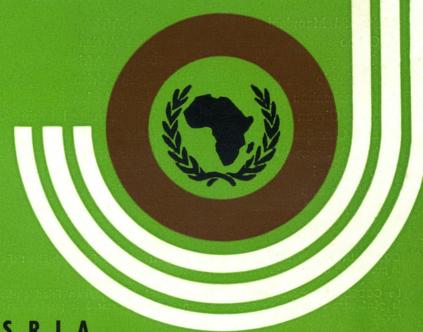
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Guide to Contributors

Contributions are invited from all over the world, and especially from African (and non-African) scholars working in African universities and research institutes. Articles are accepted in both English and French, but should, if possible, include a brief summary in the other language. The average length suggested for an article is about 25 - 30 pages, typed in double spacing, preferably on quarto-size sheets, and on one side of the paper only. Any footnotes should be numbered consecutively and placed at the end of the article. Copyright of accepted articles will be vested with CODESRIA. Each contributor will receive a copy of the journal together with 15 off-prints of his article. Contributors to Africa Development express their own opinions, which should not be interpreted as being the official view of CODESRIA or of any institution / organization with which the authors may be connected.

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Socialisme et Liberté *

Léopold Sédar Senghor

I — INTRODUCTION

En intervenant à ce Colloque organisé à l'occasion de l'ouverture de la Maison de Karl Marx, je voudrais adresser, au peuple allemand, le salut amical du peuple sénégalais, qui, dès son accession à la souveraineté internationale, et avant même celle-ci, avait décidé de participer activement au dialogue des cultures pour l'élaboration progressive de la Civilisation de l'Universel. Si j'interviens, c'est également pour rendre hommage à ce grand peuple allemand qui, à travers les siècles, a donné au monde, dans tous les domaines de l'esprit, des hommes dont la pensée, créatrice, fait désormais partie du patrimoine universel.

En effet, qu'il s'agisse des sciences exactes avec des savants comme Albert Einstein, de la littérature avec des poètes comme Wolfgang Goethe ou de la philosophie avec des penseurs comme Karl Marx et Friedrich Engels, dans tous les domaines, le peuple allemand a produit des génies qui restent enracinés dans la terre allemande : dans les vertus de la Germanité.

Dans ce contexte, la tenue de ce Colloque, consacré aux rapports entre le *Socialisme* et la *Liberté*, à l'occasion de l'ouverture de la Maison de Karl Marx, revêt, à mes yeux, valeur de symbole, car ce thème traduit, avec pertinence, la constance de la réalité culturelle du peuple allemand, attaché qu'a toujours été celui-ci, si l'on veut bien y réfléchir, aux vertus que prône le Socialisme. C'est aussi que le peuple sénégalais a, dans une Afrique où règnent encore le racisme et le tribalisme, choisi de faire, de ses différences ethniques et socio-culturelles, comme le peuple allemand, une symbiose dynamique

Pour toutes ces raisons, j'éprouve une grande joie à participer à ce Colloque, dont le but est d'honorer l'un des plus grands esprits que le monde ait connus et qui, dans une féconde synthèse du rationalisme européen et des expériences de son temps, aura embrassé tous les domaines de la condition humaine. En effet, Karl Marx aura marqué, plus que tout autre, non seulement la pensée européenne de son siècle, mais également la Civilisation de l'Universel, qui s'élabore

^{*} Communication présentée par le Président Senghor, alors en visite officielle en Allemagne Fédérale, au Colloque de Trèves du 4 mai 1977.

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actuellement de par le monde. La pensée marxienne s'est, naturellement, développée à partir d'un patrimoine déjà fort ancien et qui, d'Aristote à Hegel, est marqué d'une dynamique interne qui en garantit l'élan créateur.

C'est dans ce contexte, marqué, dès le XVIIIe siècle, du vent de la liberté, que vont s'élaborer, progressivement, les théories philosophiques et politiques dont le Socialisme sera l'un des plus positifs. Depuis les théoriciens français dits « utopistes », comme Proudhon, Fourrier et Saint-Simon, jusqu'aux penseurs allemands modernes, dont Marx et Engels seront les plus « scientifiques », le Socialisme sera une doctrine faite pour l'homme, parce qu'orientée vers l'épanouissement de l'homme. C'est dans cette perspective humaniste, mais moderne, que se situe, dans toute sa force, la pensée marxienne. Naturellement, pour des raisons historiques, ethniques et culturelles, celle-ci renferme des éléments propres à l'Europe occidentale du XIXe siècle; mais, grâce à la méthode dialectique fondée sur le matérialisme, elle renferme, en même temps, des éléments permanents: des vérités objectives et universelles.

C'est sur cette base que nous allons aborder les relations, également dialectiques, qui existent entre le Socialisme et la Liberté, dans la perspective humaniste de la pensée marxienne, c'est-à-dire le thème même de ce Colloque.

II - DEFINITION DU SOCIALISME

Mais, auparavant, qu'est-ce que le Socialisme? En effet, pour une question de méthode, il est essentiel de définir, d'abord, les mots, ce qui nous permettra de clarifier le débat.

Comme on le sait, le mot de « socialisme », souvent affecté de l'épithète « scientifique » et désigné, par la suite, par le terme de « marxisme », donne lieu, dans sa définition, à plusieurs interprétations, souvent subjectives, voire tendancieuses.

Ces interprétations diverses ne seraient-elles pas contraires au caractère « scientifique » de cette philosophie ou de cette « science » ? Les grands marxologues et, avant eux, Marx et Engels, ont répondu, eux-mêmes, à cette question: « Notre doctrine », écrivent-ils, « n'est pas un dogme, mais un guide pour l'action ». Je précise: c'est une méthode pour l'action.

Si le socialisme fait l'objet de différentes interprétations, c'est, dans une large mesure, parce qu'il comporte, en lui-même, des éléments particuliers, spécifiques à des réalités sociales : historiques et géographiques, ethniques et culturelles. Ces éléments ne peuvent être perçus ou vécus de la même manière par tous les pays et toutes les époques. Cependant et encore une fois, le socialisme, c'est aussi, c'est essentiellement un certain nombre d'éléments permanents et universels : de vérités objectives.

Comme je l'ai indiqué au Colloque de Tunis, en 1975, dans une conférence intitulée Pour une Relecture Africaine de Marx et d'Engels. le « marxisme, c'est l'accent mis sur certaines idées, comme la théorie et la pratique. l'homme et l'aliénation, la lutte des classes, l'histoire et, dans celle-ci, la priorité de l'économie ». Plus précisément. par-delà ces concepts, et dans une liaison dialectique, le marxisme est une idéologie considérée « comme un système de valeurs proposé aux hommes pour leur permettre de se transformer, en transformant le monde, dans le sens de ces valeurs ».

Ainsi, après l'analyse des réalités humaines, contingentes et universelles, ou « sociologie », le problème majeur du Socialisme, sa finalité, est la condition de l'homme. Mais, pour aller plus loin, l'essence du Socialisme, c'est la méthode même employée, qu'il s'agisse d'analyse ou de synthèse, surtout de la liaison de l'analyse et de la synthèse en symbiose. C'est la vieille méthode dialectique que les Grecs avaient empruntée aux Egyptiens, que Hegel avait désincarnée en voulant en faire un absolu, et que Marx a revivifiée, humanisée, en la réincarnant dans la matière

Ainsi défini, le Socialisme apparaît, dans toute sa rigueur, comme un « perpétuel esprit de recherche ». Il propose un projet de société fondée sur la justice dans la solidarité des hommes, donc sur la liberté, parce que sur la science de l'homme.

C'est dans cette perspective que le Socialisme, en tant qu'étude, puis théorie scientifique de la société, s'appuie sur des vérités générales, valables pour tous les temps et pays, mais aussi sur des vérités particulières, puisque celles-là s'enracinent dans celles-ci et que le Socialisme se donne comme but ultime la libération et l'épanouissement de l'homme, situé dans un cadre socio-culturel particulier. Dans ces vérités, la dialectique, comme méthode d'analyse scientifique, mais aussi de synthèse, et la planification comme méthode de symbiose. c'est-à-dire d'organisation rationnelle de la production ou, plus généralement, de l'« activité générique » de l'homme, occupent une place de choix. Il est vrai, encore une fois, que ce n'est pas Marx qui a inventé la dialectique, mais c'est lui qui l'a appliquée aux faits concrets, très exactement à la réalité sociale. Il a donné à la dialectique à la fois une base et un champ d'application concrets.

Ce sera, sans doute, l'apport le plus fécondant de Marx à la pensée socialiste. Cet apport, grâce au contexte historique, marqué par le développement des sciences, dans lequel il a été élaboré, a reçu une très large diffusion, et sa rigueur a fini par s'imposer au monde comme une théorie efficace. A ce système donc, on a donné le nom de Marxisme.

Les vérités particulières contenues dans le socialisme scientifique concernent les rapports entre l'infrastructure et la superstructure, la théorie du développement uniforme, mais surtout la théorie de la « lutte des classes ». En effet, ces vérités ne sont pas exportables d'un espace socio-culturel précis, avec ses réalités économiques spécifiques et ses valeurs originales de civilisation, vers un autre univers, différent: elles s'appliquent à des hommes « en chair et en os », déterminés par leur histoire et leur géographie, leur ethnie et leur culture.

C'est, dans une large mesure, sur ces considérations qu'il convient de situer les diverses expressions du socialisme, qui, si différentes qu'elles soient, convergent toutes vers le même but : la libération et l'épanouissement de l'homme, cette libération et cet épanouissement étant, eux-mêmes, le résultat de l'« activité générique » de l'homme se libérant par le travail.

III - SOCIALISME ET HUMANISME

C'est ainsi que nous sommes situés dans la véritable perspective du Socialisme : l'Humanisme.

En effet, comme je l'ai montré ailleurs, l'ambition de Marx, et son paradoxe apparent, a toujours été d'exprimer, à travers toute son œuvre, la dignité de l'homme avec ses exigences spirituelles, sans avoir jamais recours ni à la métaphysique, ni à la morale, ni à la religion, pas même à la philosophie. On s'est, en effet, demandé au nom de qui ou de quoi Marx osait affirmer la dignité humaine et le droit d'appropriation de l'homme sur les produits de son travail, au nom de qui ou de quoi il condamnait le travail nocturne, le travail des enfants et la traite des Nègres. Je réponds : c'est au nom d'une certaine intériorité humaine, d'une force spirituelle, osons le dire, qui, née de l'homme, dépasse l'homme. En tout cas, la condition humaine, je veux dire le destin humain à réaliser, est bien le sens de toute son œuvre. C'est le fondement de l'humanisme marxien, car, comme le dit le Robert, l'humanisme est bien « toute théorie ou doctrine qui prend pour fin la personne humaine et son épanouissement ». Même si Althusser en fait une « idéologie », celle-ci demeure une idéologie à finalité humaine.

Mais quelle est la conception marxienne de l'homme? Il convient, avant de répondre à cette question, de rappeler, en les précisant, les conceptions humanistes antérieures, dont la marxienne ne peut être détachée, au risque de lui enlever toute originalité.

En effet, l'humanisme, considéré comme un mouvement intellectuel ayant pour « fin la personne humaine et son épanouissement », a pris une forme théorique cohérente à partir de la Renaissance. Cette conception, qui est celle des humanistes, est, grâce au contexte philosophique de l'époque, imprégnée de rationalisme métaphysique. L'homme de ce mouvement est l'homme en général, qui n'a ni race, ni patrie et n'appartient à aucune ethnie. Il est une construction de l'esprit : une théoria, pour parler comme les Grecs. Cet homme, place dans un cadre spatio-temporel purement conceptuel, sera à plusieurs égards, l'homme de Hegel et de Feuerbach, qui auront profondément marqué la pensée de Marx.

Au demeurant, si nous tenons compte de la césure théorique intervenue dans la pensée de Marx, de la « coupure épistémologique » de 1845, nous distinguerons deux moments dans l'élaboration de la théorie marxienne.

En effet, les œuvres de jeunesse de Marx, qui s'arrêtent en 1845. sont marquées par des influences de Hegel et de Feuerbach, où, naturellement, la conception marxienne de l'homme est très proche de la conception hégélienne. Mais, déjà, l'homme marxien était un être plus concret. C'était un bourgeois, mais, plus réellement, un travailleur situé matériellement et socialement. C'était, en effet, un homme situé en Europe occidentale, mais surtout impliqué dans un système social donné, le système capitaliste, à l'intérieur duquel ses attributs essentiels, la dignité et la liberté, étaient aliénés parce que lui-même, en tant que producteur, était soumis à l'aliénation. Par cette aliénation. était consacrée la perte, pour lui, des produits de son travail comme acte libre, et la perte de lui-même comme personne dont l'« activité générique » est, par-delà la satisfaction des « besoins animaux », de créer des œuvres d'art : de beauté. Pour ce Marx-là, la propriété privée est. déjà, le symbole et la réalité de l'aliénation, qui substitue l'avoir, mort, du capitaliste à l'être, vivant, du travailleur,

Après la coupure épistémologique. l'analyse du concept de l'aliénation sera, dans une large mesure, poursuivie par Marx, dans le Capital, où nous retrouvons un théoricien, non pas insensible à la condition humaine et à la philosophie, sans sentiments ni passion, mais aguerri, fort des expériences de la vie passée à côté des ouvriers. Comme l'indique Roger Garaudy, dans Perspectives de l'Homme, « Marx, dans le Captal. ne renonce nullement à cette analyse de l'aliénation: il l'approfondit en opérant une reconversion des concepts spéculatifs, qu'il dépasse en les intégrant »

En effet, l'étude des conditions des ouvriers concrets situés dans le système capitaliste, a permis à Marx de distinguer trois formes fondamentales de l'aliénation: l'aliénation du produit de travail, l'aliénation de l'acte de travail, l'aliénation de la vie générique. Le concept restait un instrument d'analyse théorique, mais chargé d'une signification sociale et économique concrète; il devenait un concept scientifique, mais, dans une démarche prospective, un instrument efficace, qui permettait aux travailleurs de prendre une conscience claire de leur condition d'exploités; partant, il devenait un instrument de libération politique, mieux, d'épanouissement culturel.

Il s'agit, plus précisément, dans le Capital, d'indiquer aux travailleurs, situés dans le système capitaliste, fondé sur le salariat, comment, à partir d'une situation d'aliénation, où ils sont traités comme des marchandises par la vente de leur force de travail, ils peuvent s'organiser pour accéder à des conditions d'existence plus dignes, où l'homme sera son propre créateur. C'est à partir de cette organisation que les producteurs, associés, règleront leurs échanges, d'une part, entre eux, et, d'autre part, avec la nature, qu'ils auront aménagée pour servir leurs besoins. Au-delà, commencera le développement des aptitudes et des possibilités humaines comme fin en soi, singulièrement dans le domaine de l'art. C'est, là, toute la perspective humaniste du Socialisme : une société d'hommes libres, socialement désaliénés et culturellement épanouis. D'un mot, le Socialisme est, essentiellement, auto-création de l'homme.

IV --- SOCIALISME ET LIBERTE

Il résulte, de ce qui précède, que la conception marxienne de l'homme est inséparable de la finalité humaine du Socialisme luimême. Donc, plus que les aspects économiques, fondés sur l'appropriation collective des principaux movens de production, en conformité avec le caractère social de la production, par quoi se dépasse la contradiction essentielle du système capitaliste, le Socialisme se donne, comme ambition, l'Homme, dont l'attribution fondamentale est la liberté, plus exactement, l'action libre. C'est pourquoi l'analyse et la compréhension du concept de l'aliénation nous paraissent si importantes, car il ne peut y avoir liberté dans l'aliénation, mais, en même temps, la démocratie est, historiquement, un moven de la liberté et un instrument de la justice.

Les problèmes de la liberté ne peuvent être posés correctement que dans la perspective de la libération de la classe la plus nombreuse et la plus contrainte, c'est-à-dire la classe des travailleurs. Pour quoi la finalité du Socialisme, c'est-à-dire l'instauration d'une société fondée sur la solidarité des hommes dans la justice, est aussi celle de la liberté et de la démocratie.

Ces attributs essentiels de l'homme ne peuvent donc s'épanouir que dans le cadre d'une société où les rapports sociaux fondés sur l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme sont, non seulement supprimés, mais encore remplacés par des rapports fondés sur l'égalité et la solidarité, partant, sur la justice. Dans ces conditions seulement, l'homme, qui est un ensemble de besoins, pourra se réaliser en tant qu'être dans toute sa plénitude culturelle. Il deviendra, alors, conscient de lui-même et de ses possibilités de création : il aura recouvré intégralement sa liberté.

Ainsi, au-delà de ses objectifs économiques immédiats, le Socialisme, à travers l'appropriation collective des moyens de production et la justice sociale, a pour finalité la condition humaine: rendre l'homme concret plus heureux et meilleur par l'épanouissement intégral de tous ses attributs, dont le plus essentiel est la liberté.

Le Socialisme, sans la liberté, comme objectif majeur, ne peut être que totalitarisme, car ce serait la négation de l'homme. On ne peut prétendre, en effet, construire un projet de société dans une perspective socialiste en niant l'attribut fondamental de l'homme, c'està-dire la liberté : la liberté dans la réflexion, dans l'action, dans le travail, dans la création.

Si nous avons, à travers la pensée marxienne, assimilé l'humanisme à la liberté, pour éclairer les relations du socialisme avec celle-ci, c'est parce que, non seulement c'est naturel - toute théorie qui se donne pour finalité l'Homme et son épanouissement étant humaniste -, mais aussi qu'elle permet l'épanouissement de toutes les capacités humaines. C'est dans la liberté et pour la liberté que l'humanisme fleurit.

Naturellement, la liberté dont il s'agit ne saurait être celle qui fut longtemps, comme pendant la Renaissance, le suiet de la spéculation métaphysique. Il ne s'agit pas non plus de la liberté qui justifie. dans le système capitaliste, le droit d'exploiter, en l'aliénant, l'homme par un autre homme, sur la base de la propriété privée. Il s'agit de la liberté de l'être concret, libéré de toutes les contraintes politiques, sociales et culturelles.

Il s'agit de la possibilité, pour l'homme, de développer toutes ses facultés individuelles, dans une société, une collectivité également libre de se déterminer. En effet, comme l'écrivait Marx, dans l'Idéologie allemande, « ce n'est que dans la communauté que l'individu acquiert les moyens de développer ses facultés dans tous les sens : ce n'est que dans la communauté que la liberté personnelle devient donc possible ».

C'est le sens du combat que mènent les militants du socialisme démocratique moderne. C'est en ce sens que, dans la construction actuelle du Socialisme, les réalités économiques et culturelles de chaque peuple doivent être considérées comme des éléments décisifs. C'est également en ce sens que la distinction, rigoureuse, entre vérités permanentes et vérités particulières devra être opérée. Sans quoi, on ferait du Socialisme ce qu'il n'est pas : un dogme. Nous le savons, en effet, par l'expérience, l'Homme de tous les temps et de tous les lieux, ce n'est plus l'homme vivant, réel, mais une simple vue de l'esprit. On ne peut saisir les traits permanents de l'homme qu'à travers ses particularités historiques, géographiques, ethniques, culturelles. Pas plus que l'Européen, l'Africain n'échappe à cette règle. Ils sont situés, l'un et l'autre, dans deux espaces, deux civilisations différentes encore que complémentaires. C'est pourquoi les méthodes et les movens choisis, ici et la pour construire le Socialisme ne peuvent être identiques.

V — CONCLUSION

Comme je l'ai montré dans un article intitulé Marxisme et Humanisme et publié, en 1948, dans la Revue socialiste de Paris, le message de Marx « est toujours actuel, en ce sens qu'il ne nous propose ni doctrine, ni système, mais, encore une fois, une méthode d'action au service de l'homme total : ce qui exclut tout totalitarisme, tout fixisme, car l'homme est toujours à réaliser ».

Le Socialisme, considéré comme philosophie, ou comme une idéologie, est toujours un projet de société d'hommes libres, solidaires dans la justice.

Pour réaliser ce projet de société par l'homme, rendu à lui-même dans sa dignité restaurée, la méthode d'analyse et d'action que préconise Karl Marx demeure la plus efficace parce que la plus rationnelle.

Un Socialisme qui, dans sa construction comme dans sa finalité. nie la dignité humaine, en mutilant l'être, c'est-à-dire les droits fondamentaux de l'homme, dont le plus essentiel est la liberté, ne serait pas socialiste. Mais l'exercice, dans toute sa plénitude, de la liberté. suppose, comme condition, l'existence de la démocratie, qui, comme nous l'avons indiqué, est, historiquement et dans les faits, un moven de la liberté.

Pour toutes ces raisons, le Socialisme sans la liberté ni la démocratie ne saurait être socialiste. Il s'agit, comme l'écrivait Marx dans Economie politique et Philosophie, en libérant l'homme de sa triple aliénation, de « lui permettre l'appropriation réelle de l'être humain par et pour l'homme... en tant que retour complet, conscient, accompli à l'intérieur de toute la richesse du développement passé, de l'homme à soi en tant qu'homme social, c'est-à-dire en tant qu'homme humain et libre».

Il s'agit, en définitive, de rendre l'homme, qui est le cœur du monde, conscient et libre, pour que son «activité générique», grâce au travail, transforme ce monde pour l'accorder, par-delà ses « besoins animaux », à ses exigences spirituelles de liberté et de création.

C'est, la, le message permanent de Marx et du Socialisme démocratique. Pour nous, Sénégalais, l'homme est, à la fois, moyen et fin. C'est pourquoi nous le mettons au début et à la fin de notre Plan de Développement économique et social. Mais il est question d'un homme libre, non pas de celui de la « civilisation de consommation » : encore une fois, d'un homme qui, libéré des besoins animaux, sait, comme le voulait Marx, créer des «œuvres de beauté» pour en faire des nourritures spirituelles.

SUMMARY

Elsewhere in this volume the view that socialism implies a free society of free individuals has been expressed. What does this mean? In this article the author discusses this very issue.

Defining socialism as being a method of action in the service of the whole man, the author notes that socialism appears in all its rigour as a perpetual spirit of research, proposing a design of society based on justice in the solidarity of men, and hence on liberty, because based on the science of man. It is in this perspective that socialism as a study and then a scientific theory of society is based on general truths, valid for all times and for all countries, but also on particular truths, since the former are rooted in the latter and the ultimate goal of socialism is the liberation and self-realization of man, placed in a particular socio-cultural context. In these truths, dialectics as a scientific method of analysis but also of synthesis, and planning as a method symbiosis, i.e. of rational organization of production or, more generally, of the generic activity of man, occupy a foremost place.

The particular truths contained in scientific socialism concern the relations between the base and the superstructure, the theory of uniform development, but above all the theory of the « class struggle ». These truths are not exportable from one specific socio-cultural space, with its specific economic realities and its original values of civilization, to another, different, universe; they apply to men « of flesh and blood », determined by their history and their geography, their ethnic group and their culture.

Thus the study of the conditions of specific workers situated in the capitalist system enabled Marx to distinguish three fundamental forms of alienation: alienation from the product of labour, alienation from the act of labour, and alienation from generic life. The concept remained a tool of theoretical analysis, but imbued with a specific social and economic significance; it became a scientific concept, but with forward-looking approach, an efficient tool which would enable the workers to become clearly aware of their exploited condition; hence it became an instrument of political liberation, and, more than that, of cultural flowering. For the point is to inform the workers in the capitalist system based on wage labour, how, starting from a situation of alienation in which they are treated as commodities through the sale of their labour power, they can organize in order to obtain more fitting conditions of existence in which man will be his own creator. It is on the basis of this organization that producers. in association, will regulate their exchanges on the one hand among themselves and on the other hand with nature, which they will have adapted to serve their needs. Beyond that, there will begin the development of human aptitudes and possibilities as an end in itself, especially in the field of art. Therein lies the whole humanist outlook of socialism: a society of free men, socially disalienated and culturally flourishing. In a word, socialism is essentially the self-creation of man.

The problems of liberty can only be posed correctly from the view point of the liberation of the most numerous and most restricted class, i.e. the working class. That is why the ultimate purpose of socialism, the establishment of a society based on the solidarity of men in justice, is also that of freedom and democracy.

These essential attributes of man can therefore only flourish in the context of a society in which the social relations based on the exploitation of man by man are not only abolished, but also replaced by relations based on equality and solidarity, and hence on justice. Only under these conditions can man, who is a set of needs, attain self-realization as a being in all his cultural plenitude. He will then become conscious of himself and of his creative possibilities: he will have fully regained his freedom.

Socialism, without liberty as a major objective, can be nothing but totalitarianism, because it would be the negation of man. One cannot claim to build a design of society in a socialist perspective if one denies the fundamental human attribute, i.e. freedom: freedom in action, in work, in creation, or, in other words, the possibility for man to develop all his individual faculties in a collective society which also has freedom of self-determination.

In Praise of Socialism

Samir Amin *

I had been asked whether our world was tending towards cultural standardization or was maintaining its variety. I thought that I had implicity answered this question in « *Unequal Development* » (1). Here is my explicit answer.

I. — CONCEPT OF CULTURE

We first need to know what culture or civilization is, what its components are, how they are interrelated. That is the prerequisite for understanding how each of its components assumes its true meaning with reference to the whole — society — and hence becomes intelligible. «Witticisms» like that of Alain (2), the mysterious (and mystical) halo surrounding so many comments on the fine arts, the intuitions suggested by linguistics and what is called the «psychology of peoples» (sic), reference to some episodic superficial relationships which seem to occur between particular elements of the natural context, of the social organisation and of the ideology (political practices, or scientific ideas, or forms of art) (3) — all that is hardly sufficient to hide the conceptual vacuum concerning culture and civilization.

In our view, culture is the mode of organization of the utilization of use values. What are these use values, and can we define them, determine their frontiers, or even try to «classify» them into categories? Can we specify the nature and mode of operation of the organization of the utilization referred to? Lastly, can we discern the types of correspondence (« harmonious » or, on the contrary, contradictory) between these modes of organization on the different planes which concern them? To all these questions we shall try to provide answers in a historical perspective, that is, in the form of the simplified essentials, by revealing the contrasts which here oppose the precapitalist social formations to those of our contemporary world (the capitalist social formations). And since «the point is not to interpret the world, but to change it », our perspective will attempt to define the starting point of the so-called socialist utopia (4): the project of a disalienated society (5). Outside that perspective there is no salvation. Anyone who does not want to imagine a disalienated society accepts alienation and thereby, in our view, is precluded from scientifically understanding the mode of operation of society. And if ideology is the false,

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alienated consciousness of an alienated society, the science of that society is inseparable from its ideology. Really wholly disalienated science does not yet exist, it can be the complete product only of a disalienated society; but we can glimpse it, as we can glimpse human liberation, as soon as we have become conscious of our false consciousness. Here we must repeat: reason and emotion are the inseparable products of the being and activity of man, who is animal and non-animal, social and individual.

II. -- PRECAPITALIST SOCIAL FORMATIONS AND CULTURE

All precapitalist social formations are based on a direct apprenhension of use values, without the mediation of exchange value.

True, many precapitalist social formations had commodity exchange, but in none of these was the (simple) commodity mode of production the dominant mode. Indeed that is why the very concepts of exchange value and use value could not be formulated before the emergence of the capitalist mode and the generalization of the commodity form, not only of the whole social product, but also of labour power itself. As is well known, it was only with capitalism that the dialectical unity exchange value/use value (and the linguistic use of the same noun « value » for the two terms of the contradiction), like the dialectical unity social/individual, appeared as objects of social science.

Certainly, for that very reason it will be interesting to see how the embryo of a social science based on the use-value/exchange value dialectic appears in those precapitalist, peripheral and exceptional formations in which commodity exchange performs decisive (though not dominant) functions. That is the reason for the exceptional attraction exerted by Greece on modern minds (6).

Use values directly apprehended cannot be conceptualized as anything but a manifold reality. For precapitalist formations, there can be no abstract and general concept of use-value (it can only be grasped in relation to its opposite, exchange value); there are only concrete use values, in the plural. As we can understand today, these are at the same time social and individual. Marx reminds us that the more complex always enables us to understand the more simple. But in the consciousness of the people of the time, it is only the individual aspect which, in a unilateral way, comes to the surface.

Hence, because it is impossible to isolate the concept of use value, precapitalist formations cannot define a field of economics whose frontiers indicate the existence of another field, that of non-economic social activities. Use values — the limitations of the noun « value » can be seen here — occupy the whole of social life; all the material and immaterial things which correspond to the needs of precapitalist social and individual man are use values. Hence use value here consist of man's various foods, his utensils and tools, his clothes and shelter, his art objects and collective monuments; but

also, and in the same way, his ways of expressing his scientific ideas. his beliefs (his ritual sacrifices and prayers), his means of satisfying his emotions and of settling his family and social problems.

Today we know this problem: man in precapitalist formations does not distinguist between labour time and time devoted to other social occupations. Not that he is stupid and unable to say how many days he needs to devote to sowing his millet or rice, but he does not analyse this time in terms different from those by which he describes and measures the time devoted to settling village dispute etc... He does not distinguish between a labour time and a so-called leisure time. because the latter, which is really only time of recuperation, implies the commodity nature of labour power. We shall see that it is quite different in the capitalist mode and that therefore the so-called leisure time is alienated just as is the underlying labour it implies. Hence the man of the precapitalist societies does not know boredom.

Because of the unity of precapitalist social time, it is impossible to define a specific economic field and hence an economic science. Indeed, in the precapitalist modes the economic plane is transparent. as we have already shown (7). Therefore the dominant plane which characterizes these modes is always the superstructure, although of course the base remains determinant in the last resort.

The direct perception of use-values does not mean that men are free, i.e. that they know their limitations. For this perception operates at a level of development of the productive forces which remains very low. Some essential consequences result from this.

First, these are class societies. Thus the total quantity of use values concerned is very unequally appropriated, and for most men the quantity is very small. It is this poverty of use-values which conditions the wealth of the minorities, who can by the direct apprehension of wealth, develop their humanity, their science, their taste, their art, their emotions. The counterpart of humanity for some is the reduction of others to an almost animal status. Hence this humanity is necessarily limited, distorted and alienated.

Alienated, because the dominance of ideology, necessitated by the transparence of the economic plane, is no yulgar «swindle» or cynical lie on the part of profiteers. The dominant class itself is subjected to this ideology — its own — just as is the dominated class. What is the nature of this alienation which characterizes the dominant ideology? The weak development of the productive forces means the submission of the whole society to the forces of nature, hence the non-freedom of the society. Man is necessarily alienated in the context of nature; the dominant ideology is necessarily religious.

At this point all use values will have the characteristic of being apprehended simultaneously as means of direct satisfaction of needs and as manifestations of religious alienation. We can see that these needs are not «animal» or «physiological» but social, even at the poorest material level.

This is then an alienated culture. But it is a culture, precisely because the mode of organization of the utilization of use values is total. It is total because it encompasses all the fields of social life, it is total because it brings together the social and the individual, it is total because it determines each of its components with reference to the whole. Therefore it is not an artifice of erudition which makes us feel the same emotion with respect to the great works of the past as the men of the past did: we understand them.

The direct apprehension of use values also gives to time the dimension of durability. Firstly, things are made to last: houses. furniture, utensils, cloth. This durability is not only the reflexion of the poverty of the productive force, which prohibits too frequent replacements. It is also, and above all, necessary so that these things may really be use values; for with durability things can be integrated with the person who enjoys them; it gives time to get used to them, to like these things, to discorver all their hidden dimensions apart from their mere «functionality». But the durability which is sought is not only related to the making of things, it also relates to ideas, emotions and their material supports. Temples and Cathedrals are built to last all time. This is, certainly, a reflexion of specific religions alienation: the dominant ideology cannot fulfil its functions unless, in the pseudo-consciousness of men, it appears to be everlasting. But at the same time, this durability of monuments enables sucessive generations to be imbued with their significance, with their still unsuspected many-sided richness.

Hence the ancient cultures are necessarily varied. Not because physical communications are limited and the planet is still vast. They are varied because the direct apprehension of use values is necessarily concrete, hence varied to the extreme. Varied from one social formation to another, from one region, with its specific land-scape, to another, from one individual to another. The diversity of the necessary correspondance between society and nature, which is still so imperfectly controlled, accentuates that necessary variety, as does the diversity of the combinations specific to the different social formations.

III. — CAPITALISM AND CULTURE

Capitalism is the moment of negation : negation of use-value, hence also negation of culture, negation of diversity.

The capitalist mode of production is based on exchange value generalized for the first time, extended for the first time to labour power itself, in all the capitalist formations, those of the centre and those of the periphery. Though tending to be exclusive to the centre, the dominant capitalist mode, when it subjected other modes at the periphery, distorted them and emptied them of their content. The real unity of the world is already there, it is the unity built around the universal commodity nature of labour power (8).

Man in the capitalist world has lost the direct apprenhension of use values. Whether immensely rich or poverty-striken, he is merely a consumer; that is, a social animal whose needs are manufactured with the precision and speed of a machine, according to the requirements of profit. More than ever his own strength, the strength which enables him to tame nature, seems to him to be imposed on him as an outside force. He remains alienated.

But the locus of his alienation has shifted. He is no longer afraid of nature, of thunder and lightning, of the gods, he is afraid of himself, of society. We have seen the reasons for this: the generalization of exchange value in its highest form, that of capitalism, gives a new opaqueness to the economic exploitation of labour power; as the height of absurdity, things created by men take the curious name of a general and abstract concept, capital; they are endowed with the magic virtues of the fetish; they have a « productivity » of their own. Instead of realizing that his labour has become more productive. alienated man attributes this productivity to the material means he sets in motion.

It is because of this fact, this new alienation, that the need and the possibility arise of a specific science, political economy. For there is no science unless its object is autonomous, independent — at least in appearence — of the subject. This is henceforth the case. As Marx observed (9), the true religion of the English is no longer protestantism, it is the law of supply and demand.

At the same time the field of social activity is split into separate domains, that of economic life acquires precise frontiers. Preparing food in a restaurant is an economic activity, preparing it at home is not. Why? Because the first economic activity creates exchange values, commodities, while in the second activity the housewife is still directly apprehending the use values.

The two terms of the contradictory dialectical unity use value/ exchange value can now be grasped simultaneously. Dialectical unity is not symmetry: exchange value dominates the unity and ultimately determines use value, as everyday social reality shows. The historical basis of exchange value, originally use value, is reversed.

Economistic alienation is necessary to the functioning of the system. That is why a pseudo-science reflecting the requirements of a pseudoconsciousness, economic science (thus in reality an ideology, claiming to be science), is built entirely on the sole basis of the premeinence of use values. Thus the hell of reality is counterbalanced by the paradise of ideas.

Henceforth social life is compartmented, with economic activity as such separated from other activities. But at the same time the unity of this social life is restored by the domination of its economic sector; all aspects of living are subject to the fundamental requirement of the reproduction of labour power as commodity, which is a necessary condition for the domination of the exchange value of commodities over the use - value of things' commodities and non-

commodities are distinct categories. But the non-commodity only exists through its opposite, the commodity, and the latter dominates the former. Social time is broken down into labour time and nonlabour time. It is not leisure time, as the pseudo-consciousness of alienated men expresses it, but time of recuperation: «functional» recuperation organised socially and not left to the individual, despite some appearances. Here again the image reverses reality: the closed ans secret world of the free individual belongs to the celestial world of ideas: in down-to-earth reality it is invaded by the social plane. That is why the errors of technical adjustment of this horrible functionality result in people being bored.

At the same time social life loses the concept of durability of time. Exchange value, controlled by profit, is only embodied in useful objects in the poorest, most functional sense of the term. The replacement of things does not only, or even mainly, stem from the acceleration of the real progress of the productive forces; it is also, and above all, necessary to the system of extraction of surplus value, hence wastage in the true sense of the term. This wastage is not only material, it radically affects the relation between men and things: things, like men become one-dimensional; the dimension of immediate use. But also, at the same time, man who no longer fears nature no longer believes in eternity. He has got rid of it; but only to be bound by the necessities of the short space of time; an increasingly short time. The technocrats stupidly, measure the «costs» and «benefits» of their decisions in a short-sighted perspective which never goes beyond ten or fifteen years. Some of them believe that what they should do is to enlarge the scope of their measurements, to transcend the enterprise and measure the social «costs» and «benefits». A few bad techniques give them a clear conscience, meaning a conscience of alienated persons. But that is not the problem: men need to see beyond a mere ten or fifteen years. But the technocrat is no longer a man, he is the precursor of the infernal machine of perfection in horror, that of 1984 (10).

If there is no culture except through the direct and total apprehension of all use values, material and non-material, in their simultaneous totality, capitalism has no culture. It is the moment of the negation of culture. It destroys. This destruction occurs in successive sectors, the commodity gradually reducing the non-commodity. First it is the material objects which are reduced to the status of commodities, whose use value diminishes in relation to socially determined functionalities. A negro utensil is not only a utensil, it is also a work of art and an expression of religious, emotion. A plastic bucket is merely a plastic bucket, and the work of art an object of decoration. As for religious emotion, it is bound to disappear, since the locus of alienation has shifted. The bareness of the ideal protestant temple means that religious emotion must no longer communicate with that of art or of daily life. It has to be something else which no longer has anything human in it. Yet, you will tell me, modern art exists of course. But have you noticed that the art of the precapitalist

societies is always a means of social integration, whereas our contemporary art is, for the fist time and more and more completely, the expression of a rejection of society? It is therefore to the extent that capitalism has not achieved its aims that the contradiction survives that art remains, in the form of a vestiga. But in 1984 there will no longer be any art; what would be the point?

Secluded in a citadel, a largely female one, vestiges of the use value subsist for a time but always threatened. Thus impoverished, insignificance and finally into nothing, until they become commodities. Has not pornography succeeded in making the orgasm a vulgar commodity? Not only the things which are sometimes the supports of these use values, but also the non-material things which have no such support, the emotions, wither away under the pressure of education. Supreme alienation: a certain women's revolt demands that society should treat them as men, they want to barter their reduced status of oppressed for a reduced status of oppressor (11). The system can grant them this privilege — gradually of course: in 1984 there will no longer be any women, since there will no longer be any men either. They will be equal, equally insignificant.

Resistance to this destruction of culture also occurs where the system has penetrated least far-in its periphery. Despite the strong tendency for everything everywhere to be modelled in the same way, the complexity of the peripheral formations, as opposed to the growing funtional simplicity of the central formation, provides opportunities for resistance and revolt. Revolts which are first confused, without perspective, in a word nationalistic, but they may assume another dimension, as was highlighted by the cultural revolution.

Fortunately, capitalism is not harmony. But it tends towards the harmony of nothingness, 1984. It therefore offers men two alternatives: either this functional harmony without men, or its superseding.

For the negative moment is also the moment which makes possible the liberation of mankind. The prodigious development of the productive forces makes it possible to dominate nature, as a condition of freedom. It also makes this liberation possible for all men, and not just for priviledged minorities as before. It therefore makes it possible to restore the direct apprehension of use values at a level of wealth for everybody which eliminates the distortions and complementary reductions of status of the oppressor and the oppressed. It has already given a glimpse of this possible liberation, precisely by the transfer of the locus of alienation. For already the dominance of economics partly frees the fields of politics and ideology. These fields are no longer religious. They become in their turn the object of a practice which is being freed, and of a science. True, this practice is not yet really free, because it is subject to the demands of economistic alienation. But its way is cleared because alienation no longer weights directly on it. Indeed, it is because it is not free that it too can become an object of sciences which are called sociology, political science etc... Pseudo-sciences of course, just like their

complement political economy, because they are sciences of a pseudoconsciousness. But actually sciences to the extent that man, not being free, is subjected in them to laws which seem foreign to him.

Thus the way to socialism is open, but at the same time so is that of perfection in horror.

IV. - PERFECTION IN HORROR: 1984. THE REIGN OF ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN (12)

The fact that this is so should fill us with enthusiams. For men in the past were unable to glimpse the horror. The fact that we can show how real are the contradictions which make us reject it.

But let us confront it squarely, lucidly: 1984 is the calm reign of the universal harmony of death. There are no more individuals. neither men nor women. These beings (we hesitate to qualify them with an adjective) are neither animals nor men, neither alienated not liberated, neither conscious nor endowed with a pseudo-consciousness. They are perfectly plastic. They are no longer determined by other men. but by a perfect machine. Thus contradiction, which makes life, gives way ot harmony, which is death. These beings no longer speak — they have nothing to say — since they have nothing to think or feel. They do not produce anything, neither objects no emotions. No more art; nothing. The electronic machine produces — the term is meaningless — everything, including these beings.

Absurd? Yes of course it is the technocrats' dream of perfection. Let them admit it, even if under torture. It is the dream of the partisans of the «middle way» of «laisser faire», of «realistic» and « progressive » adjustments, and all that type of jargon. Laisser faire what? Let envolve towards what? Adjust to what? Let them admit it: it means going as smoothly as possible towards nothingness.

Absurd? Certainly, but is this not where we are going? Why do people like so much what are regarded increasingly as «vestige»? China, Egypt, Asia and Africa are full of these « vestige »: they still exist in Europe, and even - a little - on the Atlantic coast of the United States, But Los Angeles also exists, and — worse still — Australia. Why then do people like the old towns, and even Manhattan, but nobody, including the town planners who designed it themselves, ventures to defend the perfect functionality of the last « archievements » of postwar capitalism? What people like in these vestiges, despite all their limitations, is precisely the totality of the use-value they contain, the unity of the social and the individual which they respect, in a word their non-functionality.

For perfect functionality is necessarly fragmented and linear. It is always functionnality in relation to something, not in relation to everything. Add together: the fastest possible (and even most «comfortable ») transport for going to work, the quiestest possible rest places (to recuperate labour power), maximum proximity to shopping centres (capitalism must live). What do you have? Los Angels or

Australia? Like time, space is broken down into social and individual space. No individual use can be made of social space: at the crossing of a network of highways one is necessarily a car-driver and nothing else; the «artists» of technocracy may plant beautiful trees there. not necessarily made of plastic, and consult a painter or even a psychologist: the highway crossing remains ugly. This is because neither the painter nor the psychologist is capable of designing an individual use of social space: in any case they are not paid for that.

At the same time so-call private space is an illusion: it is space organized for recuperation, hence it is the social plane which predominates. Thus the individual villa and garden are dormitories, places of necessary debassement (think of the real functions of television). places of withdrawal of meriocre value (think of «home comforts») and places of boredom.

But see how people live in an oriental bazar (social and individual), how people « receive » in their « private » home in an « underdeveloped » country (the reflection of this is the well-known «hospitality »...). What we like here are not the «things». There are beautiful things and others less beautiful, or not at all. It is not erudition or snobbishness concerning the past which function there. It is simply the unity of the totality of the use value which provides the dimension which is lost by functionality.

Capitalist space, and capitalist time, are no longer the framework of the organization of use values. They have become the supports of exchange value. Indeed supreme alienation — they have a « price »!

The world which has become under-developed, Ibadan and Dakar, «old» Europe and not-so-old Europe which would like to rebuild Paris like Detroit, Manhattan and Chicago of the twenties and thirties. Los Angeles and Australia: these are successive milestones on the road which leads inexorably to 1984.

Is it then surprising that the contradictions which make us aware that capitalism is the moment of negation and nothing more, occur more strongly at the periphery of the system than in its centre, in Latin Europe than in the United States? It is when it is still « young » that capitalism shows its true face. Later, it is likely to be too late: people have forgotten the very existence of use values, they no longer ask questions about the meaning of alienated labour, they are thoroughly «conditioned» and have become one — dimensional.

Examples? Why is American English an impoverished English? unless it is because the «purer» capitalism of North America needs fewer shades of thinking and feeling? Why are the «vestige» of culture in Nort America to be found in the dreadful slave south and not in California or Las Vegas? Why has the language of the Europeans of the 19th century become unreadable for the simplifiers of functionalist sociology of the 20th century? Why has dialectics become for them synonymous with incomprehensible and with «erroneous contradiction »? Why has the simple — simplistic — language of unilateral models which require the electronic computer (which replaces a billion connexions in the human brain by 10 million electric wires — oh progress!) become a reason for rejoicing? Why is it that the single disciplinary fools can no longer feel - and understand - transdisciplinary allusions and metaphors? Why was it at the beginning of the 19th century that the visionary and marvellous cry of utopian socialism occured? Why do the most modern ideas and actions come from China? Why is it the cultural revolution and not the hippy movement (13) which meets the problems of the Detroit worker? Why is Australia a world of absolute silence? Anyway, you will say, how can one be Australian? Well yes, one can be, and even — it seems quite comfortably; if one is Australian one can even (« statistically ») have a few extra chances of being a tennis champion. One can even become Australian: functionality gets hold of you. Therefore, let us send all the world's technocrats there arbitrarily — they will like it there.

They will like it there because they will systematically construct 1984, a world in which, since the contradictory dialectical unity has given way to functionalist structuralism, everything is perfect, hence, like god, inert.

V. — SOCIALISM AND CULTURE

This involves a society, and a society of human beings. A society which has solved certain problems, those of the prehistory of mankind, and now lives on another plane, is concerned with other problems and new contradictions. It is not a question of harmony. Can we imagine the problems of a linerated disalienated society? Can we imagine a non-alienated culture, apart from alienated culture or non-culture?

The new problems of this society are not those dealt with by current alienated social science. First of all, political economy will have disappeared. Do not be misled: political economy is not an «absolute » science, the science, for example, of modes of production. Science is no more absolute than anything else. Political economy is merely the science of the capitalist mode of production; the only one which can be the object of science, because the alienation specific to it is economistic alienation. At the same, this science enables us also to understand the precapitalist modes, to understand the specific nature of the non-economistic, but religious, alienation which accompanies them. And also to glimpse the communist mode, freed from alienation. By a dangerous misuse of language, we see in it the science of all modes of production. This is a dangerous misuse if we are not careful, because it is evidence of a persistent economistic alienation. The social-democracy of the European workers' movement of the 19 th century had succumbed to it. And when Rosa Luxemburg simply asserts that with the disappearance of the mediation of exchange values, with the restoration of the direct apprehension of use values, political economy has no further purpose, this is seen as «left-wing deviation ».

Nor have political science and sociology in general further purpose in a society in which man really knows what he wants. No more state, said Marx: hence, of course, no more science of the State.

Therefore the direct apprehension of use values will be restored. That is certain. Time will again become total time. « The point is not to free labour, but to abolish it ». So-called « leisure » time will also disappear, just as will its complement which dominates it, labour time. Things will no longer be functional things, but elements of the whole, and lasting as they should be. Man will again be able to look far ahead, and to delegate to the machine — it does not deserve more — the short — term « calculation » of efficiency put back in its place. He will have recovered a mastry over time. Space will also be recovered, as the support of use-values, as a use-value itself. And it too will be total. With the abolition of labour, the division of labour will disappear, especially the division between intellectual and manual work, design and execution etc... With the abolition of exchange value the contradiction social/individual will disappear, and on the spatial plane, the opposition town/country, so-called collective space/so-called private space, etc... We see that socialism is something quite different from capitalism without capitalists, to which it has been reduced by social-democracy, economism and the experience of Eastern Europe.

Therefore the direct perception of use values brings with it diversity, not uniformity. As opposed to the uniformity of the cultural destruction of capitalism, we have here the richness of renewed diversity. National diversities, certainly, but also regional, local, individual.

Fore there are the new problems: those concerning the new dialectic of the social and the individual in a free society of free individuals. To describe the nature of this new dialectic, to try to squeeze it into the strait-jacket of the current « sciences » dealing with «man» — whether it is psychology or physiology — would be a futile exercise. The fact that we can already glimpse some problems should not mislead us. It is through the distorting prism of reduced status and sicknesss that today's society tames man and generates in alienated man a glimpse of these problems of tomorrow.

NOTES

2. « Culture is what is left when everything has been forgotten ».

^{1.} Monthly Review Press, 1976

^{3.} The luminous clarity of the Greek sky and rationality, the northern mists and romanticism etc..

^{4.} Utopia is not synonymous with impossible, on the contrary: as soon as we succeed in imagining a cohesive society, the fact is that utopia is one possibility (among others). The utopian socialists of the early 19th century were not utopian because of the vision they expressed but because of the idea they had (and proposed) of the way to achieve it.

- 5. To reject the theme of alienation, as the structuralists do, is to accept the prospect of 1984 (reference to Orwell's book) as necessary. The theme of alienation is not only that of the idealist philosophy of humanism (which tries to find out what constitutes the essence of man apart from the modes of production which define him as lord or serf, bouregois or proletarian etc.). It is not a theme of the young Marx, subsequently superseded. The first chapters of capital give to the specific alienation of the capitalist mode of production (the commodity fetish) its central place. There are other alienations, those of the religions, which we relate to other modes of production (see later). Once again, to reject the commodity alienation is to refuse to change the world, to be content with contemplating it, it is to reject praxis.
- 6. That is why Aristotle glimpses the embryo of a political economy.
- 7. Reference to Le Développement Inégal, chap. I.
- 8. Reference to our Le développement inégal and also to our study La fin d'un débat, l'échange inégal et la loi de la valeur (forthcoming. Authropos). See also German Ideology where Marx (already!) asserts the unity of the world, which our « economists » challenge today. (See La fin d'un débat).
- 9. German Ideology
- 10. Reference to the book by George Orwell, 1984.
- 11. By exalting the so-called «female» virtues of sweetness, certain feminist trends have helped very actively to make people aware of the decisive functions which the so-called male virtues of «virility» (read brutality, stupidity, self-importance and discipline) fufil in the mechanisms of alienation. But the dominant trend either confines itself to demanding equal treatment (a just demand but strictly non-liberationary, like the economistic claims), or wants to create a separate, isolated female world. This impossible objective, utopian in the ordinary sense of the word, clearly belongs to the American tradition, and reflects impotence.
- 12. Reference to 1984 (op. cit.) and H. Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man.
- 13. Like certain feminist trends, the hippy movement thinks it can create an isolated paradise, without transforming society. Once again American tradition of moralism and impotence hippyism fails. A civilisation of use values cannot be created in the Kingdom of the commodity; the hippies in their turn revert to the old society.

RÉSUMÉ

Chacun de nous s'interroge sur la prospective de la culture : vaton vers l'uniformisation culturelle ou, au contraire, vers le maintien de sa diversité? Quels sont, au niveau des systèmes socio-économiques et des valeurs qu'ils impliquent, les supports de l'une et de l'autre de ces alternatives?

Dans ce papier l'auteur jette quelque lumière sur cette problématique fondamentale.

Pour ce faire, il commence par tracer un cadre conceptuel, en définissant d'abord la notion de culture. Pour lui, la culture est le mode d'organisation de l'utilisation des valeurs d'usage, lesquelles occupent toute la vie sociale dans des formations pré-capitalistes. Elles concernent toutes les choses matérielles et immatérielles qui répondent aux besoins de l'homme social et individuel pré-capitaliste : ce sont donc ses différents aliments, ses ustensiles et ses outils, ses

vêtements et son abri, ses objets d'art et ses monuments collectifs. mais aussi et de la même manière, ses movens de manifester ses idées scientifiques, ses croyances (ses sacrifices rituels et ses prières), ses moyens de satisfaire ses émotions et de régler ses problèmes familiaux et sociaux.

Cependant, l'appréhension directe des valeurs d'usage ne signifie pas la liberté des hommes, c'est-à-dire la connaissance de leurs limites. Car cette appréhension opère à un niveau de développement des forces productives qui reste très bas. Certaines conséquences en découlent. D'abord, il s'agit là des sociétés de classes. La masse des valeurs d'usage en question est très inégalement appropriée et, pour la majorité des hommes, singulièrement pauvres. C'est cette pauvreté qui conditionne la richesse des minorités, lesquelles peuvent, par l'appréhension directe des richesses, développer leur humanité, leur goût, leur art, leurs émotions. L'humanité des uns a pour contrepartie la réduction des autres à un statut presqu'animal. Aussi cette humanité est-elle nécessairement limitée, déformée et aliénée. La classe dominante est, elle aussi, soumise à cette idéologie, la sienne, comme la classe dominée. idéologie caractérisée par l'aliénation due à la faiblesse du développement des forces productives. En effet, le faible développement des forces productives signifie la soumission de la société toute entière aux forces de la nature, donc la non liberté de la société. L'homme est nécessairement aliéné dans la nature : l'idéologie dominante est nécessairement religieuse. Dès lors, toutes les valeurs d'usage porteront cette caractéristique d'être appréhendée simultanément comme moyens de satisfaction directe des besoins et comme manifestation de l'aliénation religieuse.

L'appréhension directe des valeurs d'usage donne également au temps la dimension de la durabilité. D'abord, les choses sont faites pour être durables : les maisons, les meubles, les ustensiles, les tissus. Cette durabilité n'est pas seulement le reflet de la pauvreté des forces productives, qui interdit les renouvellements trop fréquents. Elle est aussi, et surtout, nécessaire pour que ces choses soient vraiment des valeurs d'usage : car la durabilité permet d'intégrer les choses et la personne qui en jouit. Mais cette durabilité recherchée n'est pas attachée seulement à la fabrication des choses, elle l'est aussi en ce qui concerne les idées, les émotions, et leurs supports matériels. On construit des temples et des cathédrales destinés à l'éternité. Reflet certes de l'aliénation religieuse spécifique : l'idéologie dominante ne peut remplir ses fonctions que si dans la fausse conscience des hommes, elle apparaît destinée à l'éternité. Mais en même temps, cette durabilité des moyens permet aux générations succesives de s'imprégner de leur signification, de leur richesse multi-faciale toujours insoupçonnée.

Ainsi les cultures anciennes sont nécessairement variées parce que l'appréhension directe des valeurs d'usage est nécessairement concrète, donc variée à l'extrême : variée d'une formation sociale à l'autre, d'une région à l'autre, d'un individu à l'autre. La diversité des correspondances nécessaires entre la société et la nature, qui est encore si peu maîtrisée, accentue cette variété nécessaire, comme aussi la diversité des combinaisons spécifiques aux différentes formations sociales.

Avec le capitalisme apparaît le moment de la négation : négation de la valeur d'usage, donc négation de la culture, négation de la diversité. En effet, le mode de production capitaliste est fondé sur la valeur d'échange généralisée pour la première fois, étendue pour la première fois à la force de travail elle-même, dans toutes les formations capitalistes, celles du centre comme celles de la périphérie. L'unité réelle du monde est déià : elle est l'unité construite autour du caractère marchand universel de la force de travail. L'homme du monde capitaliste a perdu l'appréhension directe des valeurs d'usage. Immensément riche ou misérable, il n'est qu'un consommateur, c'est-à-dire un animal social dont les besoins sont fabriqués avec la précision et la vitesse de la machine, selon les exigences du profit. Plus que jamais sa propre force, celle qui lui permet de dominer la nature lui paraît s'imposer à lui-même comme une force étrangère. Il reste aliéné.

Dès lors, s'il n'y a de culture que par l'appréhension directe et totale de toutes les valeurs d'usage, matérielles et non matérielles, dans leur totalité simultanée. le capitalisme n'a pas de culture. Il est le moment de la négation de celle-ci. Il détruit et cette destruction opère par secteurs successifs, la marchandise réduisant progressive ment la non marchandise.

Avec le socialisme, qui implique une société libre d'individus libres, l'appréhension directe des valeurs d'usage sera rétablie. Et elle sera porteuse de diversité et non d'uniformité. A l'uniformité de la destruction culturelle du capitalisme s'oppose ici la richesse de la diversite renaissante. Diversités nationales, sans doute, mais aussi régionales, locales, individuelles.

Le Choix Rationnel*

Julius K. Nyerere

Mon but aujourd'hui est de vous proposer un point de départ à la discussion et à la réflexion. Mon sujet est l'examen des choix socio-économiques qui s'offrent aux pays du Tiers-Monde.

Pour que cette discussion reste dans des limites raisonnables, je me dois de faire certaines hypothèses. Il est important que celles-ci soient explicites dès le début. Car si elles ne sont pas admises, une grande partie de ce que je vais dire sera sans objet.

Heureusement, mes hypothèses ne sont pas très controversées, du moins en Afrique.

I — LES HYPOTHESES

Ma première hypothèse est que toute discussion sur l'organisation socio-économique souhaitable doit, du moins pour le moment, être menée au niveau de chaque Etat-Nation, et la décision doit être prise exclusivement par la population de cette Nation. Ainsi ce sont les peuples de Tanzanie dans leur ensemble, ou les peuples du Soudan dans leur ensemble, qui décideront de la voie à suivre pour leur pays. La Tanzanie ne peut pas décider à la place du Soudan ni vice-versa — et j'espère que rien de ce que je dis aujourd'hui ne sera compris autrement! Le fait, par exemple, que Zanzibar, dans le cadre de la République Unie de Tanzanie et les Provinces du Sud, dans le cadre du Soudan, soient autonomes dans certains domaines, signifie que, dans ces domaines, les plus petites entités constitueront l'unité de choix plutôt que la nation dans son ensemble.

Deuxièmement, je considère comme évidence que tous les peuples du Tiers-Monde, désirent se gouverner eux-mêmes et veulent voir leur pays complètement dégagé du contrôle extérieur. Ceci n'exclut pas la possibilité de nouer des liens politiques et économiques entre deux

^{*} Ceci est une traduction faite par le CODESRIA de «The Rational Choice» du President Nyerere, tel qu'il apparaît dans Nyerere: Freedom and Development/Uhuru Na Maendeleo, O.U.P., Dar-es-Salam, 1975, pp. 379-390 (paper back). Le CODESRIA exprime sa gratitude au Bureau du Président Nyerere pour la permission qu'il lui a accordée de traduire et de publier le présent texte. CODESRIA expresses its gratitude to the President's Office for permission to translate and publish this text.

ou plusieurs pays, ni d'entreprendre la fusion volontaire de souverainetés, à condition que l'on se soit mis d'accord après des discussions basées sur l'égalité des participants.

Troisièmement, je supposerai que, pour tout le monde dans le Tiers-Monde, le degré actuel de pauvreté et le manque général de développement économique sont tout à fait inacceptables. Nous devons augmenter notre production de ressources de facon à pouvoir relever le niveau de notre consommation collective et individuelle.

Ma quatrième et dernière hypothèse est que nos luttes d'indépendance étaient des luttes nationales, impliquant les droits de tous les habitants. Nous ne cherchions pas à remplacer nos maîtres étrangers par des élites locales privilégiées, mais à créer des sociétés qui assurent à chacun la dignité humaine et le respect de soi. Il en découle que chaque individu a le droit au maximum de liberté économique et politique, qui soit compatible avec une égale liberté pour les autres ; et que ni l'opulence dans l'esclavage, ni la nécessité de mandier pour subsister ne sauraient être des conditions humaines acceptables.

J'ai dit que ces hypothèses ne sont pas très controversées en Afrique. Il est également vrai qu'elles ne reflètent pas la situation actuelle. Elles représentent des aspirations plutôt que des faits. Cela devient évident si l'on examine le cours des affaires mondiales ou si l'on fait une brève visite dans nos zones rurales — ou même dans les zones urbaines où vivent nos travailleurs non qualifiés.

Cependant, étant donné que ces hypothèses ainsi décrites constituent une liste de nos aspirations fondamentales, elles doivent être la base du choix de nos politiques. Si une politique milite contre la réalisation de ces conditions, alors il faut la remettre en question. Mieux encore, si un système social et économique est incompatible avec ses objectifs, il doit être rejeté.

II - LE CHOIX

Dans le monde moderne, il y a deux systèmes socio-économiques de base : le capitalisme et le socialisme. A l'intérieur de ces grandes classifications, il y a des variations comme le capitalisme du bienêtre ou le socialisme humaniste; mais la distinction générale entre les deux systèmes subsiste et notre premier choix doit porter sur l'un d'eux.

Bien sûr, il y a encore des vestiges du féodalisme et du système communautaire primitif dans le monde. Mais aucun de ces deux systèmes ne sont viables lorsqu'ils sont mis à l'épreuve par la technologie organisée du vingtième siècle. Parfois, comme au Japon, ces anciens systèmes influencent l'organisation capitaliste pour quelque temps, mais ces influences sont subordonnées à la logique de cette dernière et, finiront, éventuellement, par être complètement éliminées. Car, en fin de compte, tout ce qui peut entraver le profit d'une entreprise capitaliste particulière sera abandonné par cette entreprise : et tout ce qui milite contre l'efficacité du système capitaliste sera détruit.

Le système communautaire primitif est également condamné. A partir du moment où le premier pot en émail, ou le premier tissu fabriqué en usine est importé dans une société communautaire autarcique, la structure socio-économique de cette société reçoit un coup mortel. Ensuite, il ne s'agira plus que d'une question de temps et de savoir si les membres de cette communauté seront les participants ou les victimes dans ce nouvel ordre économique.

Ainsi le choix pour les jeunes nations se situe effectivement entre le socialisme et le capitalisme. Ce choix n'est pas complètement libre. car tous nous avons hérité de certaines structures de commerce et avons été, dans une mesure plus ou moins grande, endoctrinés par les systèmes de valeur de nos maîtres colonisateurs. De plus, les grandes puissances continuent à nous considérer comme faisant partie de la spère d'influence de l'une ou de l'autre d'entre elles, laquelle manifeste son mécontentement à notre égard lorsque nous refusons de nous conformer au modèle de conduite auguel elle s'attend. Mais finalement, si nous nous déterminons ainsi et si nous sommes prêts à surmonter notre passé récent et les difficultés que d'autres peuvent dresser sur notre chemin, notre société pourrait évoluer vers l'un ou l'autre de deux systèmes.

Ceci dit, je me propose de démontrer qu'il n'y a réellement pas de choix. Dans la pratique, les nations du Tiers-Monde ne peuvent devenir des sociétés capitalistes développées sans abadonner la réalité de leur liberté et sans accepter un degré d'inégalité entre leurs citoyens, qui dénierait la validité morale de notre lutte pour l'indépendance. Je démontrerai que notre pauvreté actuelle et notre faiblesse nationale font du socialisme le seul choix rationnel pour nous.

III - CAPITALISME ET INDEPENDANCE

Dans un système capitaliste, le but de la production et de la distribution est la réalisation du profit pour ceux qui possèdent les moyens de production et d'échange. Le besoin de marchandises est subordonné au profit qu'implique leur production. Dès lors, le propriétaire des machines et des biens d'équipement utilisés dans le processus de production — c'est-à-dire celui qui a fourni l'argent pour l'acquisition de ces équipements — est celui qui décide s'il v aura ou non production, la nature de cette production et la quantité à produire. Ni les hommes qui fournissent la force de travail utilisée dans la production des biens, ni ceux qui ont besoin de ces biens, n'ont aucun mot à dire. Dans le système capitaliste, l'argent est roi. Celui qui l'a, possède aussi le pouvoir. Il détient le pouvoir sur tous les travailleurs qu'il peut ou non employer, et le pouvoir sur les gouvernements qu'il peut paralyser en bloquant des productions vitales. ou saboter en manipulant hommes et machines.

Cela a toujours été l'essence du capitalisme. Mais il y a un fait plus particulier aux dernières années du vingtième siècle. C'est que ce pouvoir est maintenant concentré entre quelques mains. Car, alors

que cent ans auparavant une toute petite somme d'argent suffisait pour établir une entreprise industrielle ou commerciale, la technologie moderne exclut cette possibilité aujourd'hui dans tous les domaines importants de la production. Ainsi, par exemple, Henry Ford a pu démarrer l'usinage d'automobiles dans un atelier de réparation de bicyclettes, et développer, petit à petit, sa capacité de production Mais maintenant, dans les années soixante-dix toute personne qui décide de fabriquer des véhicules automobiles doit être prête à effectuer des investissements de plusieurs millions de dollars avant de voir le premier véhicule sortir de la chaîne de montage. Les techniques de production de masses rendent les petites entreprises non-économiques - elles font faillite en essayant de concurrencer les entreprises géantes ou se laissent absorber par celles-ci. Dès lors, au lieu d'avoir un très grand nombre de petits capitalistes, nous avons un très petit nombre de grands capitalistes. Des petits capitalistes existent, mais leur part dans la production globale est insignifiante et ils se limitent généralement aux commerces de luxe.

Ce développement fait partie de la dynamique du capitalisme car le capitalisme est très dynamique. C'est un système de lutte. Chaque entreprise capitaliste survit par sa victoire sur les autres entreprises capitalistes. Et tout le système capitaliste dans son ensemble survit par expansion, c'est-à-dire, par extension de son aire d'opération en éliminant, par la même occasion, tous les obstacles, ainsi que tous les systèmes plus vulnérables de la société.

Considérons maintenant ce que cela signifie pour les jeunes Nations du Tiers-Monde.

Selon la théorie capitaliste, si nous optons pour le capitalisme, nos concitoyens seront libres d'établir des entreprises capitalistes, et ces capitalistes Tanzaniens ou Soudanais concurrenceraient — c'està-dire lutteraient contre toutes les autres entreprises capitalistes, y compris les entreprises étrangères. Dans la pratique, cependant, deux questions se posent immédiatement. Premièrement, où sont ces citoyens qui ont assez de capitaux pour établir des industries modernes dans nos pays? Deuxièmement, comment nos industries naissantes lutteraient-elles contre les autres entreprises capitalistes?

Je crois que la réponse à ces questions est claire dans tous les pays du Tiers-Monde. Car la Tanzanie ne fait aucunement exception du fait qu'elle ne dispose pas. à l'intérieur de ses frontières, de type de ressources nécessaires à l'établissement d'unités industrielles modernes. En règle générale, aucun individu ou groupe d'individus de n'importe laquelle de nos nations n'est capable d'établir ne fût-ce qu'une grande usine textile moderne, encore moins de faire fonctionner une mine de diamant, monter une aciérie, ou gérer une grande entreprise commerciale. Cette somme d'argent et ce genre d'expertise n'existent tout simplement pas. Il est certain que le mieux que les Tanzaniens puissent faire aujourd'hui, c'est d'établir de petits ateliers, qui peuvent soit assembler des pièces importées, soit entreprendre le traitement des produits agricoles locaux. Nos concitoyens peuvent établir des petits magasins de détail; le commerce de gros, à n'importe quelle échelle économique, demande probablement plus de ressources qu'ils ne possèdent.

Lorsque la Grande Bretagne avait connu sa révolution industrielle à la fin du dix-huitième siècle, cela était suffisant. Cela ne suffit plus aujourd'hui. Comment ces petits capitalistes tanzaniens pourraient-ils concurrencer I.C.I., Ford, les entreprises nippones et d'autres grandes entreprises multinationales — ou même les Produits Alimentaires Walls? La réponse est simple: ils ne le pourront pas. Le mieux qu'ils puissent faire, c'est de devenir les agents de ces sociétés capitalistes internationales. Et ceci n'avancerait pas notre lutte contre le sous-développement, car il n'en résulterait pas d'usines modernes produisant des biens de première nécessité, mais des agents locaux important et conditionnant ces produits — et seulement ces produits — qui soient rentables à la fois aux agents locaux et aux entreprises d'outre-mer.

En fait, le capitalisme du Tiers-Monde n'aurait d'autre choix que celui de coopérer avec le capitalisme étranger en qualité de partenaire très subalterne. Autrement, il serait tué dans l'œuf. On ne peut développer le capitalisme dans nos pays sans capitalistes étrangers, leur argent et leur expertise. Et ces capitalistes étrangers n'investisront dans les pays du Tiers-Monde que si, quand et dans la mesure où ils seront convaincus que cette opération serait plus rentable pour eux que tout autre investissement. Le développement par capitalisme signifie donc que nos nations du Tiers-Monde devront se soumettre aux conditions posées par d'autres — par des capitalistes d'autres pays. Et si nous acceptons leurs conditions, nous devrons continuer à être guidés par eux, ou courir le risque de voir nos jeunes entreprises s'écrouler, le financement et l'expertise retirés, d'autres sanctions économiques appliquées contre nous.

En fait, le développement par capitalisme signifie que nous donnons à d'autres le pouvoir de prendre des décisions vitales concernant notre économie. Le type de biens économiques à produire : la localisation des usines, des bureaux et des magasins ; l'offre d'emploi dans les différentes zones; et même le système de fiscalité à adopter : tout cela sera déterminé par les étrangers.

On prétend que ceci serait un phénomène temporaire, du fait que l'investissement capitaliste étranger dans un pays du Tiers-Monde serait un catalyseur pour l'entreprise capitaliste locale. Dans une certaine mesure, cela est vrai. De petites affaires locales peuvent se développer à l'ombre d'une entreprise plus importante et appartenant à des étrangers. Mais de telles affaires auraient pour rôle de rendre des services aux travailleurs de la grande entreprise, ou de fabriquer de petites pièces pour cette dernière. Elles seraient alors absolument dépendantes d'elle: florissantes quand elle prend de l'expansion, défaillantes quand elle ferme ses portes. Les entreprises locales seraient ainsi des marionnettes, et non des ennemies des entreprises étrangères — des filiales et non des rivales. Elles seraient forcées de s'identifier à toutes les demandes des capitalistes étrangers. La perte de l'auto-détermination nationale réelle irait croissante — et non décroissante; car les propriétaires étrangers se seraient assurés d'une base politique locale pour soutenir leur pouvoir économique.

Ceci est très facile à comprendre. Si, par exemple, le gouvernement propose une nouvelle échelle de salaires minima, ou d'obtenir des recettes en imposant un tarif douanier sur les produits intéressant l'usine, le grand employeur peut dire — poliment ou non — que dans ce cas, l'usine va fermer ses portes. De tels employeurs pourront faire remarquer qu'il résultera, de cette fermeture de l'usine, non seulement la perte de moyens de subsistance pour ceux qui sont directement employés, mais aussi la faillite d'un certain nombre d'unités dépendantes. Bien sûr, le gouvernement indépendant peut toujours aller de l'avant avec ses propositions, mais il devra alors en supporter les conséquences — et celles-ci ne seront probablement agréables ni pour le gouvernement, ni pour la population qu'il veut servir.

Et ceci n'est pas tout. Les questions de politique étrangère seront également affectées par la dépendance visà-vis des capitalistes étrangers pour le développement économique. Il est vrai que les capitalistes américains, britanniques ou japonais n'ont pas de loyauté patriotique pour leur pays d'origine. Mais ils ont de la loyauté pour leurs investissements les plus importants — et il est fort peu probable que ceux-ci se trouvent dans l'un de nos pays sous-développés! Par conséquent, une dispute entre nation pauvre et un des pays impérialistes au sujet, par exemple, du soutien que ce dernier accorde à l'expansion sioniste, au colonialisme sud-africain, rhodésien ou portugais, peut facilement entraîner le retrait des plans de développement capitalistes dans le pays, ou même la réduction et la fermeture éventuelle des entreprises déjà établies.

Ce que je suis en train de dire est que, étant données les inégalités actuelles entre nations, le développement par voie capitaliste est incompatible avec l'indépendance nationale totale pour les pays du Tiers-Monde. Car un tel développement sera conduit et contrôlé par l'étranger; les capitalistes locaux seront et resteront des auxiliaires.

Il ne peut y avoir de doute à ce sujet — la domination étrangère est permanente et non temporaire. Ce sera la grande entreprise qui fera de grands profits et aura de grands moyens disponibles pour le prochain investissement. Les petites entreprises resteront petites — ou seront rachetées! Il suffit, pour se convaincre de cette réalité et de sa signification, d'étudier ce qui s'est passé dans les grands pays capitalistes. L'on constate que les entreprises de taille moyenne avalent les plus petites et sont, à leur tour, absorbées par des plus grandes. Et finalement les entreprises géantes luttent les unes contre les autres pour l'ultime suprématie. Et pour finir, les gouvernements riches des grands pays capitalistes trouvent que leur propre liberté d'action est limitée par le pouvoir économique des entreprises capitalistes géantes. Même s'ils sont élus pour lutter contre le capitalisme, ils se trouvent obligés d'assurer l'approvisionnement en matières

premières et la rentabilité de grandes sociétés, sinon ils auront à affronter le chômage massif et de grandes crises économiques.

Le fait qu'un certain nombre de grandes institutions capitalistes rivales puissent investir dans un pays sous-développé donné - peutêtre à partir de bases étrangères différentes - n'infirme pas cette analyse simplifiée. En règle générale, cela signifie que le pays pauvre a misé sur plusieurs tableaux. En théorie, il peut tenter de jouer ces entreprises l'une contre l'autre : mais dans la pratique, il va probablement découvrir que son destin économique a été déterminé par les conflits entre entreprises dont l'origine se situe en dehors de ses frontières, et au sujet desquels il ne connaît rien! Une offre de rachat, ou un plan de rationalisation, ou un accord pour un nouveau cartel, peuvent détruire des années de négociations locales, et le gouvernement indépendant peut bien entendre parler de ce qui se trame seulement si un géant ou un autre espère l'utiliser pour obtenir de meilleures conditions pour ses propres actionnaires!

IV - LE CAPITALISME ET LA NATURE DE LA SOCIETE

Cette perte inévitable de la liberté nationale réelle est, cependant, seulement un de ces effets du capitalisme que je crois incompatibles avec les objectifs nationaux de tous les gouvernements du Tiers-Monde. Car le capitalisme n'implique pas seulement une lutte entre capitalistes où capitalistes des nations en développement seront inévitablement vaincus. Il implique également une lutte permanente entre capitalistes d'un côté et travailleurs de l'autre.

Ceci est un problème très important pour nous, qui sortons comme la plupart des pays africains du Tiers-Monde, du système communautaire primitif pour entrer directement dans le monde moderne. Car cela constitue un nouveau facteur de division nationale au moment où nous luttons tous contre les forces de divisions, à savoir le tribalisme, la religion et le racisme. Cela signifie aussi que les fruits de l'indépendance ne seront pas partagés par la grande masse de la population qui a lutté pour elle, ou au nom de laquelle elle a été demandée.

Il n'y a pas d'échappatoire à cet effet du capitalisme. Car le but de l'entreprise capitaliste est de faire du profit. Pour ce faire, le capitaliste doit maintenir le coût de production à un niveau aussi bas que possible et obtenir le maximum de bénéfice de la vente de sa production. En d'autres termes, il doit payer les salaires les plus bas possibles pour lesquels il peut obtenir des travailleurs, et vendre au prix le plus élevé possible pour lequel il peut trouver des acheteurs de ses produits. Un conflit d'intérêt permanent entre le travailleur et l'employeur s'ensuit inévitablement. Le premier veut obtenir un salaire suffisamment élevé pour pouvoir vivre décemment, et éventuellement acheter certains produits à la production desquels il a travaillé. Le deuxième entend payer des bas salaires de manière à maximiser son profit, c'est-à-dire le bénéfice sur l'argent qu'il a investi.

Ainsi le capitalisme conduit automatiquement à la formation de deux classes de gens : un petit groupe de gens auxquels la possession de moyens de production apporte richesse, pouvoir et privilège; et un groupe beaucoup plus important dont le travail produit cette richesse et ces privilèges. L'un tire profit de l'exploitation de l'autre, et un échec dans la tentative d'exploitation entraîne la dislocation du système tout entier, avec comme conséquence l'arrêt de toute production! L'exploitation des masses constitue, en fait, la base sur la quelle le capitalisme a acquis la réputation d'avoir résolu le problème de la production. Il ne peut fonctionner sur aucune autre base. Car si jamais les travailleurs réussissaient à obtenir la totalité des bénéfices de leur travail, alors le capitaliste ne recevrait aucun profit et fermerait l'entreprise!

La signification de ceci pour les masses des peuples du Tiers-Monde doit être évidente. Leurs conditions d'emploi et leurs revenus salariaux seront juste suffisants pour assurer l'offre de travail. De plus, si la nation dépend de l'investissement capitaliste pour toute son expansion économique désirée, il faudra empêcher les travailleurs de s'organiser pour lutter en faveur de leurs droits. Car une lutte syndicale effective peut amener l'employeur à affirmer une fois encore, que son entreprise n'est plus rentable. La menace de fermeture qui en résulterait pourrait amener le gouvernement à intervenir en faveur des employeurs afin de sauvegarder le taux de croissance économique et son revenu fiscal, dérisoire mais vital.

Le développement par voie capitaliste est ainsi fondamentalement incompatible avec la quatrième aspiration citée plus haut, à savoir la dignité humaine et le respect de soi pour tous, avec une liberté égale pour tous les membres de la société. Car le capitalisme signifie que les masses travailleront, et qu'une minorité d'individus — qui ne peuvent rien faire du tout — bénéficieront de ce travail. La minorité va s'asseoir à un banquet et les masses vont manger ce qui en restera.

Ceci a une autre implication. Dans un système capitaliste, la production des biens, mesurée statistiquement, peut s'accroître considérablement; s'il arrive qu'il possède certaines ressources minérales, le pays du Tiers-Monde peut se trouver en meilleure position sur la liste des Etats ayant réussi en matière de taux de croissance de son Produit National Brut. Mais les masses de la population, qui produisent les biens ainsi mesurés, se trouveront dépourvus d'assez d'argent pour acheter les biens nécessaires à une vie décente. Leur demande de ces biens existera, mais elle ne sera pas effective ou solvable. Par conséquent, la production des biens de première nécessité - logements décents, aliments et vêtements convenables - sera limitée : car une telle production serait moins profitable à l'investisseur capitaliste que la fourniture des biens de luxe. Ce n'était pas par hasard, que l'un des premiers investissements faits en Tanzanie après l'indépendance fut la construction d'un cinéma pour automobilistes. Beaucoup plus de profit pouvait être réalisé en utilisant du ciment de cette façon qu'en construisant des maisons pour les travailleurs!

Car, par dessus tout, le choix du capitalisme comme voie de développement signifie un type particulier de production et d'organisation sociale. L'adduction d'eau en milieu rural aura une priorité secondaire en dépit de sa nécessité pour la santé des populations. L'importation, et parfois la production locale de climatiseurs, voitures privées et d'autres biens de consommation durables, auront une haute priorité. L'adduction d'eau n'apporte aucun profit, tandis que la fourniture de biens de consommation de luxe le fait.

Pour mieux comprendre ceci, nous pouvons, une fois encore, nous référer aux sociétés capitalistes développées. Nous pouvons alors constater la malnutrition parmi les habitants des montagnes Appalache et de Harlem, alors que les habitants des faubourgs américains vivent d'accessoires; ou en Grande Bretagne où règne la crise de logement tandis que l'on produit sans cesse les télévisions en couleur; et dans ces mêmes sociétés nous pouvons observer l'affectation d'infimes ressources aux domaines comme l'éducation et la santé des populations comparées aux énormes ressources dépensées pour satisfaire les désirs pour tout notre peuple.

V — L'ALTERNATIVE SOCIALISTE

Dire, comme je viens de le faire, que le capitalisme est incompatible avec les aspirations du Tiers-Monde ne signifie pas que l'alternative socialiste soit facile, ni que le succès sous sa bannière soit automatique. Mais le socialisme peut être compatible avec nos aspirations; en adoptant des politiques socialistes, il nous est possible de maintenir notre indépendance et de tendre vers la dignité humaine pour tout notre peuple.

Le point crucial est que la base de l'organisation socialiste est la satisfaction des besoins de la population, et non la réalisation du profit. La décision d'affecter les ressources nationales à la production d'un bien plutôt qu'un autre est faite sur base de ce qui est nécessaire, et non sur ce qui est le plus rentable. De plus, de telles décisions sont prises par le peuple à travers ses institutions responsables - son propre gouvernement, ses propres sociétés industrielles, ses propres institutions commerciales. Elles ne sont pas prises par un petit groupe de capitalistes, locaux ou étrangers — et la question de domination étrangère à travers la propriété économique est ainsi exclue. Par ailleurs, les travailleurs nationaux peuvent recevoir - directement ou indirectement — tous les fruits de leur travail : il n'v a aucun groupe de propriétaires privés qui, constamment, s'approprient une large proportion de la richesse produite.

Il n'en découle pas que de grandes inégalités au sein de la société, ou l'exploitation de groupe, ou même la prise du pouvoir et des privilèges, par une petite minorité, soit automatiquement exclue dans une société qui adopte la voie socialiste. En observant ce qui se passe dans le monde, on constate que tout ceci arrive dans des pays soidisant socialistes. Mais mon avis est que de telles choses indiquent l'échec d'application du socialisme; elles ne sont pas inhérentes au socialisme comme elles le sont au capitalisme.

L'argument majeur utilisé contre le socialisme pour les pays en voie de développement est, en fait, qu'il ne va pas réussir, et que tous les Etats socialistes sont des Etats pauvres à cause du socialisme. Sans parler aussi longuement que le l'ai fait jusqu'ici — ce que je ne propose pas de faire — il n'est pas possible de réfuter cet argument en détail. Il v a cependant, à cet égard, trois points fondamentaux que je vous demanderais de bien considérer.

Le premier est que mesurer la richesse d'un pays par son Produit National Brut consiste à mesurer des choses et non des satisfactions. Une augmentation dans la vente d'héroïne, dans un pays où cela est permis, serait enregistré comme une augmentation dans sa richesse nationale; si le bien-être humain était l'unité de mesure, une telle augmentation de vente serait un facteur négatif. De la même façon, l'amélioration générale des conditions de santé par suppression des maladies endémiques peut ou ne pas être enregistrée comme une augmentation dans les statistiques de la richesse nationale; elle est certainement une bonne chose pour la population si elle a été réalisée!

Mon deuxième point est qu'une prostituée qui réussit ou un esclave favorisé, peuvent être mieux matériellement qu'une femme qui refuse de vendre son corps, ou un homme qui refuse de vendre sa liberté. Nous ne considérons cependant pas les conditions de la prostituée ou de l'esclave comme étant enviables — à moins bien sûr, que nous mourrions de faim, et même alors, nous reconnaissons l'amélioration possible de nos conditions comme étant incertaines et non assurées.

Troisièmement, je ne pense pas que la soi-disant inefficacité du socialisme soit brouvée. Le capitalisme s'est développé depuis deux siècles environ. Le premier engagement national au socialisme remonte à 1917, réalisé par une nation arriérée et féodale dévastée par la gurere, et qui a souffert par la suite de la guerre civile et des conflits internationaux. Malgré cela, peu de gens nieraient la transformation matérielle réalisée en URSS pendant les cinquante-cinq dernières années. Et en fait, en dépit de critiques acerbes qui peuvent être adressées à tous les pays socialistes, il est difficile de dire que leurs peuples sont moins nantis que ceux des derniers venus capitalistes - pays comme la Grèce, l'Espace, ou la Turquie par exemple. Au contraire, ils sont nettement mieux pourvus en matières vitales, telles que la santé, l'éducation, et la sécurité de leur alimentation et de leur logement. Qu'ils aient ou non le même nombre de postes de télévision en couleur, cela me semble peu important!

VI - CONCLUSION

On ne peut pas nier que beaucoup de difficultés assaillent le pays du Tiers-Monde qui a choisi la voie de développement socialiste. Ni les moindres de ces difficultés soient son propre passé, le dynamisme de techniques capitalistes, et l'instinct de spéculation que chaque être

humain semble posséder, de telle manière que nous souhaitons tous être parmi les privilégiés plutôt que parmi les exploités! Mais je crois que nous pouvons choisir la voie socialiste, et g'uen ce faisant. nous pouvons nous développer nous mêmes dans la liberté, et évoluer vers des conditions qui permettent dignité et respect de soi pour chacun de nos concitovens.

Je crois que cette perspective doit être poursuivie, avec vigueur et détermination. Nous ne créerons pas de sociétés socialistes du jour au lendemain, car nous devrons prendre comme point de départ notre situation actuelle; nous devrons faire des compromis avec l'argent et l'expertise capitalistes et nous devrons prendre des risques dans notre processus de développement. Mais je suis convaincu que les pays du Tiers-Monde ont la capacité de se transformer eux-mêmes avec le temps, en sociétés socialistes dans lesquelles leurs peuples peuvent vivre en harmonie et coopération en travaillant ensemble pour le bénéfice commun.

SUMMARY

In their struggle for independence, liberty, justice and well-being of all their inhabitants, the Third World countries are confronted with the choice between the two existing socio-economic systems: capitalism and socialism.

In this article, the author discusses the nature, the purpose and the determinants of this choice. In so doing, he analyses each of these systems.

Under a capitalist system the purpose of production and distribution is the making of profit for those who own the means of production and exchange, the need for goods is subsidiary to the profit involved in making them. Therefore, the owner of the machines and equipment used in production is the one who determines whether there shall be any production, and of what kind, and in what quantity. Neither the men who provide the labour for the productions, nor the men who need the goods which could be produced, have any say in these decisions. Under capitalism, money is King. He who owns wealth owns also power. He has power over all the workers who he can employ or not, and power over the government which he can paralyse by withholding vital production, or sabotage by the manipulation of men and machines. And this economic power is more and more concentrated in very few hands, since mass production techniques make small units uneeconomic: they go bankrupt in an attempt to compete with the giants, or else sell out to a larger business. Therefore, instead of having a very large number of small capitalists, we have a very small number of large capitalists. This development is part of the dynamic of capitalism, which is fighting system: each capitalist enterprise

survives by successfully fighting other capitalist enterprises. And the capitalist system as a whole survives by expansion, that is, by extending its area of operations and, in the process, eradicating all restraints upon it, and all weaker systems of society.

Given the fact that nowadays there are no capitalists from our countries who can successfully compete with foreign concerns, the Third World capitalism, should this path to development be chosen. would have no choice except to cooperate with external capitalism, as a very junior partner. Otherwise, it would be strangled at birth. We cannot develop capitalism in our countries without foreign capitalists. their money and their management expertise. And these foreign capitalists will invest in Third World countries only if, when, and to the extent that, they are convinced that to do so would be more profitable to them than any other investment. Development through capitalism means that the Third World nations have to meet conditions laid down by others — by capitalists of other countries. And if we agreed to their conditions, we should have to continue to be guided by them or face the threat of the new enterprises being run down, money and skills, being withdrawn, and of other economic sanctions being applied against us. In fact, a reliance upon capitalist development means that we give to others the power to make vital decisions about our economy. The kind of economic production we shall undertake; the location of factories, offices and stores; the amount of employment available in any area; and even the kind of taxation system we adopt, all these matters will be determined by outsiders.

In addition, capitalism does not only imply a fight between capitalists, with the developing nations' capitalists inevitably being worsted. It also involves a permanent fight between capitalists on one side and workers on the other. Thus, capitalism automatically brings with it the development of two classes of people: a small group whose ownership of the means of production brings them wealth, power and privilege; and a very much larger group whose work provides that wealth and privileges. The one benefits by exploiting the other, and a failure in the attempt to exploit leads to a breakdown of the whole system with a consequent end to all production. The exploitation of masses is, in fact, the basis on which capitalism has won the accolade for having solved the problem of production. There is no other basis on which it can operate. For if the workers even succeeded in obtaining the full benefits of their industry, then the capitalist would receive no profit and would close down the enterprise.

Development through capitalism is thus basically incompatible with human dignity and self-respect for all, with equal freedom for all inhabitants of the society.

Because Socialism can be compatible with our aspirations, by adopting socialist policies it is possible for us to maintain our independence and development towards human dignity for all our people. For the basis of socialist organization is the meeting of people's needs, not the making of profit. The decision to devote the nation's resources

to the production of one thing rather than another is made in the light of what is needed, not what is most profitable. Furthemore, such decisions are made by the people through their responsible institutions: their own government, their own industrial corporations, their own commercial institutions. They are not made by a small group of capitalists, eitheir local or foreign; and the question of foreign domination through economic ownership is thus excluded. Further the workers of the nation can receive directly or indirectly — the full fruits of their industry; there is no group of private owners which constantly appropriates a large proportion of the wealth produced.

In spite of many difficulties that face a Third World country which chooses the socialist alternative of development, the author strongly proposes the adoption of this alternative, since by so doing, we can develop ourselves in freedom, and towards those conditions which allow dignity and self-respect for everyone of our citizens.

Aimé CÉSAIRE

THE ESSENTIAL AND THE FUNDAMENTAL

In "Tell us... Aimé Césaire"

Interview by E. J. MAUNICK *

The activities and the work of the francophone West Indian poet Aimé Césaire together constitute a single struggle against the negation of identity. As a child in the house where he was born in the Lorrain in Martinique, a ramshackle patched-up old building, he was daily confronted with an image which became forever rooted in his mind: his mother riveted to an old sewing machine and endlessly pedalling away to ensure a decent living for her large familiy. Later, on entering the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris, he discovered, and read assiduously, books which explained and underlined the basis of the precarious state of the colonized peoples. The sound of that pedal was ever present in his mind, in which it was associated with the oars of slave galleys. His native island became an ill-omened ship in which other present and past victims were in chains. He began to say « No ». The fact is that he was learning at the same time that the Black man was not a «thing» as the colonialists had proclaimed. Of course he read Freud and Marx, but above all Leo Frobenius who, on the strenhth of his travels and surveys, proposed a different vision of Africa and African man. Césaire then found in himself a being whose existence he had always suspected and which had nothing in common with the prevalent caricature of the black man which is constantly being inculcated upon the black people themselves and the wider world of interests. That was when he tore up all the poems conceived in the style of, as a consequence of, following the example of... He decided to to return to his native country. Not only a physical return, that of the

^{*} This is CODESRIA's English translation of «Dites-nous... Aimé Cécaire», interview conducted by E.J. Maunick and Published in Demain l'Afrique N° 1, September 1977. CODESRIA expresses its gratitude to «Demain l'Afrique» for permission to translate and publish this interview.

On 9 June last, in Dakar, Aimé Césaire was elected President of the International Association of the World Festival of Negro Arts. A few days later, «Demain l'Afrique» requested and obtained an exclusive interview with this great personality of the Negro-African world.

Cette interview exclusive du célèbre écrivain et poète négro-Africain, le Martiniquais Aimé Césaire, a été recueillie par le grand Poète Mauricien, E.J. Maunick, lauréat de plusieurs prix littéraires, et publiée pour la première fois dans Demain l'Afrique, nº 1, Septembre 1977. Nos sincères remerciements à « Demain l'Afrique » pour nous avoir permis de la traduire et de la publier dans « Africa Development ».

prodigal son, but also a return of his whole soul: taking root again. Proof of this was his first great poem, entitled « Cahier d'un retour au pays natal » — a biting text, a solid and salutary message. An incantation which transcends all magic formulas: a negro mass. Cécaire drew his authority as celebrant from one passion, only one, that of the Essential and the Fundamental.

The Essential, that is the discovery, the recovery, the acceptance and the profession of an identity. Together with Senghor, Damas and other «rejects of history» whom he met and with whom he fraternized around the Sorbonne in Paris, he assessed the need for a black consciousness. The discovery of the American negro poets of the Black Renaissance was to do the rest. Césaire was the first to translate the sum of cultural values of the black world into a term which has since greatly prospered: negritude. Whatever the controversies about it and around it, the Essential has been proclaimed, and nothing will ever again be like it was before.

There remained the path to be followed in order that the future should not be like the past. Here, Aimé Césaire tackled the Fundamental, that is the choice among all those which are presented at the crossroads of the Black Man, of a road that is really his. One which meant superseding the temptations and thereby avoiding new enfeoffments, not to say new serfdoms. But, in so doing, not disdaining any enrichment, not refusing any dialogue, remaining open to all the winds. With one express proviso: that the deepest self should not be encroached on, and that the foundation should remain intact.

He who is the advocate of this Essential and this Fundamental is exposed to many risks, Aimé Césaire knows it and assumes responsibility for it. He knows that he does not have the miracle remedy which would cure all ills immediately, but it is sufficient to start the undertaking. To say No is already an antibody, and so much the worse for those who preach immunity while the disease is already well and truly there. Césaire's political action is inseparable from his literary works. From the «Cahier d'un retour au pays natal » to «La Tragédie du roi Christophe » and « Une saison au Congo » through « Les Armes miraculeuses » and « Discours sur le colonialisme », to quote only these books by him, there is always only the troubled presence of a man, the same one who, with Senghor and Damas, published in 1934 the corporative journal «L'Etudiant noir», the same one who, in collaboration with another West Indian René Ménil, created the surrealist journal «Tropiques» in the midst of the occupation of the French West Indies by the Vichy authorities, the one who, elected a member of the French National Assembly after the Liberation, and believing there might be a chance of development for the Antilles, defended assimilation, the one who was to opt for autonomy and who, between 1958 and 1964, pleaded that cause with General de Gaulle and André Malraux, the one who sensationally renounced his membership of the French communist party to found the Parti progressiste Martiniquais, the one who still now, despite the burdens of office as mayor and a member of parliament is tirelessly continuing what he finally regarded as a sacred duty: a better destiny for the men of the Antilles.

It is this man, who has honoured me with his friendship for nearly twenty years, that I interviewed on your behalf, that is, asked him to answer some of the questions which you, in my place, might have put to him. I did this because I am more than attentive to the work of the poet Césaire and because I know the man rather well. One summer I went to visit him in his mayor's office in Fort-de-France. Martinique. He insisted on doing me the honours of his town and of his island, stopping at houses and trees, at the ruins of Saint-Pierre and the mer du Diamant. On the road, an old woman approached the car just as it was stopping. She put her soft and wrinkled hand on the arm of my guide and said: «Césaire Aimé» and I understood « beloved Césaire ». Do vou agree ?

Edouard J. MAUNICK

Aimé Cécaire, we who in the vast world have our place measured as one third of the whole. For reasons of a new equilibrium, we prefer to use the proportion of one-fourth. One may smile at the irony of this reckoning, and yet... So, we in the fourth world with our victories and our defeats, with our cries and our silences. And, among us, those who are called the intellectuals: those who think and express, those who create and display... How does the poet and politician that you are explain the presence of the intellectual and what is his role in the struggle of the fourth world?

The role of the intellectual in the fourth world can only be a particular case. I consider firstly that the intellectual is somewhat the concience of a community. He is a being who serves a number of values. And this conscience must not be passive but militant. Among the values at the heart of his fight there are first justice, man and truth. This is very important particulary in our case. We are living at a time when it is essential to be lucid: to dissipate the myths, to destroy the mystifications, to see and make things seen, not to lie to oneself and not to lie to others...

How can we uncover this truth, show its real face, its proper weight, in the magma of all these truths which are jostling each other at the doors of the fourth world?

I believe that, in all action, there is one side turned towards the universal and one side turned towards the particular. Our truth is not contrary to the Truth with a capital T. But there is specificity: we have to seek our truth, that of our world, that of our identity. We must cut our own way through the undergrowth with a machete. It is not easy. The world is glutted with ideologies, but we must not let these ideologies become mystifying. I have always been struck by the fact that we are threatened with the very great danger of mechanically using the truth of others. I say that in the fourth world we must be lucid: select what we need and follow our own road. That is fundamental: that is what I have been trying to do ever since I was old enough to think. To seek a particular African path, at the same time taking advantage of the contributions of the other worlds, but well knowing, fully realizing that in reality nobody has throught for us or can think for us.

The search for this underlying identity implies a revolution which is both a refusal and a desire for renewed inspiration. Marxism comes in here. Il has taken hold of the fourth world and the fourth world has taken hold of it. What is your personal analysis of this phenomenon and what about the other ideologies? What, in your view, can really help to find this path of liberation and how do you rate the efficiency of our own approach?

No-one can ignore marxism, but it must be used as a tool. There is no question of making of it an ideology or a new dogma. Marxism is an extraordinary analytical tool; quite exceptional. I said just now that all mystifications must be destroyed: we must recognize that marxism has conspicuously helped us to demystify or demythify colonialism. This having been said, it is clear that marxism remains one instrument among others which are complementary to it. It would be a very bad thing if the fourth world summarily applied a number of procedures under the pretext that they are derived from marxism. It would be a primitive and impoverishing marxism. There are a host of possibilities that are not in marxism and the world is vaster than Marx. It is up to us to discover this border area and to explore it. I am thinking for example of ethnography. The knowledge of particular cultures, linguistics, even psycho-analysis, all of which are outside the province of marxism.

But it could be objected that ethnography, linguistics and psychoanalysis are matters for the élite and that the people need to eat: these famous animal needs, to remain within Marx's vocabulary. Is your personal writing, which gives predominance to the sacred oath to the people to annihilate its servitude, primarily a refusal of all new enteoffment?

Absolutely. I reject all the Churches. It is essential to beware of all assimilationism. I believe in the primacy of identity: in the prima cy of the search...

And this fear of the elite? This fear of its action which might culminate in elements apparently in contradiction to the primary needs of the people?

There you raise the whole problem of the relations between politics and culture. Here, we must have a dialectical view of things and not be in much of a hurry to simplify the problems. Firstly, I attach a great deal of importance to culture: that is what gives the overall vision of things. Politics without culture would be blind politics, groping its way, and ultimately unsubstantial. There can be no major political system not based on a conception of the world and a conception of man. Without culture, politics remains without purpose. Consequently, in the fourth world in particular, culture is fundamental. But it must culminate in action. To revert to the comparison just made, a culture without politics would be paralyzing and would lead to ossification. We must therefore do all we can to to induce and ensure the reconciliation between culture and politics. It is rather like the reconciliation of intuition and action...

Leaving all demagogy aside, is not culture the legitimate property of the people? Is it not the people which builds and maintains it? Is the people not both the beam and the structural support?

Certainly. We must at all costs resist an erudite and elitist conception of culture. The English anthropologists have clearly demonstrated it: culture springs first from the people. It is the people which creates the values and which determines them. I who am from the Antilles and you who are from Mauritius, we very well know the vast amount that has to be done to pass from culture as it was taught to us (and which, by the way, is for me not culture but instruction) to true culture. We know that this mediation can only be done by the people. which is the reservoir of the most eminent cultural values.

This brings us to the distinction that must be made as to the very function of creation in our countries. We must, then, divest man of the claim to be the message and invest him with the duty of being the messenger. In other words, he does not so much write for the people — which itself holds the eminent values — but of the peopole from which he derives the values in order to expound them to the wider world. His writing would then be that of the narrator. To quote yourself: « I will be the mouth of those who have no mouth... »

Yes, We are there to express, and not so much to create. To express, press out, bring out and highlight, hence to reveal and proffer a number of values which are there, but have no recognized existence precisely because they are unexpressed. One shivers when one knows that some people think that our peoples have no history simply because that history has not been written down.

On the basis of that kind of postulate which is that of serving, of promoting the general cause — a noble cause if ever there was one and which disturbs the soul - in view of what is happening in some countries of the fourth world more particularly in the areas of concern to us, we are forced to conclude that there is a flagrant crime of diversion... How was it possible to forget independence, to ionore the liberation and to bury the just establishment of the identity of the peoples, in favour of power? The intellectual and the politicien and power!... What does power represent for you? What should it be used for and what are the limits of its exercice?

We must above all combat a conception according to which power carries with it its own legitimacy. It must never be more than a means. The fact that power is in the hands of a particular individual seems to me personally a secondary matter. What is important is not to hold power, but to know what it is used for. This brings us back to the relations between culture and politics, (for) my assessment of such power is determined by one primary criterion: tell me what you are doing with your power or what you want to do with it, and it is according to the reply that I will be able to judge whether that power is legitimate or illegitimate...

So you deplore the caricatural picture which some holders of power sometimes give of themselves and of Africa...

Yes indeed. I will not go into personalities, but it must be added in their defence that the bad examples are not confined to the fourth world. Very often what we detest and denounce, and must denounce. in the fourth world unfortunately finds more than its replica, its source, in the imitation of the worst deviations of power, as can be seen here and there in the world of today. In Africa, they are often black replicas of things which we know very precisely form elsewhere. They are for me, therefore, deviations of black power and not the actual characteristics of that power. There are some who imagine or insinuate that all black power is a bloody and arbitrary power — you know the distressing theory of the negro king — these are actually colonialist theories. Tyranny and arbitrary action are not the perquisites, of any continent or any race. But actually it is time for the responsible politicians of the fourth world to pay heed to this aspect of things and to admit that power does not bear within itself its own justification. From that point of view, I may be old-fashioned, but I am a moralist: I believe in the primacy of certain values to which power itself must be subordinated.

Let us go further, if you will... Tomorrow, in an independent Martinique, you will assume very high office which will confer on you the right of life or death in the political domain... What does Aimé Césaire do? What is the reaction of the author of «Cahier d'un retour au pays natal» to what is called reason of State?

Really, at my age, after having made an examination of things and of myself, I can express an absolute certainty: I shall never become drunk with power. Is it that there is a proportion of scepticism in me, is it a lesson of the relativity of things? In any case I am absolutely sure that I will not change. Power is not a thing which intoxicates me and I think I will have the strength to resist its giddiness and that he whom you call Aimé Césaire will remain Aimé Césaire. I do not at all think that there will be a mutation in myself: I will remain the man I am. I cannot imagine for one second that I could renounce values which are vital for me: duty of justice, duty of truth, of a certain moral integrity, respect for others. I fervently believe in respect for others. Many people think that I am a hesitant man whereas it is simply the respect for others... In their individuality and their dignity.

This naturally brings me to ask you about emotions. We find it at every stage of your work, and no one better than you could explain its presence, without, however, giving it primacy over reason and without allowing it to take on this caricatural meaning of emotion which some circles attribute to the Black man...

First of all, there is in me an intellectual, rational, deductive side... those are things we learned in the schools of my time, we find them also in Senghor, and in our case, this is related to French culture and knowledge. Consequently I am indeed of my time, of a period, and

of a school. All that is perfectly true, But I am also fundamentally emotive. Alas, I say alas because it goes as far as anguish. It is not because I am a black man, that applies to many men, but with me, emotion is primary. It is an immediate reaction which also goes with intuition. I believe I am intuitive. Afterwards I subject things to analysis, pass them through the filter of reason, but unquestionably, my first movement is apprehension by emotion. And I never argue about that: we are as we are...

So as to grasp this spontaneity better. I suggest to you two attitudes: we have heard of a great writer belonging to the black world. landing in Africa for the first time, finds in the first black man he meets on African soil the descendant of the man who sold his ancestor: and it is said that, in the same circumstances, your recation was different. You apparently said: «This is the grandson of the one I descend from ... »

Exactly. Upon my first encounter with African earth, and this may seem stupid, I was very greatly moved: I wept. I really felt that I belonged to this land, this continent, that I was made of that clay. These are things which one cannot control, and I did not for one second think that I had been a victim of that world. Of course, I have always very deeply felt the transplantation, the deportation, the slave trade. This is nothing theoretical with me, but a deep wound, an anguish. I still feel, almost physically, the jolting of the boat. This is very strong in me. But having said that, I know very well who are those responsible. Certainly not those few Africans caught up in a terrible machine. I can locate the responsibilities and not mistake the enemy. The enemy is emerging capitalism, the slave trader, the lucre profit of the white man and of a civilization.

What, then, does the African continent mean to you?

Ah! Africa... That is one of the factors which made me stand out among the West Indians. I was the first to talk to them of Africa. Not that I know her all that well, but I am always in the habit of saying that Africa is part of myself. I discover her in me; she is part of the geography of my heart. I owe a great deal to Africa; it is she who enabled me to know myself. I only understood myself when I had known Africans and only understood Martinique when I had been to Africa. One cannot understand the Antilles without Africa. and that is why it is absolutely pointless to oppose Antillanity to Negritude, because without Negritude there is no Antillanity. Of course. Martinique and the so-called French West Indies are at the crossroads of two worlds: a European world and an African world. Perhaps even of third one, an Asian one, because the Indian (from India) contribution is by no means negligible. But roughly speaking it is a meetingground between Africa and Europe, and the essential component, the foundation, is Africa.

What about racial mixing?

Racial mixing is almost a law of the modern world: people meet more, there is no longer a watertight compartment, there is less and

less segregation and what remains of it is seen as a detestable anachronism. Consequently, I believe that the world is tending to racial mixing; only I say, be careful: that must not mean the elimination of differences and the disappearance of specific cultures. I am in favour of any racial mixing which brings about enrichment, but I do no want it to culminate in the negation of an identity. I speak with knowledge because precisely what is threatening Martinique is the loss of identity. That is the most horrible thing of all. And the most terrible accusation that can be made against a certain form of colonialism which prevailed in the Antilles, is the negation of identity: reducing a man, the West Indian man, to such a degree of spiritual poverty that he ends by forgetting himself or, worse still, despising himself. This is dreadful. I met a West Indian who made an apologia of the black slave trade, saying: « It's fine like that... that is what civilized us ». And there are also those who do not say it but who think it. One cannot but be appalled at system in which man is continually called upon to choose between dignity and security; between his stomach and his soul.

But the rejection of the positive aspect of racial mixing which requires above all the acceptance of what is different in the other leads us quite naturally to South Africa. To apartheid...

I consider apartheid as the survival, right in the 20th century, of the most barbaric evils that we have known, for example, in the West Indies. Everybody is convinced that slavery has disappeared. that racism is out of date - how many times in Martinique have I been reproached for always going back over the same old stories, for re-opening old wounds — well, no, gentlemen, racism is there, slavery is there: apartheid is the glaring proof of it. In my view it symbolizes hideously everything we, the coloured peoples, suffered from for century after century... Now you have Prof. Barnard who declares on television that no other part of Africa is doing to the Blacks what South Africa is doing... To that I reply: Does one weigh a man by the weight of well-being? I do not know what Prof. Barnard's conception of man is; in any case, as for me I think it is an abomination. Soweto tears me apart just as Harlem did. I find it inadmissible that an intellectual can try to find the shadow of a justification for such a system. After all, this argument of Prof. Barnard is well known: how often have I heard or read (for I am something of a historian) the apologia of slavery which says: after all they are Negroes, very poor in their country, without civilization, without culture; certainly we took them and deported them, but it was for their good. First, for the edification of their soul, we christianized them, we civilized them and at the same time we promoted their greater well-being. Today they are being bantustanized. So this is an argument as old as the world, as old as colonialism, as old as the exploitation of man by man.

Basically is not the maintenance of this state of injustice largely related to the sordid desire to ensure a supremacy of wealth? Here we

come to the relations between rich countries and poor countries. Do you believe in the tamous North-South dialogue?

In this connection the results of the last conference held in Paris are very significant. It is really the squaring of the circle. It seems obvious to me that there is nos possible ground for agreement between a rich North and a poor South, since the pre-requisite for the prosperity of one side is the poverty of the other. There must be no cheating. Of course it is better to talk round a conference table, but it is clear that nothing will come of it: it is all a matter of power relationships.

You are pessimistic...

I am not pessimistic but lucid. Consequently I am highly aware of the antagonism between the interests involved. I do not at all think that there will be a sort of night of 4 August when the rich powers will abdicate their privileges and embrace the poor brothers. Moreover, the reason why we have been using the term «fourth world » from the start is that things are not that simple: are there really only two camps, the rich one and the poor one? Must we not, within what is regarded as the third world, refine the analysis and bring out a fourth world? It seems to me that the division of the world into two blocs is summary and does not fit in perfectly with reality. Africa, for example, has particular and specific handicaps which it is very difficult to reduce to, or to include in, a more general category. There again, I am a man concerned with the particular, but the fact is undeniable...

Is not, then, the impossibility of establishing this North-South dialogue liable to culminate in violence?

We have to take things as they are: there is a confrontation. How it will all end I do not know. Of course we would all have hoped for an agreement, but it must be acknowledged that history is not an idyll... We are now at a time of awakening consciousness of the problems. This is salutary, and it is on that basis that we must look for solutions. The conference can only be a starting-point.

Aimé Césaire, Africa begins at the doors of the Mediterranean and ends at the Cape of Good Hope. How do you see the meeting of the black culture and the arabe culture?

I am not in a good position to speak of it, but the Arab culture seems to me unquestionably a great culture. Certainly it is an African culture... but there is an African culture which is not Arab culture. Here we have two worlds which had contacts with each other, there was even penetration if not interpenetration, but I think that Arab culture extends beyond Africa and has therefore its specific nature. and that black culture, which also, in a way, extends beyond Africa through its diaspora, has another specific nature. The problems of the one cannot be assimilated to the problems of the other.

But the fact is that their meeting and their mutual enrichment are at the root of the whole of Africa. We cannot make of the Sahara a point of no-return, either on one side or the other.

Certainly. In the century in which we are living, this is also true for Europe. We cannot deny the action or interaction of European culture on African culture, if only through technology. It is clear that today every culture is confronted with itself, but also with the others.

Many of your books are frequently mentioned, but I should like to go back to the one which, in my view, explains you best, announces you best and which has given me something of the taste of myself: «Le Cahier d'un retour au pays natal». I suggest this to you: you come to Africa, and a young student, like there are many, comes up to you and says that he knows by heart long extracts from this book....

Much better, indeed, than in the Antilles.

He adds: «Do you know that we recite them sometimes to reassure ourselves». And suddenly you read in his eyes a question which is only discernible by the elder that you are. You then undestand that he is the heir of this identity which you, with others, have helped to bring to light. What do you say to him?

There are two ways of behaving towards him: as a defendent or as an ancestor. I certainly do not feel myself as a defendant, I very well understand the revolts of youth, sometimes their injustice: this is natural. There are for example so many people now who are condemning negritude very vociferously and very brilliantly. I smile. This condemnation they make today, could they have made it if negritude had not come their way? This proves that we were the pioneers in very difficult conditions. We too were feeling our way. But we have the merit of having searched, of course with the risk of making mistakes. It is very easy to stay in ones ivory tower and to pronounce excommunications, maledictions etc. So we wanted to clear a path... But what do I tell him? Simply this: we all thought at the time. Senghor, Damas and I, that while there are contingencies, secondary matters, there is nevertheless one value which must be maintained and which is fundamental: the virtue of identification. To be oneself. To remain oneself. I also believe in a feeling of fidelity and solidarity. The need to pursue the quest. I do not think there is any renewal without the maintenance of these values and without a perpetual return to the source for inspiration. The fight against alienation, as is said of a continuous creation, is an evercontinuing fight, constantly to be recommenced. Alienation with respect to the values of the modern world, alienation of the ideologies: a fight which is never ended.

You mentioned fidelity: that too, with you, has no end. Il starts with men like Toussaint-Louverture, like Nat Turner. and continues with Nkrumah, Cabral, Lumumba...

It is not that I indulge in hero-worship, but these men are for me men who incarnate these values that I am trying to describe here. And because they incarnate these values, they call on each of us personally. They haill us, they draw us back to ourselves. I regard them, in my pantheon, as relays of hope. And I think that, in the lives of peoples as in those of individuals, we need these relays of hope: men who show the way, men who say the essential. In the midst of

the multitude of facts and events, we may easily get lost and miss the essential. By meditating about these men whom I shall not call great men because the word is too much prostituted and has acquired an unpleasant meaning, by meditating about the lives of these men that we are brought back to what is fundamental... I do not intend to compile an honours list, but the names you have mentioned are already an excellent indication

More than once you confided to me that you had never been really fascinated by America, and yet the Antilles are in a way an extension of America. And America is also a black country...

Nothing that is negro can be alien to me. My heart bleeds in Soweto, but it also bleeds in Harlem. I owe a great deal to Africa, but Senghor and I also owe a great deal to the Black Americans. Not that I know English or the American black literature very well, since I read it only in translation, but the little I know of it has strongly marked me. The poets of the Black Renaissance like Jean Toomer. Countee Cullen, James Waldon Johnson, Claude McKay and Langston Hughes are the first ones who helped us to think negro when we were haunting the Quartier Latin. We were in a French-speaking world, then dominated by frantic assimilation, and we found in that literature a splendid example of the Negro standing on his own feet.

A man who says «I am black», «Black is beautiful» and in the case of Langston Hughes « I am American too »... A man like Marcus Garvey, not that I am Garveyist, I recognize all the romanticism there was in the Black to Africa movement, but what I remember is the importance of the gesture. The importance of the approach and its purpose; the intention it reveals. So it is impossible to divide the black heritage, and that is why I believe in the world of negritude. We have there a very vast patrimony which is common to us. It is very far-reaching: there are of course the West Indies, but, beyond the archipelago, it reaches the continent, i.e. America, just as, beyond the islands of the Indian Ocean, there is Africa. In any case, my own world extends very far.

Your world extends very far, but it begins in Martinique: the native country. Let us take it to the limit; some people often reproach you because they do not quite understand your approach. They do not grasp it in all its clarity or find it contradictory. Tell us frankly what Aimé Césaire wants for this Martinique: what he is ready to fight for and even give his life for...

First I want Martinique to exist. For it does not have an existence and my problem now is the following: my country is in danger of dying before it has ever been born: I mean born as itself. That is my tragedy. This undertaking of seeing Martinique born as itself is somewhat singular because it comes in the century in which we are living, in other words in the century of levelling, of telecommunications and alienation. But I regard this undertaking which is mine as an undertaking of lifesaving in extremis. I bend all my strength to it, being very conscious of the difficulties, and I always admire the intrepidity of the people who pronounce magnificent absolute judgments without

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realizing the complexity of the problems, the daily struggle for sur vival of a little country of a small people of 300,000 inhabitants, a small rock in the Atlantic. A small country in which the people have been subjected to a veritable policy of brainwashing and conditioning. It is for that people that I am fighting. I do not know if it is a rearguard action, but it is certainly an essential combat. Certainly I have had a thankless role: not that I have a messianic conception of myself — I am in a way both very proud and very humble — I wanted to do something because I am lucid. I do not lie to myself. And since we deal with poetry, hence a terrain of truth, I will say that the merit that I am ready to assume was a matter of chance. Basically, this people of whom I have never despaired although the contrary might have happened, this people, in this difficult and disagreeable century, induces me finally to conclude that «I guided the long transhumance of the herd».

Towards Relevant Culture and Politics in Africa

Ahmed Mohiddin *

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communications, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

Marx and Engels.

We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution — a revolution which brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed, or humiliated.

Nverere.

I. -- INTRODUCTION

The independent states of Africa are confronted with three perennial and enervating problems. These are: exploitation, due to the international capitalist system into whith they are inextricably interwoven; lack of genuine independence and freedom of action; and finally, inadequate and inappropriate socio-cultural and political institutions which are incapable of solving the multitude of serious problems facing the peoples of these countries.

Our primary concern in this paper is on culture and politics. In particular we are interested in the discussion of what kind of politics and political institutions, culture and cultural activities which are likely to contribute to the maintenance of African political independence and cultural identity in the unfolding decades.

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Politics and culture are functions of society. Nature and style of politics, as well as the substance and creativity of culture are all dependent on the socio-economic structure of society. But the socio-economic structure of society is itself a manifestation of the prevailing modes of production, and the resultant class structure. We cannot therefore meaningfully discuss politics or culture of a society without prior reference to the modes of production and class structure of that society. It is this latter factor which creates and characterises the kind of politics and cultural activities carried out in society.

Thus all societies have cultures, and politics is to be found wherever there are people living and working together in groups. What distinguishes one type of culture, or the substance and style of politics from another is the socio-economic context within which such phenomena take place.

It is culture which manages to keep people together, to enable them utilize the experience, wisdom and the accumulated sophistication of the past; and to enable people to appreciate, understand the present and intelligently prepare themselves for the future. It is the political processes which facilitate and enable the diverse human beings to face and solve their basic problems of living and working together harmoniously and constructively.

It is of course possible for a country and a people to voluntarily adopt, or be acompelled to accept the culture of another people. But for the culture to perform its legitimate functions properly and effectively, that culture must be shared and understood by the indigenous masses of the people. It follows that such a culture must be rooted in the traditions and ways of living of the toiling workers and peasants; and this ultimately must be derived from the modes of production prevailing in these communities.

An imposed culture from outside will be understood and have meaning only to those who have been affected or systematically exposed to such a culture. It is characteristic of such societies to be divided, with the elites adopting foreign ways of living, modes of thought and consumption patterns; while the rest of the people adhering to the indigenous cultures. But what is more significant is that such a society would not be independent or free, as its elites — the decision makers — would be informed and influenced by the alien culture.

Similarly with politics. An imposed mode of political thought, political processes or set of political institutions, which are at variance with the basic needs, aspirations and traditions of the masses are bound to undermine or fragment the political independence of such society.

This paper proposes that the only way which Africa can maintain its independence, avoid exploitation domestically as well as externally, and at the same time prevent the internal fragmentation and the resultant instability, is to opt for socialism and self-reliance. This assertion is based on both empirical observations of the socioeconomic trends in Africa and the Third World in general, as well as on normative prescriptive criteria, in that socialism is the more meaningful and effective type of society for Africa.

II - THE CAPITALIST IMPACT

When Marx and Engels made the statement in 1848 regarding the compulsive powers of capitalism. Africa was then not much known for its huge wealth in minerals and other natural resources essential to capitalist production. But this was not to be the case for too long. No sooner had Africa begun to be spared from the ravages of the slave trade, European capitalist-industrialisation caught up with the realities of Africa's reservoir of raw materials and Africa's potentials as a market for the manufactured goods from Europe.

Here we are not intersted with the rivalries between European powers for the acquisition, control and influence over different parts of Africa. It is the impact of imposed European capitalism on African societies which is our primary concern. For it was the consequences of this impact which inextricably brought the economies of Africa under the control of Europe and rendered individual African states. after political independence, weak and incapable of taking independent decision on behalf of their people. In order to fully appreciate the present state of affairs in Africa, and at the same time provide a background to the proposition that Africa must be socialist and self-reliant in order to achieve development and maintain her independence, it is imperative to take a closer but a brief, look at the manner in which capitalism was introduced in Africa and its devastating consequences on African societies

It was obvious that in order for Africa to play its role as a source of raw materials and potential markets for European manufactured goods, local indigenous Africans had to be, as it were, socialized to be receptive to the European capitalist incursion; and, which was equally important, for these Africans to be reasonably proficient in the roles to which the capitalist system might assign them. This socialisation function was jointly carried out by the missionaries, the traders and the colonial governments themselves.

The missionaries were the first breed of Europeans to be interested with Africa. Their avowed objective was of course to spread the Light and the World of God; but they also had other motives, or at least some of them acted on behalf of organisations whose interests were more pecuniary rather than missionary. Withness, for example, the statement by Dr. Livingstone who in the course of his address to the University of Cambridge, said: «I direct your attention to Africa. I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and christianity. You carry out the work which I have begun. » (1). This was a clear indication of the dual role of the missionaries of the time.

But before an «open path for commerce and christianity» could be established a lot of groundwork had to be done in Africa for such an eventuality. Inspite of the fact that the African societies of that period were not totally ignorant of, or affected by, the evolving and developing practice of 'buying and selling' of commodities, capitalism as an organised system of commodity exchange through the

medium of money had not as yet penetrated deeply into all levels of African society. Nor indeed, was the phenomenon of human labour as a saleable and exchangeable commodity (2). It was therefore imperative that the Africans' mode of economic behaviour and pattern of social thought be changed: otherwise it would be virtually impossible for the European capitalists to obtain the necessary labour for their manufactured goods and raw materials for their factories in Europe.

It should also be recalled that the missionary encounter with Africa took place during a period when European civilisation was regarded as the ultimate refinement and repository of all human excellence, virtue and industry. Africa by contrast had nothing to offer, only to receive. As one authority asserted:

> «In tropical Africa, we have for the most part primitive races that seem at present to have but little to contribute, and that must undergo long years of patient work before they can effectively assimilate the rest that we can offer » (3).

Hence, although the missionaries as individuals, were genuine in their desires to educate and proselytise the African, their efforts were nonetheless very much influenced by their European prejudices. It was the European conception of Christian morality, and European graces of living which were considered worthwhile teaching. And, of course, it was the social and ethical precepts associated with the prevailing modes of production in Europe, capitalism, which the missionaries sought to introduce into Africa. Private property, frugality and the need to save and accumulate were regarded as synonymous with true Christian virtues. Thus, in their determination to educate and 'save' the African, the missionaries transformed not only the African's material needs, in terms of training for wage labour, but also his spiritual well-being as they taught him what God to worship and in what manner. In the process African cultures were exposed to, and were compelled to compete with, a more material, powerful, and, to most Africans, an exceedingly attractive one — the European. Moreover, the African had to be «modernized» and «disciplined» in order to face the rigours of modern industrial civilisation. A system of order and authority was also essential, but not one based on the morals and traditions known and meaningful to Africans, but on « higher » ones which have « universal applicability » — the European (4).

The missionaries were thus instrumental in providing the initial and necessary groundwork inculcating the natives with the imperatives of obedience and emulation of European manners and pattern of behaviour. This was a very critical stage in the process of social changes in Africa (5). For it was those Africans taught by missionaries who later emerged as leaders of independent African states.

But the missionaries were not the only people responsible for social change in Africa. Foreign traders constitute another important group. While the missionaries introduced new spiritual and material

values to the African, the traders complemented them by exposing the African to new goods and tastes, needs and aspirations which could not be acquired or fulfilled without money, a commodity the African did not possess. Hence, to acquire money the African had either to engage himself in producing cash-crops, or sell his labour to those willing to use and pay for it, i.e. to become a wage-labourer. Gradually the African was exposed to capitalism and the monetary economy became the real world to which he had to adapt. For example, in order to acquire the goods which met his fancy he had to learn the habits of saving and accumulating his meagre income; or to supplement his income with other forms of economic activities.

But most of these goods he did not really need. They were part of the new tastes and aspirations introduced by the missionaries and traders in their strategy to convert and transform the African into a christian and consumer of European manufactured goods. It was goods for mere consumption, and not to satisfy basic human needs. But in order to satisfy these new aspirations for new consumption goods, the African had of necessity to be acquisitive and accumulate. to think only of himself and to progressively care lesse about his extended family or the community. He had therefore to be an individualist. This had most damaging consequences on the structure of the community and the values which sustained its life and development.

The community lost the will, strength and freedom to develop in the manner most beneficial and compatible with the needs and aspirations of the people. The tastes for consumed goods originating from outside the country dictated what should be produced locally. Neither the structure nor the direction of the economy could any longer be determined by those most affected by it — the people.

Thus by encouraging consumerism, acquisitiveness and individualism colonial capitalism transformed what was essentially a communitarian society into an acquisitive and stratified one. It is of course true that social differentiations were already in evidence before the impact of organised colonial capitalism (6). But it was the introduction of capitalism and the encouragement of consumerism which decisively strengthened the trend towards clear stratifications. Consequently, the structure of the traditional society as well as its communal ethos were undermined. It was no longer possible to think and act in terms of the needs of the society as a whole. It was only the needs and desires of those who had the wealth, education or who were gainfully employed which were satisfied. And as the number of this group of people increased, so did the demand for such goods expand; and so, progressively, did the economic dependence of the community and the entire country on the metropolis develop.

III - WESTERN CULTURE AND THE INDIGENOUS ELITES

In the course of Western colonization of Africa, language and culture proved to be the most effective and least costly means of not only establishing and maintaining colonial rule but also of entrenching and perpetuating Western cultural domination of Africa beyond

the period of formal political independence. By establishing a new system of education based on the cultural values of the colonizers, and by deliberately creating an indigenous elite inured to such cultural values and world outlook, the business of colonial administration and domination of indigenous people did not have to depend on resident armed forces. Additionally, by creating totally new socio-economic institutions which could be manned or operated only by the colonial expatriates supported by the emerging indigenous elites, the running of these societies as well as their future programmed development tended to depend very heavily on the availability, competence and dedication of these combined human resources. Although with formal political independence a large number of the colonial administrators left, because of their education and formal training the indigenous elites continued to represent, articulate and maintain the Western cultural values.

Language and culture are of course closely-related. It is virtually impossible to master a foreign language without at the same time being influenced, or persuaded, by the cultural values of the people of that language. For language is not only a medium of exchange of ideas, information and emotions, but also of values, traditions and many other things. In a colonial situation, learning the language of the colonizer inevitably entails cultural assimilation or domination as well as ideological orientation of the indigenous elites. Obviously the degree to which the elites are assimilated or dominated by the colonial cultural values to a very large extent depends on both the enthusiastic receptivity of the colonized and the proselytizing vigour of the colonizer. French colonial Africa represents one extreme end of the continuum while the British are somewhere in the middle. In some parts of Africa, the ability to speak the language of the colonizer eloquently and with conspicuous ease was regarded as a mark of true cultural accomplishment deserving appointment or elevation to higher places in society. The person in question might be incompetent or a known buffoon, but because he has mastered the language and appears to have blended well with the cultural values of the colonizers he is coopted into the local ruling elite, and thus becomes an active agent of foreign cultural influence or domination.

The cumulative effect and indeed the objective, of Western education was to create an indigenous colonial elite. To the missionaries and the colonial administrators these educated Africans were a special breed, different and separate from the rest of the masses of Africans, and with special roles to perform. Not only did the colonial and commercial interests regard these educated Africans as special people, but also encouraged them to the extent that both the educated Africans as well as the masses came to believe in the superiority of the educated. Consequently the educated became convinced of their special role in the colonial situation, and this by virtue of their education and cultural assimilation. Indeed, the highest ambition the educated African ever had in the colonial situation was simply to substitute roles with their European « colleagues ». This was certainly the experience in the early stages of the struggle for political independence in Tanzania.

When we started TANU in Tanzania we had a little support — underground support — from African civil servants because many of them were annoyed not by colonialism but because the master denied them certain rights. They wanted to become District Commissioners, Provincial Commissioners, and perhaps for others to become Governors (7).

The assumption of European styles of life and language were some of the most conspicuous characteristics of the colonial educated African, It was not simply a matter of literacy, but right kind of literacy. It is very important to bear this point in mind. It was for this reason that the ability to speak English, for example, acquired a disproportionate importance in areas where the British have ruled. Because of the exclusive importance attached to the English language, and the manners generally associated with the British, any leader who did not command the language or whose style of life was so obviously that of the uneducated (meaning «African»), found his legitimacy to authority seriously questioned. It is for this reason that Western educated students find it very difficult to accept some of their leaders who are not conversant with any of the western European languages, particularly French or English. (For example, Tanzania students were embarrassed by the leadership of Karume, the late Vice-President of Tanzania, not because of his brutalities but simply because he was unable to express himself adequately in English. Indeed, to most of them he looked so ordinary — like a peasant! Oginga Odinga, leader of the defunct Kenya Peoples' Union faced a similar problem; whereas a man like the late Tom Mboya was able to inspire the envy and respect not only of his own people but also of outsiders — the Europeans. To the local people, he represented a fine example of a man who had learned the rules of the game and had succeeded precisely because of that; one who played his role well as expected in the colonial situation. And to the outside world he was one to be trusted because he was «educated» and understood the ways of the Western world)

Thus at independence the elites — the educated — and virtually the entire literate population were a colonial product, ostensibly created as part of the general improvement of the society, but in reality to serve the wider interests of the Western capitalist world. So too, were the socio-economic and political institutions such as banks, insurance companies, churches, colleges and universities bequethed by the departing colonial masters. Though now in the hands of the elites who appear to be in operational control, yet in reality the institutions were links in a wider network of chain of external linkages through which control of the contry could, and would, be exercised and maintained.

And the elites are the willing agents of such external manipulations and control. Indeed, by virtue of their education, training and acquired patterns of social behaviour, the elites know of no better or worthwile roles to perform in their societies than serving the metropolitan capitalist interests. As Fanon once observed:

« Seen through its (national bourgeoisie) eyes, its mission has nothing to do with transforming the nation: it consists, prosaically, of being the transmission line between the nation and a capitalism, rampant though camouflaged which today puts on the masque of neo-colonialism » (8).

IV - CULTURE AND POLITICS

In a fully-fledged capitalism culture tends to cement the bourgeois society and oils, as it were, the linkages between the various institutions in the society. In particular popular culture in the form of films, TV, sex, fashion and romance magazines, and so on, play the important function of creating a false consciousness in the masses that they have the ability and are free to acquire and enjoy all the goods and services produced in the society.

This is the case because in a mature capitalist society, and by that we mean the metropolitan centres, there is a very close and highly developed relationship between culture and politics.

Both culture and politics are the direct manifestations of the capitalist class-structure; and being the product of indigenous capitalism such culture is widely shared by the people. Culture and politics in a bourgeois society are some of the means by which the bourgeoisie attempt to control or at least to ease the tensions created by the socio-economic cleavages in society. The metropolitan capitalist countries are able to do these things, and with a measure of success, partly because their economies are mature and more productive; and partly because the imports from the periphery - in dividends, profits and cheap food and raw materials — tends to raise the living standard of the people, including those of the workers. Of course the periodic economic depressions and chronic unemployment continue to haunt the workers and the capitalists alike.

Still, to a very large extent, the metropolitan capitalist society is capable of taking the shock, as well as the reverberation, of these periodical breakdowns and strains in the economy. Moreover, metropolitan capitalist societies tend to help each other out of any serious economic, social or political problems. This is due primarily to enlightened self — interest, in that a chink in the Western capitalist armour might encourage the socialist or communist onslaught, with dire consequences for the entire capitalist world.

Additionally, there are strong historical links binding the great capitalist centres, particularly those in Europe and the United States of America. People living in these centres belong to the « great » Western Civilization, about which there is so much pride and prejudice written. In the name and spirit of this «great » Civilization the metropolitan capitalist countries cooperate among themeselves as and assist each other in cases of troubles so that together they can preserve their cultural heritage, the form and style of their politics.

This is not the case in independent African states primarily because these states are the direct products of peripheral capitalism. In as much as the prevailing culture of the local bourgeoisie, as the local capitalism itself, was imposed from outside, it does not have deep indigenous roots in the society and consequently it cannot effectively perform the fonctions of cementing the society and eiling the linkages of its various institutions. On the contrary, such a culture tends to consolidate the links between the local bourgeoisie and their counterparts in the metropolis.

It is these linkages and the domination of foreign culture which has progressively led the local bourgeoisie to depend, and thus import or manufacture locally, exotic foods, household appliances and other artifacts which in turn encouraged adoption of foreign technoloy that is totally inappropriate to the prevailing economic realities. The addiction to such exotic goods and services merely, but surely, further entrenched the bourgeoisies' dependence on periphery capitalism. This led to another equally devastating phenomenon: dependence on foreign advisors and expertise. The local bourgeoisie feel utterly inadequate without the presence and service of these foreign experts. And it is these experts who, either in the service of their multinational corporations or simply in the spirit of international capitalism, advise and actively promote the adoption of sophisticated and modern technology into these poor African countries.

Another deleterious effect of imported popular culture is that it tends to widen the gap between the bourgeoisie who are able to enjoy it and the rest of the people who cannot. And as the bourgeoisie persists on its unrestrained conspicuous consumption, encouraged and supported by the demonstration effect of the mode of life of the local expatriates, the gap between the rich and the poor assumes the dimensions of chasm. Moreover, by raising false and unrealizable aspiration for most people, foreign popular culture creates tensions and frustrations among the masses. But it does reinforce the consumer society based, as it must, on exotic goods and services.

With regard to politics and political activities, these tend to be pale and pathetic imitation of those prevailing in the « mother country». Increasingly, a lot of important political decisions are taken in the course of a round of golf or a round of drinks at the favourite country or night clubs. Politics are then reduced to part-time activities of the monied elites in their daily intrigues and struggles to outwink, out-smart or cheat each other in their unrestrained greed to get rich quick; or in their equally determined will to isolate, undermine and destroy the spokesman of the workers and peasants. Neither trade union leaders, nor even the conscientious intellectuals who have the courage of their convictions to point out the inequities in society, are allowed to participate in real political decision- making processes. Politics then become the prerogative of the rich, the powerful and the local agents of international capitalism. The vast majority of the workers and peasants are kept out, their living and working conditions are reduced to issues of intra-elite vulgar competion and inter-elite political manipulation, and not regarded as challenges for the nation as a whole to meet and solve.

Similarly, the political institutions — national assemblies. parliaments and the political parties — become undignified caricatures of those operating in the metropolis. There is a great and elaborate attachment to the form and structure of these institutions rather than their intended functions. Institutional and constitutional rules and procedures are used to frustrate and curtail the activities of these regarded as critics or opponents of the status quo, rather than as means by which the business of resolving national problems and the provision of solution to these problems could be formally and peacefully conducted. Indeed, parliament or national assembly itself becomes the property of the bourgeoisie: and instead of searching for the best ways and means of solving the problems facing the masses of workers and peasants, parliament passes laws to facilitate the accumulation of wealth for bourgeoisie and the protection of that wealth. Parliament then ceases to have either the will to solve, or the capacity or the patience to understand, the problems of the poor.

The bourgeoisie do of course strive to coopt some of the leading and vocal trade union leaders, radical intellectuals and other influential elements in society, but because of the inadequacy of the available resources, as most of these are repartriated to the metropolis in the form of profits or dividends, the task of absorbing all these people in the system becomes an impossibility.

In the meantime the social and political crisis gather momentum. The gap between the rich and poor widens, unemployment escalates and insecurity to life and property becomes daily evident. Expatriates as well as the local bourgeoisie begin to feel and experience direct threat to their exclusive and exotic way of life; they can no longer enjoy with ease what they have collected and accumulated. Increasingly the poor unemployed become a menace to orderly society and special laws are passed to deal with them; and the self-respecting, God-fearing and the beloved head of family suddenly becomes a vagrant, hunted and haunted by the laws of his own country. He is humiliated and banished behind the bars, or to the already crowded village, because the capitalist labour market has decided that the value of his labour power was not profitable enough to the employer. In order to protect periphery capitalism the towns and their streets must be made safe for the bourgeoisie to work and enjoy the fruits of their exertions.

The poor unemployed must neither be seen nor talked about in public. They must be dealt with officially and expeditely. At that point the rich deliberately refuse to be their poor brothers' keeper; and the poor begin their determined organisation to ensure that the rich will no longer exploit, humiliate or disregard the poor. It is in such circumstances that a revolution takes place, or the military intervene either in the name of the oppressed poor or to prevent precisely such a revolution.

V — SOCIALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE

The experience of the last two decades indicate that African countries have not been able to evolve the form of culture and politics which could sustain the independence and development of these countries. This was the case because the economic and political institutions of these countries were imposed from outside: they did not evolve and develop from within the African societies themselves. It is this economic dependence and socio-culturel emulation of the metropolis which have been responsible for the failure to evolve the relevant forms of culture and politics for independent Africa. It thus follows that the only means by which Africa could evolve the relevant forms of culture and politics is to disengage herself from the international capitalist system. This can be best done by the adoption of the policy of socialism and self-reliance.

The adoption of socialism would ensure that the resources of the African countries would be owned and controlled by the people themselves. This would enable the proper planning and utilisation of these resources for the development of the African economies and for the general welfare of all the people. With the resources locally owned and controlled, and their employment decided upon by the people themselves on the basis of their needs rather than on profits to be repatriated to the metropolis, it would then be possible for them to be free and to exercice meaningful politics. Moreover, in a genuine socialist society political issues resolve themselves into questions of what are the best and efficient means of developing the resources for the benefit of all the people; rather than, as in the case of a capitalist society, a class struggle in the appropriation and allocation of the available scarce resources for the benefit of the dominant classes. Thus, in a genuine socialist society every individual has the right to participate in the discussions and decisions which affect his life. And it is in the course of such discussions and deliberations that people evolve their own mode of political expressions, patterns of political behaviour, political institutions, and culture.

There is also a cultural dimension to the notion of self-reliance. The overwhelming majority of Africans are peasants and are still bound to the predominantly subsistence rural economy. Hence, if the future of Africa is to characterised by the presence of things made by Africans, certainly in the cultural aspects, then the cultural and spiritual guidance is not the city but village and the countryside. The city has never served the cultural or spiritual needs of the peasant; on the contrary, it has alway been the centre of alien influences in terms of goods and social behaviour - and the channel through which the external world — capitalist, and imperialist — manipulated the entire country. Nairobi or Abidjan for example, is more a home to an American, Frenchman, West German, or a Japanese, industrialist or capitalist than it is to an African peasant.

Self-reliance is also an important means of redeeming, as it were, the lost dignity and self-confidence. As we have already noted, the consequence of the colonial situation on the African was of such a nature to vender him a mere imitator of the colonial masters. He had to do so in order to survive as well as to achieve his goals, which were themselves determined by the colonial situation. Hence any development that took place in the colonial situation was not the development of the African as an African, but as an imitator or as an appendage of someone else. And the degree to which he was considered to be successful was the reflection of his capacity to approximate the postulated colonial model. Consequently, the colonial African, because he had to imitate in order to succeed, lost his own sense of dignity as an African, as well as confidence in himself as a human being.

It is against this historical background that Nyerere* has argued that the only way by which the African can regain his lost dignity and sense of self-confidence is for the African to be actually *involved* in his *own* development. The African must ensure that he is free and in control of his destiny. Unless the development of the country is organised, controlled and undertaken by the indigenous people, then that country and people will not be free.

« Development brings freedom, provided it is development of people. But people cannot be developed; they can only develop themeselves. For while it is possible for an outsider to build a man's house, an outsider cannot give the man pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being. Those things a man has to create in hismself by his own actions. He develops himself... increasing his understanding of what he is doing, and why; by increasing his own knowledge and ability, and by his own full participation—as an equal—in the life of the community he lives in » (9).

Thus, only by developing himself can the African really regain and maintain his dignity as well as his self-confidence as a human being. Nyerere believes that the erstwhile colonised African can do this with a degree of success only through self-reliance; doing things for and by himself. The level of material economic development might not be high, or commensurate with the labour exerted when compared to other countries, but the results will be of the African's own design and exertion. And what is even more important, the African learns something about himself in the process — a thing denied him in the colonial situation.

It is within this context of development through self-reliance that the importance of a national and official language emerges. The adoption of a foreign language means more than mechanical competence in its usage. It involves a high degree of cultural assimilation or adaptation by those adopting the language, and through it the real possibilities of continued manipulation, control or influence by the former colonial powers. English and French always have been the languages of education, training and work in Africa. In fact the elites, as well as a large part of the literate population, were so speak simultaneously inhabitants of two worlds: that of their own kind, i.e. of

^{*} Julius K. Nyerere, Président of the Republic of Tanzania.

other elites, freely interacting and communicating among themselves at both the domestic and international levels; and that of the masses with whom the elites had to work at home. But it is the former world which the elites valued greatly, and consequently it is the one which influenced their pattern of behaviour and cultural outlook. It is not therefore surprising to observe that in those countries which have opted to continue with English or French as their official languages and medium of instruction at schools and other places of leaarning and training, the influence of the English or French speaking world is far greater now than was the case before independence.

For what has happened in these countries is that the indigenous elites have joined hands with their Western counterparts, not necessarily in an unholy conspiracy to subvert the developmental aspirations of the masses, but simply because they are the people in whose company they feel quite at home. They have more in common with these foreigners, in terms of language, leisure activities and business interests, than they do with their own people at home. They meet in bars and restaurants, board-rooms and other places where important business and government discussions are conducted and crucial decisions taken. And it is at these places where the vulnerabilities of the elites are exposed to the manipulation of the metropolitan countries.

Of course the basic problem here is that of class-structure created by periphery capitalism. The local bourgeoisie were compelled to adopt the foreign cultures and languages as part of the total strategy of Western colonisation and capitalist penetration of Africa. None-the-less, adoption and usage of foreign culture and languages by the African bourgeoisie hinders rather than facilitates the task of development through self-reliance. It is therefore imperative for each African country to adopt, or evolve, a national and official language that has indigenous roots and is understood by the majority of the people. This is not a question of atavistic cultural chauvinism. It is only when all the people can communicate with each other in a language which is rooted in their own history and traditions that a people can evolve their own cultural and political institutions.

The evolution of genuine free politics, meaningful and relevant socio-cultural institutions will, of course, take a long time. In the first place the damage done by decades of peripheral capitalism must be repaired. This will of ncessity entail formulation of totally new education policies to fall in line with the policy of socialism and selfreliance. The reactions from the metropolis must also be properly gauged; for these centres would not take kindly to the socialisation of their assets. Hostile reactions from the metropolis should therefore be expected. But this could be most effectively met by collective selfreliance amongst the Third World countries.

The countries of the Third World have a lot among themeselves. in terms of natural resources, techniques of production, relevant technology, trained and experience personnel, administrative expertise, and so on, which could be shared in the spirit and objective of collective self-reliance. What is needed is will and the capacity to effectuate such a policy.

Regarding the precise type of a political system, whether it should be one-party state or the multi-party variety, it does not really matter which. What is important is that the political and cultural institutions should be relevant, effective and meaningful. The existence of a multi-party system is no proof that there is democracy in the given society. Similarly, the existence of one-party state is no conclusive evidence that there is no democracy and that the people are oppressed and tyrannised.

Politics and culture are dependent variables. They are determined by the modes of production and the socio-economic structure. Freedom of expression and of association, of actions and thought are not necessarily, or solely, confined to the written constitutional provisions; on the contrary, they depend on the fundamental ability of a people to control and dominate the basic necessities of life: food, shelter, and clothing. Only when people are no longer preoccupied with the necessity to fulfill these basic needs, that it can be said that they are really free. And that can take place only when society as a whole owns, controls and utilizes its natural resources for the benefit of all the people in society.

FOOTNOTES

- Quoted in C.E. Carrington, The liquidation of the British Empire, Clarke, Irwin and Company Limited, Toronto, 1960, p. 33.
- See Richard Gray and David Birmingham, edits, Pre-Colonial African Trade Oxford University Press, London, 1970; see also Julius Nyerere, Freedom and Unity/Uhuru Na Umoja (Introduction Oxford University Press, Dar-es-Salam, 1966.
- Arthur Mayhew, Education in the Colonial Empire, Longmans, London, 1938, p. 3.
- Ako Adjei, «Imperialism and Spiritual Freedom; an African View», American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 1 No. 3, November 1944, p. 190.
- See L. Gray Cowan, James O'Connel and David G. Seanlon edits., Education and Nation-Building in Africa, Praeger, New York, 1966.
- 6. See Gray and Birmingham, Pre-colonial African Trade, Op. Cit. See also Samir Amin, «The Class Struggle in Africa,» In Revolution Vol. 1 No. 9, 1964; see also John Liffe, Agricultural Change in Modern Tanganyika, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1971.
- President Nyerere addressing teachers in Dar-es-Salaam on May 31st 1969, see the Nationalist, 1.2.69.
- 8. Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, Grove Press, New York, 1963, p. 124.
- 9. Julius Nyerere, Freedom and Development, Dar-es-Salaam, 1968, p. 2.

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article. l'auteur discute la question de savoir quel système et institutions politiques, quelle culture et activités culturelles susceptibles de contribuer efficacement au renforcement de l'indépendance politique et de l'identité culturelle de l'Afrique dans les décennies à venir.

Pour ce faire, il définit d'abord la méthodologie qu'il entend appliquer. Après avoir montré que politique et culture sont toutes deux fonctions de la société, dont la structure organisationnelle dépend à la fois du type de mode de production en vigueur et de la structure de classe qui en résulte, l'auteur propose de se référer avant tout à ces deux derniers facteurs pour comprendre les systèmes politique et cultuel prévalant dans une société.

Appliquant cette approche à son étude. l'auteur trouve que :

- 1. Pour assurer valablement ses fonctions. à savoir : maintenir la cohésion de la population; permettre à la population d'utiliser efficacement l'expérience, la sagesse et les connaissances héritées du passé; lui permettre de comprendre et d'apprécier correctement la situation présente en vue de mieux préparer l'avenir — la culture doit être enracinée dans les traditions et modes de vie de la majorité de la population, c'est-à-dire les travailleurs et paysans. Elle doit être la culture du pays et non une culture importée. Car une culture importée, non seulement ne sera comprise et vécue que par une minorité nationale qui y aura été systématiquement exposée, « l'élite », mais encore et de ce fait, elle sera l'instrument de division de la société entre « élite » qui a adopté le mode de vie et de pensée étranger et la grande masse du peuple vivant de la culture indigène.
- 2. Plus grave encore, une telle société ne sera pas indépendante, car l'élite qui dirige et contrôle l'appareil étatique s'abreuve à la culture étrangère. Il en découle un système et des institutions politiques imposées de l'extérieur, sans lien ni avec les besoins fondamentaux, ni avec les aspirations et les traditions de la masse populaire. L'essence d'un tel système politique, c'est de saper l'indépendance nationale.

Dès lors, conclut l'auteur, la seule voie de salut, pour les sociétés africaines, si elles veulent sauvegarder leur indépendance, éviter l'exploitation locale et étrangère et prévenir toute fragmentation et instabilité, c'est d'opter pour le socialisme et le développement autocentré.

Against Apartheid Culture

Anc's document *

The battle of progressive humanity for the total and final elimination of the vile and preposterous system of colonialism in Africa has entered its final stage. The inevitability of victory has moved the people on the last barricades of struggle — from the Horn of Africa to the southern most shores of the continent — to acts of unprecedented heroism. In South Africa our people, after more than three centuries of brutal national oppression, are asserting their wish to be free with inspiring brayery.

Despite its inevitability, we are under no illusion that victory will come easily. It is not the first time that our heroic people have confronted shot and shell of the oppressor, and the African National Congress has repeatedly declared that repression and mass murder are the essence of the apartheid system.

Apartheid, we all know, is the reactionary force directed by the White racist minority against the Black majority. To justify national oppression of the Black people and their control by fascist methods, the white colonial regime upholds a false racist philosophy which seeks to disguise murderous practices with a mantle of divine inspiration and natural law. By means of State power and spurious theorising and philosophising, the racists attempt to justify the pernicious system of apartheid.

Attempting to give a spiritual and cultural rationalisation for their racism, the «thinkers» and propagandists of the white minority must dig their own intellectual graves. A document produced by the State Information Department, Pretoria, called «Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality» gives what the racists consider to be the theoretical and cultural basis for apartheid.

It states: «The domination of White over Black is justified by the regimes through right to this land on the strength of three historical realities: purposeful and uninterrupted occupation and habitation, effective and sustained economic development, and effective and continuous political control ».

For the purposes of the international community, the whites merely "arrived" in South Africa. The wars of conquest against indigenous peoples should be forgotten; such laws as the Land Act of 1913, by which the whites appropriated 87 per cent of the territory, should be ignored; as well as the realities of black presence in South Africa,

^{*} Document submitted by the ANC of South Africa to the Lisbon World Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, June 1977, and published in Sechaba Vol. 11 fourth quarter 1977, pp. 33-39.

their participation in «sustained economic development» and the the denial to them of « effective and continous political control ».

The key to understanding the social and political structure of South Africa, we are told, lies in a «balanced appraisal of the unique diversity of cultures... and the differing levels of socio-economic and political sophistication ». These differing levels, it seems, are the choice of the black people, not the result of the apparatus which denies them the right to attain any higher level. Was it not Verwoerd who said. « When I have control of native education I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them »?

But contemptuous of other people's ability to question their claims, the South African authorities do not hesitate to boast that the whites ares «culturally the most homogeneous and politically and socio-economically the most sophisticated and most developed of the four major groups, " The inference is that this sophistication and development are natural to the white people and has nothing to do with their assumption of all the power in the country.

Thus « black South Africans are not a single, homogenous, integrated group ». They are «politically, economically and educationally the least advanced of the four major demographic divisions » and to emphasise the alleged natural superiority of the whites, « history placed the white nation of the Republic in a position of guardianship over these black peoples ».

The white racists greatly fear the homogeneity of the oppressed black people. Unity of the oppressed, politically, economically and culturally, is the nightmare that haunts white supremacy, and among its first projects were those designed to prevent any attempt at national unity.

A spurious cultural theory tries to justify the policy of divide and rule, by equating outmoded tribal and ethnic groups with distinct nations. Tribal differences are conveniently classified as cultural differences and everybody has been pigeon-holed into geometrically defined areas called « homelands » irrespective of historical realities which show the large numbers of black people long inhabited regions now defined as « white areas ».

The white rulers insist that each ethnic group is « desirous of maintaining its separate identity ». But at no time were the African people, for that matter Coloured or Asiatic people, consulted about this. Blacks were not present in the first legislatures to decide upon their future, nor are they represented today.

In fact this divisive scheme was emphatically rejected when representatives of the tribal groups gathered in 1912 to unite their people in what was to become the African Naional Congress. The most astonishing feature of that conference was the number of tribes who sent representatives. There were Zulus, Xhosas, Tswana, Sothos, Vendas, Shangaans, Tongas and others... The ANC realised from the outset that the problem of forging unity among Africans was the key to our freedom struggle. The formation of the ANC therefore marked the birth of a nation whose foundation was laid in the stirring call by Dr P.I. Seme when in 1911 he declared: « The demon of racialism, the aberrations of Xhosa-Fingo feuds, the animosity that exists between Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other native, must be buried and forgotten. We are one people ».

The struggle of the African majority of South Africa to overthrow the pernicious apartheid regime and white supremacy as a whole. therefore represents the dynamic cultural unity of the people aspiring to genuine nationhood.

In the words of the late Amilcar Cabral: « The exercise of imperialist domination demands cultural oppression and the attempt at direct or indirect liquidation of what is essential in the subject people's culture. But this people is able to create and develop a liberation movement only because it keeps its culture alive in the teeth of permanent and organised repression of its cultural life only because, its politico-military resistance being destroyed, it continues to resist culturally. And it is cultural resistance which, at a given moment, may take on new forms (political, economic, armed) to confront foreign domination ».

Having had to suspend the armed struggle in the 19th century as a result of superior firepower of the colonialists and uncordinated and divided opposition by the various tribes, the African people had to consider new forms of struggle. This gave rise to the modern struggle against white supremacy led and developed by the African National Congress.

Faced with the growing movement for national liberation, the racists have been doing everything in their power to implement the Bantustan policy in the hope that this would satisfy the national and cultural aspirations of the people. John E. Fobes of UNESCO stated correctly, « South Africa has made much of her protection of separate cultures. What does this amount to? We have in South Africa a government — imposed « traditionalism » — in fact the use of tradi tional culture to maintain the legitimacy of a culture of domination. The Republic's protection of culture means for Africans the external trappings of once-great cultures reduced to the folkloric and to caricature ».

It must be pointed out again that race discrimination is not the sole invention of the present rulers of South Africa. Successive governments in the hands of the minority population have contributed to the construction of the monster which bestrides our country. Having achieved power the present government set out to consolidate the racist structure whose tentacles penetrate all spheres of life: political, economic, social, residential, educational, enforcing their policy by means of a vast police and military machinery to back up the administrative.

Culture and social contact between black and white are hampered by the rigourous application of the apartheid policy. Africans. Coloureds (mixed descent) and Asiatics go into the « white » areas only to work in industry and commerce, or as domestic servants, or to purchase goods. Non-Africans may not visit an African township without a special permit.

Apartheid determines the location of each racial group, what kind of education they must receive, within what group they may marry, what type of trade or profession they may adopt, under which circumstances members of different communities may meet. The Population Registration Act categorises each member of South African society, black and white. Under the Group Areas Act, homes, schools. churches have been lost to various communities.

Halls, theatres, sportsfields are segregated and the best amenities being situated in « white » areas, permission is required by blacks to use them, which permission is usually refused. The law allows no artists of different races to perform together or mixed audiences to attend a theatre or cinema.

While it is difficult to prevent radio programmes being available to the general population, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) has special « Bantu » programmes and « Coloured » programmes. It is typical of the regime's « separate development » policy that when two Black children tried to enter for the SABC's Beethoven Centenary competition, they were debarred for the reason that Beethoven was a white man and the blacks should concentrate on their own music! Recently single-channel television was introduced, strictly controlled by the apartheid authorities, and without the broadcasting of « liberal nonsense » and, in the words of the then Minister of National Education, Senator Van der Spuy, in 1971, with the spirit of healthy conservatism in the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking communities. Attempting to insulate their own and the rest of the population from any progressive influences, thousands of books from abroad have been banned under the Publications and Entertainment Act, the Customs and Excise Act, and the Suppression of Communism Act. Dissemination of news is controlled by laws and open threats.

In order for the racist state to last, the minds of the population must be controlled from an early age. Basically, education in South Africa is designed according to the tenets of « Christian National Education » as initiated by F.A.K. (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural organisations). The programme of education is totalitarian in character and founded on outmoded precepts and geared to enforce the views of a minority of the whole population.

In general terms all white children should be educated according to the view of life of their parents, in terms of Afrikaner nationalism divisions of the past must ge perpetuated — despite the « homogeneous » character of the whites. As illustrated in the words of Dr W. Nicol, Administrator of the Transvaal in 1951, dualism in the family, religion or love is to be condemned, and in education « it is cruelty to a child's mind and spirit ».

In terms of the blacks there is first of all the Bantu Education Act. The education for Africans has been summed up by Verwoerd,

introducing the Act in 1953, when Minister of Native Affairs, « When my department controls native education it will know for what class of higher education a native is fitted and whether he will have a chance in life to use his knowledge ». And claiming South Africa to be a white country: « There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ».

While the government attempts to whitewash its racist policy by claiming that it assists the African to develop his « own culture » the facts show that less and less black people are achieving adequate education.

All teaching is done in vernacular languages up to and including the first form, and it is intended that this should continue up to matriculation. The result is that when the switch to English, for example, is made in secondary schools it is found that having learned only the simplest form of that language, the percentage of passes is disastrous. The student's « Bantu » qualification in any event, makes him only eligible to enter a «tribal» university and nowhere else. In addition the government has been pursuing a programme of Afrikanerising education, curtailing education still further (and not only for blacks) by teaching in the narrow and localised Afrikaans language used only in South Africa.

The Soweto uprising of June 1976 was triggered off by the attempt to force Africans to study certain subjects in Afrikaans, but it was more than that. It was also a protest against the whole Bantu Education policy, and a protest against the denial of all human rights.

The racist government often boasts that it is today spending more on African education than ever before, and that the percentage of African pupils is streadily rising. What is overlooked is that in education, as in all South African life, the gap between white and black is also steadily increasing. In 1964 the amount spent by the government on each white pupil was 10 times that spent on each African, and by 1974 it was an average of 15 times as much, in Natal province 20 times as much.

There is also the growing realisation by our people that education opens no doors. « What » asked Verwoerd, « is the use of teaching a Bantu child matematics when he cannot use it in practice?... It is therefore necessary that native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accordance with the policy of the state ». Those Africans who attain a higher education diploma or degree might still find themselves in dead-end jobs or in the unemployment lines.

The Nazi-like conception of the master race must inevitably erode the character of the white community itself, driving it more and more into isolation from the rest of humankind, into the narrow confines of intolerance even towards its own racial group.

« Intending immigrants are asked to state their religion... and « The Nasionale Jeugbond (Nationalist Youth) expressed fear that the large number of immigrants threatened the identity of the Afrikaner. calling for a policy of immigration which will not endanger the future

of the Afrikaner nation ». Likewise a delegate to a Transvaal National Party congress protested, Coloured people cannot marry my daughter, but when she is 21, a Portuguese can ».

However among the white people themselves, far-seeing elements are no longer prepared to live in the cultural desert which apartheid is making of South Africa. Writers, academics, artists and students are growing more and more restless and starting to identify with the anti-racist struggle. No longer able to rationalise their policy to the South African people and the world, the racist regime is resorting more and more to terror, murder and the rule of the gun. This has become the scientific and cultural basis of apartheid today. At the height of the Soweto events last year, with black bodies lying in the streets of South Africa's ghettos, Minister of Justice Kruger declared: « If the Bantu does not know his place, I will show him his place ».

Similarly are the minority Coloured and Asiatic people victims of apartheid. Denied the fulfilment of their aspirations, discriminated against in social, educational, economic and political life, herded into Group Areas, these people form an important part of the united front for liberation of the black oppressed.

Attempting to separate the oppressed minorities from the African majority, the white supremacists claim that like themselves, these minorities will be swamped in the event of black freedom and will, like the whites, lose their cultural identities. The racists have nothing to offer the oppressed minorities but apartheid and continued oppression. In contrast, the Freedom Charter, the programme of the African National Congress and all elements of the revoutionary democratic movement, states: « South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White. The African people as the indigenous owners of the country have accepted that all who have made South Africa and helped build it up, are components of its multi-national population, are and will be in a democratic South Africa one people inhabiting their common home ».

The ANC programme states: « All National Groups shall have equal rights... For all the non-white groups — Africans, Indians and Coloured the situation is one of humiliation and oppression... The culture of the African, Indian and Coloured people is barely tolerated. In fact everything is done to smash and obliterate the genuine cultural heritage of our people. If there is reference to culture by the oppressors it is for the purpose of using it as an instrument to maintain our people in backwardness and ignorance... A democratic government of the people will ensure that all national groups have equal rights, as such, to achieve their destiny in a united South Africa. There shall be equal status... for the African, Indian, Coloured and Whites as far as their national rights are concerned. All people shall have equal rights to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs; all national groups shall be protected by laws against insults to their race and national pride... all laws and practises based on apartheid or racial discrimination shall be set aside ».

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article, l'auteur stigmatise la duplicité de la politique coloniale d'apartheid de la minorité blanche sud-africaine.

En effet, pour se douner une conscience tranquille, assurer sa permanence et faire face à la colère toujours montante de l'humanité éprise de paix, de liberte et de justice, les tenants et penseurs de l'apartheid ont développé une théorie culturelle tendant à faire croire. vainement, que la supériorité culturelle, et par conséquent politique et économique, de la minorité blanche sud-africaine, est chose naturelle et non un produit de l'appropriation et de l'exercice du pouvoir total à son bénéfice exclusif : que les différences tribales des populations noires sud-africaines constituent des différences culturelles faisant de ces populations des groupes disparates, culturellement non intégrés, donc non homogènes: que ces populations désirent maintenir, au niveau de chaque groupe ethnique, leur identité culturelle, et partant, leur identité politique. Qu'une telle théorie et la politique odieuse qui en découle, l'apartheid, la bantoustanisation et la main-mise sur l'éducation des noirs sud-africains, exposent la peur qu'a la minorité blanche de l'unité des peuples noirs d'Afrique du Sud est évident. Ainsi rien n'est dit ni sur les droits des populations indigènes sur les terres confisquées et cocupées par les blancs sud-africains, ni sur l'unité de ces populations maintes fois affirmée et démontrée depuis la conférence de 1912 qui avait réuni les représentants de toutes les ethnies noires sud-africaines et cristallisée par l'ANC. La lutte que mène depuis longtemps, sous la direction de l'ANC, la majorité de la population d'Afrique du Sud pour recouvrer ses droits légitimes constitue d'après l'auteur, un facteur culturel éminemment déterminant dans le pocessus de renforcement de l'unité des populations de couleur d'Afrique du Sud.

Capitalist economy and the crime problem in Nigeria

by Femi Odekunle*

I. — INTRODUCTION

The attention of this paper is focused on the indisputable relationship between one of the major social problems in Nigeria, « the unjustifiable obvious and subtle inequalities in the evaluations of, and rewards given to, differentiated and ranked positions in the country.

The Problem of Crime: In this paper, crime, and much more so the problem of crime, is not seen in pure and precise legal terms. The problem of crime of any society is perhaps the most enlightening and illuminating means of learning much about that society and its social order because some of the « most important issues of ethics and of politics are revealed in our attempts to control the conduct of others by the use of the criminal law » (1). Consequently, crime is best, and should be, considered as a problem to all of us. To the law-maker, it is a problem of interest-ridden definition and articulation. To the « have » law-breaker, it is a problem system-instigated greed and avarice. To the "have-not" offender, it is one of system-engendered suffering. misery, and necessity arising from lack of legitimate alternatives. To their victims, it is either a problem of naked or subtle irremediable victimization by overpowering corporate or governmental bodies and individuals or one of fear, anxiety, injury, loss, and sometimes deprivation of life and pursuit of happiness. To the police, it is a problem of selective enforcement, detection, apprehension, and prosecution. To the lawyer, it is simply one of «commerce» and legal and other manipulations. To the judge, it is a question of due process, legal guilt or innocence, as well as a variable mesh of interest. To the prison warder, the problem is simply that of custody of societal « undesirables ». To us, students of crime and deliquency, it is a problem of understanding, explanation, interpretation, and prediction. And to all others, it is either a disturbance or a threat to peace and order.

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The Capitalist Economy: Going by the ideal-type, the capitalist economy is one in which most wealth is in few private hands through the exploitation of the sweat and labour of millions of their fellow men; in which these same few use their wealth to create more wealth through further exploitation of these same millions, their children, and grandchildren; and in which this lopsided distribution of wealth creates grotesque inequalities in the distribution of power, prestige, and other « rewards » and opportunities in the society. That is, in contrast to the socialist economy in which the means of production (e.g. factories, equipment, land, materials, etc) and the wealth thereof are, usually through the state, collectively rather than privately owned and controlled and are used in the interest of the society as a whole.

Even though capitalism has identifiable inherent patterns and regularities wherever it exists, variations of the phenomenon and in the form and degree of its undesirable consequences are easily discenible in any comparison of the economies of U.S.A., Britain, and Sweden. The comparison becomes much more fruitful in identifying variations if it is between two countries at different stages of development. Consider the following variations between the « established » or «developed» capitalist economy of the U.S.A. and the «developing » one in Nigeria. In the one, the economy is in the hands of indigenes and is heavily industrial and productive; in the other, it is basically a commercial, middle-man, or consumer capitalism based on. and serving the interests of foreign multinational corporations (2). In the one, merit, competence, efficiency, corporate and national interests are observable attributes; in the other, particularism, incompetence, inefficiency, and monetary personal interests predominate the scene. In the one, palliatives such as the «welfare» and «credit» facilities serve to alleviate some of the crushing consequences of the free-enterprise economy; in the other, the damaging, frustrating, and depersonalizing resultants of capitalism are either blaantly ignored, hypocritically «solved» on the pages of Development Plans, or shamelessly left to the Red Cross and the U.N.O. And in the one, the definition and conception of social problems (e.g. crime and delinquency, mental illness, unemployment, drug-abuse, etc.) within the deterministic context encourage, and actually lead to, conscious and rational (in the capitalist context) budgetary and socio-legal response-measures to these problems. But in the other, these problems are neither so defined nor responded to; instead, they are unwittingly left to ill-conceived legal sanctions or to «leadership» rhetorics about the roles of the family, the community, religion, and traditional morality, all of which have long ceased to function effectively as social security and social control agents.

In this paper, then capitalist economy is used to refer to the idealtype's empirical variation as it exists in Nigeria.

Using available evidence from ordinary and scientific observations as well as from official police crime statistics, the first section of this paper adequately and irrefutably asserts the magnitude, seriousness, and pervasiveness of Nigeria's crime problem. In the second section,

explanations of criminal behavior within the context of biology, as behavioral abberations of randomly crazy individuals, or in terms of inadequate and inappropriate socialization are briefly considered and dismissed. Instead, an attempt is made to explain the crime-problem in Nigeria as an inevitable consequence of a social order that is inherently crimogenic in its structure and system of distribution of wealth, power, prestige, and other rewards among the members of the society.

II. - THE CRIME PROBLEM IN NIGERIA (3)

When a country is undergoing rapid techno-industrial change. experiencing a progression (regression?) from a « gemeinschaft » to a «gesellschaft» type of existence, as well as a widening of the gap between the «haves » and the «have-nots », the emergence or aggravation of certain social problems is an historically proven correlate. That is certain identifiable social problems are accompaniments of development, especially the capistalist or « mixed » type of development. And of these problems, those of crime and delinquency within the urban existence seem to be in the forefront. There is the obsessive pursuance of individual wealth rather than the erstwhile reliance on community or family land or cattle; the insecurity or «being on your own » in the urban society in place of the social and psychological support previously given by the family in a rather close-knit community; the striving to survive in the urban setting, socio-economically, by almost any means and at almost any cost; the anonymity of urban existence and the consequent lessening of the family's group pressure towards conformity with regard to conduct norms; and the justifications (e.g., unemployment, obvious and relative poverty) and opportunities in the cities and towns for committing, and being victims of, crime.

The situation in Nigeria, as in many other free entreprise oriented developing countries, has just been described. However, there is the belief that we do not have a « crime problem » and that such a problem is the exclusive characteristic of the developed nations of Europe and America. This belief is contrary to reasoning and observable facts. Under conditions of development as the one we are experiencing, the « crime problem » may be presumed present. One has to take cognizance of, and give due recognition to, «cultural universals» (i.e., certain needs, desires, forms, practices, etc.) that are found to exist in almost all cultures (4); the cultural and socio-economic communications and interdependencies among modern societies; the fact that our present legal and economic systems originated in, and were received from, one or the other country of the West; the similarities between the patterns of our ongoing urbanization and industrial-economic development and those of the nations of the West several decades ago; and the emergence or accentuation of certain economic, social, and psychological problems (e.g. crime and delinquency, marginal and outright unemployment, unaccepted proverty, divorce and broken homes, frustration, insecurity, mental illness, etc.) which Frantz Fanon saw as the unenviable distinguishing attributes of the Western system and against which he vainly warned us. Nigeria has chosen a particular line of development. While I am not trying to convey any idea of finality or irreversibility about that choice, it is short-sighted not to admit or even recognize the accompanying manifest and latent problems of such a line of development.

Pseudo-theoretical presumptions and cultural universals aside, casual observation attests to the existence of a crime problem in Nigeria. Bribery, corruption, white-collar, and corporate crimes, which cost us (economically, socially, and morally) more than the thousands of petty crimes for which our prisons are over-crowded, have come to be accepted by almost every Nigerian as part of ou «normal» existence. Our daily and sunday papers are, in some respects, crime bulletins. There was the prevalence or armed robbery that «forced» the government to decree the death penalty for anonyme found guilty of the offense. Motorists are still afraid to travel after dark in certain parts of the country for fear of becoming person-and-property victims of armed robbery. The problem of goat and cattle stealing became so serious that the former northeast state government issued an edict to mandatorily jail, for ten years, anyone convicted of the offense: the Prison Department had to appeal to that government to repeal the edict because its prisons in the state were soon overcrowded with cattle thieves. And the continuing burglary « attack », as it were, on university campuses, which may be considered cases of affluence in their urban deserts of unmet and unrealized desires and aspirations, is another good indication of the existence of a crime problem. The menace of property crime is rather widespread in most towns and cities in Nigeria. Goods stolen or burglarized in one town are sometimes « discovered » in other distant towns and cities a few days after the event — a pointer to the existence of crime and burglary networks, thriving markets for stolen goods, information channels, distribution systems, and perhaps police collaboration.

Research materials and scholarly writings (5), scanty as they are, provide another set of evidence. The most revealing of these is that of Chambliss. He notes that «In at least Ibadan and Lagos, gangs of professional thieves operated with impunity. These gangs of thieves were well-organized and included the use of beggars and young children as cover for theft activities. The links to the police were sufficient to guarantee that suspects will be treated leninently, usually allowed to go without any charges being brought. In one instance, an entire community within the city of Ibadan was threatened by thieves with total destruction » (6). And with regard to prevalence of crimes as well as the risk of criminal victimization, he asserts that « robbery, theft, and burglary are common offenses (in a sample of 300 residents of Ibadan, 12.7 percent reported having been victim of burglary)... » (7).

Official figures (8) unreliable and underestimated as they are, show increases in the country's crime rate from year to year as well as the preponderance of property crimes over person offenses. The 1961 Police Annual Report show that crime trends noted in 1960 continued in 1961: « offenses against the person increased by 8 %, while property offenses (mostly theft and burglary) were up by almost

16 % » (9). The value of property stolen was worth over 3 million naira, an increase of over 100 % over the 1960 figure (10). The monetary figure here. I should add, does not include money lost to the nation. and its individuals members through bribery, fraud, corruption, whitecollar, corporate, and organized crime. One will never know. The picture is also similar when one considers the 1965 Report: person offenses increased by 3,000 and property crimes by approximately 9,000 offenses over the 1964 figures (11). Also, in 1965, of the recorded 330 criminal offenses committed by male juveniles in Lagos alone. 212 were property offenses ranging from stealing to outright robberv (12).

The above figures, by themselves, are not unconvincing. But for the purposes of emphasis, one needs to add that they did not include those crimes committed under the jurisdictions of then highly politicized Native Authority and Local Government police forces under the regional governments (13). In fact, the figures become more compelling when one realizes that they are for the first half of the 1960's and that in the decade between then and now, nothing has changed in the socio-economic order (which dictates the magnitude and seriousness of a country's crime problem) to render invalid any speculation that the crime problem has worsened. And some date for the last half decade provide evidence in support of such a speculation.

Of the fifty countries that sent in figures (14) for their prisoner populations to the United Nations for the year 1974, Nigeria ranked a high 16th and a rather high 12th with regard to the number of persons awaiting trial. The same document shows that 45 of every one hundred thousand Nigerians are imprisoned (criminals » (15). Figures recently made available to the author, on request, by police authorities indicate that adult crimes alone in 1974 amounted to an increase, quantitatively at lest, of nearly 150 % over the 1969 figures (16). Yet, these figures must be seen as grossly unrepresentative of the true volume and character of crime in Nigeria in the context of inefficient record keeping by the Nigeria Police Force (17), and in light of the established fact that, in any country, a lot of crimes go undiscovered, unreported, and unrecorded (18). Also, a 1975 burglary victim survey, by the author, in which nearly 500 household heads in the university residential areas in Zaria were interviewed shows a 21,4 % burglary victimization rate for the year under study (19). And the thousands of civil servants of various grades (retired » or dismissed in the latter half of 1975 as well as other post-Gowon revelations appear to indicate that the state of crime in the country has worsened.

Thus, a crime problem exists in Nigeria and, had there been uniform and comprehensive reporting and recording systems, we would have had, statistically at least, « alarming » crime rates and « frightening » crime trends. The more important point here, however, is that the problem should be expected to worsen and become recalcitrant in the years ahead if the experience of developed nations whose line of development we are following, whose socio-economic order we are copying, is something to go by.

III. - EXPLAINING THE CRIME PROBLEM IN NIGERIA: A PROBLEM OF CAPITALIST ECONOMY

Many explanations have been offered for criminal conduct in human society. The earliest ones, with only very few adherents today. located causative factors in either the individual's « free-will », biology (21) or his personality (22). But as Wolfgang (23) rightly observes, it has been recognized for some time that it is the « cultural and group forces that produce actors who represent forms of deviance from the dominant value, or moral demand, system ». He points out that «Biological needs and psychological drives may be declared uniformly distributed and hence of no utility in explaining one form of behavior relative to another. They may be seen as differential endowments of personalities that help to assign, for example, a label of mental incapacity to a group of individuals, some of whom have also violated the criminal codes ». And in light of already established macroscopic patterns and regularities of crime, he asserts that ... neither the biology of many biographies nor the psychology of many personalities helps to explain the overwhelming involvement in crime of men over women, slums over suburbs, youth over age, urban over rural life ».

The discrediting of the classical notion of free-will, its replacement with the idea of the bio-physical and psychological explanations, coupled with the further development of positivism and its attempted application to law-enforcement and the administration of criminal justice, ushered in an era of «sociological» explanations (24) which are dubbed «functional» after the Durkheimian tradition or «liberal» because they locate etiological factors within the social and cultural sub-systems rather than in the individual, and because their suggested «therapies» involve socio-economic changes and engineering of existing sub-systems. Liberal or functional, these latter explanations have been, and are being, correctly challenged as orhodox (25).

They are orthodox in that, almost like their bio-physical and psychological predecessors, they hold this or that sub-system or sub-culture responsible. The total political and socio-economic order is never brought in for critical examination in its entirety. For instance, after convincingly showing that the probability and frequency of committing crime, especially property crime, in socialist countries, is rather low, leading American criminologist cautiously adds that « No inference need be made, in this context, that the socialist countries represent a further step in social evolution » (26). Criminal codes and the proscriptions and prescriptions within them are taken for granted as if they were god-given or made by an unanimous vote taken in the village meeting. Furthermore, the behavior and actions of law enforcement and justice administration officials (policement, judges, prison officials, etc.) as well as the implications of these for the further aggravation of crime problem are, more or less, usually ignored.

Crimes committed by better positioned members of the society are really not «crimes» and the delinquences of society are really not «crimes» and the delinquences of their juveniles are «normal» manifestations of adolescence or masculinity. But for the crimes of poorer

souls and their children, explanations are to be found either in the « unstable » structure and organization of their community, the deteriorated ecology of their neighborhood, the transmission of « deviant » values from one generation to the next, or in intrafamily situation and interaction. Thus, while attempts are made to explain crime in this or that group, and crime of this or that type, the crime problem itself has escaped explanation. And it is therefore not surprising that despite thousands of research projects and the half-hearted applications of their findings in crime pervention and crime control programs, much dent has not been made in the crime problem of, for instance, the TI S.A

The obvious «partiality» of these theories, the works of sociologists like Merton (27) and Tumin (28) and those of social deviance theoreticians like «interactionists» Goffman (29), Becker (30), and Schur (31) and particularly the ongoing politicization of many social science discipline, have led to what is currently and variously know as the «new», «radical» or «critical» criminology (32). This new orientation is not valuable merely because of its currency, or its challenge to what is now orthodox criminology, but because of its total conceptualization of the crime problem. Its « utility in demasking the moral and ideological veneer of an unequal society» (33) and in « saying » criminology has been admitted even by its critics: « ... they have drawn attention to the dangers of allowing criminology to serve as a mere prop of existing systems... they have helped to remove blinkers, to widen our outlook and attitudes » (34). With this approach, questions of crime and crime control are as political and economic as they are sociological.

The type of socio-economic order which a country operates dictates, in large part, the type, magnitude, and seriousness of that country's crime problem. (And in the same vein, the form, emphasis, and extent of success or failure of social control and crime prevention programs is, more or less, a function of the operative order). Chambliss, in an admittedly impressionistic conclusion on his comparison of the «political economy of crime » in two capitalist countries (Nigeria and the USA), notes that the «crime rate in the USA is probably amongst the highest in the world and its resources the most concentrated in the hands of a few. Chinas's resources seem to be far more equitably distributed and their crime rate correspondingly lower. Sweden and Norway are.... somewhere in between the extremes of China and the USA on both variables. And one gets the impression that crime in East Germany is far less prevalent than is the case in West Germany » (35).

It is not only in terms of magnitude that differences exist among different types of social order: there are also predictable differences in the predominating type of crime as well as in the form and emphasis of government response measures. For instance, one finds that in socialist countries, there are crimes but no « crime-problem », and the crime scene is dominated by political crimes, traditional person-offenses, and drinking offenses (36) that are manifestations of a rather rigid and controlling social order. And in terms of the form and emphasis of government response, Connor, an American, observe that in Russia,

penalities for even traditional crimes such as murder and rape are not as severe as in Western countries. But most relevant to our point here is his assertion that the State is not so harsh against property crimes where individuals are victims: « it is crime against State property that systematically carries heavier punishments across the whole gamnt of acts (theft. robberv. extortion, damage) that can be committed against both types of property. This is not surprising in a system where State or socialist ownership is regarded as higher category than personal ownership » (37).

And in most of pre-white Africa, whatever crimes were committed were mostly offenses against the person rather than against property. There was "full employment" in the context of the socio-economic order of the time and whatever property (land, cattle, and women) there was usually got distributed through the families constituting the community. The point here becomes clearer when one compares traditional and present forms of land ownership in Southern Nigeria and discovers the amount of crimes of violence and fraud that are characteristics of the latter form; a comparison of existing forms of the same variable in present day southern and northern Nigeria yields a similar discovery. Also, because most communities were close-knit. thus ensuring the effective presence of the family's and community's pressure toward conformity, there was little or no room, or even justification, to perpetrate crimes, especially property crimes, on individual bases. And finally, community sanctions were severest, not against person and property crimes but against violations of cummunity morals and taboos.

But the capitalist economy is inherently crime producing. Not so much because it has taught Nigerians to compete. Its crimogeny is obvious in many ways but of particular relevant here are its creation of the amoral, greedy, and avaricious «economic man» who accumulates wealth and property at the expense of others to further exploit others; of unemployement, marginal and meaningless employment; and of obvious, relative, and unaccepted proverty. That is, the creation of the «haves »and the «have-nots» as well as the perpetuation, if not the widening, of the gap between them. The papers of the 1975 Annual Conference of the Nigerian Economic Society, with «Poverty » as its theme, provide ample «scientific» evidence for this already obvious situation.

In Nigeria today, the sky is the limit for a few in whose hands are concentrated the wealth, power and prestige of the country. They can acquire whatever they want and they have almost limitless opportunities to do as they please. These few have houses and money, many and substantial enough to house and feed the combined populations of Gabon and Gambia as guests. They even feed their imported « racially integrated » dogs and cats with imported canned foods and take them to the animal doctor when they fall sick. Yet, in the same « free » entreprise system, millions of other Nigerians have the « freedom » to be unemployed or marginally employed, to be poor, to starve or go hungry, to be unable to sleep in a decent room, to die of unattended illness, and the «freedom» not to be able to afford basic necessities for even subsistent existence.

The point being made here is further illustrated by the hyperbolic but real contrasts of two unique events in the lives of two differently positioned Nigerians. The one imported and air-freighted a Rolls Royce and paid the hundreds of thousands of paira import duties in cash and on the spot — the event made news because nearly half of the country was experiencing drought and near-famine at the time. The other, an unemployed citizen, was being tried for stealing a sheep and he told the judge that the proceedings and legal technicalities were unnecessary, that he was pleading guilty to the charge, and that he was requesting the judge to hurry up and sentence him quickly before lunch time was over in the prison (38). The country was in the midst of the oil-boom at the time. And in line with the latter event, it is common knowledge in Social Welfare departments that a significant unmber of parents «frame» or exaggerate offenses against their children and «beg» and «bribe» officials to get such children committed to Approved Schools and Borstals where they would have opportunities for skill training and formal education, free of charge. One has to wonder about a socio-economic order in which some citizens are «forced» to prefer the social, economic, and psychological deprivations of imprisonment or custodial institutions to existence in the free community.

Had the capitalist system been able to create not only the desires and aspirations for weath, property, power, and prestige in everybody but also provide effective checks and balances as well as guarantee the equitable distribution of the means to meet the created desires and aspirations, the «corrupting privileges» of the rich, the «corrupting depravations of the poor » (39), and the crime problem that is a function of both, could have been minimized, if not avoided. Because there are not checks and balances to effectively limit the « freedom » to be wealthy and the « freedom » to be poor, both the beneficiairies and the exploited are « forced », at it were, to contribute their quota to the crime problem. And herein lies crimogeny of the capitalist system.

First, the have-nots. The association between unemployement, poverty, and other depravations on the one hand, and crime on the other hand has been established beyond doubt (42). Even though crime is not confined to the poor and the unemployed, the disadvantages of poverty, the degradations of unemployment, the resultant living from one day to the next, the want, and the misery do hinder an immense number of people from resisting the temptations to commit crime. This is why even though the economic determinism of Marx is not bought in its purity or entirety, criminology is now very alive to the fact that unemployment and poverty together constitute one of the foremost crimogenic milieux. The point here is further illustrated by a jocular but insightful criminological poster with a picture of questioning policemen standing over a man who has just been assailed by a mugger: « How do I feel about being mugged? Well, naturally I didn't enjoy it and I certainly dont condone violence or threats of violence as a means towards social change. However, I can emphasize with my assailant and realize that in his terms this is a valid response to the deteriorating socio-economic situation in which we find ourselves » (41).

Clifford emphasizes the «paralysis and disorder» of urban unemployment in Africa, asserts that «its magnitude and gravity make it the continent's most serious social, economic and political issue », and warns that from the standpoint of crime, which is primarily urban and predominantly youthful, the influence of unemployment is crucial (42). And he added that "... indeed the low income or employment factor has shown up in nearly all the limited studies of delinquent groups which have been carried out so far » (43).

This situation should be expected because after all, it is a fact of elementary sociology that the social organization of any society is an opportunity structure and a system of social control. And the corollary of this is that the efficacy of any society's social control system largely depends on the proportion of its population that is opportuned to participate, or believes it is opportuned to participate, in the socio-economic « life » of that society. A substantial degree of conformity should therefore not be expected in a country like Nigeria where a majority of the population does not really participate in the wealth, power, and prestige that are the constituents of its capitalist system. They have little or nothing at stake; they have no «good» reason to be deterred.

The justifiable propensity of the marginally employed, the unemployed, and the poor toward crime is further aggravated by the pervasiveness of bribery, corruption, and other related practices in the country. To operate successfully in Nigeria (44), unlike in Algeria or Iran for instance, international firms have to «adapt» to the «given business environment » in the country : « the main source of competition is the kickback » and « Bribes are the basis of competitive advantage » rather than the offer of « the best price, terms, and quantity ». Military take-over of power (however functional this may sometimes be), the pseudo-legitimacy of governments, the sudden wealth of anybody who comes to power or is near power, the «normality» of giving and receiving bribes in order to get almost anything done, the legally unpunished and socially unstigmatized corporate and white-collar crimes, etc. — all these, in contradiction to the socially and economically deprived majority, constitute a « criminal environment » by which the « haves » inadvertently encourage, require, and even reward criminality in the general population, and thereby the breeding of a population in which a substantial number of citizens believe that crime pays.

Laws, and crimes which constitute their violation, are largely defined by those in power (45). Even though they are supposed to reflect and protect, through prescriptions and proscriptions, the dominant value or moral-demand system of the society, they are usually reflective and protective of whoever is in power at any point in time (46). One would have expected that the «haves», being makers of the laws which protect their value-system, property, and person (in that order) would obey the laws. But laws are constraining, even for those who make them. Such constraints are, realistically, not in time with the capitalist spirit that the sky is the limit: a man should acquire as much as he can and by all « possible » means. Constraints are therefore usually side-tracked (47). They create loopholes in the law; their crimes

are protected from being discovered by their wealth, power, and prestige: and if they are discovered, the probability of arrest, prosecution, conviction, or imprisonment is rather low. They always have the benefit of the doubt, money to hire «top-notch» (48) lawyers and bribe character witness, and to pay if convicted and, as it usually happens, given the alternative of fine

Thus, Nigeria loses more (monetarily, socially, morally and politically (49) from fraud, embezzlement, bribery, and other forms of white-collar and corporate crimes than it does from those thousands of petty crimes for which it imprisons thousands of ill-placed Nigerians. Only periodically do Nigerians get informed of the gravity of the situation as they were shortly after Gowon was ousted from office: the millions of naira embezzled or directly or indirectly stolen by Gowon, his Governors, and their military and civilian henchmen: the cement-affair; the deliberate importation of impotent drugs; the «paper » contracts that were paid for but which never materialized in delivered service or finished products; the «shortages» of oil and other essential household commodities; etc. Even though these were only the tips of various icebergs, apparent are their effects in terms of political and economic instability, insecurity and loss of lives in the country, and in terms of many other depravations unnecessarily visited on the population. And it is signifiant to note that every succeeding government since 1960 had come in to eradicate these ills, but each of them has been shown, after being ousted by another «cleanser». to be as corrupt and as embezzling as the one it had replaced.

Tanner articulates the consequences of this «criminal environment », created by the reckless but «undiscovered» or unpunished criminality of the «haves», for the crime problem. He observes that «the man in the street, and in the village for that matter» has seen or head of bribery, corruption, forceful take-over of governments and may no doubt believe that «crime pays at the top ». «It is too fine a moral point for most people to distinguish between house and armed robbery and open theft at the road block, or to decide that murder for gain in the village, or a fight to death over land or cattle is significantly different from other (legalized) killing » (50). The extent of corruption, which is widespread at the most influential levels of national life, he asserts, will also make it difficult for the «criminal» to consider reforming himself; few prisoners think of themselves as criminals and most correctly consider that they are in prison only because of bad luck or because they had no money for a lawyer (51).

Most frustrating and disillusioning is the combined effect of capitalist inequalities and the existing criminal environment on law-enforcement, justice-administration, and their official agents. A study of the records of Ibadan Central Police Station over a period of time shows that even when the accused is known, «there is no necessary relationship, between the validity of a complaint and the likelihood of its being charged to court, it must first be sifted through the variable mesh of interests, influence, and bribery before a decision is taken as to whether a prosecutable offence has been committed or not » (52). And Chambliss, analyzing along the lines of Quinney's latest work (53) on the criminality of crime control apparatus and personnel in capitalist societies, states that «in Nigeria the acceptance of bribes is blatantly public and virtually universal » (54). Payment of bribes to the police is usually possible whenever an arrest is likely... It was said, and research bears this out, that one with money could pay to be excused from any type or amount of crime. Who then did get arrested? In general, those who lacked either the money or the political influence to fix a criminal charge (55).

After the police, this unjust conveyor belt moves on to the courts. By emphasizing and applying variables such as social status and money in the granting or denial bail, by remanding in prison those who cannot afford to raise bail or find surety for months and sometimes years, and by routinely imposing fines (as alternative to terms of imprisonment) on offenders they know cannot pay such fines, the courts delay and deny justice to those of little or no means.

Considering all the above, one is not surprised by the character of the «problem of crime» in Nigeria in terms emphases in the law. the predominant kind of violations, the geography of crime in general and of recorded crime in particular, and in terms of the socio-economic distribution of « official » or imprisoned « criminals ». A majority of the laws are either property - protective or property - related; and the crime-scene is dominated by property-offenses of all kind (56). The geography of crime in general shows that they occur mostly in towns and cities where the wealth, power, and prestige are concentrated and where the gap between the «have» and the «have-not» is widest and most glaring; and that of recorded crime points to the lower or working class areas that are, relatively, ecologically «depressed » (57).

Similarly, the socio-economic distribution of « official » or imprisoned offenders is heavily in favour of the poor, the unemployed, and the marginally-employed. Some of the papers of the First National Conference on the Prison System in Nigeria become helpful here (58). In Asuni's Abeokuta prison study, about 86 % of the prisoners « were unemployed at the time of their criminal offences ». A larger study which involved a sample of 546 prisoners from Ibadan and Lagos prisons shows that in terms of occupation prior to arrest, about 89 % were either houseboys, hawkers, apprentices, farmers, or unemployed. Also in his report to the Conference, the Prison Medical Superintendent observes that « poverty brings many young men to prison for the first time, either for stealing, or for inability to pay fines ». And of a total prison population of 75,000 in 1964-1965 (59), 45.442 were either debtors, jailed in default of fine, or remanded for inability to raise bail.

Even in the end of the tunnel, the prisons, the manifestations of the capitalist society persist. If and when any of the « haves » gets imprisoned, he receives « elitist » treatment in terms of accomodation, interaction with staff, food, clothing, work-allocation, visitations, and a variety of other privileges. But for the majority of the «normal» prisoners, they are made to exist on the minimum of anything and

everything; they are used as "houseboys" for staff and "madams" household chores, gardens and farms; and they are used as slavelabour in prison workshops, industries, and farms whose products are sold cheap to contractors and government officials. And since the capitalist society is such that the post-release socio-legal stigma of imprisonment can be mitigated only by socio-economic well-being, the cycle begins another revolution, and the relatively high recidivist rate and population are respectively, dominated by property-offenses and « havenot » property offenders.

IV - CONCLUSION

Briefly then, the implication of the situation we have been describing and analyzing is that the society (particularly its law-enforcement and justice-administration) appears to be organized to cooperate with. and to protect and provide cover for, the most criminal groups and individuals in the society while enforcing laws against those whose offenses are only a minimal threat to the social, economic, and political life of the country.

Whether we look at the making of laws, the patterns and the regularities of the violations of these laws, their selective enforcement by the police, or the usually unfair and unjust administration of justice by the courts and the prisons, the inequalities of the capitalist system seem to be at play. It is not an «error», for instance, that a very high proportion of crimes are property offenses, or that though the crimes committed by the « haves » are more injurious to the society than those committed by the « have-nots », it is the latter that usually get imprisoned. It is not an «error» because mere errors are random; behind a persistent and systematic error in a definite direction as the one we have shown, there must be a cause other than error alone. The problem of crime, as well as its social and economic «causes» and consequences, is a continuous indictment of, and challenge to, the inequality-ridden capitalist social order in Nigeria.

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- 8. Figures available to the writer cover only the period of 1960 to 1965. For instance, the Nigeria Police Force has not published its *Annual Reports* since 1966.
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- 10. Ibid., p. 13.
- 11. Federal Republic of Nigeria, Annual Reports of the Nigeria Police Force, 1965, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1966, p. 9.
- 12. Federal Republic of Nigeria, Annual Report, Federal Ministry of Labour, Social Welfare Division, 1965, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1966, pp. 15-16.
- 13. Until 1967, when the police forces were unified under the N.P.F., Nigeria had three police organizations.
- 14. Fifth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, United Nations Publication, Congress Working Paper A/Conf. 56-6 pp. 68-72. (Note: the rankings lack the benefit of computations against total population figures).
- 15. Ibid., p. 70.
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- 35. Chambliss, op. cit., p. 178-179.
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- 37. Ibid. p. 255.
- 38. Reported on Kaduna TV evening news of II August 1975.
- 39. Radzinowicz and King, loc. cit.
- 40. Schafer, op. cit, p. 19.
- 41. Nettler, op. cit., front cover.
- 42. W. Clifford, An Introduction to African Criminology, Nairobi: O.U.P., 1974, p. 187.
- 43. Ibid., pp. 61-62.
- 44. Turner, op. cit., pp. 67, 68 and 63, respectively.
- 45. J. L. Gillin, Criminology and Penology, New York: Appleton-Century Co, defines crime, sociologically, as an act that is socially harmful, or that is believed to be socially harmful by a group that has the power to enforce beliefs and that places such an act under the ban of positive penalties ».
- 46. Albert Cohen, Deviance and Social Control, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966, p. 35.
- 47. Some examples of this side-tracking in recent times are in order:
 - a) when sections of certain degrees were being challenged in court, an obnoxious decree was promulgated that outlawed such challenges in court;
 - b) after two citizens swore to affidavits accusing a Commissioner and a Governor of corruption and abuse of office, the Chief Justice issued a « clarification » that, in effect, outlawed the voluntary swearing of affidavits;
 - c) the anti-corruption decree has been a countered a, as it were, by another decree which makes it very difficult, if not impossible, for anybody (except a witch, a topnotch detective, or a legal wizard) to accuse any public official of corruption without himself getting convicted for « wrongful » or « malicious » accusations; and
 - d) rent edicts are deliberately strewn with loopholes and escapists clauses that they are almost ineffectual.
- 48. There are very few, if any, brillant lawyers in Nigeria. Thus, « top-notch » or « brillant » in the context of legal practice in Nigeria, usually virtually means « influential » or « wellconnected ».
- 49. Turner, op. cit. The focus of her whole article is the causative role of corruption with respect to the instability of the Nigerian State.
- 50. R.E.S. Tanner, « Penal Practice in Africa Some Restrictions on the Possibility for Reform, & The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 10, no 3, pp. 448-449.
- 51 Ibid, p. 452.
- 52. Bamishaiye, op. cit.
- 53. Quinney, op. cit.
- 54. Chambliss, op. cit., p. 170.
- 55. Ibid., p. 172.
- 56. See, pp. 8-10 above; also, Elias, op. cit., p. 119, Table VI shows that over 67 % of the 546 prisoners (in Lagos and Ibadan) interviewed in one study in 1968 committed pro-
- 57. Elias, op. cit., p. 121. Table VIII shows that nearly 70 % of the Lagos Kirikiri prisoners interviewed in the 1968 study came from the lower/working class areas of Lagos and its environ.
 - 316-317 (Appendices 12 and 13).
- 59. Prison Annual Reports have not been published since 1965.
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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article vise à établir un lien entre les principaux problèmes sociaux que connaît le Nigéria et le système capitaliste qui le régit. Le problème de la criminalité est un problème social qui découle du système économique et social d'un pays, du traitement réservé aux différents sujets qui varie en fonction de leur catégorie sociale et des interêts fondamentaux de ces catégories.

Dans une première partie, l'auteur reconnaît et décrit l'importance. voire la gravité du problème criminel au Nigéria et à cet effet il cite un document des Nations-Unies publié en 1974 et dont les statistiques. établies sur la base d'une cinquantaine de pays, place le Nigéria au seizième rang en ce qui concerne le nombre de détenus « criminels ». Le problème ira s'aggravant à en juger par l'expérience des nations développées dont le Nigéria essaie de copier le modèle socio-économique.

Rejetant d'emblée les théories bio-physiques et psychologiques du crime. l'auteur s'en prend aux explications «sociologiques» dite « fonctionnelles » de la tradition de Durkheim, de même que la tradition dite « libérale » parce qu'elle a pu retracer les facteurs étiologiques à partir de sous-systèmes sociaux et culturels plutôt qu'à partir de l'individu. Toutes ces théories, qu'elles soient « libérales » ou « fonctionnelles », relèvent de la pure orthodoxie, la raison étant le manque total d'examen critique de l'ordre socio-économique et politique. Il y a heureusement une orientation «nouvelle». «radicale» ou «critique» de la criminologie qui considère que les problèmes de la criminalité sont autant d'ordre politique et économique que sociologique. L'économie capitaliste, de par sa nature, incite au crime non seulement à cause de la philosophie de la concurrence mais aussi par la création de l'homo economicus amoral, avare, cupide amassant les richesses et la propriété au détriment d'autres et afin d'exploiter d'autres hommes, entraînant dans son sillage le chômage, le sous-emploi, la marginalisation et, somme toute, une misère inacceptable et inacceptée. Le cas du Nigéria en est l'illustration.

Sans être toutefois un inconditionnel du « déterminisme économique » de Marx, l'auteur conclut que la criminologie contemporaine reconnaît le fait que le chômage et la pauvreté constituent les principaux facteurs criminogènes, et pour qui veut comprendre le problème de la criminalité au Nigéria, elle est la conséquence inévitable de l'ordre social qui est essentillement criminogène de par sa structure et son système ed répartition des richesses, du pouvoir, du prestige et autres privilèges parmi les membres de la société.

The Blood and the Seed

Agostinho Neto *

We

from far-flung Africa
and above the treachery of man,
across the majestic and unconquered forests
across the flow of life,
which runs anxious, eager and abundant in the
rivers' roar,
through the melodious sound of muted drums
through the eyes of youthful multitudes,
multitudes of arms, of pain and hope
from far-flung Africa

beneath the claw we bleed from grief and hope, from sorrows and from strength,

bleeding on this earth disembowelled by hoes, bleeding with the sweat of forced labour in the cotton fields,

bleeding hunger, ignorance, despair and death in the wounds on the black back of a child, on a mother, on honesty

the blood and the seed

from far-flung Africa

black

and bright like mornings of friendship desirous and strong like the steps of liberty. Our cries

are drums heralding desire

in the tumultuous voices, music of nations, our cries are hymns of love that hearts might flourish on the earth like seeds in the sun the cries of Africa

cries of mornings when the dead grew from the seas chained

the blood and the seed

^{*} President of the People's Republic of Angola. This Poem was first published in Sechaba vol 10: 1st quarter 1976. CODESRIA expresses its gratitude to ANC for permission to publish this poem.

— see, here are our hands open to the brotherhood of man united in certainty for the future of man for right, for peace, for friendship.

From our toes, roses grow,
perfumed with the river Zaire's tenacity
and the grandeur of Maiombe's trees.
In our minds
is the road of friendship for Africa,
for the world,
Our eyes the life-blood
are turned towards hands beckoning love in all
the world

hands in future — inspiring faith in the vitality of Africa, the human land of Africa of far-flung Africa regenerating under the sun of hope creating bonds of brotherhood in freedom from want from the yearning for peace the blood and the seed.

For the future — here are our eyes for peace — our voices for peace — our hands

from Africa, united in love.

BOOCK REVIEWS – REVUE DES LIVRES

I. Wilks: Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order. African Studies

Series 13, Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp. 17 + 800

Reviewed by Jacques Depelchin *

Although I am not a specialist of Asante history, let alone West African history, I was eager to read the book under review because I had been impressed by several previous essays of the author. Among them: The Northern Factor in Ashanti History published as a pamphlet in 1961, «Aspects of bureaucratization in Ashanti in the Nineteenth Century» which appeared in the Journal of African History, vol. VII, N° 2, 1966 and «Ashanti Government» which appeared in West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century edited by Daryll Forde and P.M. Kaberry (OUP, 1967). At the time of reading those essays I had been particularly attracted by the author's attempt to move beyond mere chronicle by resorting to social theory. In this respect, the essay on bureaucratization was particularly striking for it was rare then (for still is) for a historian of pre-colonial Africa to combine social theory and empirical data.

However limited the concept of bureaucratization may have been, it did help to bring out an important feature of Asante history, namely the degree of routinization which had been introduced by Asante rulers in their ruling practices. For reasons which will be given in this review, Wilks' book has produced the opposite effect: the central concept around which the whole book is constructed — bureaucracy — prevents the reader from identifying the most determining forces of Asante history in the nineteenth century. And yet, conceptually speaking, there are no differences between the above mentioned essays and the book. If the former once held a specific attraction to this reviewer, then it must be attributed to the adoption of a problematic which was similar to that of the author under review. After re-reading the above essays, it is clear that they conform totally to the problematic of the book, and the criticisms that will be raised and discussed here apply a fortiori to the earlier essays. Therefore, this review does not intend to dwell on factual interpretation as such, but rather on the problematic, i.e. on the conceptual and theoretical framework which informed Wilks' interpretation of the data.

There are many ways in which a Weberian (Wilks') and a Marxist (this reviewer's) problematic differ, this review must be seen as a very brief attempt to delineate the basis of these differences. Although the author, in his preface, seems to anticipate the kind of criticisms which will be raised, he does not address himself to the central issue of the problematic which generally informs any kind of historical production.

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In the preface, the author does not claim to produce the only possible history of Asante. He argues that his approach — politics « from the perspectives of those in the capital... » — does not mean that « rural history should be neglected, indeed it... is among the most important of the topics awaiting investigation » (pp. xiv, xv). It is always risky to attribute intentions or motives to authors, but it seems that Wilks was contrasting here «history from the top» (his) and history «from the bottom » (Marxist?) in a manner which misconceives the distinctions that exist between a Marxist history and a non-Marxist history. Therefore, in fairness to the object of the author's work, this review will not fault Wilks for what he did not do, but rather for the way in which he carried out what he intended to study. But before doing this it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the book itself.

From the subtitle of the book « The structure and evolution of a political order » it is immediately evident that politics is the main focus throughout the fifteen chapters. Although the term is given several meanings, one of the most important ones is the way in which a government takes or arrives at and implement decisions.

The first three chapters throw the reader abruptly into an aspect of Asante « spatial structure », i.e. the system of the great roads that linked Kumase, the capital, to the outlying areas which had been incorporated into Asante. The road system is studied in very great detail because they are the visible proof (cause and effect) of the effectivity and efficiency of Asante bureaucracy. By building an extensive road system the Asante rulers provided a solid basis for an efficient bureaucracy as well as an effective instrument for the reproduction of the Asante state. In proceeding this way, Wilks drastically departs from the usual practice of beginning the history of African Kingdoms with a description of how conquest was carried out. By beginning with the road system, Wilks is almost saying that conquest was not the basis of Asante power. Indeed throughout the book, the military factor is constantly underplayed.

Although Wilks' particular treatment of the bureaucracy will be criticized below, he must be congratulated for shifting the attention of historians of kingdoms from the conquest process per se to the much more important problem of the process of reproduction (or nonreproduction) of pre-colonial dominant social formations. There has been a tendency to ignore this problem except for two outstanding cases: the Zulu and the Asante. The reproduction of Asante power did not depend, like Shaka's Zulu, on the constant maintenance of a large army. Wilks' thesis is that conquest did take place, and that conquest was based on military power, but once conquest was over, reproduction of Asante dominant position was carried out through an efficient bureaucracy. However, from Wilks' own data it is possible to see other processes such as for example one which would have begun with the growing economic dominance of large and powerful clans which required the use of military power at one stage. But of course oral traditions are usually silent on such processes. And yet it should be obvious that armies or armed followers can only be organized if the economic basis can produce a surplus large enough to attract additional followers. Although such an interpretation may seem speculative, the recent book of J.C. Miller Kings and Kinsmen (O.U.P. 1976) offers supportive evidence in that direction.

Having opted for the thesis above, it is understandable that the author should go out of his way to describe in greatest detail the communication network and point out its importance: roads are not just important for the flow of goods to be traded between different areas or even for the rapid travel of government armed troops, it is crucial for the quick transmition of information from the central government to the provinces and vice versa. The great concern of the Asante rulers for an efficient system of communication is brought out when Wilks notes that they explored the possibilities « of utilizing European capital and skills to create a railroad system in Asante » (p. 41). This eventually happened in 1903, but by then the British were in charge.

The order of the first three chapters provides another revealing facet Wilks' perception of historical processes. It is only in the third chapter that Wilks introduces the labour problem (although he does not present it in those terms). Without this labour the Asante rulers would not have been able to build the vast system of roads which was used to consolidate and reproduce their power. Without this labour which produced surplus product there would not have been anything from which to extract the tribute that Wilks discusses in chapter two. Wilks does recognize the importance of slave labour, but he fails to give it the determinant role that E. Terray did in his essay on the Abron Kingdom of Gyaman (1). In several parts of the book, Wilks describes how the Asante government was forced to recruit large numbers of slaves for both civilian and military purposes. The latter even led to bitter opposition against military conscription, particularly in the 1870s and 1880s. Again, from his own data on labour it is possible to challenge the author's thesis according to which Asante's political power was built on bureaucratic efficiency and diplomatic acumen rather than on large military campaigns. Specialists who are more aware of the data will wonder whether Wilks was not over reacting against the previous orthodoxy of looking at Asante as a purely military power.

Chapters four to eight are an elaboration of the central thesis mentioned above and an examination of the mechanisms which were used to execute the policies decided at the capital. Chapters nine to eleven discuss the politics of the ruling houses of Asante. Twelve to fifteen attempt to give an overview of the « political order » by looking at the dominant forces that determined the direction of Asante politics. In these last chapters, particularly thirteen and fourteen, the relationships between Asante and the British are presented in the framework of «imperial rivals» — an incorrect characterization.

WEBERIAN, EMPIRICIST AND IDEOLOGICAL HISTORY

From the «Guide to sources consulted » (pp. 731-743) readers will discover that one of the few theoretical works listed is H.H. Gerth's and C.W. Mills' From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. In the text

itself. Weber's Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft is cited twice (pp. 466, 468). In the eyes of some readers, no more would be needed to classify Wilks as a Weberian, but beyond this open acknowledgement, Wilks' text suffers from a more serious weakness, namely that of letting the empirical data dictate the problematic, and it is such empiricism which dictated the use of and recourse to Weber's bureaucracy. In Ashanti Government already cited above one can clearly see how Wilks was led to Weber through the kind of evidence he was using. The data are such or so it seems, that it is impossible for any researcher not to be struck by the obviously bureaucratic structures of Asante — especially after they had been consolidated by Osei Kwadwo (Asantehene from 1764 to 1777) (hence the term « the Kwadwoan Revolution »). Whichever way the researcher would turn, bureaucracy (i.e. appointment to office on the basis of merit «in exclusion of the family » p. 214) was present. Because the bureaucracy in Asante was so visible. Wilks argues that to understand Asante history, one has to undestand the functioning of the bureaucracy, and furthermore, the functioning of the bureaucracy can only be undestood... by studying the bureaucracy.

Wilks compounds the problem of understanding Asante bureaucracy by using the term interchangeably with «political order», «goverment», «administration», «law and order», «state». Wilks' empiricism can also be detected at all those levels.

For Wilks, it is the bureaucracy that links all political life from Osei Tutu to K. Nkrumah and beyond. The bureaucracy dominates all the various phases of Ghanaian history from the end of the 18th century to the middle of the 20th century. But within this static structure changes took place, inpart because of the appearance of new social classes, but most of all because of the inevitable turnover of political officials, from the Asantehene to rank and file soldiers and civil servants. There is something overly harmonius in the way in which Wilks characterizes the unfolding of Asante's history. Indeed, one almost has the impression that a mechanical balance operates to maintain an equal blending of «structure» and «evolution». How does Wilks see the evolution of Asante history?

First it was an imperial power established by the founders Osei Tutu and Opoku Ware (up to 1750). There followed a period of «constitutional monarchy» which «transformed Asante from a predominantly military power into a civil polity» i.e. Osei Kwadwo, Osei Kwame and Osei Bansu — 1764-1823). From 1834 to 1867 Asante was moved «rapidly in the direction of nation-statehood» by «a modernizing autocrat»: Kwaku Dua I. Finaly, with Kofi Kakari (1864-74) Mensa Bonsu (1874-83) and Agyeman Prempe I, Asante seem to have entered the era of parliementary politics during which the various Asantehene were described as having «assumed many of the characteristics of the presidential monarch» (p. 372, 3). A very neat evolutionary scheme indeed which begins with tribal politics and ends with parliamentary politics.

However, behind this major trend, Wilks identifies shifts in terms of tendencies which at times strengthen what is called the war party, and which at other times pushed the Asante political rulers to advocate

peace, or, in the words of Osei Bonsu in 1820 « never to appeal to the sword while a path lay open for negotiation » (p. 299). Needless to say that the latter quote also became one of the leitmotives of Wilks thesis (see p. 29, 64, 190-1, 278, 325, 444-5, 451, 478, 483, 495, 514, 539, 606, 683, 692). As noted earlier, Wilks' reaction against the previous orthodoxy of seeing Asante as essentially a military power may have been overdone especially when he discusses the confrontation with the British. It is also clear that Wilks is also reacting against a certain type of African history:

Throughout this study I have been concerned less with those aspects of Asante society which are unique to it, and more with those aspects it has in common with orther complex societies whether on the continent or elsewhere. Accordingly I have felt no hesitation in applying such terms as «bureaucratization», «mercantilism», «modernization» and the like to those aspects of the Asante experience which invite comparison with similarly identified phenomena in other societies. To critics on this score I reiterate my belief that only thus can the Asante past be viewed within the wider perspectives of human endeavour and its place within comparative history ultimately be assured (p. 14).

Like those other writers who were reacting against colonial propaganda, Wilks' purpose is to demonstrate that there was nothing peculiar in the Asante social formation and that it could even be understood through European history or through the use of distinguishing categories which have been applied to other social formations. While Wilks' aims of struggling against the kind of parochialism, which led to looking at African history as something unique, must be praised; the alternative he offers — which is essentially one of comparative politics - fails to bring out the specificity of the Asante social formation. It may be asked whether comparative history is not an admission of failure, a failure to come to terms with the history of a particular area or social formation in its our terms. Among Marxist historians a similar failure led, for a long time, to sterile efforts of analyzing the African social formations through the «model» of the Asiatic mode of production (2). At various points, Wilks realizes that he is resting his analysis of politics in Asante on evidence which was distorted by a serious Eurocentrist perspective. Although Wilks warns his readers against being influenced by this perspective, he is unable to steer his own analysis away from it:

it is not being argued here, of course, that the parties of nineteenth century Asante were similar to those of midtwentieth century Ghana — or, for that matter, of Europe. But it is (Wilks emphasis) being suggested that the parties of nineteenth century Asante bore sufficient resemblance to those of nineteenth century Europe for nineteenth century European commentators to be prepared to write of both in the same terms (p. 481).

Earlier on, however, the author was not as cautious:

Rattray's seemingly facile comparison of the role of the senior counselor with that of the prime minister is one which should not be treated too lightly... As early as 1820 Hutton, with considerable insight, was led to essay a comparison of the position within the administration of the Gyakye counselor Kwadwo Adusei Kyakya with that of the four so-called Privy Councillors... — p. 472).

Comparative history has attracted an increasing number of adherents over the last few years, especially among non-Marxist historians. Unfortunately comparisons and analogies in history cannot replace analysis. Comparisons and analogies can only be short cuts which at most can serve as brief illustrations. As such, comparative history can only be descriptive, that is, eminently empiricist. Asante in the mineteenth Century is a brillant description of how Asante bureaucracy operated, but it does not analyze the nature of that bureaucracy for if Wilks had studied the nature of Asante bureaucracy, he would have had to deal with the specific differences such as the nature of the relations of production, the nature of the economic base upon which the Asante state was based.

THE ASANTE STATE

Although Wilks does not examine the nature of the Asante state, he does have a conception of the nature of that state, and it is precisely such a conception which led him to produce a descriptive account of one of the aspects of the state.

Wilks' conception of the Asante state does not differ significantly from the views advanced by other writers on the same subject. They too consider the pre-colonial state as an institution which somehow comes about as a result of the inability of the kinship structures to regulate social relations. For example, in his recent book on Angolan pre-colonial social formations, J.C. Miller characterized the development of the pre-colonial state in the following manner:

Mbundu political history moved in no single direction but consited of an irregular alternation between the triump of institutions based on the loyalities of Kinship and those articulating the demands of the Kings (3) (emphasis added).

Writing on Asante, M. Fortes pointed out that the state was not characterized by « a territorial polity... It was primarily a constellation of stools — a union of political communities bound to one another by chains of interlocked allegiances to eminent office within a framework of law and fiscal, religious and military organization reinforced by a network of clanchip, dynastic kinship (4) (emphasis added).

In other words, the transition from «kins» to «kings» is seen as a natural one, even if the transition is taking place, as Wilks points out, amid tensions:

By the 1880's, then the level of consciousness of the asikafo (wealthy persons, J.D.), was such that they should probably be regarded as constituting a small but growing bourgeois middle class with distinct interests and aspirations transcending loyalties and allegiances of a traditional kind. (p. 705) (emphasis added).

Thus one institutional system — kinship — leads (without explaining how) to another institutional system — kingship. For Wilks, the state and its bureaucratic apparatus are seen as sui generis or at most as the work of one man (« the Kwadoan revolution »). The bureaucracy or the state are not conceived as being the site as well as the result of conflicts and antagonisms. Indeed, Wilks seems to hold to the typical Weberian view that the bureaucracy itself (through its operators, through laws, through the constitution) contains the elements that help to resolve or anticipate and therefore prevent conflicts. Thus, in discussing the civil war that broke out in 1883, Wilks explains it thusly:

Lacking precedents in constitutional law to which reference could be made, Asante was to move towards civil war. As all attemps at the political resolution of the issues failed, its leaders turned increasingly to the use of violence in the attainment of their goal (p, 543) (emphasis added).

Such a view of the legal apparatus implies that constitutions, bureaucracies and all social institutions are somehow the creation of wise men or men invested with that function of devising appropriate institutions. This is not to say that Wilks denies the existence of social classes, but again his conception of classes is either empirically or ideologically derived. Classes are identified in terms of their goals or aspirations not in terms of how they relate in the process of social production. Since the aspirations of representatives of all classes can be reduced to some common denominator, Wilks can then argue that class antagonisms do not provide the dynamics for social change in Asante:

political tension resulted, however, not from the emergence of class conflict as such. Indeed, the aspirations of even the «asikafo and ahiafo (underprivileged group including elements from both the free and unfree population) in the period were in some respects complementary rather than antithetical (p. 719).

Like an earlier student of Asante, Rattray, Wilks totally subscribes to the upward mobility thesis (p. 706) on account of the fact that «in nine cases out of ten, (an Ashanti slave) possible became an adopted member of the family, and in time his descendants so merged and

intermarried with the owner's kinsmen... » (p. 706). For Wilks there can be no antagonism between the slaves and their owners since

the well-being of a slave was bound up with that of his master, whose prosperity in turn depended upon that of the abusua, of the village, of the province and of the nation. The aspirations of ahiafo, in other words, were bound up with becoming participants in abusua affairs, and not in making cause with those of similar standing in other localities. (pp. 708-9).

On reading this one wonders whether Wilks is not being influenced by the ideology of the ruling classes in the capitalist social formations, and in particular its North American version. In the latter social formation, the orthodox view of the ruling class is that there could be no antagonism, for both the working class and the capitalist class are striving toward the same goals of satisfying, for example, basic human needs like a decent house, happiness, freedom of expression and (today) an unpolluted environment.

In the Asante case Wilks perceives the asikafo and ahiafo as sharing a common interest in establishing certain basic individual liberties, for example, the freedom from restrictions upon capital accumulalation or freedom from military conscription». (pp. 719-20). Unfortunately, for once, Wilks does not provide the much needed evidence to show that both classes did engage in common political action against the government. In any case, this would have been impossible for the freedom that the asikafo was struggling for was eminently economic while the ahiafo's struggle was essentially political.

Overall then, Wilks notes the emergence of classes, and he also notes growing conflicts, but he seems to be determined to keep both independent of each other:

Political tension resulted, then, rather from incompatibilities between the emergent horizontal or class consciousness and the older vertical consciousness — that is, the view of the citizen's place within society as fixed within a pyramidically structured system of established (ascribed or achieved) allegiances culminating in the Golden Stool.

Like many other Africanists, Wilks seems to be arguing that «what kept Asante back» was the conflict between the «traditional» and the «modern».

It would be unfair to suggest that the entire Asante history is viewed in this light, and Wilks' analysis is certainly much more complex than it may have been suggested here. His analysis of the mercantilist interests in Asante and the kind of conflicts that developed between them and the bureaucracy will certainly inspire new researche and new interpretations. Some readers may find that comparisons unanticipated by Wilks could be drawn between the Asante state and its post-colonial version.

In the Asante state accumulation of wealth was only possible through accession to bureaucratic positions. A similar situation obtains in the post-colonial state as has been shown by the recent work (5). Wilks, however, does not concern himself with production of wealth. In great part this is because of his predetermined view of the bureaucracy as the institution that maintains cohesion and peace in society. For Wilks it is the bureaucracy which is responsible for reproducing the dominant positions of the Asantehene. And when one writer suggested that the Asante state was essentially an instrument for the exploitation of the masses — « of the superior preying upon the inferior classes ». — Wilks prefers to say of such evidence that it was « reductivist » (p. 129).

By concentrating on the mode of operation of the bureaucracy, the author, prevents his readers from seeing the mode of production upon which the Assantehene, their court retainers, their soldiers and servants could rely to reproduce their dominant position. Wilks has examined in detail the ciculation of wealth in Asante, and specifically how that wealth was used to pay for a large body of bureaucratic officials (through a system of commissions) (p. 440). Even when Wilks deals with the « origins » of wealth, it is still at the level of circulation and distribution of surplus already produced and not at the level of expropriation of the surplus. In the process of discussing the distribution of the surplus, Wilk provides an interesting explanation for the non-development of an autonomous bourgeoisie. On the principle that the King was heir to the gold of every subject, from the highest to the lowest, the Asante government collected heavy death duties (p. 697). The explanation, however, could only be partial and refer to the size of the bourgeoisie. From Wilks' evidence itself it is possible to advance the argument that the autonomous bourgeoisie grew from within the bureaucracy itself and that the collection of heavy death duties could only be a means of reducing the economic basis upon which the bourgeoisie could build itself.

Wilks ends his book on a note which reinforces his main argument of bureaucratic rule in Asante. In some four pages at the end of the volume the author covers the colonial and post-colonial period of Ghanaian history. For Wilks there are parallels and analogies between the nineteenth and twentieth conturies. If bureaucratic rule by a few is the best form of government then it should follow that any king or political leader who ventures beyond the boundaries set up by the bureaucracy will be overthrown, «vomitted» as it were. Wilks does not put it in those words, but that is the theoretical conclusion one must draw from his general interpretation of Asante history.

A bureaucracy is best for all people because it prevents abuses (6). So Wilks argued that on the one hand the government of Asante was against the growth of an indigenous bourgeoisie, and on the other and gave in on the demands of ahiafo who wanted to be freed from military conscription. One must assume that Nkrumah was overthrown precisely because he overstepped the boundaries of the government (sometimes synonymous with bureaucracy). Thus, throughout

Ghanaian history, the government or the bureaucracy is seen as something separate, an institution which stands above society. The government or the bureaucracy is yiven a life of its own, and the fact that the author can quote Nkrumah (p. 721-2) to lend support to his thesis should not necessarily mean that both were having the same views, but rather that Nkrumah's analyses of the Ghanaian situation contained weaknesses which may help explain his demise.

In reviewing such a voluminous and extremely well researched book, one is bound to do injustice to the author's labours especially if the review focuses on an attempt to uncover the problematic that guided the work. By criticizing its empiricism, ideological (and one might add functionalist) slants this reviewer intended to draw attention to characteristics that have tended to dominate the production of African history. However, the best tribute one can pays the author of Asante in the nineteenth Century is that his own work provides the data for a different interpretation and for testing different hypothesis, and because of this quality it will remain a landmark not only in Asante history, but also in African history.

FOOTNOTES

E. Terray, «Long-distance exchange and the formation of the State: the case of the Abron Kingdom of Gyaman», Economy and Society, vol. III No 3, 1974.

⁽²⁾ See especially the various articles that appeared in various issues of La Pensée.

⁽³⁾ J.C. Miller, Kings and Kinsmen, London, O.U.P., 1976.

⁽⁴⁾ M. Fortes, Kinship and the Social Order, Chicago, 1969, p. 154.

⁽⁵⁾ See especially the work of I. Shivji on Tanzania: Class Struggles in Tanzania, T.P.H. and Heineman, 1976; and the essay by A. Cournanel, « Idéologie et développement », Africa Développement, vol II, N° 1, 1977.

⁽⁶⁾ On this Weberian conception and analysis of the bureaucracy see Paul Q. Hirst's excellent Social Evolution and Sociological Categories, London, 1976, especially chapter 6.

FOCUS ON RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTES

CENTRE DE COORDINATION DES RECHERCHES ET DE LA DOCUMENTATION EN SCIENCES SOCIALES DESSERVANT L'AFRIQUE SUBSAHARIENNE (CERDAS)

I. — BREF HISTORIQUE

Le 23 septembre 1974 fut signé, à Paris, un Accord entre le Gouvernement de la République du Zaïre et l'Organisation des Nations-Unies pour l'Education, la Science et la Culture (UNESCO) en vue de la création d'un Centre de Coordination des Recherches et de la Documentation en sciences sociales desservant l'Afrique Subsaharienne, en abrégé CERDAS.

Cet accord est le résultat d'un long processus qui a commencé en 1972 lors de la 17° session de la Conférence Générale de l'UNESCO. Celle-ci adopta une résolution demandant au Directeur Général de prendre des mesures pour aider à la création de ce Centre. Il s'agissait pour l'UNESCO d'apporter son assistance aux Gouvernements et aux institutions des sciences sociales des Etats membres appartenant à l'Afrique subsaharienne auxquels incombait la responsabilité de créer ce Centre régional africain des sciences sociales.

Pour la mise en œuvre de ce projet, le Secrétariat de l'UNESCO entreprit dans plusieurs pays africains des études approfondies afin d'y déterminer le niveau de développement des ressources et de l'infrastructure institutionnelle dans le domaine des sciences sociales.

Il organise aussi plusieurs colloques et consultations avec des institutions et des spécialistes africains des sciences sociales.

A la suite de ces études et consultations, certains critères furent formulés, critères devant orienter le choix de l'emplacement le plus indiqué pour le Centre, étant donné sa vocation panafricaine et son objectif de coordonner de manière effective les recherches et la documentation en sciences sociales en Afrique. Ces critères sont, notamment, l'existence de ressources et de facilités adéquates et l'étendue de l'expérience acquise dans la conduite et la coordination d'activités de recherche et de documentation en sciences sociales, la situation linguistique et les traditions intellectuelles et d'enseignement en matière de sciences sociales, la situation géographique et les facilités de transport et de communication.

La République du Zaïre aura été choisie comme pays hôte.

II. — OBJECTIFS

1. — Promouvoir la coopération régionale entre les institutions de recherche et de documentation en sciences sociales, situées en Afrique subsaharienne ;

- Contribuer au développement de disciplines sociales dans l'ensemble de la région;
- 3. Mettre en œuvre toutes les recherches fondamentales et appliquées qui ont pour objet la connaissance des réalités sociales et le perfectionnement des méthodologies interdisciplinaires orientées vers l'action :
- 4. Coordonner les recherches et la documentation en vue du renforcement de la contribution des sciences sociales aux efforts de développement en cours dans la région ;
- 5. Veiller à la formation des spécialistes africains des sciences sociales de haut niveau.

III. — STRUCTURE ORGANISATIONNELLE

Pour atteindre ces buts le CERDAS s'est doté de quatre organes :

- 1. Le Conseil d'Administration : organe suprême, administre le CERDAS par l'intermédiaire de son Président ;
- Le Comité Permanent : délégué par le Conseil d'Administration, assure la bonne marche du CERDAS dans l'intervalle des sessions du Conseil :
- 3. L'Assemblée Consultative : constituée par les représentants des universités et institutions de recherches des Etats membres du Conseil d'Administration et de tous les autres représentants des organisations intergouvernementales et non gouvernementales apportant une contribution appropriée au fonctionnement du CERDAS :
- 4. Le Secrétariat : composé d'un Directeur et du personnel nécessaire à l'accomplissement des fonctions du CERDAS.

IV. — REALISATIONS

Depuis sa création le CERDAS a déjà organisé quatre rencontres à Kinshasa et publié quatre documents importants, en plus de CERDAS-Liaison, son bulletin d'information trimestriel.

- A) Rencontres, réunions ou séminaires.
- Rencontre du 20 au 22 août 1975. Elle a eu pour objet l'évaluation des travaux des groupes de recherches et l'estimation du budget de ces recherches. Les 2 groupes de recherches se sont intéressés aux problèmes du développement rural intégré et à ceux du développement urbain ;
- 2. Réunion des experts du 12 au 16 avril 1976. Elle a eu pour but de préparer un projet de programme et de budget à soumettre à l'approbation du Conseil d'Administration du CERDAS prévu en août 1976 ;
- 3. Réunion du Conseil d'Administration du 2 au 4 août 1976. Elle a pour objet l'adoption du règlement d'ordre intérieur et de la Convention du CERDAS; l'élection du Président du Conseil d'Administration; la nomination du Directeur, du Directeur-

- Adjoint, d'un Coordinateur des recherches et d'un Documentaliste ; et enfin, l'examen du projet de programme et de budget du CERDAS:
- 4. Séminaire des documentalistes du 29 novembre au 4 décembre 1976. Le but de ce séminaire était de réunir un bon nombre de chefs documentalistes pour un échange d'expériences en vue de la mise sur pied d'un réseau africain de la coordination de la documentation en sciences sociales en fonction du CERDAS.

B) - Publications:

En plus de CERDAS-Liaison, bulletin d'information trimestriel, CERDAS a déjà publié :

- 1. « Les sciences sociales et la planification du développement dans l'Afrique subsaharienne », 204 pages. Ce document rassemble les exposés des différents conférenciers réunis à Nairobi du 2 au 6 décembre 1974 autour de ce thème :
- 2. « Répertoire des institutions de recherche scientifique au Zaïre », 70 pages. Ce répertoire constitue la première partie du travail global que fait le CERDAS et qui s'intitule : « Répertoire des institutions de recherche scientifique en Afrique subsaharien-
- 3. « Répertoire signalétique des archives, bibliothèques et centres de documentation au Zaïre ». Cette publication sera suivie d'autres du même genre pour tous les pays couverts par le CERDAS;
- 4. « Quelques problèmes de documentation en Afrique ». Ce document rassemble tous les exposés faits lors du récent séminaire des documentalistes organisé par le CERDAS.

V. — PROJETS DE RECHERCHE EN COURS DE REALISATION

En 1974, le CERDAS hérita de l'UNESCO deux importants groupes de projets de recherche — l'un portant sur les problèmes liés au développement rural et l'autre touchant les problèmes des milieux urbains — en raison de quatre projets par groupe.

A) - Projets ruraux:

- 1. « Problèmes de développement rural en Tanzanie : cas des Ujamaa » par le Dr. Abdalla S. Bujra ;
- 2. « Projet de développement rural intégré du Nord-Kivu » par le Dr. Bongoy Mpekesa;
- 3. « Quelques aspects de développement rural au Nord-Cameroun » par le Dr. Ibrahima Diallo;
- 4. « Problèmes de développement rural dans une zone de sécheresse : cas de Kituri (Kenya) » par le Dr. Mutiso.
- B) Projets urbains:
- 1. « Développement urbain de Dar-es-Salaam » par le Dr. Abdalla S. Bujra:
- 2. « Urbanisation et développement de Kinshasa » par le Dr. Lumpungu Kamanda;

- « Urbanisation et acculturation d'Abidjan » par le Dr. Touré Moriba;
- « Organisations syndicales et sociétés de développement à Addis-Abeba » par le Dr. Gedamu.

Le CERDAS s'attendait à recevoir les résultats de ces recherches au cours du mois d'avril 1977 qu'il publiera aussi tôt que possible. Dans l'entretemps, le CERDAS est en train d'élaborer de nouveaux projets de recherche.

VI. — RELATIONS AVEC D'AUTRES INSTITUTIONS

Le CERDAS entretient d'étroites relations avec diverses institutions de recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique et en dehors de notre continent.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

University of Nigeria — Enugu Campus

I. — BASIC OBJECTIVES

A primary objective of the Economic Development Institute on inception was to train Nigerian University graduates in economic development work so as to provide a corps of highly trained workers who will occupy important posts in the ministries, in the business community, and in the Universities. A six month training programme in economic development was initiated in October, 1963. It was carried out through formal lecture courses, intensive use of seminars and some research.

However, the training programme was later discontinued following a decision by the E.D.I. Advisory Board in March, 1966, to revise the objective of the Institute in order to emphasize the research objectives more than its training objective. Since then, the basic objective of the Institute has been to contribute to the solution of economic, social and political problems, especially those affecting Nigeria:

- by conducting and supporting research toward economic and social development;
- 2. providing training and orientation for those engaged in the organization and execution of economic development programmes where this is basically compatible with the research activities of the Institute;
- 3. providing facilities for schlars, government officers, post-graduate students and others engaged in economic development research or similar activities.

The objectives of the Institute therefore entail the continuing study of Nigerian economic growth and development problems at macro and micro levels. The Institute brings people together from different disciplines and academic departments, and from government, international agencies and the business community to facilitate a multi and interdisciplinary approach ot study and evaluating economic and social development problems and situations with a view to influencing social and economic thought as well as policy through reasoned analysis and recommandations.

The objectives of the E.D.I. further entail the dissemination of research results to Nigerian governments, social scientists, entrepreneurs and the public through seminars, symposia, conferences, workshops and meetings sponsored by the E.D.I. or jointly with other departments in this and other Nigerian institutions of learning, public and private bodies, and through publications.

II. — TRAINING AND RESEARCH PROGRAMMES

A. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the Economic Development Institute can be summarized as follows:

- conduct of advanced orientation courses in research planning techniques for strategic actors in the growth and development process;
- 2. full-scale research for improving regional, sub-regional, national state or local planning and plan implementation; research on growth and development problems; research for improving public policies and management in private enterprises and in parastatals.
- 3. Extra-Mural activities, including:
 - a) preparation of searching papers involving investigations, expositions as well as suggestions toward the solution of growth and development problems in Nigeria;
 - b) conduct of and attendance of seminars, symposia, conferences and workshops for political leaders, businessmen and women, civil servants, academicians, other specific professional groups, and general public.
 - short-term advanced training programmes conducted alone or in conjunction with other departments or bodies

B. Specific Policies

With the establishment of the E.D.I., the following specific policies are adopted:

- Research is to be policy-oriented and therefore to focus mainly on practical growth and development problems encountered:
 - a) by the Federal Government:
 - b) by the State Governments:
 - c) by the Local Authorities;
 - d) by private enterprises and parastatals operating in
 - the farm economy;
 - at industry, commodity, or services levels;
 - at international, regional, sub-regional, national and local levels.
- 2. «Fundamental » or «basic » research which is also relevant to the solution of selected growth and development problems is to be encouraged.
- 3. Following from the foregoing, it becomes the policy of the E.D.I. to maintain coordinated and cooperative relationship with:

- a) relevant ministries and agencies of the Federal Government and those of the state governments and local authorities:
- b) domestic and expatriate foundations and organisations genuinely interested in research and training in the fields of growth and development;
- c) other academic institutions in Nigeria interested in research on growth and development;
- d) business firms and organizations of businessmen/ women and professionals;
- e) departments of the various Faculties and Units of the University of Nigeria. This coordination will involve:
 - the exchange, on mutual arrangement, of teaching materials and research results, and
 - participation of departemental representatives in developing and carrying out the programmes of the E.D.I. or mutually sponsored research projects. Such participation could be initiated by either party.

III. — ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The organizational plan for E.D.I. is as follows:

- 1. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Nigeria who shall approve the membership of persons who may be nominated to serve on the E.D.I. Advisory Board.
- 2. The Director of the E.D.I. who is
 - a) responsible directly to the Vice-Chancellor for the running of the Institute;
 - b) responsible for initiating and executing the Institute's research and extra-mural programmes;
 - c) responsible for originating recommendations to the University's authorities concerning the appointment, promotion and compensation of E.D.I. personnel. He is thus responsible to the University authorities for personnel management in the Institute;
 - d) a member of the University Senate and the Development Committee of Senate;
 - e) responsible for negotiating internal and external arrangements affecting the functions of the Institute. He originates recommendations requiring approval or action outside the E.D.I. and operates functional cooperative relationships between the Institute and
 - the academic departments of the University of Nigeria:
 - Nigerian research and other agencies outside the University of Nigeria;

- African, overseas and international research and other relevant bodies and agencies;
- the governments of Nigeria and their ministries and agencies;
- the parastatals and private enterprises;
- other publics.
- f) responsible for recommending members of the E.D.I. Advisory Board to the Vice-Chancellor approval and appointment;
- g) responsible for other duties necessary for the fulfilment of the Institute's objectives.
- The Director is assisted by a Deputy Director and an Institute Secretary in the day-to-day administration of the Institute.

In addition, there must be a core of academic, administrative, secretarial, statistical, technical, clerical, library and other supporting staff.

The E.D.I. Advisory Board is to perform the following functions:

To advise on

- i) Planing and execution of the Institute's research programmes and extra-mural activities.
- ii) Institute's Budget and Funding.
- iii) Staff Recruitment and Development.
- iv) Recommendation of the appointment of Associate Research Fellows.
- v) E.D.I.'s internal and external relationships.
- vi) Any other matters referred to it by the Vice-Chancellor or the Director of the E.D.I.

The Director of the E.D.I. is the Chairman of the Advisory Board while the Institute Secretary is the Secretary of the Board.

The members of the Advisory Board are usually appointed from the University of Nigeria's departments, especially from those whose work relate most to that of the Institute.

Non-representation on the E.D.I. Advisory Board at any time does not in any way, rule out the possibilities for collaboration work between the E.D.I. and any Department or Faculty in the University.

There is plan to expand membership of the Advisory Board to include persons from outside the University of Nigeria.

IV. — MEMBERSHIP OF CODESRIA

The E.D.I. is a full member of the Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (C.O.D.E.S.R.I.A.) based in Dakar, Senegal

It also has cooperative functional relationship with many research institutes in the social sciences in and outside Nigeria.

V. — APPOINTMENT OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERS OF THE E.D.I.

The role of the Institute incorporates the practice whereby associate researchers are appointed who work with the E.D.I. as the occasion arises. These associate members of the Institute could be the staff of Universities, government ministries, parastatals, and private enterprises. The idea is to have a core of sufficiently qualified people interested in research within their areas of competence, who are placed on the Institute's staff list. These people are called upon to work on E.D.I. research projects in collaboration with E.D.I. research staff, as the need arises, or they are offered E.D.I. facilities and other possible assistance to undertake specific research of their choice. In special cases, the E.D.I. makes arrangements for research projects which are initiated by the associate staff members, and which fall within the areas of priority of the ED.I. as well as carried out on the auspices and under the supervision of the E.D.I. to be funded within the context of E.D.I. internal research, provided that funds are available.

This system enables the Institute to be in a position to undertake research of larger magnitude, without all the required staff having to be E.D.I. permanent research staff. In addition, the fact that the Institute throws its facilities and patronage open to outsiders, invokes greater awareness of the relevant publics of the Institude and its preparedness to promote research, thereby making considerable contribution to our society.

VI. — E.D.I. CENTRE

Before the Nigerian civil war, a large expansion programme was in the making. With the office accommodation available to the Institute at that time being considered totally inadequate, a proposal was made to the Ford Foundation in 1966 to build an Economic Development Centre at the Enugu Campus. This centre is to provide office space for 30 permanent researchers, 7 visiting research scholars, 10 other senior staff and about 45 junior staff members. The space requirement for the centre is estimated at 3065.8m2 while the cost of building and equipping the centre is about naira 605,070. The E.D.I. Centre is planned to also house modern computing facilities. With this in view, we have been presenting a proposal for the construction of the E.D.I. Centre as a major item in our Capital Estimates since the 1973/74 financial year as well as in our Third National Development Plan.

The proposed plan for the centre is in the custody of the Institue, while copies have been made available to the Development Committee of the Senate of the University of Nigeria with supporting arguments.

The E.D.I. Library is a research library whose main objective is to aid and support the research activities of the Institute. To this end, the library acquires comprehensively specialized researche reports and Nigerian government publications. Major works in the field of economic and social studies are very well covered while works in other fields of study are acquired on selective basis. The library collection now stands at more than 11,300 and more than 180 periodicals are currently received. It should be pointed out that the strength of the library collection lies more on research reports, academic journals and government documents than on texbooks.

VII. — ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE LIBRARY

The continued cooperation of many research institutes and international organisations from all over the world has helped the growth of the collection of research reports. Materials from organisations like the World Bank, Agency for International Development and the International Labour Organization are received regularly in the library. Research repots are acquired also through exchange agreements with other research institutes.

Since 1970, it has been the policy of the library to acquire all the major daily and weekly newspapars published in the country. These are filed and made available to readers. Selective indexing of news items which are of economic and social interest in these newspapers was begun about two years ago and is still continuing. Accession lists are now periodically compiled and distributed to the research staff of the Institute and the University of Nigeria, and the libraries of other institutions.

The E.D.I. library facilities are supplemented by those available at the Enugu Campus Library which has a total of about 20,000 volumes. This collection is particularly strong in such allied fields as law, Accountancy, Business Administration and Marketing.

Apart from the research staff of the E.D.I., the E.D.I. Library is open also to the senior staff of the Universities, senior public servants, and indeed to researchers from anywhere.

VIII. — PROFESSIONAL CONSULTANCY

E.D.I. staff are consulted from time to time on various socio-economic matters by indigenous and foreign organisations, international organs or governments of Nigeria. Some of such time-consuming consultancy assignments entailed the writing up of specially commissioned reports, while others covered exhaustive matter-of-fact discussions, the assemblage of data, and the interpretation of social and economic phenomena with impact on the subject matters.

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