
Summaries

Przegląd Socjologiczny / Sociological Review 19/1, 287-316

1965

Artykuł został zdigitalizowany i opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

S U M M A R I E S

JOZEF CHAŁASINSKI

TRANSITION FROM TRIBE TO NATIONALITY IN PRESENT DAY AFRICA A NOTE CONCERNING THIS SPECIAL ISSUE

This special issue of the Polish Sociological Review, devoted to emerging new Africa, contains papers prepared by research workers of the Research Centre for African Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences. Besides that a paper by Mr. Dravi has been included. Mr. Dravi from Togoland studied at the University of Warsaw and his contribution to this collection is a part of his M. A. thesis in sociology.

Editing this volume I have considered it a contribution to the understanding of the formation of nationalities in present day Africa in the meaning of Znaniecki's *Modern Nationalities* (1952) in which he defines nationality as national culture society. Close to this nation-making process another problem has been in the forefront, namely that of relations between various systems of culture values and antagonistic systems of political power. Our research aims at finding out forces working for harmonious cooperation as against forces working for disruption.

In his study on patriotism and nationalism Dutch historian Johan Huizinga wrote that "every cultured and right minded person has a particular affection for a few other nations alongside his own, nations whose land he knows and whose spirit he loves." We have engaged ourselves in African studies to free ourselves from Europocentred narrow-mindedness and to extend the affection Huizinga writes of to African countries and African continent.

This special issue of the Polish Sociological Review is intended to sponsor discussion of the place of the African countries and African cultures in the curriculum of Polish universities.

ANTONI GRZYBOWSKI

POLISH RESEARCH CENTRES FOR AFRICAN STUDIES

"Study of the transformations occurring within African societies is not only of practical importance. The rapid changes experienced by these societies and their traditional cultures — changes effected by the operation of known factors —

make Africa highly interesting from the viewpoint of the observation of the general processes which, elsewhere, appear in less distinct form" said Docent Jan Lutyński in 1957. His article, published in "Kultura i Społeczeństwo" (Culture and Society) referred to the issue of the International Social Science Bulletin (UNESCO) devoted to the problems of elite in African countries.

Some years earlier, another Polish sociologist — Józef Obrębski, disciple of Bronisław Malinowski, tackled the problem of the formation of new non-European nations in his paper *The Sociology of Rising Nations*, presented at the International Congress of Sociologists held in 1950. Emphasizing the social and cultural aspects of the phenomenon, Obrębski pointed to the fact that "the great revolution of our times consists [...] in the rise of new national cultures and new groups with national culture." His opinions is substantiated not only by Malinowski's studies in ethnology and culture but also by the views of Florian Znaniecki defining the nation as a community of culture.

Thus, modern sociology started to discover "contemporaneity" among the "primitive societies" in Africa. Simultaneously, those sociological interests were penetrating increasingly deeper into the Black Continent.

It is worth mentioning here, the Polish scientists and travellers have to their credit a marked contribution paid to the exploration of that continent. Without reaching as far into the past as the expeditions of Stefan Szolc-Rogoziński *et al.*, at the end of the 19th century, we wish to enumerate those who started their researches before the outbreak of the Second World War, fruitfully continuing them until the present. This group of scientists includes the following: Professor Jan Czekanowski, who conducted his anthropological, ethnographical and sociological research work in Central Africa as early as 1907—1909, within the frames of the German scientific expedition led by Adolphus Frederic, Prince of Mecklenburg. Professor Włodzimierz Antoniewicz participated in the International Geographical Congress held in Cairo, 1924 and, also, in a journey through Egypt, penetrating as far as Nubia in search of the relics of rock paintings. The following year, he was to be found in Sabara and in Libya at the El Cargeh, oasis, where he worked on a method of determining chronology on the basis of the drying up of lakes (lake zones method). The year 1927, saw another journey of his — this time to Algeria, and 1928, to Morocco. The purpose of the latter venture was investigation of desert archeological posts throughout the area up to the river of Niger. South Africa was also covered by the interest of the Polish scientists. In 1935, Professor Roman Stopa studied the ethnographic and linguistics problems among the Hottentots and the Bushmen. Professor Kazimierz Michałowski, participated, within the frames of the French-Polish archaeological expedition, in three excavation campaigns at Edfu, Egypt, in the years 1936—1947, 1938 and 1939.

The years following the conclusion of the Second World War and, in particular, the recent decade, marked by political transformations in Africa, brought that vast continent still more distinctly into the orbit of scientific interest. In 1956, the Polish Ethnological Society organized the first post-war seminar on African problem, Wrocław, May 9th—11th.

It was, however, the quarterly "Kultura i Społeczeństwo," published since 1957 by the Research Centre for Sociology and History of Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences, that has actually brought Africa into the wider sphere of research on contemporary culture. The said periodical originated from the

milieu of sociologists connected with the University of Łódź. It was by no means accidental, the latter milieu was the first to put forward African problems grasped not only from the viewpoint of ethnography but, also, that of contemporary cultures. This resulted from linking, in the Łódź university centre, of the ethnological traditions with the sociological ones, of Malinowski's school with that of Znaniecki and, also, that of Krzywicki with Czarnowski's. A telling expression of the blend of those different traditions was, and continues to be, the "Sociological Review" published in Łódź.

When the said Research Centre for Sociology and History of Culture initiated the publishing of the quarterly "Culture and Society" (1957) it was the African problems that, from the very start, took a place of prominence in the non-European interests of the said periodical. The orientation of the "Culture and Society" is characterized not only by the article mentioned at the outset of the present paper and discussing the new African elites against the background of the general processes of contemporary world, but also by the approach to African problems in the second issue of the quarterly and, namely, in the article "Is Western Civilization Threatened?" In that editorial, the said problems are discussed in the light of the decline of concentration of the civilized world's interest on Europe.

The birth of interest in Africa as a contemporary problem was accompanied by an expansion of humanistic and, above all, sociological research into the "Black" Africa. Until mid-fifties of this century, the interests of the Polish scientists principally did not reach beyond Arabic Africa or, to be more precise, of Egypt, the oriental studies also covering Ethiopia. The problem of the "Black" Africa first won for themselves a prominent place in periodicals to become, somewhat later, the subject of systematic scientific research. These periodicals, beginning from the scientific ones and ending with newspapers, paved the way for the new interests.

In the middle fifties, the still scarce articles devoted to the "Black" Africa were dispersed in various periodicals dealing with social sciences. The following years saw a significant change in this respect. An analysis of the Polish periodicals shows that the peak of all kinds of interest in African problems was recorded in 1961. Thus, it is also this period that has found a reflection in the organizational structure of the relevant branches of Polish science.

As early as 1960, within the Polish Institute for International Affairs, there was established the Department for African and Asian countries. Two years later, a special division was singled out therefrom and, in the spring of 1964, reorganized as the Department of African Countries. The staff of the latter Department, headed by Dr. Jerzy Prokopczuk, deal with the political, economic and social problems of Africa, concentrating their attention, above all, on the analysis of the phenomena and the most interesting processes which decide about the political visage of the Black Continent and its place in the conflicts of the world of today.

At the University of Warsaw, the role of a link co-ordinating research in African problems is played by the Centre for African Studies founded on May 31st, 1962 and headed by Professor Stefan Strelcyn. It has a Scientific Council of its own, presided over by Professor Marian Małowist. The Centre runs two years' post-graduate courses for persons willing to acquire on additional stock of contemporary knowledge of African problems with a view to undertaking

research in the field or to working more effectively, as experts, in African countries. The Centre for African Studies also deals with the documentation on institutions (throughout the world) dealing with Africa. It also elaborates the main catalogue of books and other publications on African problems, dispersed in libraries throughout the country. Moreover, the Centre also works on the materials collected by way of an enquiry which has embraced all universities in Poland in order to find out about the present state of research on the said problems.

Another line of the Centre's activity is co-operation with specialists dealing with African problems at other scientific centres, inviting them for "inter-discipline" seminars organized for the purpose by Professor Strelcyn, at the Research Centre for Oriental Studies, of the Polish Academy of Sciences, since 1960. The seminars group experts in various branches of science e. g., geographers, ethnographers, economists, sociologists, linguists and other what is conducive both to establishing personal contacts between those scientists and to the development of their co-operation.

The results of scientific research are published in the Bulletin "Africana," published by the Centre for African Studies, in English and French. Another, bulletin, issued quarterly informs of the acquisitions of the Centre's specialist library.

As far as specialist research in African problems, conducted at the University of Warsaw is concerned, special mention should be made of philology, and, especially, African linguistics, having no mean attainments to its credit and developing within the Institute for Oriental Studies. The Chair of Semitic Philology formed therein in 1950 and directed by Professor Strelcyn, focusses its research on languages and culture of Ethiopia. There, also, research is conducted on the languages of the "Black" Africa, the curriculum including instruction in the Hausa and Suahili languages.

In order to provide possibilities of mastering practical knowledge of African languages the readership in Amharic, Suahili, Hausa and Bambara has been organized at the Chair of Semitic Philology. Apart from these, research in Arabic is also conducted at the relevant Chair within the Institute for Oriental Studies at the University of Warsaw and, also, in the Egyptian and Coptic languages at the Chair of the Philology of Ancient East.

It is, however, the University's Chair in Mediterranean Archeology, with its holder — Professor Kazimierz Michałowski, that has scored successes of world-wide importance in its work on African archeology. The latter Chair runs, in Cairo, its own station engaged in research on Mediterranean archeology. The Research Centre for Mediterranean Archeology incorporated with the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Ancient Art Department of the National Museum in Warsaw, both participate in the researches connected with the excavation work conducted by the said Chair.

Among the post-war attainments of Professor Michałowski's excavation posts in Egypt and Sudan special mention should be made of the discovery at Tell Atrib. When removing the successive layers of the *kom* (a hill over a settlement), a highly interesting grouping of the monuments of material culture has been found e. g., lime baking ovens, water supply installations etc. The old-Egyptian layer proved to contain a sub-structure of an edifice with the foundation deposit of Pharach Amasis. The achievements of Professor Michałowski's

team working in Africa also includes the excavations in Alexandria, crowned with the discovery of a vast grouping of Roman buildings (baths, amphitheatre, etc.) and of Arabic necropolises dating from Mediaeval times. Moreover, in 1961, the team was entrusted by the conservator service of the United Arab Republic with the task of the reconstruction of Queen Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari. The Polish scientists' team also this time passed the test with flying colours, adding another item to the long list of its successes. In the course of the said work, another temple, until then unknown, was discovered. It has been ascertained, the latter was built under the reign of Pharaoh Totmes III (about 1504—1450 B. C.), what has eventually led the Egyptologists to a revision of the generally adopted views.

The recent archeological findings in Africa, connected with the work aimed at saving the priceless treasures of ancient culture on the areas to be flooded upon the construction of the Assuan Dam, include, above all, the early Christian cathedral at Farras (8th—11th centuries) with its unique collection of frescoes of unmatched artistic and historical value. The Polish scientists' project for the dismantling of the ancient temples in Nubia as well as that for securing the Abu Simbel temple have both won for themselves world-wide recognition.

The geographical studies on the Black Continent have been focussed in the Geographical Institute of the University of Warsaw where the Research Centre for Africa has been organized and works under the direction of Maksymilian Skotnicki, at the Chair of the Regional Geography of the World, directed by Docent Bogodar Winid (at present staying in Ethiopia, as Professor in the Chair of Geography at the University of Addis Abebe).

Besides didactic work, with the students of geography who specialize in African problems, the said Research Centre aims at mastering the technique of photo-interpretation of the countries delayed in their economic development. It also furnishes necessary information for persons intending to go to Africa, or for institutions maintaining contacts with the African countries (foreign trade enterprises etc.).

From among other Chairs of the University of Warsaw, also dealing with the African problems, mention should be made about the Second Chair of Sociology, held by Dr. Szymon Chodak and engaged in the research on the political sociology of Africa.

In 1963, Dr. Chodak stayed in Ghana as a lecturer in sociology at the political Science Department at the Kwame Nkrumah University in Accra, simultaneously carrying on, together with a local team, field work aimed at investigation the socio-political function of the temples in Ghana. The results of that research, to be published in the form of a book, shall be also the subject of a cycle of lectures at the University of Warsaw. The programme of work of the Second Chair of Sociology also provides for research on socialism in Africa.

In the field of history, intensive research is being conducted on the beginnings of European colonization in Africa. The subject is included in the programme of the work of the Chair of Universal History, directed by Professor Marian Małowist (author of the monography on the *Great States of West Sudan*, published in 1964).

In the Institute of Musicology, Warsaw University, Dr Anna Czekanowska works on the ethnography of African music.

The Faculty of Law, of the said University, incorporates several Chairs engaged in the study of the problems of the state and law in Africa.

In this connection special mention should be made of the Department of Comparative Penal Law, directed by Professor Igor Andrejev. Its programme provides for special study of the problem of penal law in the states of "Black" Africa.

Another fact worth emphasizing is the scientific co-operation of Warsaw University and the Chief College of Planning and Statistics. In 1962, a Joint Department for the Developing Countries has been established and works under the direction of Docent Ignacy Sachs. The latter Department has a scientific council of its own with Professor Michal Kalecki in Chair. It issues a quarterly "Transactions and Materials" as well as a year-book in English — "Essays on Planning and Economic Development."

Moreover, the Institute also co-operates, by correspondence, with the symposium of scientists from the developing countries, inclusive of those from Africa. The said symposium, working under the direction of an Editorial Committee presided over by Professor Oskar Lange, publishes its organ — "Studies on Developing Countries."

Irrespective of Warsaw scientific institutions, research on African problems is also conducted by the Museum of Folk Culture and Art (Director — Professor K. Piwocki). One of the branches of its activity is the work aimed at supplementing the African collection as well as that on the problem of ornament in the art of African peoples.

Africa has been also included into the scope of research conducted by the Polish Academy of Sciences. At the Institute of Geography, the Research Centre for Developing Countries (directed by Professor Tadeusz Żebrowski) tackles such problems of the North African countries as urbanization, demography etc.

The Academy's Research Centre for Oriental Science, headed by Professor Ananiasz Zajączkowski, deals primarily with the modern history of Maghreb states (religious and linguistic questions) and, from among the countries of "Black" Africa — with the Congo.

African problems also form an important item in the research programme of the Institute of the History of Material Culture (Polish Academy of Sciences). Two expeditions to Sudan have been organized under the leadership of Dr. Waldemar Chmielewski (1962 and 1963/64). There, the workers of the Institute, in co-operation with those of the New Mexico University investigated the paleolithic sites on the areas to be flooded upon completion of the construction of the Assuan Dam. The said expeditions resulted in a number of important findings of the Paleolithic Age. Moreover, interesting material was collected pertaining to the history of the changes in the bed of the Nile. The said work shall be continued by the third expedition to be organized in the winter-spring season, 1965.

It was also in co-operation with the Institute of the History of Material Culture that the Western Pomerania Museum in Szczecin organized an ethnographic-archaeological, reconnaissance expedition to Guinea. The latter expedition, led by Dr. Władysław Filipowiak, Director of the Museum, was to carry out archaeological research on the urban-type sites dating from the 12th—14th centuries.

The ethnographic problems of Africa are tackled at the Institute by the Department of Ethnography, headed by Professor Witold Dynowski.

In the Polish Academy of Sciences, the only unit concentrating its work on the problems of contemporary African culture is the Research Centre for African Studies, headed by Professor Józef Chałasiński. The said Centre was established in November 1962, on the basis of the research on Africa initiated within the framework of the Institute of Sociology and History of Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences and that of the Łódź sociological centre. The supervising body of the Centre is a learned Council presided by professor Kazimierz Majewski (classical antiquity). The programme of the Centre's current research, however, concentrated mainly on the "Black" Africa countries, covers the whole African continent. The list of works on African problems, published in various scientific papers by the authors connected with the said Research Centre includes the following:

Józef Chałasiński — *Murzyńska Ameryka, murzyńska inteligencja i problem murzyńskiej świadomości* (Negro America, Negro Intelligentsia and the Problems of Negro Consciousness); *Afrykańska inteligencja i narodziny idei narodowej w krajach czarnej Afryki* (African Intelligentsia and Birth of National Concept in "Black" Africa Countries); *Ludzie i problemy Ghany w świetle afrykańskiej prasy i czasopism* (The People and Problems of Ghana in the Light of African Press and Periodicals); *Z piśmiennictwa i powieściowej literatury Nigerii* (From Nigerian Literature and Fiction); *Początek i rozwój uniwersytetów a problemy kultury narodowej w krajach murzyńsko-afrykańskich* (The Origins and Development of Universities and the Problems of National Culture in African Negro Countries); Albert Luthuli — *wódz Zulów, plemiona Bantu i problem społeczeństwa wielorasowego w Afryce Południowej* (Albert Luthuli — Chief of the Zulus, the Bantu Tribes and the problem of Multi-race Society in South Africa); *Chłopsko-afrykański ruch narodowy — chłopski nacjonalizm Niasy* (National Peasant Movement in Africa — Peasant Nationalism of Nyasaland);

Andrzej Zajączkowski — *La famille, le lignage et la communauté villageoise chez les Ashanti de la période de transition; La structure du pouvoir chez les Ashanti de la période de transition; Magia i religia w czarnej Afryce* (Magic and Religion in "Black" Africa); *Plemię Aszanti w procesie przemian* (The Ashanti Tribe in the Process of Transformations); *Plemię Aszanti i struktura władzy w okresie przemian* (The Ashanti Tribe and Structure of Power in the Period of Transformations); *Problem Urbanizacji Afryki Czarnej* (The Problem of Urbanization of "Black" Africa); *Historia i rasa* (History and the Race); Bogdan Moliński — *"Człowiek organizacji", "człowiek techniki", i "afrykańska osobowość"* ("Man of Organization", "Man of Technology" and "the African Personality"); *Początki afrykanistyki amerykańskiej na tle rozwoju antropologii* (The Rise of American Research on African Problems against the Background of the Development of Anthropology); Teresa Pfabé — *Wpływ islamu na zmiany struktury prestiżu* (The Influence of Islam on the Changes in the Structure of Prestige).

The dissertations mentioned above, combined with those published in the present issue of the Sociological Review depict the interests of the Research Centre. The problems of culture, focussing those interests, are tackled from the viewpoint of the Africa's transition from tribal structures to the national and supranational ones. It is within these sociological frames that the socio-economic and socio-political problems are investigated of the respective African countries. This applies both to such as Nigeria, Sierra Leone or Ivory Coast which are

discussed in the present issue of the "Review" and to those constituting the object of the research work now under way e. g. Algeria, Camerouns, Liberia, Madagascar, Senegal or the United Arab Republic.

The University of Łódź, situated close to the capital, has already been mentioned in connection with the Research Centre for Sociology and History of Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the periodicals "Kultura i Społeczeństwo" and "Przegląd Socjologiczny".

It is worth adding that Docent Jan Lutyński of the University of Łódź, published in „Kultura i Społeczeństwo” a dissertation on African intelligentsia and Docent Antonina Kłoskowska, also of the said University, that on the Algerian problem. Docent Kłoskowska also conducted among school children in Łódź researches concerning the Polish children's notion of the Negroes.

At the University of Łódź, apart from the Chair of Sociology, African problems are also studied by the Research Centre for Mediaeval Archaeology (headed by Professor Andrzej Nadolski) — research in traditional military system of the peoples of West Sudan and, also, by the Chair of the Economics of Trade.

At the University of Toruń, the study of African problems is carried on at the Chair of State Law, under the direction of Professor Kazimierz Biskupski, author of several papers on the state systems in West Africa.

At the High School of Economics, Sopot, the said problems are a special province of the Chair of Foreign Trade (holder of the Chair — Dr. Stanisław Waschka) and also, that of Geography (Professor Jan Moniak) where, irrespective of other work, the geographical and economic monographs on certain African ports are being prepared.

To complete the picture of research on African problems carried on in this country, mention should be also made of several other scientific centres and universities and namely: the Scientific Centre of Szczecin where the place of prominence in African research is held by the already indicated Museum of Western Pomerania with its director — Dr. Władysław Filipowiak.

The University of Poznań — Chair of Economic Geography (Professor Florian Barciński) and the Chair of Anthropology. Its holder — Professor Franciszek Wokroi, took part in the Polish anthropological expedition to Egypt (1958—1959) carrying on research over an area beginning with the estuary of the Nile river and reaching as far as Solum at the frontier of Nubia.

At the University of Wrocław, African problems are covered by the work of the Chair of Universal and Slavonic Ethnography (Professor Józef Gajek).

In Cracow, research on the said problems is concentrated in four Chairs of the Jagiellonian University. The Chair of Oriental Philology has to its credit Professor Tadeusz Lewicki's well-known philological and historical works on the Arabic sources on the history of Africa as well as those of Professor Roman Stopa, dealing with African linguistics. The Research Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology, works under the direction of Professor Maria Bernhard and the Chair of Anthropology under that of Professor Eugenia Stołyhwo who participated, as scientific leader, in the Arab-Polish anthropological expedition to Egypt in 1958/1959. The purpose of the expedition was to collect anthropological data among the population of the areas of the Lybian desert, which are situated at the Mediterranean zone and of those of the Siwa oasis.

At the Research Centre for Ethnography and Sociology of African Peoples

(which is attached to the Chair of Universal Ethnography and Sociology) research is directed by Docent Andrzej Waligórski who started his studies on African problems under the guidance of Bronisław Malinowski. In the years 1946—1948, Docent Waligórski conducted field work in East Africa.

And, finally, at the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, the problems of the "Black" Continent are studied at the Chair of Economic Geography, held by Professor F. Uhorczuk.

Last but not least, mention should be made of the large number of books on Africa, issued in our country. In the years 1945—1963, one hundred and seventy nine items were published (of which 69 scientific and 29 popular-scientific ones). This fact is another telling illustration of Poland's growing interest in African problems.

JÓZEF CHAŁASIŃSKI

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, THE CONGO CRISIS AND THE IDEA OF THE NATION

"We meet here today not as Ghanaians, Guineans, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians, but as Africans" ("Time" A. E., May 31, 1963) President Nkrumah said at the conference of 31 African states held in Addis Abebe in 1963, demanding a Panafrikan government for Africa with a bicameral congress and a strong presidency, an idea considered premature by the majority. Nkrumah likened the Addis Ababa conference to the 1787 Constitutional Congress in Philadelphia. The outcome of the conference was a compromise, a loose "Organization of African Unity" (O.A.U.).

At the second conference of the O.A.U. in Cairo (July 17—21, 1964) Nkrumah again presented his proposal of continental government. It is his claim that unspeakable disaster faces Africa unless it unites. This time also the majority was for a slower approach. But unity as an end was accepted. Why does Africa have to be united if no other continent is united? Answering this question "Jeune Afrique" a-weekly published in Tunis (July 27, 1964) wrote: "Peut-être précisément, l'Afrique, par ce que les frontières y sont arbitraires, les États a peine constitués et souvent si minuscules qu'ils sont non viables, ne reposant, au Sud du Sahara surtout, sur aucune base nationale."

The time between the Addis Ababa and that of Cairo conferences has not brought O.A.U. nearer toward a United States of Africa. Simon Kiba, the editor in chief of the weekly "Afrique Nouvelle" (Dakar, July 17—23, 1964) wrote in the article *Où en est cette Unité Africaine?* — „Nos États vont de plus en plus vers une diversification de l'homme africain. Ce qui éloigne encore plus les perspectives d'unité. Nous allons vers un voltaïque, un nigérien, un togolais, un malien, un guinéen, etc... qui seront moulés d'une certaine façon bien précise. Les mentalités se rapprocheront difficilement plus tard."

Second O.A.U. conference in Cairo had achieved a measure success by mediating the Algerian-Moroccan border conflict and that between Ethiopia and Somalia. At the conference in Cairo Addis Ababa was named a permanent headquarters for the O.A.U. and Diallo Telli Guinea's U. N. ambassador elected its first secretary general.

Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, prime minister of Nigeria, said of the conference: "The Cairo Summit was a huge success" („West African Pilot", July 23, 1964.)

Is O.A.U. a sort of miniature United Nations or rather a mechanism for adjusting the relations between governments? An answer is not simple. Most African states have not yet become nations, if the concept of the nation implies a certain stability of the political system based on culture groups. However, at least some leaders of O.A.U. are not content with a limited idea of this organization. Nkrumah as well as Nyerere go much further, although they clashed over matters of procedure. Nyerere stressed the difference between O.A.U. and U.N. He said: „The united Nations was never intended by its founders to lead to world unity. Our Organization is specifically intended for African Unity" ("West Africa", August 1, 1964.)

In December 1964 the O.A.U. was 20 months old. That is an advanced age for a produce of years of turbulent politics on the African continent. The most critical time for the O.A.U. began after the U.N. forces were withdrawn from the Congo and when in July 1964, Moise Tshombe came back to power as prime minister of the central government in Leopoldville. The O.A.U.'s failure to deal with the Congo crisis does not justify optimism as to its ability of safeguarding Africa against political instability.

The O.A.U. principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states combined — as in the Tshombe's case — with the O.A.U. public moral disapproval of a head of a member state did not work for political stability. President Tsiranana of Madagascar said: "We all regret Patrice Lumumba's death, but who amongst us has not executed opponents? Have you never signed and order to execute one of your rivals" ("Time", July 31, 1964). Most of his colleagues were not convinced and did not wish to sit at the conference together with the murderer Tshombe as it was expressed by Hassan II, King of Morocco. The absence of Tshombe did not strengthen the authority of the O.A.U., but the moral condemnation of Tshombe by the O.A.U. favoured the Lumumbist uprising led by the National Committee of Liberation located in Congo-Brazzaville. Later, when in September 1964 the O.A.U. Council of Ministers got together in Addis Ababa especially for Congo crisis, Tshombe was invited as Congo prime minister. This late approval of Tshombe as a Congo state chief did not make O.A.U. mediatory business easier. Lumumbists were in harmony with the previous disqualification of Tshombe by the O.A.U. when they did not want to negotiate with Tshombe. So when the O.A.U. Council of Ministers appealed for a cease fire, their appeal could not be heard. Lumumbists did not want to stop fighting unless Tshombe disappeared from Congo's political life.

By the beginning of September 1964 Lumumbists formed the first government of People's Congo Republic in Stanleyville with Christophe Gbenye, former minister in Lumumba's government, as prime minister.

Stanleyville was taken by the rebels in July 1964 and in December 1964 recaptured by Tshombe's army led by white mercenaries, Tshombe's offensive against Stanleyville coincided with the landing of Belgian paratroops. According to the official statements of Belgium and that of U.S.A. government, which assisted the operation by giving American planes, it was an humanitarian rescue operation to save the white population held by Gbenye's government as

hostages. According to the "New York Herald Tribune" (Nov. 23, 1964, E. E.) Gbenye said of them that: "their lives would be spared if Belgium and the United States agreed to halt all military aid to the central government."

Some members of the O.A.U., like Ben Bella, President of Algeria, considered the landing of paratroops in Stanleyville a joint military aggression of Belgium and U.S.A. Here we touch upon the left wing orientation in the O.A.U. It found its expression before the emergence of the O.A.U. in the Casablanca group which was in opposition to the prowestern Monrovia group. Saimon Malley in his article *Pas d'unité africaine à tout prix* ("Jeune Afrique", 16 III 1964) quotes what Ben Bella said to him in October 1962 of the project of O.A.U. It reads: "Je me demande en toute franchise, si ce projet est viable. N'aurait il pas été plus utile d'élargir le groupe de Casablanca? Qu'ai je donc de commun avec Fulbert Youlou, avec Maga? Même si nous tombons d'accord sur une charte commune, mouvement révolutionnaire africain ne risque t'il pas d'être ralenti par la presence de certains régimes retrogrades?"

Youlou of Brazzaville was unseated by the uprising in August 1963, Maga of Dahomey — in October 1963. Tshombe is for Ben Bella and many other one of the worst. Why not to oust him? In his speech of November 1, 1964 on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Algerian revolution Ben Bella pledged to fight against Tshombe if necessary. A month after Stanleyville had been taken by Tshombe's army, military aid to Gbenye's government was started by Algeria, the U.A.R. and other countries. The "New York Times" (9 XII 1964) commented on this: "The regime of Premier Tshombe enjoys general recognition and is represented in the United Nations. Its most militant foreign opponents are now attempting to set the precedent that a revolt against the recognized government may be supported, armed and supplied from abroad not only with impunity but even with moral approbation. But if the Tshombe Government is thus overturned what newly independent state in Africa can be safe?"

The author of this paper presents Congo as a nationlike state with no national basis, without sociopolitical force on a national scale; a former unit of colonial administration changed into an independent state is exposed to the impact of disruptive influences from former colonial powers and to the subversive actions of new political movements and their rivalries. Colin Gonze in his article *Tshombe in Wonderland* ("Africa Today", September, 1964) writes: "Most indigenous inhabitants thought of themselves as Lunda, Ngala or what-have-first, as Africans remotely, and as Congolese not at all [...] The Congo as a unit was a fiction of colonial rule."

Prof. B. Verhaegen ("Etudes Congolaises", Avril, 1963) to the various levels of social development applies the following concepts (taken from J. Coleman's *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*): tribe, nationality, and nation. According to this distinction most nationlike in Congo are Bakongo, Baluba, Azande and perhaps Mongo.

Elsewhere ("Przegląd Humanistyczny", Warszawa, Spring, 1965) the author of this paper took into consideration some aspects of emerging Congolese nationalism connected with Lumumba as its evangelist. In spite of some degree of urban migration his gospel of nationalism did not correspond to the prenatal reality of Congo as a whole. However, it mobilized politically those migrants who found themselves unhappy in a new urban environment. The army of the People's Congo Republic led by idealists has more nationalist belief than

Tshombe's army led by the mercenaries. However, the former is closer to traditional tribalism than to Lumumba's romantic and messianistic idea of a Congolese nation.

With Lumumba begins the martyrdom of African nationalism. His death was a great shock not only to the people of his native country but also to the people of other African countries. Dr. Banda of Nyasaland said: „When I heard of Patrice Lumumba's murder, I wept." Lumumba, the martyr, has become the symbol of African unity. Jean Paul Sartre in his Preface to the posthumously published *La Pensée politique de Patrice Lumumba* (Bruxelles, 1963) wrote: "Mort, Lumumba cesse d'être une personne pour devenir l'Afrique tout entière."

Here we touch the process of the making of a nation from an aspect other than that of a state organization. The posthumous cult of Lumumba created a community of common belief in a national hero. This cult transcends various tribes and creates a new "tribe" — that of Lumumba. The cult of Lumumba created the tribe-nation, to use a term coined by Bronisław Malinowski in his *Freedom and Civilization* (London, 1947). It means the beginning of nation with its spiritual ancestor and founder. Thus, after his death Lumumba won his fight against tribalism.

This process of nation making has also Panafrikan and universal aspect as well. Lumumba, the martyr, has sublimated the role of a particular nation in the fight for the freedom of the whole of Africa, he has sublimated at the same time the role of Africa in shaping the world for human happiness.

This explains the spread of the Lumumba's cult outside of Congo. The Nigerian government was for Tshombe's participation at the O.A.U. conference in Cairo, but the Nigerian Youth Congress was against. We read in "West African Pilot" (July 25, 1964) that the Nigerian Youth Congress has congratulated heads of delegations to the O.A.U. conference for refusing Moise Tshombé's admission to the conference. In a release issued the Congress described Tshombe and other Congolese leaders — Kasavubu and Mobutu — as "traitors to the cause of Congo," adding that they murdered "our ever-living compatriot, Patrice Lumumba, the hero of Congo freedom." The all-African meaning of Lumumba's cult must be recognized if we are to understand why the Cairo conference could not pass over Tshombe's responsibility for Lumumba's assassination.

The story of the O.A.U. with its problems has made the author call the reader's attention to some aspects of the making of states and nations in Africa today. Two aspects of the process must be distinguished: the political and cultural. The latter involves nationality in the making in the sense of a national culture society as it is understood by Znaniecki, in his *Modern Nationalities* (1952). In present day Africa this nationality making process evolves along the same general lines as presented by Znaniecki in his book which was based on European not African history. "It originates with independent individual leaders in various realms of cultural activity, who gradually create a national culture in which a plurality of traditional regional cultures becomes partly synthesized. We call them leaders because and insofar as they attract circles of voluntary followers"¹ Intellectual leaders, "intelligentsia," "évolués" play an essential role in this process.

¹ F. Znaniecki, *Modern Nationalities*, University of Illinois 1952, p. 24.

The O.A.U. is significant as an association of intellectual leaders in their role of heads of states. Therefore the O.A.U. is not only a chapter in the political history of Africa, it also a chapter in history of African culture.

There are interesting personality aspects of the process. The intellectual leaders such as Nkrumah, Ben Bella or Senghor, define themselves not in relation to their native tribes but in relation to the growing intellectual community of minds, activated by the ideal of national unity and African unity as well. The O.A.U. is expected to be such a supraterritorial community of that ideal. Its participants combine nationalism with universalism and are against tribalism. In the forefront emerges a personality pattern of a nationalist who considers himself spiritually autonomous of the native tribes and who molds his self-image as member of a supratribal structure. The term nationalist means here a national culture leader and at the same time a political leader, a head of state, a ruler.

The process starts with the individualization but it develops new personal allegiance and social cohesion on a higher level of supratribal ideas. The sense of belonging to a national community is individual and voluntary. A nation in the sense of Znaniecki's nationality stands above tribal and local groups and is composed of individual persons who follow their chosen leader. The idea of the O.A.U. has emerged out of the same process. The O.A.U. is expected to be a community of African national leaders working together for African unity, its social welfare and progress. The high spirited idea of the O.A.U. is undermined not only by the conflict between business minded politicians like Tshombe and national idealists but also by that between revolutionary socialism, sometimes openly pro-Chinese like in Mali, and Senghor's "spiritual communalism." Most of the leaders, however, are more or less pragmatic; they face a common danger caused by the isolation of new political elite from masses.

Bronisław Malinowski, British anthropologist of Polish origin, and with a Polish cultural background, made a distinction which is worth quoting here. "Throughout the development of humanity there have always existed two principles of integration or unification: the principle of unification by national culture, embodied in the tribe-nation or nation; and that of unification by political force, embodied in the tribe-state or state [...] They are two different mechanisms, each of which has its own system of instrumentalities, social organization, ideas, sentiments and values."²

Tsirana spoke as a man of politics when justified the use of violence. Other O.A.U. participants condemned Tshombe — the politician with the language of culture. Lumumba wanted to build a nation with the language of a culture — belief in human beings, liberty, unity of feeling — and condemnation of violence. At the same time he understood the necessity of a strong central government over tribal separatisms. Lumumba the maker of national culture was in conflict with Lumumba, the man of political power.

Lumumba's friend Frantz Fanon saw things differently. To Fanon's way of thinking the colonized people make of themselves a nation by violence. There is no other way to overcome the slavery in the soul of the black man dehumanized by white man's violence of colonialism. For Fanon the national culture originates in a political fight. This intellectual dialogue between the African friends — Lumumba and Fanon — was going on at the time of an acute crisis in Congo.

² B. Malinowski, *Freedom and Civilization*, London 1947, p. 257—258.

The friendly dialogue between the African friends — Lumumba and Fanon — on the principles of how to form a new Africa was interrupted by the Lumumba's death. Lumumba, standing alone between tribalism and imperialism, felt that the tragedy of his life was not a local affair. In his last letter to his wife he wrote: "L'histoire dira un jour son mot, mais ce ne sera pas l'histoire qu'on enseignera aux Nations Unies, Washington, Paris ou Bruxelles, mais celle qu'on enseignera dans les pays affranchies de colonialisme et de ses fantoches. L'Afrique écrira sa propre histoire et elle sera au Nord et au Sud du Sahara une histoire de gloire et de dignité. Ne me pleure pas ma campagne, moi je sais que mon pays qui souffre tant, saura défendre son indépendance et sa liberté. Vive le Congo! Vive l'Afrique!"

Lumumba lives after his death as a symbol of freedom, and of the belief in human dignity, which gave rise to the Congolese national culture and which contributes to the other national cultures of Africa as a part of universal culture.

ANDRZEJ WALIGORSKI

THE NEW PEASANTRY OF THE COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL TERRITORIES

The term peasant, peasantry, used in an extended and a new theoretical sense to denote the economic and social system of the agricultural population of Asia, Africa and other post colonial territories, is gaining momentum. Introduced originally by Professor Raymond Firth of London University and fully substantiated by his Maly material (1946) as well as subsequent theoretical analysis (*Elements of Social Organization*, 1951) it has become a useful heuristic device to study and describe this intricate system of economic and social behaviour. The world itself is, obviously, of European origin. It refers in particular to those parts of Eastern Europe, often called the "peasant belt" of Europe, where the peasantry was the largest and the most representative section of population. It is clear, however, that such a preliminary geographical delimitation would be incomplete without fuller historical perspective. It would leave out, for example, the whole section of the Mediterranean peasantry, nowadays the only true surviving peasantry of Europe. The historical perspective therefore, as far as the East European peasants are concerned, consists of such important landmarks as the great Emancipatory Reforms of the XIXth century and the Second World War; the first marked the origin of modern peasantry as a by-product of the disintegrating, but not quite dead Feudal system as well as noncompleted process of industrialization of those territories then situated, as they were, on the peripheries of Capitalist development; the second, the War (1939—1945) and its aftermath — the Socialist Industrialization began to introduce far-reaching changes in the peasant economic organization and mentality which in fact soon practically disposed of the peasantry. And though the name still persists, it has lost all its traditional meaning and importance. On the other hand the new Asian, African, etc. peasantry are on the ascent. Like their former European counterpart, they are small-scale tillers who usually own the land they farm (though the tenure may not be fully individualised as yet) and whose production methods are often organised on a non-Capitalist

basis. Their economic system is not merely a means of gaining livelihood but also an involved system of social relationship, a way of life, where purely economic motives and incentives are merged with social realities and systems of value. But they are the bulk of population on these territories, far more numerous and important than the peasants were in the XIX c. Europe.

Historically, the colonial peasantry originated during the period of foreign rule. Their emergence is due to the impact of Western economic organization and technology upon the tribal system, the breaking of its traditional isolation and introducing it within the orbit of the world economic system. And though the process was gradual and on a very modest scale at first, it brought tremendous changes in the life of those tribal societies. The mechanism of drawing of those tribal masses into the wider economic system is exemplified by the writer by his own material collected in the former British East African Colony of Kenya. It consisted of a set of economic and social policies introduced by the Colonial Administration of which the following were the most important: the early taxation and the introduction of Western money; labour recruitment, involving certain amount of economic and administrative compulsion; the opening of local markets and the organization of regional trade, gradually leading up to international exports in local agricultural produce including the new crops introduced by the Administration; and lastly the concomitant social policies consisting of various educational measures aiming at first at the development of manual skill and proficiency and later, under the pressure of circumstances, expanding into a wider system of general education, secondary and even high schooling, for the native population. Such was the setting under which the African peasant was born and with him a new social system came into being of certain social stability and limited power of selfperpetuation, sufficient enough perhaps to last until more effective technical measures and planned industrialization were to be adopted by the governments of independent African nations.

Next, the writer discusses in some detail the economic and social features of the peasant system. It can be described in terms of certain indices such as technology, output, marketable surplus, capital mobilization, rate of accumulation etc. Most of those indices can be quantitatively expressed, though the most intrinsic characteristic of the peasant system, the mixture of purely economic and social factors, can only be qualitatively described. Various advantages and disadvantages of the peasant system are stressed and several examples are adduced by the writer from his African material as well as those which were collected in the Polish villages.

It seems certain that the peasant system, despite its disadvantages, meets the modern needs and aspirations of the rural masses in Africa. It is likely to to persist for sometime, though ultimately the only real solution can be afforded by industrialization.

HELENA KOZŁOWSKA

THE CREOLE ÉLITE OF SIERRA LEONE

Freetown, the best natural sea-port on the western coast of Africa, was situated on a very important trade route. At the turn of the 19th century the flourishing industries of England required no slaves, but showed growing interest

in new markets and raw materials. Freetown had a chance of becoming the main operating base of the British Navy in running slave traders. However, no white settlers could possibly endure the hard climate of Sierra Leone. That was where, at the suggestion of the British abolitionists, the repatriated Negroes and the Africans released from slave traders' ships were transported and settled. The Creole community in Sierra Leone is a mixture of the two groups of settlers.

The Creole community rose throughly the hard toil of pioneers, who cleared the bush for cultivation and the construction of houses. They lived under the constant threat of tribal attacks which often destroyed the settlers' whole property. The Creole population bound by no common ties of blood, tradition, creed or habit, presented a unique case (besides Liberia) of an African community particularly susceptible to the so-called Western influence.

Alienation of the Creoles from the natives was mainly the consequence of the fact, that they constituted a community of free men while serfdom still prevailed among the aborigines. Further differences were found in their way of life, food, habits, English manner of dress, adherence to different Christian churches and sects and European education. The basic difference was, however, of an economic nature: the native population still lived in a "closed" subsistence economy, while the new pattern of market economy emerged in Freetown.

Quick expansion of trade and the fairly widespread system of education, contributed to the formation of new social group at about the 1850's. The educated and rich bourgeoisie became representative of the economic, social and political status of the Creoles. Their trade contacts extended far beyond Sierra Leone. Profits obtained from trade were reinvested in new shops, department stores and other business enterprises and above all, in the very remunerative construction of residential quarters for Europeans.

Education and wealth were the main assets of the Creoles. It enabled them to advance their position and occupy important posts in the colonial administration of several British-owned territories. In Sierra Leone the majority of civil offices supervised by the whites, were practically monopolized by the Creoles; a large number of Creoles worked as doctors, lawyers, teachers and clergymen. In acknowledgement of their social and political activities they were even granted the right to vote for the Freetown Municipality Council and the Lord Mayor of the city.

When the British Protectorate was established over the interior of Sierra Leone, by the end of the 19th century, an educated and wealthy Creole élite had already come into existence, they were eager for expansion and leadership. The élite failed however to act as an integrating force within the society of Sierra Leone. On the contrary, at the close of the 19th century even more so in early of the 20th century their position deteriorated and they lost their predominance. The causes of their decline can be formulated as follow:

1. The Creole Bourgeoisie was a non productive class. Agricultural products constituted the main item in the trade with England, and there were but few farms among the Creoles. Agricultural production was essentially in the hands of the natives.

Creoles from the upper classes were famous for their unco-operative "high-hat" attitudes. Their solidarity with Negro natives was product of their spirit of opposition to some decrees promulgated by the colonial authorities

rather than a real sense of belonging to the African society. In fact, they kept aloof from the natives and regarded them their social and cultural inferiors.

At the basis of the conflict lay social inequality, disparity between the miserable lot of people in the bush and the luxuries of the Creole notables. It is true that a similar division could be drawn within the Creole group, but it was obscured by a feeling of group-solidarity and the European superiority complex.

The conflict grew sharp during so-called "hut-tax" campaign. The colonial administration took this opportunity to reconcile with the tribal aristocracy and local chiefs at the cost of Creoles. The Creoles were attacked from both sides — ostracized for their high pretensions and disregard of the natives, and ridiculed for their inept imitation of the whites. Thus, the Creoles found themselves alienated from their African background and repelled by their British masters whom for over a century they had served in best faith, trying to imitate them in every detail.

2. Construction of railways and highways in the interior facilitated an increased export of agricultural products and drew wider areas of the Protectorate into the orbit of foreign trade establishing a direct link between the small producer and the British firms which took a monopoly on purchase of export goods and controlled the entire import from England. This meant total elimination of the Creole middleman.

Further, discovery of mineral resources in Sierra Leone and a monopoly of the mining industry established by the British shifted the main emphasis in foreign trade from agricultural products to minerals. European firms took over the retail trade as well, driving many Creole merchants into bankruptcy. Company agents and peddlers from Syria and Lebanon encouraged by British agencies, came in as winning competitors. Finally, construction of the white residential area on Hill Station deprived the Creole tenement owners of their permanent source of income. Growing restrictions and hostility towards the Creoles produced a tendency among the younger generation to escape from the traditional occupations of their fathers and to enter the free professions.

British monopolies laid an ax to the root of the Creole bourgeoisie.

3. With establishment and consolidation of the system of "tribal authorities" there set in the process of systematic removal of the Creoles from the chief posts in the colonial administration and of replacing them by Europeans. Creoles did not enjoy any power in the new Legislative Council which functioned both under the Protectorate and the Colony of Sierra Leone. Another severe blow to the Creoles was the dissolution (in 1926) of Freetown Municipality Council.

4. Proud of its passing glory the Creole bourgeoisie failed to see and properly evaluate the importance of the changes that occur among the native population and brought on the progress in education, industrialization and urbanization, and the trend towards the integration of the colony and the Protectorate.

Growth of mining industries, the new urban centres attracted increasing migration of people from the villages to the cities. This was a sign and at the same time a cause of the gradual dissolution of traditional economic bounds and tribal hierarchy, of the disintegration of the traditional social structure. In its place new patterns of social integration, better suited to the changed condi-

tions of life and work started to emerge. There were mainly of various kinds of association.

As the native population kept on flowing into Freetown the city changed its character. Despite the frantic efforts of the colonial administration, it was no longer possible to isolate both African communities from each other. Although the conservative old Creole élite had ceased to participate in political life, the new generation came to understand the necessity of economic and political integration of Sierra Leone.

This idea could be implemented only by a new élite. An attempt in this direction was made by the first Prime Minister of independent Sierra Leone, Dr. Milton Margai who founded the Sierra Leone People's Party. The leaders and rank members of SLPP have won their social and political campaign against the old Creole élite, although it is known from practical experience, that many characteristics of the old élite linger on in the new organization.

ANDRZEJ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI

CURRENT IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF WEST AFRICA

The article presents the results of an analysis of the ideology of contemporary West-Africa, both its French-speaking zone and the English-speaking one. The problem is discussed, above all, on the example of Senegal and Ghana. The author's final conclusions are as follows: the ideology of the post-French Africa is that of culture leading to politics (*négritude*) whereas the ideology of the post-British Africa may be defined as an ideology of politics seeking for cultural and philosophical justifications (panafricanism, consciencism).

ZYGMUNT GROSS

FROM THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN MUSIC

The music and songs of primitive peoples have of old been the object of scholarly interest, tackled by various branches of science. Nevertheless, none of them gave sufficient consideration to the fact that musical attainments constituted an important contribution towards the formation of human communities, a binder cementing clans and peoples into communities with universalistic tendencies. It was necessary then, to investigate at the very outset, the interaction between the primitive communities and the musical tradition. This trend originated in the ethnomusicological milieu, the principal group of the research workers being composed of the collectors of the old musical instruments. Ethnomusicology has also tended to establish, to what degree a primitive man, member of a savage community, may be recognized a poet, artist, craftsman or singer.

The archaeological findings have thrown light even on the most distant times and it seems, we shall be nearer to the truth expounding the view that the visual arts, song, dance and music appeared simultaneously. Every new invention in musical instruments and the latter's "migrations" over the continents

inevitably resulted in changes and shifts in the musical tradition. Works of art demand, apart from collective social operation, also solitude. Unthinkable, then, is a poetic musical or painting vision without a personal engagement of the artist concerned.

At wedding ceremonies of the Bantu-speaking tribes, boys and girls have to display their abilities in the composing of songs. This habit may be considered a specific singing tournament resembling the traditions of the mediaeval masters, minsterls, *trouvères*, *troubadours* and *meistersingers*. Thus, composing of songs is an element of communal life, one of the institutions of education. The instrumentation of the song about the alligator, sung by the shamans of the Kuyu tribe, would indicate to the preservation within that tribe — in an almost static condition for thousands of years past — of ancient rites as if those people lived in complete isolation. However, a thorough analysis of the song, of its harmonized music, testifies to the influence exercised upon it by various cultures of the valleys of the Nile and the Jordan rivers as well as those of the Mediterranean region. The Kuyu tribe assumed as their totem various kinds of animals. The alligator is not the only idolized animal on whose grace would depend the tribe's ability of attaining their objectives. There is also the likuma, a panther, likewise an object of ceremonies and rites involving music and dance.

Sounding of the drums — which also exercises semantic functions in the life of the primitive peoples — resembles, in its accentuation, the movements of the totem animal with which the clan is connected by ties of distant relationship. Since the tribe incorporates several clans, each of the latter retaining its distinctness due to its own language, totem beliefs and denotations, at the tribal collective ceremonies, the music of the drums — based on a specific modulation and swelling — produces a true *Misterium Cosmographicum*. For that music of the drums, that polyrhythmia, no perfect inscribing method has been found so far.

BOGDAN MOLINSKI

ART, RITUAL AND MYTHOLOGY AS SEEN BY AFRICAN ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE U.S.

The subject of the article is art, ritual and mythology in Africa, their relationships as seen by American anthropologists from Boas to Herskovits. Boas view that the mythology and tales are "the autobiography of the tribe" is considered by the author as a key to the understanding of the relationships between myth and art.

ZYGMUNT KOMOROWSKI

UNIVERSITY OF ABIDJAN

The rapid economic development of the Ivory Coast is accompanied by a striking progress in the field of education noted especially since the country's independence in 1960. A considerable number of young people study abroad

(most often in France). However, the state takes advantage of the recent prosperity (big profits from the coffee and cocoa plantations) and is setting up its own system of institutions of education. The growing demand for managers, organizers and educators accounts for the emphasis laid upon the under- and post-graduate levels of education. According to the official plans presented before the All-African Conference on Education, held in Addis Abebe, the number of children in primary schools was expected to increase by 70% in 1962—1966, the number of secondary school students — almost by 50% in that same period.

The University of Abidjan, founded on the basis of a Higher Education Centre established in 1959, stands out as the top achievement of the educational ambitions of the Ivory Coast. The university was established by a special agreement with the French government signed on April 24, 1961, under the terms of which France should give the necessary financial and technical aid, provide the teachers and other staff.

The University of Abidjan is the second of two such institutions in the "French-speaking" (francophone) Africa. The other is the University of Dakar, established in 1957. The University of Abidjan has four faculties — Law, Science, Arts and the most carefully designed Medical Faculty (with the Departments of Medicine, Pharmacology and Stomatology). Moreover, several vocational and training colleges and a few research institutes are affiliated with it. The university, which at first had only a few hundred students will train more than eight thousand in 1975.

The organizational structure of the University of Abidjan closely resembles the French pattern; out of the 27 professors who lectured there during the academic year of 1961/62, 22 were French nationals. In the coming years, however, gradual "africanization" of the staff is expected. At the same time the university proposes to extend its services to several neighbouring countries. Primarily to the member countries of so-called Benin Sahel Union (which includes the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, the Upper Volta and Niger), with the view of promoting the cause of "Pan-africanism in progress." On the other hand, it is quite likely that in the free competition between the different capital cities of the region the very existence of the University in Abidjan will act as an incentive toward creation of independent centres of higher learning in the neighbour states.

It is too early to estimate and fully evaluate the influence that the new institution in Abidjan exercises upon social processes of West Africa. At present we may consult published materials in order to define the range of expectations that the educated public opinion of the Ivory Coast attaches to the university and to delineate the "assumed functions" of the university — that is, its declared objectives. Many interesting references to this subject can be found in enunciations by the President F. Houphouët-Boigny, J. Ki-Zerbo, R. Dumont, A. Lemaire and others.

On the whole, it can be said that the people of Ivory Coast already regard their university as a symbol and a guarantee of the international prestige and importance achieved by the country. Further, the public opinion is that the university must supply the nation with much-needed specialists who will improve the organization of the national economy and utilization of the produced wealth. Eager to strengthen its power, the state expects the university to produce enough medical men (who will by their work lower the death rate and make

possible a faster growth of population) and a trained staff for the administration of fiscal apparatus; also the university may help many responsible political workers to improve their qualifications. Students and would-be students whose aim is to improve or maintain their respective social status, hope simply that the university will help them acquire qualifications which would enable them enter lucrative professions or join the privileged (because of some special rights and good salaries) ranks of the state bureaucracy.

Thirst for learning for learning's sake seems to be unknown. Among the *nouveaux riches* where until recently no "élite of education" existed, only knowledge that brings visible and tangible results is sought by the uneducated élite who hold traditionally the heritage of wealth, birth or custom prestige.

These features of the University of Abidjan become more apparent when contrasted with a similar institution in Dakar. Due to various factors, each of the two centres bears a different character. Abidjan has been basically orientated towards fulfilling the "material" requirements. Its activity does not indicate, at least at the early stage, any serious ambitions of influencing the "intellectual atmosphere" of the region. Consequently, slogans of *négritude* and any kind of ideological or historiographic speculations find much weaker response here than in Dakar. The rising trend is one of self-assurance and respect for prosperity; in the context of growing power of the local bureaucracy and partial isolation from the main stream of the contemporary humanistic thought, it may lead — more easily than in Senegal — to a rapid rise of nationalistic attitudes.

HALINA BOBROWSKA-SKRODZKA

AIMÉ CÉSAIRE — THE POET OF AFRICA'S GREATNESS

Aimé Césaire devoted his talent to a cause which he took up more than thirty years ago and which made him a great herald of Africa. Today, he is reckoned the most distinguished among the black poets. Césaire is also Martinique's deputy to the French National Assembly and mayor of Fort-de-France.

On the basis of the poem *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal*, published for the first time in Paris in 1939, the authoress, of the article, outlines the biography of the poet whose artistic credo results from his profound conviction of the great tasks set our epoch in the sphere of racial problems, colonialism and emancipation of the rising African nations.

Aimé Césaire was born in Martinique, Lesser Antilles, in 1913. Since childhood he was impressed by the environment in which he grew up, by the beauty of nature and the abhorring misery of the poor districts of his native town — Fort-de-France, where the noisy crowd was passing — as if deaf dumb — by its crying poverty and humiliation. Since 1931, i. e., from the moment he found himself studying in Paris as a scholarship holder, Aimé Césaire put pen to paper to become champion of the cause of human dignity of the black man. Césaire set himself the task to reveal the specific values of the black man's soul which were still dormant and, thus, unperceived among the people of slaves. Together with two friends, both of them poets from the milieu of coloured students living in Paris and, namely, Léon Damas and Leopold Senghor, today President of Se-

negal, Aimé Césaire has defined the artistic content and animated the literary trend known as *négritude*.

"Revaloriser le nom, la personne et les valeurs du Nègre" this was the programme of the said group of three poets who gave a literary expression to their *négritude* in the columns of the paper *L'Étudiant Noir* grounded by them in 1934. The said *négritude* was meant to be a credo of the faith in Africa's destiny and an instrument of freeing the latter from European models. Leopold Senghor formulated its role as follows: "L'art nègre et singulièrement la poésie, vise à exprimer un monde moral, plus réel que le monde visible [...] animé par les forces invisibles qui regissent l'Univers. La négritude est le patrimoine culturel, les valeurs et surtout l'esprit de la civilisation négro-africaine."

The article aims not at an analysis of Aimé Césaire's poetic work but rather at depicting the mission and role his poetry and his outstanding personality both played in the revaluation of the notions concerning Black Africa. The following fragment of *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* has become a Manifesto of Africanism: "et la force n'est pas en nous, mais au-dessus de nous, dans une voix qui vrille la nuit et l'audience comme la pénétrance d'une guêpe apocalyptique. Et la voix prononce que l'Europe nous a pendant des siècles gavés de mensonges et gonflés de pestilences, car il n'est point vrai que l'oeuvre de l'homme est finie que nous n'avons rien à faire au monde que nous parasitons le monde qu'il suffit que nous nous mettions au pas du monde [...] mais l'oeuvre de l'homme vient seulement de commencer [...] et il reste à l'homme à conquérir toute interdiction immobilisée aux coins de sa ferveur et aucune race ne possède le monopole de la beauté, de l'intelligence, de la force et il est place pour tous au rendez-vous de la conquête."

André Breton, the French poet and theoretician of surrealism has defined Aimé Césaire as a great black poet, while the latter, considered Breton as his master. Surrealism offered the most inviting frames for Césaire's poetic expression.

J. P. Sartre, in his article *Orphée Noir* written as an introduction to the *Anthologie de la poésie nègre et malgache* by Leopold Senghor (1948), thus characterized the role of surrealism in the creative work Césaire: "le surréalisme, mouvement poétique européen est dérobé aux Européens par un Noir qui le tourne contre eux et lui assigne une fonction rigoureusement définie."

The third part of the article deals with the poet's play published in the review "Présence Africaine"; No 39, 44 and 46 and entitled *La tragédie du Roi Christophe*. The contents of the play is in accord with Césaire's mission.

The journal "La vie africaine" (No 50, Paris, September 1964), published an interview with the poet, in which the latter, explained the artistic premises of his work: Today, when majority of African countries have already won their independence, they are faced with new problems and their leaders with new, extremely difficult tasks. A blind imitation of Europe may be nothing but a caricature of life. The struggle against slave mentality imbed throughout centuries, maintenance of the respective people's own traditions and culture despite contacts with the alien ones and, last but not least, preservation of independence these are all the tasks of each of those leaders — a revived King Christopher. Like the latter, they are also misunderstood by their own people and condemned to loneliness, the tragic loneliness of heroes.

The tragedy of King Christopher provides ample opportunity for a confron-

tation of the philosophical attitude of the author with the ontological system of the beliefs of most African peoples. Belief in the friction of forces, in the automatic operation of justice which must prevail some day provided that the harmony of the adopted system is disturbed, this is one of the magic powers which strikes the fate of King Christopher. The symbolism of his tragedy has in its philosophical expression many points in common with the system of views expounded by Pl. Tempels in his *Philosophie Bantoue* (Ed. "Présence Africaine." 1949). According to him, the individual is respected depending not on his social rank but vital power. True, Aimé Césaire condemned Temple's work in his *Discours sur le colonialisme* (1950), seeing in his interpretation of the philosophical system of the Bantu peoples a desire to evade a critique of colonialism. Since that time, however, more than a dozen years have passed and here Césaire himself — by the fates of King Christopher and his symbolic death — leads us into the magic sphere of the operation of vital forces. Regeneration of energy is to Césaire a matter of the action of the secret powers of the spirit which, even after death, make it possible to triumph over the defeat suffered in this life, "l'idée que le psychisme est une force, une énergie, fait son chemin et retrouve des croyances anciennes. Ce qui trace une possibilité de points de rencontre entre philosophes occidentaux modernes et philosophes, africains modernes". This is what Aimé Césaire said of his play *La tragédie du Roi Christophe*, in an interview published by the weekly "Jeune Afrique" in December 1963.

WANDA LEOPOLD

CHINUA ACHEBE AND THE RISE OF THE NIGERIAN NOVEL

Fiction in Nigeria emerged less than twenty years ago. Today, however, of all the African countries of the "English language zone", Nigeria, together with the South African Union, holds top position in this department. A particularly abundant and vigorous growth is taking place in the novel, and a few writers like Amos Tutuola, Cyprian Ekwensi, Onuora Nzekwu and Chinua Achebe have now challenged the established prestige of French-writing African authors. Several English novels from Nigeria have already been translated into a couple of European languages.

So far the development of the Nigerian literature has been limited to the southern regions of the country, namely the Eastern and Western Republics. Ethnically the Yoruba tribe forms the core of the Western Republic, the Ibo tribe of the Eastern Republic. As regards the amount of fiction written in English, the Ibo have taken the lead. The tribe has not yet brought any of its local dialects into literary usage; intertribal disintegration and division into a number of dialects always has been distinctive feature of the Ibo, and the process of their linguistic unification is yet far from finished. In such a situation, the English language, diffused through educational and administrative media, has been adopted by the Ibo to a greater extent than by any other of the Nigerian groups as a means of communication within their own tribe: this may explain why they wrote in English from the earliest period of their literature.

Since then, the upsurge of Nigerian literature has been evidenced not only in contributions of the educated writers but also by the large output of native,

market-place literature (e. g. market-literature of Onitsha) that flourishes especially in the Eastern part of the country. Travellers and anthropologists, as well as the Ibo themselves, usually emphasize the oratory talents of the tribe. Its members have a real gift of conversation and narrative talent and show a great liking for the traditional forms of oratory performances.

Like Cyprian Ekwensi and Onuora Nzekwu, Chinua Achebe is an Ibo. This is not a mere biographical reference, but has to be recognized as a significant factor in the entire background of his writing. He was born on November 15, 1930 in Ogidi. His father, a catechist in a missionary school, belonged to the first generation of the native Ibo teachers. Achebe's concern in the function of religion and his preoccupation with spiritual philosophies, one of the main issues appearing throughout his work, may be traced to the atmosphere of his parental home. Another important factor affecting the future writer's personality structure is to be found in his studies at the University of Ibadan which he attended after graduating from the Government Secondary School at Umuahia. The University of Ibadan, organized along the English pattern, was established in 1948 as the first University in Nigeria. Chinua Achebe was among the first groups of its graduates, to attend the University from the first to last year. According to Gerald Moore, the British historian of African literature, those first groups of Ibadan graduates have played an important part in their country's life, owing to their spirit of active participation, realism and sense of responsibility. In any case, the majority of the present Nigerian writers belong to the same generation (born between 1920 and 1930), and have received their university degrees from Ibadan. During his college days Achebe must also have started an extensive study of English literature. Some of it has clearly influenced his writing. After completing his studies, Achebe went through a period of apprenticeship at the London BBC, and subsequently in 1954 was employed by the Nigeria Radio. At present he lives in Lagos and holds the post of the First Director of External Broadcasting.

Of the several Nigerian writers, it is Chinua Achebe who deserves our specific attention owing to his consistency of creative effort and for his deliberate search of self-expression and self-interpretation. He has published three novels: *Things Fall Apart* (1958), *No Longer at Ease* (1960) and *Arrow of God* (1964) — forming together a consecutive series of narratives concerned with the history of an Ibo tribe, from the very dawn of the colonial era until a very recent stage, 1957.

The three novels did not come out in the chronological sequence of the events described in them: the first book, *Things Fall Apart*, deals with the earliest times, but the second, *No Longer at Ease*, has a contemporary setting. The third one, *Arrow of God*, published after a longer interval, goes back to the Twenties. It does not follow the same narrative line as the first two books, which have a common link in the story of Okonkwo family.

The issues presented in Achebe's novels may be formulated as follows:

1. His books answer the urge to reveal and evaluate the course of national history by picturing one of the tribes in the different phases of its development and by comparing its traditional culture with that imported from the west.
2. The respective heroes illustrate the predicament of an individual, who lonely and alienated stands on the cross-roads of two cultural systems.
3. They reflect the changing and developing views of the author himself

who being, a modern product of both cultures, strives hard to achieve an integration of his own personality.

The first novel, *Things Fall Apart*, presents a complete picture of the social and cultural life in one of Ibo tribes prior to white infiltration. It is nothing less than a detailed and elaborate document, containing a good deal of factual information. Its authenticity can be proved from evidences found in scientific anthropological works. At the same time Achebe's book has an interesting local flavour. The story of the first contacts with Europeans is subordinated to the authors' design to compare both the religious and social aspects of Christianity, the alleged basis of western culture, and the traditional tribal pattern.

Achebe does not idealize the traditional pattern: he accuses it of sanctioning dical help brought in by missionaries. He is equally impartial and careful in Christianity its egalitarian principle and the benefits of school education and medical help brought in by missionaries. He is equally impartial and careful in painting his characters. He shows in the both camps good and bad personal qualities of different human types.

However, as he carries his comparisons to larger cultural aspects, he finds that the traditional popular wisdom harded down by ancestors is superior to the western way of thinking. It is an essential fact about the African tradition, Achebe believes, that it promotes an unprejudiced, open-minded attitude, never rash in conclusions and generalizations — while the "white" mentality is arbitrary, obstinately adhering to its stereotype thinking habits, unable to see beyond them and proudly asserting their infallibility.

The hero of the book, a person of rank in his clan, is an individual deeply involved in the traditional system of values. Failing to find support within his own, fastly disintegrating community for the proposed struggle against colonialists, he ends by committing suicide.

No Longer at Ease, represents the situation in Lagos and East Nigeria on the eve of independence. Here too, we have a many-sided and elaborate picture, drawn with the same amazing accurateness of a chronicler, as in *Things Fall Apart*. The main character of this novel is the grandson of Achebe's first tragic hero. He returns to his country after a few years of study in England with the intention of serving the cause of his nation's progress, and of establishing his personal happiness through marriage with a girl of the same tribe whom he loves. Soon he finds himself a stranger in the local environment. Old prejudices still keep firm hold of the minds of people in his native village and his marriage plans are upset. In Lagos, where he gets a job, he can find no moral support amidst the prevailing corruption and lack of valid principles of social ethics. Completely isolated and alienated, he breaks down. The first bribe he decides to accept happens to be trap set for him. He is arrested and sent to the court.

The disastrous effects of individual alienation, as presented in Achebe's book, are caused by the crumbling of the old moral and social standards and a failure to establish new values in their place. Christianity being only nominal, the author and his hero seek the ground for their own thought in the world of literature. In both novels, and more particularly in *No Longer at Ease*, we come across passages reminiscent of such writers as Elliot, Yeats, Greene, Waugh. Influence of Greene's *Heart of the Matter* is conspicuous in *No Longer at Ease*.

The choice of masters is no matter of accident. In this case it points to Achebe's essential affinity with the religious-minded authors who, estranged

from their own civilization and, tried to discover the spiritual and moral values still alive in various cultural systems. Achebe attempts to reintegrate his personality through the same critical examination of values which unites intellectuals throughout the world. At the same time, he comprises in this attitude some qualities which he feels express the popular, ancestral wisdom.

In his latest novel, *Arrow of God*, Achebe in giving the historical background concentrated his main attention upon the economic influence effected by the colonialists and their first experiments with so-called indirect rule. Here again the hero is a lonely and alienated individual. He is an old priest who dies in misery having found no place for himself in his disintegrated community but who refuses to become a "paramount chief" under the white rulers.

The book, though abounding in picturesque descriptions and details of folklore, fails to evoke an overall cultural climate comparable to *Things Fall Apart*. The very narrative style of this novel has deviated from what the critics used to regard as a stylistic quality inherent in Achebe's work: his very sober, composed, matter-of-fact tone. A similar tone has been found in other Nigerian authors as well. In fact, it has been even considered by some critics a common feature of all West African novelists. It is an interesting problem inviting further study. Essentially, the same tone is carried over the *Arrow of God*; but the descriptive line of the book is much more expanded while at the same time it seems less organically connected with the matter of the book. One has the feeling that details of tribal custom were introduced more or less for ornamentation's sake.

In *Arrow of God*, further "secularization" of the author's views takes place. Religion — in its tribal and Christian form alike — comes to be treated as a myth only. The working of a myth in the psychological and social processes, is what interests the author. The processes are shown by a few forceful examples where the basic unity of human nature, the demand for some myth sanctioning human activity is accentuated. By posing this general problem, Achebe comes close to the recent explorations of European scientists.

On the other hand, here unlike in the previous books, no direct commitment to moral issues can be seen, no attempt at confrontation and choice between different values. In opposition to the mass surrender to a myth, an independent, critical, searching attitude is recognized as the only possible level of self-integration, although there are but few individuals who can attempt it.

Achebe and his heroes present interesting personality-cases, significantly different from the widespread stereotype of "Negro mentality" (the concept of *négritude*).

Viewed in the context of Black Africa's novelistic contribution, which though it has but a short history yet progresses fast as the historical awareness of its people's grows, — Achebe's work is certainly outstanding and very promising.

ELŻBIETA REKLAJTIS

THE NATION AND REVOLUTION IN THE WORKS OF FRANTZ FANON

Frantz Fanon is considered one of the leading theoreticians of anti-colonial revolution. His activity as politician and writer has played a considerable role in the process of the liberation of African countries, above all, of Algeria. Born

in Martinique, in 1924, Fanon chose Algeria as his country, participating in the struggle for its independence, the struggle against the colonial system.

A psychiatrist by profession, editor of an insurgent daily during the Algerian war and, later on, Ambassador of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic to Ghana, Frantz Fanon met his problems of racism and colonialism, written on the basis of his personal observations.

The central question focussing Fanon's attention seems to be that of the concept of violence. The colonialist conquest and domination are an act of violence, both physical and psychical which dehumanizes the society. Hence Fanon's concept of de-colonization also effected by violence, by way of an armed struggle in which the colonial man discovers his own value and the society integrates as a result of the common activity involved. Thus, the said struggle is the only way leading to the birth of the nation. This was precisely the position in Algeria where the war revealed the existence of the Algerian nation.

Dealing with the social functions of the liberation struggle Fanon emphasises that, under the conditions of an armed conflict, where a distinct demarcation line divides the colonisers from the colonized ones, many traditional ideas undergo a revaluation. This fact is no threat to the native tradition as such since it is no threat to the bonds between the Algerian people and the land inhabited by them. Neither does it endanger the mutual bonds linking this people and giving ground for the respective individuals to identify themselves with the society. Whatever was involved in the technique of passive resistance in the colonial period may be discarded at the time of open struggle. Wearing of veils by women is no more a matter of great importance. A hostile attitude to schools, medicine, radio and press — i. e., institutions intuitively treated as those acting in solidarity with the colonial system, is now disappearing altogether. In Fanon's opinion, the peasant masses are the principal driving power of anti-colonial revolution. It was them that constituted the backbone of the insurgent army in Algeria.

Fanon emphasises that the peasants, being the least assimilated and, at the same time, the healthiest stratum of the Algerian society, have never reconciled themselves with the colonial status nor given up the idea of freeing their soil from the invader, by way of an armed struggle.

In his recent book *Les Damnés de la Terre* Fanon discusses in greater detail the transformations in the attitudes of intellectuals in the liberating countries. His analysis is based on the premises contained in the works of the African poets and writers, on other observations and also, on his own experience as that of a Negro intellectual to whom the cause of the struggle against colonialism has always been connected with the most personal pursuit of the proper road to the goal.

Tackling the problem of the relationship between the liberation struggle and national culture, Fanon points to the animation observed in the realm of culture, in all its branches, upon the commencement of that struggle. It was also that very reason that has decided about the change of attitude of the Algerian population towards the French language which the insurgent authorities started widely to use in the press, radio and at various congresses. It is to be regretted, Fanon has not discussed the problem of the influence of anti-colonial revolution upon the functions of the national languages in Algeria, above all, on the Arabic. The enunciations of another Algerian writer, Malek Haddad,

reflect the lively discussions on the subject, going on in the intellectual circles of Algeria.

It is interesting to note, none of Fanon's works tackles the problem of Moslem religion, although the latter has started to reveal changes in its role and functions, so as to become an ideology capable of rousing to the struggle the broad masses of the population.

However, several of Fanon's formulations may be objected, they are nevertheless a telling illustration of both, his uncompromising attitude and far-sighted and deeply humanistic approach to man. Calling upon the peoples of the "third world" to disassociate themselves from the models imposed by "Europe tending towards disaster" and to form new ideals and a new culture, Fanon means here creation of those new values not only for the good of the rising peoples but also for that of all mankind.

MOKPOPO DRAVI

ANTI-COLONIAL REVOLUTION IN AFRICA *

The author outlines the process of ousting Africans from land, of the formation of urban proletariat and paupers, his attention being, however, focussed on the stratum of peasants. The latter, maintained at a feudal status for the sake of their enhanced exploitation, nonetheless defend that state of affairs. This attitude does not result from any retrograde motifs but from the peasants' conviction that that status safeguards their native culture. The said defence, being a specific form of the struggle against the foreign invader, is accompanied by the demonstrations against the pro-colonial policy of the chiefs. One of the most important issues of the colonial Africa is the racial problem, aggravated by the class and vocational division similar to ours. A white worker earns even as much as fifteen times more than a black one. The white workers and the Negro ones are subjected to different legal codes. Moreover, the white ones, condemn the Africans who have thus developed an inferiority complex. The conviction of the superiority of the white man was substantiated by the European pseudo-science. The theories of its representatives: Gobineau, Rosenberg, Lévy-Brühl and other have not extinguished even to this day.

The anti-colonial revolution is taking place in three spheres: a) cultural, b) economic and c) political.

ad a. Initially, the Africans were ascribing the evil of colonialism not to the essence of the socio-economic system brought to them but to the failures of the individual people. They have become aware of the essence of the conflict but in terms of the racial problem. "Since the white people dehumanize the African within his own race, latter looks for the means of liberation in a renaissance of that race. Hence the trend towards native history, culture and the revival of popular heroes [...] so as to equal the white man." The natural consequence is idealization of one's own race, better than the white one. The phe-

* Owing the absence of Mr Mokpopo Dravi Dr Zajaczkowski was kind enough to make summary given below.

nomenon has taken the most acute form in the sphere of religion — a black god has been opposed to the white one. The "black" Messianism spread over the continent.

ad b. The principal expression of the economic struggle is the formation and activity of the trade unions. At the initial period, the reformist tendencies took the upper hand. It was but the years 1957 and 1958 that saw a revolution in that activity.

ad c. The said revolution in trade union work consisted in the resignation from an activity limited but to economic problems and in an engagement in the struggle for independence. The turning point was the Trade Union Congress in Kotonou, August 1957. Sekou Touré theoretically combined the struggle for economic liberation with that for the political freedom. Kwame Nkrumah gave priority to political struggle: „seek ye first the political kingdom and all other thing shall be added with you.”

There were many external factors, which proved conducive to the African anti-colonial revolutions and namely:

- 1) the example of India and the Arab countries which have regained independence;
- 2) the Second World War which brought the African soldiers in contact with the outer world and, thus, enriched their experience;
- 3) difficult situation of persons of African intelligentsia upon the return to their native countries after studies abroad;
- 4) the rise of the socialist countries in Europe and their uncompromising struggle against colonialism and imperialism;
- 5) continued growth of the progressive forces in the capitalist countries.

It was, however, the Conference in Bandung and winning of independence by Ghana that were of principal importance to the expansion of the anti-colonial revolution throughout the Black Africa.

Revolt against colonialism has been acquiring various organizational forms, initially being, however, mainly based on the principle of tribal division. Colonialism has not entirely wiped out the old structures and the tribal movements were an expression of the tendency towards reconstruction of what has been destroyed. The tribal communities not only contain elements inciting towards the struggle for liberation but also those leading to the rise of the nation. In the course of anti-colonial struggle, the concept of the nation penetrates into the society should this even be a struggle carried on by one tribe only. This penetration is facilitated by contemporary organizations and political grouping classified by D. Apter and C. Rosenberg. The common feature of all that groupings is: the influence of traditional communities, tendencies towards presidential regime, uprisings in towns and a drive towards seizure of power. The latter tendency is, in some cases, linked with the collaboration with colonialism.

From the viewpoint of class division, the character of the political groupings is complex. Their internal structure is, however, not based on any class division since the members of those groupings come from all social strata. Nonetheless, externally, considered in comparison to the white colonists, they bear a class character. The point is that, the colonial racial system is at the same time a class system, based on the division into classes, that of the "have alls" i. e., the white people and of "have nots" or the black. Internally, the political groupings are divided into the classes of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat and the peasants. The

conflicts between those classes, complicating the struggle against colonialism, simultaneously alleviate its severity. Such an alleviation is in the interest, above all, of the bourgeoisie which, having come into power after the winning of the independence by its country, supports neo-colonialism which protects the bourgeois class against social revolution. The proletariat, however, which grew out of the traditional conditions of life, is exposed to the process of cultural regression and thus becomes easily demoralized. As a result of its fear of losing the economic gains attained, the proletariat becomes reactionary. Thus, the most progressive stratum are the peasants. The leading cadre of the political groupings consists, to a large degree, of trade union activists and students. It is a paradox that the said cadre, being marked by a most revolutionary attitude towards colonialism is, at the same time, most Europeanized one. The anti-colonial, revolutionary attitudes of those people result from their lack of possibility to make use of the values which they have acquired in their contacts with the world of the white people.