basis of his novels: *Maimouna*, *Nini—mulâtresse du Sénégal* and of the phantastic entitled *Tounka* all of them published by Editions Presence Africaine in 1958—1965. The contents of the three books summarized, the authoress goes on to emphasize that the principal value of Sadjí's novels consists in their depicting the native customs, beliefs and rituals. Tribal problems hardly appear in them what results from the fact that, because of the small area and administrative unity of Senegal, the tribes there — for one hundred years past — have not been playing the role of antagonistic or competitive factors as was the case in Nigeria. The novels by Senegalese writers show the impact of urbanization upon the pattern and way of life, and, also, the interrelation between personal dramas and transformation of the system of values.

Dealing with *Nini—mulâtresse du Sénégal* the authoress of the article quotes Abdoulaye's statement comprised in the Introduction: „Nini est l'éternel portrait moral de la Mulâtresse, qu'elle soit du Sénégal, des Antilles ou des deux Amériques. C'est le portrait de l'être physiquement et moralement hybride qui, dans l'inconscience de ses réactions les plus spontanées, cherche toujours à s'élever au-dessus de la condition qui lui est faite, c'est-à-dire au-dessus d'une humanité qu'il considère comme inférieure mais à laquelle un destin le lie inexorablement.”

In his book *Antologie de la littérature négro-africaine* Leonard Sainville considers Abdoulaye Sadjí's creative tendencies as a result of his concern about the future fate of the Africans affected by the virus of racial prejudice, ponders over the latter's disastrous effects and over the ensuing alienation of the individual. This is precisely the most essential problem of Nini. However, says the article, *Nini* is a novel of documentary value today. And although the problem of hundreds of girls like Nini does not belong to the past nonetheless it is overshadowed by others, more important and shaking the whole African Continent.

Abdoulaye Sadjí's works are marked by a compact and clear structure. They show, however, a certain superficiality in tackling the problems involved and the

psychique of the heroes. The smooth and round style, and even the plots, are consonant with the canons of European novel and testify to the influence exerted upon Abdoulaye Sadjí by the French literature.

Quite different a type of creativeness and a different world are presented in the works of Ousmane Sembene who makes them imbued with all his active engagement in the struggle for social and human rights of the black people. The analysis of Sembene's three selected books — *Le docker noir*, *Harmathan* and *Voltaïque* — is preceded by data concerning his biography and literary career. Ousmane Sembene — like the heroes of his novels — does not yield to "intellectual Europeization". He is an objective observer of the processes resulting from the contact with European civilization. And thus, for example, *La noire de...*, one of the short-stories comprised in *Voltaïque* acquires the sense of warning. It presents the fates of a Senegalese girl whom the mirage of the life in France make unable of quiet reflection. Having come into touch with the promised land, known to her only from the films seen at the cinema in Dakar, the girl-like a moth fluttering about light — has her wings burned up. She commits suicide as she has realized the fact that the black person torn away from his (or her) community and exposed to the contact with the white men's civilization and way of living, loses the sense of existence. This is but another variant of the same warning comprised in *Le Docker noir*. The loneliness of the black man is all the more difficult to be borne in a crowd of white people. The author concludes that the process of detribalization — whether taking place in Europe or in the Black Continent — does not contribute to the happiness of the individual. In consonance with his most profound conviction, Ousmane Sembene seems to carry on the mission of shaping the sense of responsibility for the common fate. In *Harmathan* this mission is to be perceived in the author's engagement in the cause of the groups struggling for their own ideal of Africa. And, actually, in all his works we see the author supporting the cause which he considers his own.

The concluding part of the article comprises a summary of the characteristic features of both the writers. Moreover, the fact is stressed that what they are linked by are the traditional plots, their respect for the wisdom of ancestors, the interest in the problem of the conflict between generations, the sense of tribal bonds and the moral to be drawn from their novels. Both the writers give an expression to their faith in the connection with the invisible world. It is in particular in Sadjí's novels that there is to be felt, both a strong belief in the role exerted in an individual's life by the co-operation of invisible powers, and a metaphysical approach to the forces of Nature what is the very foundation of the "emotional reasoning" of an African. In the works by Abdoulaye Sadjí, Nature assumes an apocalyptic power, is alive — benevolent or malicious, bestowing favours or taking revenge and, above all, closes human fates within a harmonious circle of good or evil that is, of inevitable responsibility for one's deeds.

ZYGMUNT KOMOROWSKI

DEVELOPMENT OF HUMANITIES IN SENEGAL

In Senegal, unlike in Ivory Coast, Guinea, Ghana, Nigeria and many other African countries, there is to be observed the dominance of a specific kind of ideology following from the premises pertaining to culture and justified by

arguments from the province of humanities. This is by no means accidental but results both, from the geographical position and the history of that country. One of the consequences of this state of affairs is the development of humane studies.

A review of the problems tackled by the article gives ground to formulate the following statements:

1. The inhabitants of Senegal, due to the location of their country on the crossing of the big communication routes, relatively early started to maintain contacts with various countries and various cultural zones. Moreover, as early as the colonial period, they also learned to take advantage of exercising the role of mediator between different peoples, political centres and cultures.

2. The offensive of the humanistic ideology of the *négritude*, the fact of the Senegalese new élite being keenly interested in humanities and the development of humane studies in the university of that country by no means exclude the local society's activities in other fields but — on the contrary — serve them. In Senegal, humanities are a certain kind of profit-yielding enterprise.

3. The Senegalese humanists, together with the milieu of the University of Dakar, have developed a disposition to an exchange of cultural values and to the share in the worldprocess defined as "aculturation". They willingly establish cultural contacts with other peoples and other parts of the world. Even the interest displayed in their own nation's cultural heritage often aims, first and foremost, at its further transmission. One of the means intended to serve the cause of establishing such contacts and cultural exchange is adoption of the French language which, apart from its role in state functions has spontaneously become the language of literature and science. Likewise, the numerous and diverse cultural events organized in that country and the curricula prepared there are also intended to foster international contacts. It is worth mentioning, the curricula designated for the universities include a wide scope of knowledge about the cultures of Africa, Europe, America and of the Arab countries. Nowadays, the Senegalese cultural traditions are treated in the said instruction programmes on equal footing with the foreign ones. There are no postulates to indulge in brooding over the specific character of one's own nation but stressed is being laid on enjoying equal right with other peoples to contribute to the rise of Universal Civilization.

4. The ideology of *négritude* — floated by the government and recognized by a large part of the Senegalese new élite — points to the transcontinental prospects of culture which are frequently overlooked by advocates of the more narrowly conceived Panafricanism. That attitude, however, is liable to predestinate Senegal to play the role of not only "the largest window" of the Black Continent but even — as loftily defined by Leopold Sedar Senghor — that "of the heart of the Third World."

BOGDAN MOLIŃSKI

LIBERIA: THE BEGINNINGS OF NEGRO-AMERICAN SETTLEMENT IN AFRICA

The genesis of Liberia's statehood and the pro-American orientation of its educated urban élite, call for the historical and sociological study of the country to exceed the operational sphere of exclusively African factors and to embrace that of the American ones. The point is that both, the history and sociology of

that state, from its very foundation until the present moment, have been closely linked with the history and sociology of the United States. The said Negro republic, established in Africa on the initiative of the white people and upon the consent of American government, has never been a truly African state.

The small immigrated minority group of American-Liberians tends to a radical transformation of social and cultural structures in the territory taken under their control barely one hundred and fifty years ago, seeing in this project a solution of the onerous problems resulting from their co-existence, within the boundaries of one state, with more than one million strong tribal population inhabiting of old that part of West Africa. In Liberia, the role of the so-called national minority is played by the tribal majority, not yet national in the sociological sense of the word, nonetheless, national in formal sense for more than one hundred years past.

The American internal policy has always been tending towards a quick and final solution of the so-called Negro problem. One of the forms of the solution to be provided to it was the concept of settling the freed American Negroes to Africa and establishing there a model Negro state. It was precisely this idea that was the origin of both, the Republic of Liberta and of the American-Liberians.

From the very moment of the rise that state, the settlers were forced to offer resistance, as an organized group, to the tribal population. This confrontation did not involve the use of any racial criteria as was the case in America where those settlers were, above all, Negroes or the Negroes' children, i.e. slaves or children of the slaves, and where the colour of their skin was the only and exclusive factor determining their social position. In Liberia, the confrontation was effected by means of the criteria of culture.

Here the settlers and the members of the tribes, inhabiting those lands for centuries past, were both black. The first as well as the second were Negroes. Moreover, the American Negroes had passed through years and misery and humiliation suffered merely on account of their race, years which for many of them were a time of dreams about escape from America and return to Africa. The African Negroes had not experienced that from a slavery, based on racial barrier between the white and the black.

Returning to Africa, the American Negroes were theoretically also returning to the privileges of their own freedom and to the idea of equality of all people independent of their race. In fact, however, they returned as strangers, as a threat to tribal freedom and customs of African Negroes. The newcomers felt their distinctness not only because this was manifested to them by continued incidents and fights on the foregrounds of their settlements. They felt it, above all, as a result of their American experience which, apart from its tragism, had one advantage. It showed that tribal life, despite both, the memories cherished by the slaves working American plantations and the sentiments expressed in Negro spirituals, was not the best form of communal life, at least, not the best one from the material point of view. This American experience of the settlers — who remembered not only their slave chains but also the prosperity of the towns and of their masters' farms — rendered impossible their psychological return to the huts and hamlets of tribal Africa.

The said settlers left America as Negroes but arrived in Africa as Americans. The objective process of their Americanisation was undirectional and irrevocable. Their new national selfdetermination was possible only under two conditions. Firstly, by rejection of those cultural links with Africa, which they carefully

cultivated when in the United States, as a means of self-defence against annihilation of their personality. Secondly, by linking back to cultural bonds with the United States. They could become Liberians only by starting from American culture and not from the African one, since Liberia was meant to become a modern state of plenty, education and technic and not a tribal one, of seasonal abundance, initiation and magic.

In their tendency to create the state of Liberia in the likeness and model of the United States, the settlers had to set themselves against the tribal history and culture of Black Africa. The latter could not become their newly regained fatherland. And though some of them were separated from their tribal, African past by the lifetime of barely two or three generations even that brief contact with American civilization rendered their actual return to the sense of their Africanism impossible. Africa was the land of their forefathers. For them, however, despite their return there, America has remained the native country. To those people — Negroes by birth and Americans by choice or, even more truly — by psychological urge, departure from the United States and arrival in Africa was not repatriation i.e. return to one's native land. It was expatriation. And it is precisely such a psychological and sociological attitude of the settlers towards their position that underlies the social structure of today's Liberia.

HELENA KOZŁOWSKA

THE FALL OF THE FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA IN THE LIGHT OF ITS ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND SOCIO-POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

The British colonialism when establishing its rule in Nigeria based the latter on almost intact traditional apparatus of the authority exercised by the Emirs of Muslim North. This was the starting point for the formation of the so-called native administration under British supremacy and control. The drive at maintaining the traditional social structure throughout the country proved contradictory to the new role of Nigeria as British colony.

The links of Nigerian producers with the exports began to break the frames of natural economy. The process of penetration of money economy was not a uniform one. It was marked by a quicker pace in the South and a slower one in the North. Likewise, quicker than in the North was the rise of the so-called middle class which, however, has not transformed into modern bourgeoisie as a result of the monopolist policy pursued by the colonial authorities. European culture began to develop almost exclusively in the South and this, in turn, has resulted both, in a dominance of the Southerners — mainly those from among Ibo people — in the bodies of colonial authorities and, also, in a sharpening of the conflicts between the North and the South.

Isolation of the North found a reflection in the system of the so-called representative governments. Despite unification of Nigeria into one administrative structure, there existed a factual division of the country into its two principal parts. This has led to a deepening of the separatism of the North in the sphere of culture, manners, religion and education thus aggravating the North-South antagonism.

The artificial division of Nigeria into three regions, contrary to the actual ethnical and linguistic boundaries, provided for the supremacy of the North and created a basis of continued ethnic and national tension between the majority dominating in each of the regions and its minorities. The federation based on such a territorial division — with considerably broad margin of the freedom of movement within the respective regions and the role of the centre reduced to minimum — comprised the germs of all later contradictions.

To that policy of regionalism and maintenance of the separation and conflicts of the peoples of Nigeria, the liberation movement was opposing the policy of social integration. The representative of that movement — the NCNC Party — the first mass political organization acting in alliance with both, the trade union and strike movements — was becoming a centre of the initiatives aimed at Nigeria's unity and integration.

A radical change within the liberation movement occurred as a result of establishment of self-government in the regions and, especially, upon its expansion due to the pressure of the nationalist movement inside Nigeria and of its spreading throughout Africa. The induction of regional governments and parliaments and, also, of the central government and parliament as a result of, true, multi-grade elections but, nonetheless elections, pointed to the need for providing a modern instrument for elections and for exercising power — the need for political parties. Each region interested in winning power in its own territory and adequate representation in the centre tended to safeguard the exclusive position for its party.

The regional administration has dismembered the liberation movement and brought it to the narrow frames of the parties of the respective regions, competing with one another. Beginning with the elections held in 1951, there started to display their activities three different centres of the movement which were represented by the parties based on the population group playing the dominant part in the given region. This state of affairs could not but affect the NCNC. The radical and nation-wide attitude characteristic of the party's early activity gave way to the policy of constitutional reforms and to its being transformed into the party of the eastern region — the Ibo Party.

Division into regions and a certain scope of economic and financial power enjoyed by the regional government (Marketing Boards, banks, etc.) opened up for the ruling party a possibility of deciding about allocation of jobs, licenses and loans. This type of regional structure of the Federation was in full consonance with the interests of the moneyed classes grouped within the leadership of the parties and in governments, i.e. of the emerging ruling class. At the same time, the said structure constituted a convenient base for nepotism and corruption, evoking in Nigeria the phenomenon defined as "carpet-crossing".

The supremacy of North Nigeria — the area of which is three times that of the South — has weighed heavily upon the socio-political life of the whole country. The electoral system and principles have safeguarded her domination in the elections and the leading role in various coalition governments. The first victory of the Northern People's Party, the one of national importance was won in the elections to the Federal Parliament in 1959. As a result of bitter election competition, a coalition government of NPC and NCNC was inducted. The said government was based on a shaky balance of power that resulted from internal contradictions and conflicts with which burden Nigeria has entered upon the road of independence.

These contradictions became obvious already at the very beginning of the

independent existence of the country. And though Nigeria was often presented as a model example of adaptation of the parliamentary system and western democracy, already the first steps of the federal government testified to the discrepancy between the external, democratic form and the anti-democratic contents.

The claims to self-determination of the big groupings of the population in the North and East were not taken into account. The new region — the Mid West — was formed but after a strong blow had been aimed upon Action Group i.e. the opposition party and its leader, Awolowo, condemned on the basis of doubtful evidence. Abolishing of the opposition (and, at the same time, of the ruling party of Western Nigeria) and establishment of the new Nigerian National Democratic Party, allied with the leaders of the North, which inducted the government without any elections initiated a permanent political crisis from which Nigeria was not able to find an outway. One of the manifestations of the sharpening contradictions, bringing the federal government onto the edge of open political crisis was the controversial census of 1963.

The Government of the Federative Republic of Nigeria, torn by contradictions, was not able to control the economic situation. Irrespective of the dependence on foreign capital, regionalism also weighed heavily upon Nigeria's economy. The National Plan for the Development of Nigeria (1962—1968) was, in fact, a combination of five regional plans detached from the guiding line of national economic policy, from current fiscal and currency policy and ignoring the prospects for the development of labour force. Moreover, the plan did not provide for factual and financial control on the part of the state nor for the latter's intervention on the home market.

The pace of the growth of population exceeded that of the assumed economic development. The income per capit was lower than in Liberia and the index of investment outlays — the lowest in Africa. Poor earnings and rising prices resulted in a prolonged strike struggle, in the basic branches of industry and in principal institutions, which eventually grew into a general strike.

The first elections held in independent Nigeria under the said conditions brought into relief complete decay of the government coalition until then being in power. Glaring abuses during the elections, terror and forgery have evoked a boycott of those elections government. The acute government crisis which ensued has been conjured away by compromise.

The new government — assembled upon additional elections has ensured the dominant position to the NPC. It proved, however, unable to control economic difficulties. Nigeria was faced with the threat of inflation and with rising unemployment. It was only because of the dissention within the trade union movement and of corruption that there no general strike had been proclaimed. The announced work on the amendment of the constitution and on the formation of new regions, a promise which was the basis of the said compromise, has been paralyzed by the ruling party — the NPC and Ahmadu Bello — its leader.

Another dangerous crisis broke out in connection with the elections in Western Nigeria which were generally recognized as the forged ones and carried out under police terror. The state of tension, commotion and armed clashes did not calm down after the elections. The Federative Republic of Nigeria entered the stage of chronic crisis.

The federal government proved to be helpless and without support. The opposition proved helpless as well. There was not to be found in Nigeria any

socially active force, capable of leading the dissatisfied masses and of pushing Nigeria onto a new development road. In a society, torn by contradictions and ruled by corrupted politics — a small organized military group found suitable conditions for a coup d'état, all the more so, as it stroke upon the most hated people and the most painful problems.

ANDRZEJ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI

FIELD RESEARCH IN NORTHERN GHANA

The article deals with the results of sociological research carried out among the patrilinear tribes: Dagomba, Kassena-Nankani and Kusasi.

The tribes covered by the research have different traditional political systems. The Dagombas form a tribal state with a "feudal" hierarchy of hereditary chieftancies. The remaining two present the segmentary and clan systems. Their common feature is the mode of land tenure. The land, being the property of the ancestor of the clan, is but utilized by the families descending from him. With all the tribes land is ritually put at the disposal of the trustee of the ancestors — i.e. of the tengdana (the latter's office is inherited in consonance with the principle of primogeniture of the clan line and the personal one). Material disposing of the land is vested in the person of the tengdana — in the case of Kassena Nankani and Kusasi tribes whereas in that of the Dagomba, it is divided between the tengdana and the chief.

Research among the Dagombas was concentrated on the village of Cheshey together with its hamlet Zuozugo, situated six miles from Tamale. The village is the seat of the village headman and the hamlet — of the tengdana. The village is also the seat of a Roman Catholic teacher of religion (the rest of the inhabitants are animists) who is a nephew of the headman and grandson of the tengdana. This is a telling example of the concentration of the lay and religious authority, of the traditional and contemporary one, in the hands of one family. In Zuozugo there lives the Fulani family lending cows, the only one which, by selling milk, runs market economy. The agricultural production in the village is thoroughly traditional, the only implements used being two types of hoe and the cutlass. Cash is obtained by selling bundles of iire wood in Tamala. The value of one delivery carried on the head amounts to 6 d. The commercialized marriage payment is £ 30. In some cases, the sum is paid off by many years' work. The health standard of the population is very low and infant mortality — enormous. It is suspected that the old custom consisting in disposing off of the deformed newborn children by leaving the latter in the bush is maintained.

Traditional authority enjoys high prestige and control. To the inhabitants of the village and hamlet herewith discussed, the fact of the existence of Ghana is one of marginal importance.

Researches among the Kassena-Nankani embraced the village of Nayagynia, two miles from Navrongo. The village, being the seat of the tengdana, is inhabited by Roman Catholics and animists. There is a school in the village and the number of illiterates amounts ca 30% of the total. A part of the village is provided with water supply system. There is also one privateowned mill and a state tractor

station. The economy is of mixed, subsistence-market type. Ploughing is done by animal draughtforce i.e. cows or by tractors. Marriage payment is but symbolic non-commercialized. Roman Catholics contract double marriages, i.e. in consonance with the requirements of their religion and of native traditions. The Catholics respect tengdana's right to the ritual disposing of land.

Field research among the Kusasi was carried out along the same pattern. The village of Bugri, 15 miles from Bawku, also the seat of the tengdana, was covered by the investigation. The inhabitants form various denomination groups — Roman Catholic, Muslim and animistic. The village has a school, nevertheless the illiteracy rate amounts to some 85 per cent of the total number of inhabitants. Economy is more distinctly of market type. Ploughing done by plough or tractor. In the village, there is a tractor station of the Farmers' Council. A dam was constructed on the river and an irrigation system provided what enables irrigation of the gardens. The export produce are tomatoes and onions. Marriage payment, high and commercialized, is paid in cattle. Marriages are contracted as indicated above, the authority of the tengdana being the same.

Conclusions: the socio-economic development supported by a departure from animism (Catholicism, Islam) does not completely destroy the traditional ideology, maintaining its most essential elements: the value of ancestors and of land.

Hypothesis for verification: the political systems of "feudal" type better resist the process of changes than the loose, segmentary ones. It is only very strong stimuli that are capable of pushing the feudal systems onto the road of development, as was the case with the Ashanti tribe due to the impact of cacao boom.

ANTONI GRZYBOWSKI

MULTIRACIAL SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The complexity of racial relations in South Africa results from the specific character of her history.

As early as the 15th century, the South African coast was known to the Portuguese navigators. The Portuguese established there their stage posts on the way to India. It was, however, in the 17th century that South Africa assumed major importance due to the growth of trade with East Indies, when the powerful East India Company monopolized almost the whole of that trade. At that time, too, it was discovered that, contrary to the generally adopted view, the South African climate, characteristic of the highlands, belonged to the wholesomest and most agreeable in the world. Tropical climate prevails but in a small part of the country. No wonder the white man was attracted by South Africa. In modern times, apart from the process of the mixing of migratory Bantu tribes, there was to be observed that of the white people settling in the new country. The latter process was, of course, not free from conflicts. That confrontation of different cultures and civilizations connected with specific geographical and socio-economic conditions has eventually shaped a definite type of contemporary Afrikaner.

The country was, then, a certain kind of an experimental ground where the tribes of the Bushmen, Hottentots and Bantu were brought face to face with the White Man, of the confrontation which — in the ethnical consciousness — began

to expand what Stanisław Ossowski, the Polish sociologist would call a "private native country" into the "ideological" one.

Discussion of racial problems in South Africa has been narrowed to the peoples of Bantu and the descendants of the first Dutch settlers today called the Afrikaners. The latter form the majority among the white population in South Africa. From the very beginning of the history of the white man in that country, they were the advocates of the superiority of the white race and having taken power in South Africa in 1948, they found a possibility to put that ideology into effect on the legislative way.

The British in South Africa present a separate problem.

Among the black population the Bushmen were the most primitive South African people. Those nomadic tribes of hunters roamed about in search of game or water. They built no houses finding natural shelter among the rocks or in the bush where they made temporary "cabins" from branches. Hence their name — the Bushmen — given to them by the first Dutch settlers. Their small bows and arrows proved, however, insufficient to offer resistance to the akin Hottentots. Another fact accounting for the weakness of the Bushmen was undoubtedly the lack of any broader social bond, even in face of the fight against the enemy.

At the time of the arrival of the first white settlers, the Hottentots were in fact the masters of the whole southern edge of Africa. Like the Bushmen, they were neither a tribe of warriors. Nonetheless, they represented a higher type of social organization. They lived in compact groups, several hundred persons strong, with an elected or hereditary chief and the council of elders.

Moreover, they had a high opinion of themselves as testified to by the way they called themselves — Khoi-Khoi "People of Peoples". And though the Hottentots knew the arts of pottery and of smelting iron they were nonetheless nomadic pastoral tribes, breeding herds of longhorn cattle and of sheep. When making a stop in their roaming, they lived in kraal-type camps. They availed themselves of spears with an iron point. The prisoners captured by them in battles were not killed but turned into slaves.

The Bantu peoples, who were the third migratory wave that reached South Africa represented another anthropological type and a more developed social organization. The Bantu arrived to the territories today occupied by them rather late (their last migrations took place in the 19th century). They came probably from the land situated north of the Great African Lakes. In South Africa, they found the Bushmen and the Hottentots. Having driven them out westwards, without any greater difficulty they occupied the life-giving lands of the steppe.

The organizational basis of the Bantu was a polygamic family. Families united into clans and clans into tribes ruled by a chief. An essential element of the life of the Bantu people was the cult of ancestors whose spirits were to exert a prepotent influence on the fates of the respective members of the tribe. This inevitably led to the rise of the influential institution of the sorcerers.

Every Bantu family was a self-sufficient economic unit basing its existence mainly on cattle breeding and on the digging of natural produce. This resulted in the rise of stronger links with the soil than was the case with the nomadic tribes of the Bushmen and the Hottentots.

Another factor stimulating the dynamics of Bantu tribes was the structure of the institution of the chief.

The latter was leader in the military sense of the word and, also, the supreme judge, of which he took advantage in the struggle against his adversaries. Moreover,

he was also the supreme sorcerer, representative of the dead ancestors what provided for him a means of exerting a strong ideological influence.

The sixth of April 1652 marked the beginning of the written history of South Africa. This fact was closely connected with the appearance in the southern confines of the Black Continent of a new demographic factor and namely — of the White Man.

Upon a sea voyage that lasted for 104 days, Jan van Riebeeck, a ship's physician, together with one hundred settlers, dropped anchor in the Bay of Table Mountain. Van Riebeeck was appointed by the Dutch East India Company the commander of the new settlement.

Originally, the Cape Colony was meant to be a station supplying food for the ships of the Company. After five years, however, nine families were permitted to set up farms of their own. Thus, from a food supply station, the settlement on the Cape of Good Hope grew into a colony starting its own development and confrontation of the white race with the black one.

The Bushmen presented no problem. Ousted even earlier by the Hottentots, in the 17th century the tribe was gradually dying away. With the Hottentots, however, van Riebeeck tried to maintain friendly relations. The Hottentots were owning big herds of cattle. And cattle was needed for the inhabitants of the colony and meat for the Company's ships stopping there to supplement their stocks. Thus, the early period of the co-existence of the two communities was free from any distinct racial antagonisms. Likewise, at that early period of settlement, mixed marriages, and even more often, mixed liaisons, were by no means a rarity. They gave origin to the mulattos. The tribal organization of the Hottentots rapidly degenerated. The diseases brought by the Europeans, above all, the syphilis wasted away the natives. In 1713 an epidemic of smallpox decimated the rest of the Hottentot population.

The said epidemic had consequences also in the social sphere. In face of an acute shortage of labour, the authorities of the Colony had to make a decision concerning labour force. It was decided to solve the problem by means of slaves who were to be "cheaper" and more "obedient". The primary consideration, however, was that it was deemed more fit that the manual labour be done by slaves and not by the Europeans. Introduction of slavery exerted a decisive influence upon further fates of the Colony and upon the character of its development. Instead of a complete white community with all its social classes there rose a two-class one, composed of white masters and coloured slaves. Soon all the manual, non-skilled labour was done by slaves — Negroes or Malays brought from far-off islands. Slavery has become an institution which weighted heavily upon the mentality of the whole generations of the Afrikaners.

The settlement of the English in the Cape Land some ninety years later, made possible by the war against Napoleon Bonaparte, caused another shock in the internal relations of the country.

For the English, slave economy was already an anachronism, for the Boers — the basis of the local system and, even, a regularity of the social relations. No wonder then, that the abolition of slavery in 1833 became the direct cause of the Boer population's mass migration movement called the Great Trek (Groot Trek).

That event also became a great confrontation of the white man with Bantu peoples in the struggle for land.

Moreover, the Groot Trek was a flight from the reality of social transformations since to the Boers — equality of rights of the natives and of the Christians

was contradictory to Commandments and to the natural differences of race and religion. The Boers moved inland on their big, ox-driven fourgons and under the protection of mounted well-armed men — having no idea about the course to take, nor about the statehood and the peoples inhabiting the lands they passed.

The rise of Boer Republics (first of Natal and, then, of the Republic of Transwaal and the Free Oran State), the discovery of diamond beds and, then, of the deposits of gold opened a new chapter in the history of social transformations in South Africa. The dominant role was to be played therein by the urbanization and westernization of the black man.

The geographical conditions, slavery, fights against the Negroes, majority of the black inhabitants in South Africa, religion, the Groot Trek, the antagonism of the English, and last but not least, isolation from the rest of the world — all these factors could not but affect the personality of the Boer.

After the repeal of the edict of Nantes in 1685, a new cultural element appeared in the Cape Land and, namely, two hundred Huguenot families expelled from France. These were followed by others, mainly the Germans. Thus, from the Dutch stem a new type of man was shaping as well as a new, though small nation. The Boer was becoming interested in shepherding and hunting and he needed vast areas of temporarily dry steppe for his big herds. Though not keen on agriculture, he wanted to see from the windows of his house his own land only. The religion of the Boers was simple and deeply-rooted. Everyday, the father of the family read aloud some verses of the Bible which was the only source of knowledge and moral principles. And it was also in the Bible that the Boers wanted to find confirmation that they were the chosen people which found there its promised land. The only social entertainment of the Boers was the long journey to church, sometimes exceeding 200 km, made once a year by the whole family, to receive Holy Communion. The Boer considered himself an independent master of his land and he disliked any intervention on the part of the authorities from which he expected but assistance in the struggle against the natives. He was against progress and he disliked foreigners — the "uitlanders" — bringing with them new customs.

An essential unifying factor which differentiated them from their Netherlands ancestors was their language — the Afrikaans.

Developed on the basis of the Dutch, it assimilated many words from other European languages e.g. from the French, Flemish, German as well as those of Hottentot origin.

The Afrikaans was commonly used by the Boers already at the end of the 18th century. Upon the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, it became the official language on equal footing with the English.

The white Afrikaner of South Africa found himself in the situation resembling that of the American Negro and not the one of the white Yankee — says Professor J. Chałasiński in his book *Bliżej Afryki (Nearer Africa)* — when comparing South Africa with the United States. If the American Negro is not an American he is a nobody. For he has no other country. Such is the position of the white Afrikaners in South Africa. Besides the latter, they have no other country. In Africa they grew into a separate nation. Professor Chałasiński writes in his book:

"Existence of the nation of the Afrikaners is the basic fact which has to be taken into account if one wants to understand the whole complexity of the relations in this country. The Boers formed a separate nation. A nation speaking its own language and having its own literature."

"And it is to this nation that the Bantu peoples put up resistance. This is a life-and-death struggle. The fight between two nations. The Bantu peoples struggle for existence and so do the Afrikaners. This is the only place in Africa where the white people formed a separate nation. Both parties claim the right to exclusive ownership of the same territory, each of them considering it as its native country."

And, in turn, the "right to exclusiveness" also implies to the Africaner the "right to racial segregation".

As early as 1853 — upon the formation of the Republic of Transvaal — "the alpha and omega" of the internal policy of the Boers was the principle forbidding in general to admit the "black people to equal rights with the white in Church and government." The principle binds even to-day. However, in spite of the official propaganda on the inferior value of the black Negro race, on its inability to independent development and the "civilizing mission of the white man", the history of Bantu peoples brings into relief the values of their culture which could not but contribute to the awakening of national consciousness of the Black Man in South Africa. Thus, for example, the Zulu songs published by H. Trancey — African musicologist — in 1955, and linking back to the heroic period of the Zulus, recall the legends of King Chaka (Czaka), as the defender of their independence. Chaka was a characteristic hero of Zulu literature in the period between the two World Wars. Other historical characters such as Dingaan, Mpanda and Nomdanga also served the Zulu writers as a background for recalling patriotic traditions. A prominent place was taken among those writers by Doctor Benedict Vilakazi enjoying the reputation of national writer, poet and author of historical works who combined love of tradition and worship of the great chiefs fighting against the invaders, with the idea of victory attained due to moral superiority and trust in the future.

This affirmation of the moral values of the Black Man was also depicted in a UNESCO publication of 1953, by another African intellectual — Selby Bangani Ngcobo, Professor of Economics. The latter expounds the view that the Bantu peoples readily recognize the superiority of European arms, technical know-how and knowledge while rejecting many of European morals, customs and habits as they consider their own code of behaviour and morality to be superior. Because of their materialistic world outlook — say the Bantu — the Europeans lack the essential feature and namely the human spirit which is most aptly expressed by the Zulu word "ubutu". "Ubutu" precisely means "humanity".

Under South African conditions, that sense of one's own humanity was to lead to a reaction manifesting itself as psychical or physical revolt. Nevertheless, A. Baba Fatuma, one of Negro speakers at the International Africanists' Congress in Akra, December 1962, while dealing with the effects of the Black Man's contact with the Western world, emphasized the irrevocable fact of the change of the simple life of the African of older day within whom western civilization got mixed up with African culture. The African exposed to the impact of both the cultures is a man belonging to both the worlds.

The irrevocable character of that process was also emphasized by Ezakiel Mphahlele in his book — *The African Image*. Determining the return to the tribal relations of the Black Man as the road of "barbarization" of man, he expounded the view that, in spite of all the ballast of the wellknown and painful aspects of the socio-economic system of South Africa, there had already risen a multiracial

urban society which has lead out the African Negroe from the primitivism of his tribal system.

The heritage of culture and the process of civilizing emancipation of the Black Man within the urbanized society have shifted him onto the position of the struggle for equal place in the multiracial society of South Africa.

That slogan, considered from the viewpoint of equality of justice has been brought into relief by Nelson Mandela, a young lawyer, outstanding activist of the ANC and close co-worker of Albert Luthuli.

The Afrikaners wielding power do realize that the white Man in South Africa is but a minority as indicated by the statistics and that he continues to be outnumbered by the Bantu peoples. Daring his trial in 1962 Mandela declared that when tried by a white judge he should be convinced that he was tried by his countryman, a South African, who does not treat him as an inferior being deserving to be converyed by a separate, special kind of the administration of justice.

In African nationalist, that fear of the large majority of Black Men, combined with the specific features of an Africaner's personality has become blended with an obsession of the White Man's exclusive power and purity of race. The drive at putting into effect that obsessive principle has thus prevented recognition by him of the multiracial society and led to the formation of the so-called "apartheid". Its theory, worked out within the milieu of Stellenbosch — the Africaner University — and by T. E. Dönges, Ph. D., N. P. Jansen, Ph. D. and some other scholars, was meant to become a "scientific" method of solving the racial problem in consonance with a racist interpretation of the Bible maintaining that the races created by God should preserve the differences existing between them.

Implementation of the programme of apartheid by way of closing almost 70% of the Bantu peoples population — for the most part urbanized in the European way — within 13% of the country's territory and on the basis of tribal relations cannot be but a vain attempt at retracting the Black Man's attainments in the sphere of civilization.

Under these conditions, the "apartheid" and Bantu states policy leads the South-African multiracial society into a blind alley. On the one hand there is activization of the black population and, on the other, the white man of South Africa obsessed with fear of the future, burdened with all the ballast of his history and stubbornly wanting to believe in his civilizing mission on the African Continent.

JÓZEF CHAŁASIŃSKI

THE FOURTH YEAR OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

President Kasavubu had just returned from the Third Session of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which held its debates in Accra in October 1965. A little later, General Mobutu "peacefully" (as defined by "Afrique Nouvelle", December 2nd — 8th, 1965) seized power on the night from November 25th, 1965, removing President Kasavubu and the government with Prime Minister Kimba. However, it was not only in the Congo that the sharpening political crisis resulted in the power being taken over by the army. In Dahomey, the command of the army intervened in the political crisis in that country towards the end of November 1965. General Soglo, Commander-in-Chief took over the superior authority from

President Apithy and Vice-President Ahomadegbé and conveyed it to the President of the National Assembly — Tairou Congacou (for the transition stage until the election of new authorities). Barely a month later, on the 22nd of December — following a coup d'état — he seized power himself ("Afrique Nouvelle" 2nd — 8th December, 1965).

The year 1966 began with an overturn in the Central African Republic where, on the New Year's Eve, Colonel Jean Bedel Bokassa, Commander-in-Chief, seized power, overthrowing his cousin — David Dacko at the time President of the Republic. Bokassa accused President Dacko of squandering public funds. While addressing the nation on the radio Colonel Bokassa said: "The hour of justice has struck. The privileged class — the bourgeoisie — has been overthrown. Now all the citizens have equal rights. Their interplay has begun" ("Afrique Nouvelle", January 6th—12th, 1966).

The overturn in Upper Volta belonged to the same category of military interventions. In the climate of social ferment and strikes in that country, Colonel Sangoulé Lamizana carried out a coup d'état on the 3rd of January 1966, as a result of which President Maurice Yaméogo was deprived of power. The Colonel was supported by the trade unions and by student organizations expressing their solidarity with his action against "the antisocial and antidemocratic policy pursued by Yaméogo's government" ("Afrique Nouvelle", January 6th—12th, 1966).

On January 15th, 1966, General Ironsi came into power as a result of the overturn organized in Nigeria. The following month saw another coup d'état — this time in Ghana where power was taken over by General Ankrah (24th February).

Such were the events in the political platform of Africa at the turn of 1965 and 1966. The whole of 1966 was a turbulent time and this year started in no more peaceful way. In the night of January 12th Colonel Eyadema effected a coup d'état in Togo, President Nicolas Grunitzky being thus deprived of power ("Le Monde", January 14th, 1967).

The following session of the Organization of African Unity held in November 1966, was not attended by President Kwame Nkrumah. In fact, not only Nkrumah was absent. According to the American periodical "Newsweek" (November 21st, 1966) from among thirty chiefs of the states which were the authors of that organization only nineteen took part in its fourth session. The remaining lost power as a result of political upheavals.

Non-participation in the session by Sekou Touré was a manifestation of solidarity with President Nkrumah. Mediation by other states was of no avail. The Conference was held without participation of both of them.

The stormy year 1966 weighed heavily upon the atmosphere of the OAU session. Nonetheless, the editorial of "Le Monde" (11th November, 1966) was not pessimistic in evaluation of its results. The moderation characteristic of the resolutions passed by the session was defined therein as an evolution from the euphoria of the early stage of independence to realism.

Iomi Perreira, a journalist of "West African Pilot" published in Nigeria (November 23rd, 1966) was of quite a different opinion on the prospects of that organization. "The moderates — says Perreira — the vast majority in the OAU, were actually chauvinistic nationalists who were opposed to the idea of African Unity. Logically, these are not the people to work actively for African Unity".

The OAU's activity is affected by the continued tension in the relations between the "revolutionaries" (the so-called Casablanca group) and the "moderates" (Monrovia group).

