

---

# Summaries

---

Przegląd Socjologiczny Sociological Review 23, 423-451

---

1969

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](http://bazhum.muzhp.pl), gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

Józef Chałasiński

#### FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

The article is the third of the series dealing with the role and situation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in view of the transformations taking place in the African continent and of the new problems involved. (See the preceding two: *The Organization of African Unity, the Congo Crisis and the Idea of the Nation*, "Przegląd Socjologiczny"\*, XIX/1, 1965 and *The Fourth Year of the Organization of African Unity*, "Przegląd Socjologiczny", XXI, 1967).

The fifth anniversary of that Organization (established in May 1963) and its fifth annual session, on the 13th September 1968, gave an occasion to remind the principal objectives of the OAU and its activities so far. This was done i.a. by the fortnightly "Jeune Afrique" (2nd—9th September 1968). The article concerned says that: "For five years past, the place of prominence in OAU's activities was being taken by the struggle against fragmentation and the danger which U Thant, the U. N. Secretary General, defined at the Conference in Kinshasa as "provincialism".

The author of the said article goes on to recall the five objectives of the Organization and the clashes between "the revolutionaries" and the "moderates" in the matter of formation of a government for the entire continent or of regional unions of African states. These problems continue to be uppermost in the minds of African politicians and intellectuals. An event that evoked keen interest and heated discussions was publication — in the beginning of 1969 — of Matthew Nkoana's book: *Crisis in the Revolution* (A Special Report on Pan-Africanist Congress of S. Africa). Nkoana was the leading publicist of the movement the expression of which was the said Congress. Sentenced for prison because of his P.A.C. activity, Nkoana was staying there together with Robert Sobukwe and other leaders. His book, to a large extent an autobiographical one, helps to understand the psychology of young Africa's leaders, involved in the conflict between Pan-Africanism and the rising national feelings of the respective African countries. Its very title — *Crisis in Revolution* is highly symptomatic. It reveals a new, topical stage in the history of liberating Africa, quite different from the one of founding the Organization of African Unity in 1963. At that time the rapids of the revolution monopolized the imagination of its leaders and observers. At present, those rapids reveal the rocky bed which causes agitation of the waves and multidirectional pattern of the currents. The changes in the political scene of Africa are discussed by Colin Legum's article headlined: *Guerilla Warfare and African Liberation Movements* ("Africa Today", 1967, No. 4). Pointing to South Rhodesia and the struggle between the country's two nationalist parties the ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) and ZANU (Zimbabwe African

---

\* "The Sociological Review".

National Union), the author discusses the process in which the liberation movements initially the dominant ones — have been entangled in the internal political clashes. An even more telling illustration of this state of affairs is the civil war in Nigeria, going on for the third year now. Except for Tanzania, Ivory Coast, Zambia and Gabon, the member countries of the OAU have taken a decisive stand in this conflict and declared for the Federal Nigeria. In his article published in "Jeune Afrique" (November 11th—17th, 1968) under the title *Nigeria si l'on veut aider les Ibos*, Justin Vieyra quotes the statement by Colonel Adekunle, one of the commanders of the Federal Army: "This conflict" — said the Colonel — "is not a cause of ours. It is the cause of France, Great Britain and the United States [...] We keep calm for we know Ojukwu cannot win. Not that he is too weak for it but because to do so, he would have to believe in his cause". The same Justin Vieyra concludes his article on the debates of the fifth annual session of the OAU, Algiers, September 1968 ("Jeune Afrique", September 9th, 1968) in saying: "The fact is that the OAU held its debates in Algiers conscious of its helplessness but, also, under the sign of the goodwill for co-existence."

Krystyna Chalasińska

#### FOUR YEARS OF INDEPENDENT RHODESIA

Joshua Nkomo, founder of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), 1961, has for a considerable time been a well known leader of the illegal nationalist movement in Rhodesia. Another person also ranking among the eminent politicians of East Africa is Reverend Ndabadingi Sithole (born about 1920). The latter initially joined Nkomo's movement, in 1964, however, he formed a party of his own — the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Sithole, the author of the book "African Nationalism" (1959) was sentenced to six years of prison, in February 1969. The liberal British daily "The Guardian" reported on the 12th of February of the said year that, according to the ZANU, Sithole was sentenced in Salisbury as a result of the Rhodesian-British plot which aimed at paving the way for an agreement between the two countries, the agreement based on Fearless' principles.

Upon declaration of the verdict, Sithole himself was initially opposing the statements linking his person with any subversive or terrorist activity. "The Guardian's" editorial comment of the next day supported him stating that Sithole was not only a Christian minister but also one of the most penetrating minds and realistic leaders that have ever appeared in Africa since 1950, i.e. in the period of the great outburst of nationalist feeling throughout that Continent. Nevertheless, according to the opinion of Musosa Kazembe, author of the article *Rhodesie à l'heure de la guerilla* ("Jeune Afrique", 13th—24th November, 1968). "the incessant disputes and struggles between the ZAPU and ZANU have almost paralysed the national movement in Rhodesia". The core of the matter, however, is the fact that against the nationalist movement of the black there is directed the "nationalist" movement of the white. In October 1964 South Rhodesia has assumed the name of Rhodesia, Ian Douglas Smith, activist of the Rhodesian Racist Front, having been elected the head of her government. Smith (born in 1925) has the reputation of being the most extreme spokesman of the policy

which declares Rhodesia a country of the white man. The government of Prime Minister Smith was making no secret of its intention to proclaim the independence of Rhodesia on the principle of the exclusive dictatorship of the white people. According to the weekly "Time" (15th October 1965) out of four millions of Rhodesia's total population barely 60,000 had voting right. On the 11th of November 1965 Ian Smith proclaimed the independence of Rhodesia, by virtue of the racist Constitution of 1961. This decision, made in spite of the stand of the British government and contrary to the resolution of the UN General Assembly (October 1965) provoked a counteraction. The British government recognized the proclamation of Rhodesia's independence an act of revolt against the Crown and applied political and economic sanctions with regard to that country.

In an article dealing with the problem of the educational system in Rhodesia since the proclamation of independence, the fortnightly "Africa Today" (No. 2, 1967) says that from among the children of the aboriginal African population less than 80% of those in the age group of the first form pupils attend primary schools and only 20% the secondary ones. The children of the white people, however, have all ensured places in the secondary schools. The same issue comprises a contribution by Thomas Land headlined: "Notes on Exodus from the University College, Salisbury." The article discusses the departure of the staff from the said university which, as the only one in Rhodesia, was based on multiracial principles. It enjoyed the support of the British government and of the Universities of London and Birmingham. Upon the proclamation of Rhodesia's independence by the government of Ian Smith all the three institutions declared their readiness to continue their support provided that the university would preserve its multiracial character. Smith's government, however, arrested or expelled nine lecturers and some students. These facts have resulted in very large number of resignations from work in that university. From the total of 140 of its professors and lecturers a half left or resigned.

Under these conditions the armed resistance of the guerillas is gaining in power to such an extent that local leaders are no more able to control the situation. The struggle waged by the guerillas is supported by various African states and directed mainly from Tanzania and Zambia. Despite responding to it with acts of terror — such as hanging in the courtyard of the Salisbury prison of five nationalist guerillas, March 1968, the Smith government is too weak to see to the tranquillity of the country.

*Tribalism Divides Yast Continent and Threatens New Countries.* — This is the title of the article by R. W. Apple Jr. (International Herald Tribune, Paris, November 24, 1969) written after his journey through 32 countries in Black Africa.

*Andrzej Waligórski*

#### THE PROBLEM OF WHITE SETTLEMENT IN KENYA

The paper discusses the problem of white settlers in Kenya, concentrating especially upon its early phase. For it was then, prior to the War 1914—1918, that the pattern of the subsequent social and economic development of the country was determined according to which Kenya was to become a White Man's Country.

This has started a number of difficult political and social problems for the country, some of them not quite resolved as yet, despite the fact that Kenya became an independent African state in 1963.

East Africa became accessible to European penetration about the middle of the last century which was connected with the opening of the so called Eastern route from the coast of the Indian Ocean to the interior of the country after the collapse of the Arab Empire in East Africa following the death of imam Seyyid Said in 1856. Then the writer discusses the Anglo-German rivalry in Eastern Africa, stressing different colonial objectives and methods of the two powers. In this connection he mentions the work of the notorious German agent, dr Carl Peters, and the rather commercial and pragmatic approach of Great Britain (British East African Association, soon transformed into Imperial British East African Company, 1888). The Company, however, could not pay its way in a poor and depopulated country which necessitated State intervention, especially since Germany had already occupied Tanganyika (1885).

With the proclamation by Britain of protectorate over Uganda (1894), and in the next year over Kenya (1895) the colonial era began in East Africa. Then the writer stresses the importance of the railway from Mombasa on the coast to Nairobi and afterwards to the Lake of Victoria, which was built primarily for strategic and not economic reasons. It strengthened Britain's rule over a territory which owing to its healthy climate could develop into a military base flanking the vital imperial route to India as well as controlling the Indian Ocean.

However, this expensive project became a great financial burden on the colony's undeveloped economy. The solution which was found consisted in the opening of the country to rich European, mainly British immigrants, henceforward known as Kenya settlers. These settlers (never called colonists or colonials) were rather aristocratic by origin, represented however much needed capital and technical knowledge of farming and were able soon to make productive use of the land, partly African owned, partly empty, allotted to them. In this way a new Feudalism was established in Africa, outdated and epigonal in character, which became particularly noticeable when after the War 1914—1918 a surge of social revolutions swept all over Europe bringing everywhere land reforms or else curtailment of large estates. But in East Africa this period meant further strengthening of landlordism.

Next the writer discusses the extent of land alienation in Kenya, types of agricultural farms, main crops grown on them, and their supply of labour which brings him to the discussion of the "squatter" problem.

In consequence, two different systems of farming came into being in Kenya. On the one hand, we have a system of European (now partly African) large scale farming with high capital output and technical efficiency, producing primarily for export and very little concerned with the internal market. It is dependent on an ample supply of African labour, on the whole unskilled and underpaid. On the other, we have a system of mixed peasant farming, purely African in character, based on small holdings privately or collectively owned, relying on the labour supply provided by the owner and his often large family. Its capital equipment is still scanty and technical efficiency not up to the world standard, but the system of peasant farming is undoubtedly satisfying the aims and ambitions of African population. The writer is of the opinion that the African system of mixed farming, apart from feeding the expanding population, is, with

minimum investment, capable of producing high-grade export crops (coffee, tea, cotton, pyrethrum etc), thus contributing towards the raising of the standard of living of African population. The main difficulty seems to be the shrinking of agricultural land in tropical Africa due to the demographic pressure and land deterioration, hence industrialization is a prerequisite of any further progress. There is some industrial development, noticeable already in Kenya, but what industries and town settlements exist in the country are still incompatible with the actual needs.

*Barbara Łabęcka*

### THE INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

The number of Indians in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania amounted to ca 360,000 at the beginning of the sixties, thus making ca 1.5% of total populations of the said countries. The Indians live mainly in towns hence the much higher percentage of Indian urban population. In a few major towns it makes 50% of the total.

The Indian immigration on a larger scale started in the nineties of the last century, at the time of construction of the Kenya—Uganda railway line. Nevertheless, many Indians arrived in East Africa much earlier, even before the settlement of the white there.

In early 19th century Indian merchants started to settle down on the East African coast. The relations between them and the Arabs were developing in a satisfactory way. The latter quickly realized the advantages to be derived by them from the presence of prosperous neighbours, lending money, exchanging goods and financing expeditions for slaves during which the Arabs penetrated far into the African continent.

The immigrants from India did not constitute a uniform community. They were disintegrated not only by class division but also, by the religious one.

It is only within the Indian community in Tanganyika that the Muslims outnumber the Hindus at present. In Kenya and Uganda, however, they constitute less than 1/3 of Indian population. They belong to three Shias sects (Ismaili Khojas, Bohra, Ithna Ashari (and to the Sunnis sect — Ahmadiya). The best educated and most active group are the Ismaili Khojas whose number amounts to some 50,000.

The most numerous one, within the Indian community are the Hindus. From about 500 in 1841, their number was steadily increasing to exceed 150,000 at present.

The largest number of Indians had settled in Kenya where the British were pursuing the policy of particularly acute racial discrimination. The possibilities open to the Indians were limited mainly to trade which covered vast areas after the construction of the railway line. Initially, the shops run by them were located near the railway stations, gradually, however, their network was expanded all over the country. Those were mostly multi-line shops serving, above all, the Africans.

Owing to their industry, diligence, and modest demands, the Indians have gradually come to control the whole retail trade of the colony. Besides merchants, in Kenya there also lived Indian doctors, solicitors, and craftsmen. Some of them

were coming there but for a few years' period to earn some money, others stayed for good.

From the political, economic and social point of view the Indians were taking an intermediate position between the Europeans and the Africans. Conscious of their contribution to economic development, they were feeling all the more painfully their discrimination by the colonizers. They were coming out with demands for participation in the legislative bodies. In 1909, the first Indian — A. Juvanjec, leader of the Bohra sect was elected a member of the Legislative Council.

The discriminative policy mentioned above had not, however, checked Indian immigration. Large numbers of ever new settlers were coming from the hunger-stricken provinces of India. In 1939, the Indian community in Kenya numbered ca 50,000 people, to double in 1947 and to exceed 170,000 in 1960.

In Uganda the conditions were more favourable and the discrimination less acute. Here also, like all over East Africa, the Indians were mainly engaged in retail and wholesale trade. Apart from that they have mastered as well the processing of cotton. In the period between the two World Wars they controlled more than a half of total cotton crops. Under such conditions the influx of Indians was growing rapidly — from 5,000 in 1921 to 14,000 in 1931. Three fourth of the Indians in Uganda lived by trade, 20% worked in state administration. In 1960 their total number amounted to ca 75,000.

Prior to having won independence, the Island of Zanzibar (together with that of Pemba) had the status of the British Protectorate. Formally Zanzibar was ruled over by the Sultan. Actually, however, the British Resident was in authority there.

Until the end of the 19th century Zanzibar was the commercial centre of East Africa and it was there that Indian merchants had first settled down.

After the construction of the two railway lines, a part of them moved to the continent, others remained. In 1931 the Indian population totalled ca 15,000. The wealth of the country are the cloves. The latter's plantations, belonging to the Arabs, upon abolition of slavery were gradually becoming the property of Indian merchants and bankers who could afford hired labour. In 1953, the number of Indians in Zanzibar amounted to some 19,000.

Until the outbreak of the First World War Tanganyika was incorporated with the German East Africa. The Germans have found there Indian merchants and moneychangers. The Indian newcomers were brought there by the Government for the construction of the new railway line running from Dar-el-Salaam into the interior.

Before the outbreak of the First World War the number of Indian population there amounted to some 10,000. After its conclusion, Tanganyika was taken over by Great Britain as mandatory of the League of Nations. A large number of former-German firms were purchased then by the Indians. By 1932 the latter's number increased to 32,000. As much as 80% of cotton production was controlled by them, 80% of sisal plantations, 50% of exports transactions, 60% of the imports ones and almost the whole retail trade (data for 1939).

Throughout the period of British rule Tanganyika — contrary to Kenya — was free from any sharp racial conflicts. Prior to the country's independence the number of Indians there amounted to 87,000.

The independent countries of East Africa — Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania — have inherited after the hard period of colonization many difficult and complex problems, inclusive of that of Indian minority. In the beginning of the sixties

there were about 360,000 Indians who had been living there for a few generations and, also, a number of more recent arrivals.

Colonialism which had introduced social, economic and political discrimination and segregation in those countries opposed the Indians, occupying the medium ranks of the social hierarchy, to the Africans pushed down to the lower ones.

The Indians have been exerting, and continue to exert, a strong impact upon the entire economy and economic development of that region of Africa. According to Guy Hunter there were ca 67,500 of high skilled employees in East Africa in 1961 who could be roughly divided into two categories: The first — of over 18,000 persons embraced administrative staff of higher rank, businessmen, managers, physicians, teachers, lawyers and engineers; the second, ca 49,500 persons, included workers, technicians and craftsmen. Hunter also maintains that the Indians made a little less than 40% of those mentioned in the first category (physicians, lawyers, pharmacutists, merchants and engineers) and about 50% of the second one (fitters, electricians, tailors, carpenters, and railwaymen).

The Indians who have arrived in Africa at a more recent date do not break the bonds with their mother country, whereto they return having earned some money or transfer their savings.

In the East African countries there has developed a specific conflict between the Africans and the Indian community, withdrawn, of alien culture and customs and, mostly also of different religion, some part of it maladjusted to their adopted country. At the same time the Indians, marked by such merits as diligence and the sense of economy, rake in an unproportionally large part of the national income and, last but not least, remind of the colonial yoke but recently thrown off.

The worst are the relations between Africans and Indians in Kenya.

The politicians of that country blame the Indians that "because of their wealth" they do not show respect for the Africans and that some of them do not grasp the transformations that have taken place in the political and social system of Kenya.

And, indeed, independence has brought in its wake fundamental changes in the social structure. The new governments which drive at securing for Africans the dominant economic, social and political position have started a process of Africanization of all the walks of life. The tendency is to make the Africans replace — wherever possible — the European and Asian employees. The most intensive action is being carried on for the purpose in the postal offices, police and in the army. The governments of the African countries also exert an impact upon private enterprises to make them employ larger numbers of Africans.

One of the objectives of the economic plan of East Africa is to enhance the Africans' share in economic life. In Tanzania the Government nationalized all the banks and export and import enterprises, what has afflicted, above all, the Indian capital. In Kenya and Uganda, a network of popular shops is being set up, serious rivals to the Indian ones. As far as the economic forecasts for Indians in East Africa are concerned, the analysis justifies the pessimism prevailing in their milieu. The economic difficulties with which the East-African countries have to cope are manifested by increase in unemployment (what will affect the Indians), in restriction of mean incomes and abolition of many privileges which the Indians enjoyed in the past. All this will account for enhanced emigration of both, those having no qualifications — driven out by the Africans, and the educated and well-off ones who will look for better conditions elsewhere. In 1967—1968 about 5% of Indian population left Kenya.

For many Indians, however, such a departure is a disaster. India and Pakistan — both overpopulated — do not want to admit them. Neither does Great Britain which has recently restricted entrance possibilities. Under these conditions, the only solution is emigration to such countries as the U.S.A., Australia or Canada.

*Antoni Grzybowski*

#### JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS AND SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY\*

General Smuts, the hero of the Boer War and active politician of South Africa over the long period of 50 years was the object of historians' controversial opinions.

According to W. K. Hancock and J. van der Poel, Smuts ranked among the most eminent statesmen of the British Commonwealth and his views of the peoples and the individual were, consciously or subconsciously, adopted by large numbers of persons. In his own country, however, he aroused mixed feelings. The Afrikaners resented the British-minded attitude of that descendant of an old Boer family.

Smuts' relation towards the Negroes had never been an extreme one, neither did he defend them openly. He was a white man and this mere fact was enough to form a gap between him the black constituting three fourth of the population of his own country. As stated in his autobiography by Albert Luthula, leader of South African Negroes, the most important matter for Smuts was to turn South Africa into a country of the white man.

Jan Christian Smuts, born in 1870 as a son of a farmer was carefully educated at home. This enabled his studies at the Stellenbosch University, South Africa, at Cambridge, England, and then, for a short time, at Strasbourg (Germany). Upon his return to South Africa in 1895 Smuts delivered a speech at the meeting of "De Beers Consolidated Political and Debating Association" in Kimberley. The said speech, dealing extensively with the Negro problem in that country, inaugurated his political career. It is characteristic that the theses expounded therein by Smuts were later on incorporated with the racial (segregation) policy pursued by South Africa. The 25-year-old Jan Smuts strongly emphasized then that the slogan of the white race should be the latter's consolidation if it is to survive and to strengthen its position in South Africa in the face of the overwhelming majority of multiplying barbarians. In his opinion the pattern of European democracy was not suitable to be applied with regard to the Negro population since the principles and practice of the most advanced European nations might not be safely employed with regard to the barbarian and semi-barbarian natives. The latter cannot cover, from day to day, the road of development for which the most able white race needed several centuries. For Jan Smuts democracy was not consisting in formulation of abstract principles but in practical policy. It was in consonance with that policy that Jan

---

\* The author discusses the reference work *Selections from the Smuts Papers* prepared for print by W. K. Hancock and Jean van der Poel, vol I-IV and published by Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Smuts postulated, at the meeting of the "De Beers Consolidated Political and Debating Association" employment — with regard to the aborigines — of differential class legislation and, in the sphere of education, training of craftsmen and manual workers rather than of the white collar ones.

Generalizing the whole of the problem Smuts concluded his speech in pointing to the problem of the so-called historical mission of the respective nations. In his opinion every continent should bear specific traits and fulfil its specific mission in the political development of mankind. And like Asia was the cradle of religious despotism, Europe of feudal monarchy, and the New World — of people's democracy, so the mission and destiny of South Africa was to be — according to Smuts — a great development of racial aristocracy, combining the political merits of the civilizations of the Old and New Worlds.

Jan Christian Smuts' speech was widely commented upon by South-African press, its author winning an increasingly wider popularity. The materials comprised in volumes I and II of the *Smuts Papers* depict him as an outstanding politician; as the commander-in-chief of the Boer and Cape rebel commandoes during the Boer War and, then, the leading personality at the prolonged negotiations with Great Britain that led to selfgovernment and still later to consolidation of the dominion state of the Union of South Africa on the 1st of May 1910, by virtue of the Royal Proclamation of the 2nd of December, 1909. According to Albert Luthula, on the 31 of May 1910 the whole South Africa together with its population passed into the hands of the white minority. The white — continues Luthula in his autobiography — became the sole owners of the new state and members of other races have found themselves in the situation of livestock handled together with the land concerned and thus, the object rather than the subject.

The third volume of the *Selections* has been devoted to J. Ch. Smuts' role in the Union of Africa and to the outbreak of the First World War which has brought him onto the platform of international policy due to his appointment a member of the War Cabinet of the British Empire.

The last, fourth, volume of the *Smuts Papers* reveals his energetic activity during the Peace Conference at Versailles. The unsuccessful Treaty signed there was, in his opinion, not a treaty of peace but of war.

The said volume concludes the first series of the *Selections from the Smuts Papers* brilliantly prepared for print by W. K. Hancock and Jean van der Poel. The said four volumes depict the period of Smuts' life defined by Hancock as "the sanguine years".

Like the First World War, the Second one had again put Smuts into the orbit of international affairs. Faithful to his co-operation with Great Britain, he joined the struggle against Nazi Germany despite the opposition of the pro-German Afrikaners. In 1941, as an act of recognition of his merits, the British Government appointed Smuts the Field Marshal and a member of the new cabinet. And again — like after the First War he was a co-creator of the League of Nations, so during the Second, Smuts assisted in preparations for the grounding of the United Nations' Organization. In his own country, however, he lost the elections of 1948, beaten by the Nazi-minded doctor Malan. Smuts was eighty years old at the time. He died in 1950 and the Union of South Africa entered upon the road of apartheid.

*Anna Mrozek*

#### ARABS' SHARE IN THE RISE OF THE SUDANESE NATION

The authoress of the article makes an attempt at assessing the character and scope of the Arabs' share in the growth of the Sudanese nation. In view of this subject, the article deals exclusively with the northern part of the Sudan of to-day, since the reach of the cultural and religious influence of the Islam did not embrace the south of the country.

The authoress opposes the tendency — rather frequent in specialist literature — to present the Arab culture as the most important, if not the exclusive, factor in shaping the sense of the national bonds of the inhabitants of the region discussed. Hence her attempt at proving that the elements of local culture — African in their essence — were also playing an eminent part in that process.

The first part of the article depicts the history and ethnic composition of Northern Sudan prior to the period of the influence of Arab culture and religion, until the setting up of the first Moslem dynasty there (16th century). The said part of the article points to the strong feeling of tribal community, the sense of the separateness and resistance against the imported elements of Arab culture by some major tribes of North Sudan such as Bedja, Nuba or Fur, at the early period of the influx of Arab emigrants. The suggestion is posed that early wave of Arab immigration was absorbed by the local North Sudanese population. The immigrants subjected to the influence of its culture as testified by the latter's traces preserved until today among the tribes considered Arab. Another evidence is the fact that the first Moslem dynasty of North Sudan, the Fung dynasty was probably one of local origin, defined in the chronicles of the day as the "black sultanate".

The second part of the article comprises an analysis of the character and scope of influence of the Arab culture in three main spheres: the religion of Islam, the language and the Arab-Islamic institutions.

The more detailed analysis reveals the frequently superficial influence of the respective elements of Arab culture and their simultaneous imbuing with the contents of traditional customs and beliefs. This was the beginning of the Sudanese cultural synthesis. Avoiding an overestimation of the share of Arab culture in the new synthesis, the authoress nevertheless points to the important role of the latter and, above all, of the Islam in the rise of the sense of broader supra-tribal bonds of the population in that area. This found a reflection in Mahdi's rising that united almost all the population of North Sudan and, even some tribes of the South one, in a common struggle for independence and in defence of the purity of the faith of Islam.

The following part of the article, i.e. the one discussing the process of formation of the national unity of the people of North Sudan, begins with the description of some innovations and changes effected in its material and spiritual life by the said rising. The growing influence is stressed of Islam winning new followers even among some tribes until then remaining outside the impact of that religion. Another factor emphasized is the growth of Arab influence in North Sudan, since the time of Mahdi's rising until recognition of the Sudan's independence in 1956.

The concluding part of the article presents an attempt at answering the question: "are the Sudanese a nation?" The opinions of many scholars defining

North Sudan as a component of the great family of Arab people's are quoted and, also, those of the Arab theoreticians. It is on the basis of the latter's views that the authoress tries to base a more precise notion of the Arab nation. Her eventual conclusion is, however, that they are too general to provide a basis for univocal judgements with regard to North Sudan.

Evading the question of affiliation of the Sudan with Arab world, the authoress expounds the view that, despite many common features of the inhabitants of the area discussed with Arab nations, the synthesis of the Arab and African cultures that has been taking place in North Sudan for centuries past gives a specific character to the national feeling of its people. The said feeling exceeds the frames of the Arab sense of community and — under the impact of the traditions and beliefs of the Southern tribes — is liable to result in the rise of the Sudanese nation in the future.

*Krzysztof Makulski*

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF KEL AHAGGAR  
1945—1954

The choice of the subject discussed was connected with the initiative of the Warsaw ethnographic milieu to prepare a more extensive theoretical study on shepherding as a specific form of economy. The preparations for work on this broadly conceived subject revealed the lack of materials pertaining to North Africa and, especially, Sahara. Hence, the present paper aimed at filling the gap that has existed so far. Limitation of the subject but to the Kel Ahaggar tribes of Central Sahara results from the fact that, in the case of the Tuareg Confederation of Kel Ahaggar we deal with a society rather isolated from other populations in Sahara, i.e. the society on the example of which it is easier to trace the dependences between the economic system and the social one. The chronological framework indicated in the title of the present article has been adopted in view of the available materials pertaining to research on the Tuareg in 1945—1954. The latter date, also marks a turning point in the life of Ahaggaric Tuaregs. For it was precisely at that time that they entered the orbit of the great economic transformations in Sahara, the transformations which cannot but bring in the wake a splitting of the socio-political structures existing there so far.

\*

The present dissertation is based on few fundamental works on the Tuareg of Ahaggar written by H. Lhote, C. Blanguernon, R. Capot-Rey and J. Nicolaisen and on several specialist articles published by various learned societies' periodicals mainly, the French ones. An interesting supplement of those materials are the reminiscences by L. Ciechanowiecka, a Polish tourist and by the French writer Simone de Beauvoir.

\*

Four distinct periods may be marked out in the history of the Tuareg of Sahara inclusive of the Kel Ahaggar and, namely: 1) appearance of the camel in the first centuries A. D. (Gautier determines this period as "camel revolution");

2) spreading of Islam in the Sahara, which started in the 7th and 8th centuries and grew particularly intensive in the later Mediaeval period; 3) settlement of Kel Ahaggar in the mountain massive of Ahaggar 17th—18th centuries and 4) the colonial conquest of Ahaggar by the French in the first two decades of this century. The appearance of the camel had to a large degree determined the character of breeding carried on by the Tuareg whereas adoption of the Islam and then, the coming of the French, have both resulted in a strong impact of Arab culture.

\*

The basis of Tuareg economy is first and foremost the pasturing of the herds of camels, goats and flocks of sheep. The milk products and meat of those animals constitute the main food resources of the tribes. The said resources are complemented with millet imported from the Sudan in return for wheat cultivated in Ahaggar agricultural centres and, above all, for the salt extracted by the Tuaregs in the neighbourhood of Ahaggar. Hence, the importance of both, seasonal and the great trans-Sahara trade, once yielding serious profits to the Tuareg. Another important source of gains were the raids on neighbouring tribes, a "procedure" eliminated by the French administration.

When dealing with the problem of social stratification of Kel Ahaggar, it is worth emphasizing the correct view expounded by H. Lhote who maintains that the social organization of those tribes incorporates the elements of caste division combined with those of the classification characteristic of feudal society.

In Ahaggar there exist four basic social strata: the Imhars, Imrades, Iclanes and Harratines. The first of them affiliate the tribes of the superiors, the second those of the vassals, the third the slaves, the agriculturists belonging to the fourth one. Apart from those four strata there also exist certain groups of population of a different status. The latter groups comprise members of religious fraternities (Inislimes), craftsmen (Inadenes) and merchants of foreign origin (mostly Mzabites). A more detailed characteristics of those strata and groups points to the rights and duties of the people belonging to them. Simplifying the dependences between the said strata and groups for the sake of graphic presentation, the social relations of Ahaggar may be depicted as follows:

		Stratum of feudal dependence	Stratum of free people
S c a l e o f	p r e t i g e	tribes of the superiors   tribes of vassals   craftsmen   slaves	marabouts merchants     agriculturists

The Kel Ahaggar constitute a confederation of a few sovereign Imhar tribes — superiors of several vassal ones. The leader of the confederation is the amenokal — coming from the main Imhar tribe — Kel Rela. The amenokal as

the chief of the confederation decided about all the matters pertaining to the division of land. He was also the commander-in-chief, the supreme judge and, at the same time, the last instance of appeal. On account of the authority exercised over all the tribes — Imhar as well as the Imrad ones — he was collecting from them the tribute called "tioussé", the amount of which was determined by the rank of the tribe concerned and its economic possibilities.

The respective tribes had their own chiefs — the amrars who were the intermediaries between the amenokal and the tribes. One of their tasks was to collect the tribute, the particular phratries being burdened in consonance with their possibilities. The phratries into which the tribes are divided constitute relations' groups including from four to six generations.

Under suitable ecological conditions a phratry makes one camp consisting of 10—20 tents; under worse — from 2 do 7. Such minor camps are mostly made by members of one branched family, united by common pasture of goats and collective implementation of other tasks. Thus, the camp constitutes the basic economic unit of the Ahaggar.

\*

Examination of the socio-political structure of the Kel Ahaggar in 1945—1954 gives ground to the statement that it is based on dependences of feudal type and results from the prevalence over the tribes breeding goats and sheep of the warrior tribes of camel-breeders. The latter, owing to their military power, have seized the best lands and subdued the tribes previously inhabiting the areas concerned. And since the place in social and political structure was determined, first and foremost, by social origin the barriers of birth had been elevated to the rank of caste division. Hence, when referring to the Kel Ahaggar's society one is entitled to operate — on the one hand with the notion of the social strata and, on the other, of that of the castes. The belligerence of the Ahaggar tribes, the continued plunders and assaults perpetrated by them and, hence, the necessity of securing the assistance of the "knightly" tribes (of the Imhars) have resulted in consolidation of the bonds between the tribes of the superiors and those of the vassals, i.e. of the links of "vertical character". And, as shown by Ahaggar's history it was precisely those bonds that have permitted their confederation to survive the most difficult period of the first years of the French occupation.

Devotion to tradition which determined the place and role of every tribe and individual within the whole structure was the guarantee of the latter's power. Thus, any infringement of the norms of tradition, i.e. any attempt at liberation from tribal or feudal dependence would be dangerous not only to the author of such an attempt but, indirectly, also to the whole structure, as a threat of its weakening. Under such conditions, conservatism could not but acquire the rank of basic ideology. And it was precisely this conservatism that proved able to resist the impact of French administration and Arab infiltration thus accounting for the fact that Ahaggar survived until the sixties of this century as an almost a perfect "product" of isolation. In those years, however, when not only the political but, above all, the economic factors came into play (demand for labour, possibilities of additional earnings etc.), the conservative political structure of the Ahaggar became an element that curbed the possibility to take advantage of the arising opportunity. The conservative pastoral tribes could not benefit of it. This was done, however, by those strata which had not been integrated within the framework of that political system, above all, by the

Harratines and Iclanes. The pastoral tribes desiring to maintain their dominant social and political status had no choice. They were obliged to remain on their previous posts which forbade them to occupy themselves with anything else but shepherding and convoying of caravans. Nevertheless, they could not prevent the dropping off of the Harratines and Iclanes who, under the provisions of French and Algerian law, are not slaves. As a result of this state of affairs, the Ahaggar society started to become poorer in agricultural elements and this was tantamount to infringement of its economic and social balance.

*Elzbieta Reklajtis*

FAMILY MILIEU, KORANIC SCHOOL AND ORAL LITERATURE AS A SET  
OF EDUCATIONAL FACTORS IN ALGERIA

The present article is a part of a more extensive dissertation on the rise and development in Algeria of the idea of the nation. It is not meant as an analysis of the structure of the Algerian family in the period under discussion nor as a complete characteristics of the oral tradition of the Algerian people.

The authoress' attention is focussed only on those aspects and elements of the educational impact of the set — family milieu — koranic school — oral tradition which manifest themselves, implicite or explicite, as integral components of Algerian personality in all the biographies that have served as a basis of this article. These elements appear there in the positive form — as the approved and admired examples of attitudes, behaviours, artistic creations and generally recognized ideal patterns; or in the negative one — as more or less conscious yearnings or, on the contrary, feelings of disapproval.

The final choice of those elements has been determined by the fact that, under the new reality of Algerian independence, these seem to be the fabric of the synthetic and dynamic vision of Algeria, of its cultural personality comprised in the works of contemporary Algerian writers recognized the most mature ones by the intellectual circles of the country.

The article is mainly based on records from 1900—1939, though the autobiography of Fadhma Mansur Amrouche pertains to a person who lived one or two generations before. On the other hand, the scene of some books based on biographies of such authors as Mulud Mammeri, Mohammed Dib or Murad Burbun is laid in the period of the Second World War and the following years, i.e. at the time of disintegration of the traditional social structures. The materials concerned depict the rural regions of Kabylia, the urban milieus (Tlemcen, Algiers, Bône, Constantine, Tebessa etc.), and the southern districts.

To the authors discussed, French has become their first language. This fact accounts for their distance from the native traditions which, nonetheless have shaped them in their childhood. This, in turn, results in both, a yearning for some lost values and at the same time in an attempt at the latter's appraisal.

The structure of the Algerian Muslim family — the development of which had been checked by age-long stagnation of Islamic thought and, then, by colo-

nization, is dominated by the principle of honour. The deep, emotional links develop most naturally between the child and its mother. It is also the mother and other women in the family that awake in the child a liking for stories, poetry, songs and who pass on the historical traditions in the form of family reminiscences or legends. It is owing to identity of associations connected with childhood of persons from various families and different parts of Algeria, that the koranic school is able to develop the sense of national unity, to enhance the sensitiveness to poetry, teach respect for word, and — together with the pupils' families — instill in them the islamic ideal of perfect man, the patterns of attitudes. The sphere of religion is the only one in which the Algerian feels himself superior to the colonizers.

Besides the islamic ideals and the patriotic ones (Abd-el-Kader) an important educational part is also played by the rural patterns of "honourable" behaviour, object to the mercantile urban way of living concerned, above all, with material profits and comfort.

The authoress points to the strong educational influence of the examples of magnanimous attitudes and behaviours, consonant with traditional ideals, the influence distinct in the life records of Algerians. Courage and unyielding spirit, hospitality characteristic, above all, of the Nomads, love of freedom, disrespect of the fancies of the fortune, fantasy and, even, restlessness — all these features are extolled in the poetry of the wandering bards. Their independence and their songs, most faithfully depicting the feelings and aspirations of the people are of great value to Algerian culture. Si Mohand, the most famous poet of Kabylia, who looks for friendship, love and loyalty is seeking after the truth about human nature.

A common feature of Algerians is a specific type of poetical artistic sensitiveness. They are all as if poets of their kind.

This is a characteristic of Algerian culture, saved in families, conceived in an instinctive rather than reflective way — as it is only possible in sincere human relations and in art inspired by a true "discovery" of another man or another element of the outer world.

According to the authoress, culture consists precisely in the society's aiming, in its specific way, at the desired — though never fully realized — model of human relations and the individual's attitude towards the world.

The historical characters with whom the given society willingly identifies itself are turning — parallel with its development — into national myths. They become the models of complete humanity, the ideals of perfect personalities in which the nation sees its future. They become the symbols of national aspirations.

However, those models of humanity, though mapping out the general directions of development are not able to form by themselves the autonomous members of the nation. For this purpose there are needed the nearer, tangible patterns inducing to practical adoption of adequate attitudes.

Such "fragmentary ideal patterns" of attitudes and behaviours, consonant from the individuals and of the society's point of view with the desired model of human relations (i.e. with the ideal of "perfect man"), when encountered, are recognized at once. This recognition by the individuals has no reservations. Their acceptance as direct models — or, rather, as "aid" follows in a spontaneous way.

And a discovery of this kind is accompanied by the feeling of joy, by a spontaneous mobilization of the given person's forces and delight bordering on exaltation.

This moment exerts two direct effects: 1) it encourages active attitudes, and 2) reflection.

Such an encounter — with man, or with the people, due to whom the individual concerned forms an idea about true nobility, intelligence, beauty, true courage or loyalty — is one of creative and formative nature. In the psychical structure and attitudes of the individual who was able to perceive and evaluate them, they effect changes leading towards this desired model of man and human relations. In other words, those encounters accelerate the maturing process in the moral, social, and intellectual sphere.

This is precisely the function of those "great" friendships, masters or loves encountered at some moment of life which sometime revolutionize the latter and form a new man.

The artists and writers engaged in creative work are those in whose lives such facts have taken place, who made discoveries of that weight and proved able to depict them in a way that made the latter, for other people, substitutes of the same experience as a factor contributing to acceleration of their social maturing. At the same time — and this is the most important social function of art — the said experience should enhance the individual's sensitivity to the fate of others, develop his ability of concentration and the attitude of vigilance, protect him against excessive confidence in the correctness of his own judgements and stimulate intelligence — not necessarily that of scholarly type but the "artistic intelligence" — reflective, understanding and creative. In other words, it should be a preparation for independent "discoveries" of this kind.

The authoress has employed the term "artistic intelligence" in order to emphasize that the cognitive and creative reflection — one of the basic conditions of attaining maturity by individuals and by the nation to which they belong — comprises both the intellectual element of "rational", critical logic and that of intuition.

The conclusion resulting from the study of history of any nation is obvious. Two factors are needed, apart from "artistic intelligence", for a successful development of the nation and its culture i.e. for a growth of the national guarantee of a correct realization of the autonomy and maturity of man. Firstly: the active attitude (also defined as the engaged one) and a magnanimous selflessness (called the ideological attitude).

Moreover, two conclusions have ensued from the preceding deliberations on the social function of artistic creation. The first that attaining of cultural maturity by a nation, i.e. realization by individuals of both, their place within the nation and tasks in the sphere of national culture, is not merely an intellectual but, also existential matter. The second points to its individual character — as a process which never occurs on a mass scale and simultaneously for all.

These statements are liable to throw some light on the notorious "growing pains" of nations and states — for whom the gaining or recovery of independence or a violent social revolution was tantamount to a profound shock in the realm of culture. The said "pains" are felt, above all, in the latter sphere though most clearly manifest in the economic and political one. This is, what Franz Fanon, the great ideologist of the Algerian revolution, defined in his basic work *Les damnés de la terre* as the "painful misadventures of the national consciousness" and "the greatness and weakness of spontaneous action".

ABDELKADER ZIRAQVI

## THE RISE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN MOROCCO

Morocco lost independence in 1912 with the moment of the country's partition by the French and Spanish colonizers. Proclamation of the French Protectorate (with a Spanish "sphere of influence") resulted in the outbreak of numerous uprisings throughout the Moroccan territory. Some years later, the Riff tribes rose to the struggle, under the command of Abd-el-Krim. The latter became the factual ruler of North Morocco and set up a republic of the federated Riff tribes. In October 1925, the Allied French and Spanish forces numbering a few hundred thousands soldiers, commanded by Marshal Pétain, defeated the Riff army of twenty thousands. The years 1912—1930 were a time of various tribes' resistance against the colonizers subduing the country and, at the same time, a period of birth of the political struggle of the Moroccan people. Upon his return to Morocco from Arabia, Dukkali, the political leader grouped around him a handful of young people and, touring the country, propagated the idea of national revival (*as-salafija*). Its objective was purification of religion and fighting down the sects. Some of the latter enjoyed considerable prestige in Morocco due to their founders, coming from the Prophet's family, or to the traditions of the sectarian religious and political activity. In the period of the Protectorate the sects were well organized and thus became a political force exerting notable impact upon society and, also, on the attitude of the authorities and the latter's decisions. A number of the sects collaborated with the colonizers. This fact, as well as the sects' departure from religion because of magic and ritual practices inconsistent with the spirit of the *Koran* and its false interpretation have all led to the rise of the *as-salafija* movement. Apart from the latter, condemning the sects, there were also being set up — mainly at the university of Fez — the youth debating circles — the nuclei of the future political parties. The said groups, rallied round the general Programme for the Defence of Islam, in response to the administrative measures (the so-called Berber dahir introducing the French Code in place of the sultan's one) which were meant of effect conversion of the Berbers to Christianity and, thus, to drive a wedge between the former and the Arabs and split the unity of the Moroccan people. The years 1930—1934 were a period of consolidation of the until then loose structure of the nationalist movement and that of the birth of the Moroccan nationalist press calling for reforms in various walks of life. The first periodical of this group was the weekly "L'Action du Peuple" set up by El-Uazzani in 1933. Another newspaper which paid a big contribution to the rise of Arab national consciousness and to ranking the Moroccan problem among the international ones was "La Nation Arabe" issued by Szehib Arslan in Geneva since 1930.

The monthly "Maghreb" was edited in Paris, since 1932, by the Moroccan students engaged in the movement of opposition against Berber dahir. In 1933—1934 the Moroccan Committee of Action was constituted from various loose groups and clubs. On the 25th of October 1936 the Committee convened an Extraordinary Congress. The latter prepared a rather mild programme of reforms and demands — named the "Plan for Immediate Reform". The decision was also adopted on intensification of propaganda activities throughout the country. It was on this route that the party of the "elect" was turning into a popular one. At that time too, the party started publication of the periodicals "L'Action Populaire"

and "El-Atlas". Parallel with the growth of the Committee, some autocratic tendencies began to appear within it. In January 1937, as a result of secret ballot, the following were elected to as the authorities of the Moroccan Committee of Action: Allal el-Fasi, graduate of the Moslem university of el-Quarawijjin — Chairman; Mohammad el-Uazzani, editor of "L'Action du Peuple" — secretary and, Ahmed Mehuar — treasurer. About that time the relatively tolerant policy pursued by France due to the rule of the People's Front came to an end. On the 18th of March 1937 the French colonial authorities suspended the Committee's activity as illegal. The latter was nevertheless continued. A secret Congress held at Rabat a month later (April 1937) set up the National Party for Implementation of the Demands. Its existence was revealed but on the 23th of August (1937) when the Party's leaders — Balafredj and Omar Ben Abd el Djalil put forward in Paris a note on the policy pursued by the Resident General in Morocco. In autumn of the same year the colonial authorities decided to alter the course of the river Bufacran thus depriving the inhabitants of the town situated on her of a source of water supply. Under the influence of the propaganda activity carried on by the party numerous protest demonstrations were organized in various parts of the country, often ending in violent fights against the police. The leaders of the National Party — Allal el-Fasi, Omar Ben Abd el-Djalil, Ahmed Mekuar and Mohammed el-Jasidi were arrested on the 25th of October. The years 1937—1944 saw arrests of many members of the Party, a large number of others were banished from the country and the National Party was dissolved. The period discussed was one of weakening of the nationalists' activity.

In 1944 the Istiqlal Party was set up under the leadership of Balafredj. In its first manifesto conveyed to the sultan, the Resident General and representatives of the governments of allied countries, the Party demanded an independent-status and constitutional monarchy for Morocco. Recognizing Islam as state religion, the Party was simultaneously voicing freedom of religious belief for national minorities. Towards the end of January 1944 the authorities arrested the leaders of Istiqlal. Upon release from prison one of them — El-Jasidi — addressed, on behalf of the Party's Executive Committee, a letter to the chiefs of the Big Powers asking for Morocco's admission to the United Nations' Organization. This marked a novel tactique of the Party and, namely, that of turning to the world's public opinion for assistance in Morocco's struggle for independence. In 1946 the nationalist press banned in 1937, reappeared again. The Istiqlal Party was publishing *Al-Arab* in Arabic and *L'Opinion du Peuple* in French. A year later (January 1947) the sultan delivered a speech plainly demanding independence for his country. In 1950 he went to France in order to discuss the problem of Morocco with the French Government what, however, yielded no result. The sultan's solidarity with the Istiqlal Party made it even more popular among the broad circles of the society. In 1951 the National Front was set up, grouping members of the Istiqlal Party, of the Parti Démocratique de l'Indépendance, Parti des Réformes Nationales and Parti de l'Unité Marocaine. After but a year's operation, the Front has disintegrated. It was also in 1951 that the Arab League put the problem of Morocco before the United Nations' Organization. An energetic propaganda campaign in favour of Morocco's independence was carried on abroad, mainly in the Scandinavian countries and Brazil, by Allal el-Fasi. In 1952—1956 there were new arrests of the members of the Istiqlal Party and a ban imposed on its activity. This, in turn,

effected a change in its structure. In 1956 Morocco was recognized as an independent state.

Concluding his article the author stresses that, for lack of space and materials, he was obliged to restrict it but to the problem of the rise of Morocco's biggest political parties. Some other interesting problems like that of growth of the Communist Party of Morocco, established in 1943, will be discussed in the more extensive dissertations in the near future.

STANISŁAW ŚWIDERSKI

THOUGHTS ON LIFE AND ITS ASSERTION ACCORDING  
TO THE FANG SYNCRETIC CULTS  
(GABON)

The following remarks on life and its assertion emphasizes the vital importance of the initiation rites in the syncretic sects which stem from the Bouiti, a secret society for men and the Ombwiri, a similar society for women, in Gabon.

In order to convey to its highest point their ontological and eschatological viewpoints, the initiation ceremony (*ngoze a bandzi*) puts into action all that art, tradition, color symbols, gestures and word can offer. The Fang tradition rich in human and dynamic values due to group and individual aspirations never satisfied, prompted the people to forsake their ancestral cult (*byeri*) to adopt a new one, the *bouiti* hoping thereby to become once again, united and strong.

Psychological and moral qualities based on tribal pride sometimes overdone, as well as an inborn intellect, are the principal factors which bring about new values, new rites, and new Christian religious concepts.

The foremost thought in these syncretic sects is based upon the notion of life and spiritual regeneration in view thereby of approaching after life. Each of the Bouiti and the Ombwiri ceremonies (*ngoze*) is looked upon as an increase in vital strength and a renewed pledge in regards to the sacred. The Bouiti's positive attitude towards life, born of an urge to participate in each moment of it, expresses itself through song and dance as well as through symbolic repetition of conception and birth. The rhythm of the universe is reproduced by the rhythm of the body and sacred dances. Water, which is sometimes replaced by a mirror like in the case of the Ndeya Kanga sect, signifies not only the face with its frowns and smiles but also expresses all human experiences made in a life's cycle. In this sect, it refers to the water of birth, that of baptism and also the fountain of the Blessed Virgin of Gningone Mebeghe of which women refer to in many of their songs.

The meeting of two initiates belonging to the same religious society will consist in an intimate exchange of looks, a full acceptance of the other as a brother, and also a proof of belonging to one another mutually. The specific way to express this gift of self is shown by placing one person's arms on the others and drawing gently close to each other. This is even more strikingly remarkable, when a simple initiate (*bandzi*) greets his superior. The latter takes the initiate's hand, kisses it and quickly raises it up. This means that life on earth must

lead us towards the other life. This gesture also reminds us that we are travellers on earth and in a continual process of birth.

Very often trifling objects are loaded with significant functions such as a stone laid down against the central post, a mat, a bonnet, water, light, a sunset and many others. By these means the cultural society wants to retrace over again the process of the of an individual to reinforce in him his vital inherited conscience. He will be draped with a new loin-cloth, sign of his birth and will receive a new name to make of him a new personality. He will be submitted to pain to harden himself, in order to bear life. He will have to vomit to purify himself and at the same time weaken himself unto unconsciousness, picture of death. He will be given parrot's red feathers, so as to understand the words of the messages from above.

The positive attitude of facing life is also expressed by the symbol of colors, plants, a tiger-cat skin and by the presence of sponsors. The sacred harp (*ngoma*) symbol of the Blessed Mother (Gningone Mebeghe) will escort him during these ceremonies of death and of spiritual rebirth, in order to testify to his African Christianity. According to the Fang belief, the sacred harp used in the syncretic sects during all nocturnal ceremonies (*ngoze*) reactualizes and dramatizes the mythical tale of the death of a sacrificed woman. Through the red and white symbolic colors, important stress is put upon the feminine element in the creation and formation of the world. The harp with a diamond-shaped hole, as well as the central post in the ritual cabin is symbolic of femininity and summarizes Bouiti philosophy according to which man must not only be generated by a woman, to be born, but also to be reborn spiritually.

All of the Bouiti and Ombwiri ceremonies draw their religious characters and mysterious strength from a plant called iboga. Besides its many uses, the plant remains at the center of all the cultural actions, as a source of visions, a means of spiritual ties and its taken as a form of communion and taken as a medicine as well.

*Written by the author*

PIOTR NIKLEWICZ

#### SYNCRETIC RELIGIONS OF THE BLACK AFRICA — THEIR ROLE IN FORMATION OF THE NEW AFRICAN SUPRA-TRIBAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The article begins with a characteristics of the specific social situation favouring the development of syncretic religious movements. In Africa, the most important factors accounting for the rise of such a situation are as follows:

- 1) dissatisfaction with colonial reality;
- 2) the clash of cultures and religions, different in various parts of Africa but, generally speaking of the European-Christian, Arab-Mahometan and African-polytheistic ones;
- 3) the Africans' drive at social advancement (in many countries unattainable on another route);
- 4) inconsistencies of Christianity (incompatibility of the teachings of the Church and colonial practice);

5) urbanization resulting in a weakening of the traditional authorities and social links;

6) the rise of the new urban proletariat.

The second chapter presents two attempts at classification of the religious syncretic movements in Black Africa. The concept is discussed of H. W. Turner who divides them into two basic groups depending on whether they consider themselves Christian or not. The former i.e. that including the syncretic religious movements believing themselves to be Christian is classed as follows:

- a) the independent separatist churches;
- b) the prophetic movements;
- c) the independent prophetic and reformatory churches.

The second, i.e. the group of the said non-Christian movements comprises the following sub-groups:

- a) the marginal one, including maniacs, charlatans and individuals abusing religion for commercial purposes;
- b) the political-religious groupings;
- c) those of reviving paganism;
- d) the messianic and Judaic movements.

And, in turn, Bengt Sundkler, the Swedish scholar, differentiates — on the basis of his researches in South Africa — two basic types of African syncretic religions:

The "Ethiopian" (from the Biblical Ethiopia identified with Black Africa) and the "Zionist" one (called thus after Mount Zion, often appearing in the names of those religions). The former, "Ethiopian" syncretic religions are nearer to the respective Protestant churches from which they severed themselves — in most cases as a protest against racial discrimination.

The second — Zionist — are more original and rather closer to the traditional beliefs of the aborigines.

The third chapter discusses the reach of syncretic movements in Africa in social, geographical, quantitative and historical aspects.

The fourth is devoted to the part played by African syncretic religions in the formation of supra-tribal consciousness — a new phenomenon in Black Africa. That part is depicted against the background of two chosen syncretic religions and namely, the church of Simon Kimbangu and his successors in the Congo and of Shembe's "ama Nazareth" in South Africa.

The concluding part of the article presents outlines of the programmes, activities and histories of these two syncretic religious movements and the characters of their leaders.

ANDRZEJ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI

#### THE SYNCRETIC MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

The article deals with one of the functions of the syncretic sects and churches in Africa and, namely, with that of ensuring the feeling of security to Africans of the period of transformations.

The author opposes the view generally held that the primitive African was fettered with fear. Fear and frustration appeared but as a result of the clash of

two cultures — the white and the black — and the ensuing disintegration of the latter.

The said factors appear in the situation marked by lack of correspondence between the individual's inner world (the cognitive and ideological elements of personality) and the outer one. The personality of the African of the period of transformations has undergone but slight changes, the outer world — those of capital importance. This disfunctional syndrome did not occur in primitive Africa where — under stable socio-economic conditions — the religious doctrines, exercising the function of a scientific theory, explained reality in a satisfactory way. The result of that primitive "scientific theory" was the "rational" technique of the magic. Under the conditions of the clash with the European culture — adoption of the rational technique was not accompanied by that of truly scientific theory. The operational and intellectual factors of personality had been dissociated and the African fell a victim to frustration. A factor favouring this state of affairs was disintegration of old social structures.

The new syncretic beliefs and their relevant social institutions have partly taken over the function of the old primitive beliefs. The author of the article analyses three syncretic movements in the Ivory Coast: Harrism, neo-Harrism and deima. Their Chrystology is not in a position to provide for the Africans the elements which would help them to understand the functioning of the respective material products of contemporary civilization. It supplies them but with a general philosophical concept of the new world. The said concept is a basis permitting to understand that world in the categories close to traditional Africa, also the philosophical ones. The religious doctrine, however, has ceased to exercise the function of a general theory of Nature what is connected with limitation of applicability range of the magic. The philosophical and moral Chrystological concept of the new world provides a basis for its understanding and for this very reason restores the Africans' feeling of security. A favourable factor is here the social function of the syncretic institutions which, when displaying their activities in ethnically mixed milieus, integrate the latter into new communities.

The study of syncretic movements is liable to prove an effective method in research on those of stratifying effect. The respective sects and churches group the individuals with various degree of acculturation. The author points — by way of example — to the fates, in Kenya, of the Christ in Africa Church. A weighty theoretical problem — that of interdependence of the syncretic beliefs and the stage of socio-economic development — is mentioned by the author but in a preliminary way.

ZYGMUNT KOMOROWSKI

#### TRADITIONS OF THE GREAT SAVANNAH

The Wolofs, Serers and Mande peoples, constitute — besides the Haalpulaarens to whom the author has devoted one of his recent essays\* — the strongest and most vital ethnic groups in the western edge of Sub-Saharan savannah. And

\* "Kultura i Społeczeństwo", No 1, 1969.

it is their traditions and aspirations that have become the basis of national consciousness awakening among the peoples of that region.

The Wolofs and Serers live mainly the Senegal where they constitute a relative majority. Their cultures show several related features though, in some respects, also considerable differences. Each of them forms a somewhat different "personality".

In 1967, the number of the Wolofs was estimated at over one million, their language being spoken by two thirds of all the inhabitants of Senegal. The traditions of their statehood reach back to the turn of the 13th—14th century when the semi-legendary chief — Ndiadian Ndiaj established the kingdom of Djoiof and adopted the title of "burba". The kingdom survived until 1885 when its fortieth ruler — Alhuri Ndiaj, ceded his country to France after a lost war and emigrated to die in exile but as fully independent man.

The Djolof state was once covering the area of more than one hundred thousand square kilometres. In the course of time, i.e. in the 16th—17th centuries three other powerful monarchies grew out from it and, namely, those of Kajor, Baol and Walo. The first of them, particularly mighty was nonetheless also defeated, in 1887.

In the Wolof countries power was exercised by the magnates. The rulers were elected only from among princes of blood (garmi). The monarchs were, above all, chiefs entitled — by virtue of custom — to one third of the spoils. The basis of their authority was an armed brigade in company of which they were constantly travelling about their lands. The queens and other women of princely families (iinger) also enjoyed considerable privileges.

The social organization of that people was based, of old, on the large families belonging to the partilinear or matrilinear clans. The latter were, in turn, arranged into castes (genio). Children were being brought up in families and in the local "age classes". The boys, when fifteen years' old, were obliged to undergo circumcision, the clitoridectomy of girls was, however, not practised.

Islam penetrated to Wolof countries as early as the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, its consolidation followed but in the 19th century, and even later, in the colonial period. From among the old rulers, true Muslims were but the last "burba" Djoiof and the last "damel" Kajor. The "Braks" of Walo tribes have never converted to Islam. An outstanding religious leader of the Wolofs — uniting them in the name of Allah — was Amadu Bamba, founder of the famous congregation of the Murids. His specific positivism has proved a contribution to success of economic nature and, namely, to the development of local plantations of earthnuts.

The Wolofs are known for a highly developed sense of personal dignity. Honour is conceived by them, above all, as "dyom" i.e. the pride of one's own personality obliging to definite behaviours. Every individual's ambition is to play an imposing beautiful part, determined by local customs. Moreover, a man of honour has to be able to live within the community, to be human and love his relatives.

And it was precisely the sense of honour that accounted for the numerous acts of Wolofs' magnanimity recorded in their history. This was also the factor contributing to the famous valor of those people, which was appreciated and utilized by the French forming the detachments of "Tirailleurs sénégalais". The Wolofs have of old been familiar with the notion of a voluntary sacrifice for the good of others as testified by the legend of about Jasin Bubou.

Those people love legends, anecdotes and proverbs. They appreciate self-control and kindness. At the same time, they cherish a conviction about their dominance in the young Senegalese state and their historical mission resulting from this fact.

The Serers inhabiting the so-called Little Coast and the gathering ground of the rivers Sin and Salum are less numerous than the Wolofs. In 1967 their number was estimated at some 600,000. They are, above all, agriculturists not keen on war spoils or military expansion, very strongly devoted to the traditions of their ancestors and for the most part persisting, despite the impact of Islam, in their old animistic beliefs. The latter's characteristic feature is identification of life with force. The faith in reincarnation is also common among them. As shown by the archaeological findings, the settlements of the Serers were once situated in Mauretania and on the river Senegal. It was only in the 13th century that they were driven away from them. The kingdoms of Sin and Salum that survived until 1891 and a pleiad of minor little states in Serers' lands were grounded by alien warriors, the Gelowars — invaders coming from the Malinké tribe. Later on these were waging bitter struggles against the Wolofs, Fulans and Tuculers.

The Serer rulers — the "buros" and "mads" were at the same time the high priests, intermediaries in the contacts between the living and their dead ancestors. They symbolized the unity of their people. Hence, the conviction they were the factual managers of land which actually belonged to the spirits.

At the side of the rulers also elected from among princes of the blood, there exercised their functions numerous "dignitaries". It is worth mentioning, however, that royal slaves were often coming to hold high offices.

The society of the Serers, like that of the Wolofs, was also divided into castes. Nonetheless, everybody was entitled to participation in public life.

In the late 19th century the Sin and Salum states yielded to France, without any armed resistance, as they were looking for protection from the attacks of their neighbours. A certain degree of the autonomy of customs has been preserved by them and the hereditary rulers continue to enjoy some honorary rights.

The small families of the Serers are, in fact, patriarchal. Nevertheless, they constitute but a small part of very compact matrilinear clans. The tribal tradition requires that the children bear the mother's and not the father's family name. The elders of both sexes sit on family councils.

The younger generation of the Serers, organized in "age-classes" are carefully prepared for initiation. In the case of boys, the latter is connected with an original mystery on Death and Rescense.

Among this people, too, personal dignity is a matter of great significance. Representatives of the caste of former warriors (diambur) are particularly touchy wherever their honour is concerned.

In some cases the lack is emphasized of any nationalistic chauvinism on the part of the Serers. The latter would like to live on good terms with all their environment. On the other hand, however, they do not assimilate completely, neither do they ever lose the sense of their being an ethnic category in itself. In the case of educated individuals the bonds with tradition and linking back on the very ancient sources of culture often prove an inspiration to creative work. It is by no means accidental that one of the glorifiers of the

ideology of "négritude" — Leopold Sedar Senghor, philosopher, politician and a great poet, is a Serer.

In his analysis of the set of African values of culture L. S. Senghor extensively discusses the problems of emotional attitude and rhythm. Senghor maintains that with Africans rhythm constitutes an "architecture of every being". Among the Serers even the ordinary act of welcome has something rhythmical about it.

It is also worth noting that Senghor, the romantic poet from Serer tribe has been supported in his political career by no other but the "caliph general" of the Murids — Wolofs' great positivist — El Hadj Falilou M'Backé. Even the difference of religious beliefs proved no obstacle in this respect. This fact seems to promise further symbiosis.

The direct neighbours of the Serers are the Mande-tan or the proper Mande people. Their abodes stretch within a huge equilateral triangle, a side of which, one-thousand kilometres long, rests upon the Sahara in the vicinity of the sixteenth parallel of latitude. The opposite apex aims at the south, reaching to the eighth.

The total number of the Mande amounts to five millions. Two and a half millions live in Mali and more than one in Guinea. To this people there also belong numerous tribes related to it with their language and customs, the most important of them being the Malinké, Bambara, Soninke (Sarakole, Marka), Bozo and Dyula (Jarse).

The social organization of the Mande also called the Mandingo or Uangara, is based on the large patriarchal family ("du"). Caste system is also common here — the remnant of the big states and of the division of activities once introduced by them. The concentrations of families living together form villages ("dugu") headed by the chiefs ("dugu-tigi") and the councils of elders. The villages, in turn, are united into cantons called "kafo".

Today the Mande-tan are, for the most part, the followers of Islam. Nonetheless, it is to be admitted their faith is often rather a superfluous one, many of the old beliefs having been preserved. The Bambaras persisting in animism have also kept the imposing myth about creation of the world and the beginning of the rule of god Faro, conqueror of Pemba. Offerings in human beings — especially the albinos — were once common in the religious rites of that people. Various associations watched and continue to watch over, observance of the customs, like the "komo" — i.e. the union of all the circumcised in the village, the organiser of funeral and initiations rites. It also guards the sanctuaries and masks.

In olden days the Mande-tan had founded big and powerful states, and even true empires — Ghana, Kaniaga, Mali, Kaarta, Segu etc. The legend about Samakoto, the founder of the local dominion of Dantila, depicts the rise of statehood.

In the nineteenth century an attempt at unification of all the Mandes was undertaken by Samori Ture, later on subdued by the French.

At present the Mande people continue to play an outstanding part in the independent countries of West Africa. It is from their milieu that there come a major part of the local "new elites". In Mali the Bambara language has become the principal means of inter-tribal communication. The curricula of all the schools in that region include instruction in history of the states grounded by those tribes. Moreover, this history is growing into a myth which

integrates the whole of that part of the African continent. Sundiat, Mansa Musa or Biton Kulibala are referred to there in the same way as Charlemagne in Western Europe, or Bolesław Chrobry or Władysław Jagiełło in Poland. And whereas the Wolofs are nationalists on the scale of one country, and the Serers the advocates of inter-tribal understanding for the sake of preservation of native cultural traditions, the Mande peoples mostly display the ambition at forming the great pan-regional structures — at unification of the entire Western savannah. With them every, even the smallest, component is fitted into a vast horizon where many a time, tiny villages were transforming — within the lifetime of one generation — into capitals of empires.

**HALINA HANNA BOBROWSKA**

#### SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE WORKS OF SEMBENE OUSMANE

The article is meant as an attempt at commenting two works by the Senegalese writer, Sembene Ousmane: *Vehi Ciosane ou Blanche Genèse* suivi du *Mandat*, against the background of social relations of the Senegal of today. The features of Ousmane's personality are depicted by the respective stages of his biography as a writer's and confronted with deliberations on the specific traits of African personality. The study *Analyse de la personnalité Diola* by L. V. Thomas, Professor of the University of Dakar, has been employed as comparative material for more general discussion on the gallery of human characters appearing in Ousmane's works. A handful of information concerning his creative personality constitutes an introduction to the writer's two short-stories:

*Mandat* — the plot of which revolves round a money transfer from France and *Vehi Ciosane* — a family drama taking place in a small village in Senegal.

The summary of both the stories is complemented by chosen fragments which illustrate Ousmane's guiding social principles and correspond with these of the article according to which Ousmane's creative work may serve as an explanation of the processes occurring in West Africa in the period of transformations. In his own conviction, Ousmane exercises a social mission. He mercilessly exposes the shortcomings of his country's system, brands the soulless operational mechanism of state administration in the independent Senegal of today and draws a picture of everyday life — bereft of illusions.

The short-story — *Mandat* depicts the chain of difficulties of administrative nature hampering settlement of the simplest — it would seem — matter, such as drawing of money transferred from abroad. And yet, the difficulties involved prove very serious and give rise to several unusual developments rooted just in those new conditions of independent administration exercising its regulations in a soulless manner, in face of which a Bushman, or even the poor urban population, are completely helpless.

The scene of the short-story *Vehi Ciosane ou Blanche Genèse* is laid in a small rural settlement in "niaye", i.e. the plain of Senegal's Western coast.

The subject is an intimate family drama and, namely, incest. Within a rural community such a case is no more a matter of a compact group but reaches much further. It infringes the sense of moral balance of the entire collective and becomes the cause of a series of tragic developments. The author presents the

clash of opinions within the community of a small village. As a progressive writer Sembene Ousmane cannot remain indifferent but declares for those whose stand is consonant with his moral principles. His comments abounding in reflection and the realistic scenes are a contribution to the image of the static and conservative Moslem Africa masterfully drawn by Ousmane in this short-story.

The following part of the article refers to the research on the basic features of Negro-African culture and personality, carried on by L. V. Thomas among the Diola tribe in Senegal. The authoress compares his observations with the characters of Ousmane's works and of the writer himself and points to numerous coincidences.

The concluding part of the article comprises general remarks on the theory and sociology of literature with regard to the Negro-African one. The role of oral literature — based on myths and legends — as of a culture-generating factor is particularly emphasized.

The essay — *Les idéologies négro-africaines d'aujourd'hui* (Ed. Université de Dakar, 1965) by the already mentioned L. V. Thomas, serves in this article as a material for the deliberations on the role of myths in Black Africa, in confrontation with the stand taken by Sembene Ousmane.

To complement her deliberations on African personality, the authoress refers to the views of the Polish sociologist Józef Chałasiński. In the latter's opinion that term did not appear as a result of the need for scientific analysis but "was evolved among African intellectuals educated within the sphere of the impact of, and contacts with, the European and American cultures. It was a symptom of the need for the determination of one's own place with regard to Africa on the one hand and to Europe and America on the other [...]. The problem of African personality comports with that of the African nation and African supra-tribal culture. And these problems are, in turn, connected with the ones of the national language, educated elite and of the reading public."

The stand taken by Sembene Ousmane — far from exaltation of the literary and philosophical theories voiced by the intellectual elites of Black Africa, becomes understandable in the light of his present creative work. Ousmane appears therein as the spokesman of technical and economic progress — the objective of the efforts and development trends of the societies in Black Africa. Thus Ousmane's literary work becomes a fact of social significance.

The statement that the novel is a social fact leads to the factors which were paving the way for the very notion of the sociology of literature. Pointing to the most important of relevant works by such outstanding theoreticians as G. Lukacs, Mannheib or L. Goldmann, the authoress concludes her article in the statement that the analysis of literary works brings into relief the transformations most characteristic of the societies of our day. And this also applies to the novels by Negro-African writers.

WANDA LEOPOLD

#### NOVELS BY IBO WRITERS

The article constituting a fragment of the dissertation on Nigerian novel deals with six writers from the Ibo tribe, namely, Onuora Nzekwu, Nkem Nwan-kwo, Obi B. Egbuna, Chukwuemeka Ike, Flora Nwapa and Elechi Amadi. The

fact of the said authors' membership of the Ibo tribe is not, however, the only reason for joint discussion of their work. The article does not examine, for example, the novels by Chinua Achebe or Cyprian Ekwensi, two distinguished writers, also from the said tribe, but representing different attitudes and various results of the pursuit for self-determination. Nevertheless, the authoress' conclusion is that — despite marked differences of artistic nature — the writers mentioned at the outset of the article are linked by similarity of the range of the problems tackled and of the basic answers given to them. In all their works we are faced with the hero or narrator who has outstepped the framework of tribal society and come into touch with the world of a different culture and a different set of values. Hence, the inevitable confrontation and the problem of choice. This issue as such would not prove a sufficient discriminant since this is the key problem of the Black Africa's contemporary literature, the one with which all its writers have to cope in a more or less conscious way. The authors discussed are characterized by common choice made in that situation. The choice in favour of the pattern and system of values of a tribal society. No less characteristic is the fact that the main criterion of this choice is the interest of the individual. For all those writers have come to conceive the latter in a way similar to the European one, to recognize the individual as an entity and a value in itself. This resulted in a deconsecration of tribal values and the traditional pattern, like the other possible ones, has been treated as functional with regard to the individual. Thus, recognition of the ultimate primacy of the traditional pattern followed from the conviction that was the most effective one in providing for the individual's feeling of security.

In spite of the choice made those writers often realize that their return to the tribe is, to a large degree, but a self-delusion. The very fact of the individual's emancipation results in a difference of his approach which becomes more like that of an outsider's. The feeling of incertitude, inner antinomies and conflicts, the conviction that transformations are inevitable continue to torment the heroes and narrators. The tribal values are not integrated by the said writers in a mythologizing way — as the absolute and universal ones, like it happens in the works of their colleagues from the French language circle. Or some significance was here, undoubtedly, the impact of the empirical and pragmatic British culture. Moreover, irrespective of their frequently observed incomplete satisfaction none of the writers of that group has managed to step beyond the orb: the individual — the tribe, and enter into that of a different intellectual or social atmosphere.

Neither seems it accidental that — irrespective of a few exceptions — such a fiducial point is most frequently represented in Nigerian literature precisely by the writers from the Ibo tribe. The process of integration of the Ibos and the rise of their consciousness were taking place parallel with the growth of all-Nigerian emancipation movement. As shown by the developments of the recent years, the Ibos' sense of community and of their separateness has prevailed and become more important to them socially than the all-Nigerian bonds.

In literature this problem does not find, of course, so distinct and univocal a meaning as in the realm of politics. Nevertheless, this relatively very large group of Ibo writers — dealing with the specific traits of the customs and social relations of that tribe and attempting to translate certain norms of its life into the values topical today, and, also, linking certain general features of tribal

structures with the Ibos alone — all that group undoubtedly represent the type of attitude in which the primacy of Ibos' unity over other considerations finds its support and justification.

WANDA LEOPOLD

#### COMMENTARY ON *BLACK ORPHEUS*

In the commentary on the Polish version of Sartre's *Black Orpheus*, the essay was first published in 1948 as introduction to *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française*, the translator points to the reasons which made her undertake this work. She considered it worthy of presentation to the Polish readers (1) because of the historical significance of that essay in the formation of the consciousness of black intellectuals of the French language circle, as evidenced by their numerous statements, and discussions and by maintaining of some of its theses in that environment; (2) the role of the said essay in the creative work of Sartre himself and, namely, offering of a new point of hope, amidst the mood of disappointment and estrangement from Europe after the Second World War; (3) the translator's conviction this is still one of the more suggestive and still scarce visions of culture drawn by a European who departed from the Europecentric attitude.

#### FROM THE EDITOR

This is the third issue of our *Sociological Review* on African countries. First issue (*Sociological Review*, Vol. XIX, 1, 1965) was published in 1965 second issue (Vol. XXI) — in 1967.