

ATILIM UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
ENGLISH CULTURE AND LITERATURE PHD PROGRAM

**NEO-COLONIALISM: A STUDY of THE POST INDEPENDENCE
DILEMMA in *ANTHILLS OF THE SAVANNAH, DEVIL ON THE CROSS* and
*SHAME***

Ph.D. Dissertation

ERSOY GÜMÜŞ

Ankara – 2019

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Supervisor

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Ankara - 2019

ACCEPTION AND APPROVAL

This is to certify that this dissertation titled “Neo-colonialism: The Post Independence Dilemma in *Anthills of the Savannah*, *Devil on the Cross* and *Shame* and prepared by Ersoy Gümüş meets with the committee’s approval unanimously as a Ph. D. Dissertation in the field of English Language and Literature following the successful defense of the dissertation conducted on 17/06/2019.

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Ersoy GÜMÜŞ

17/06/2019

ÖZ

GÜMÜŞ, Ersoy. Yeni Kolonyalizm: *Anthills of the Savannah*, *Devil on the Cross* ve *Shame*'de ki Bağımsızlık Sonrası Açmazlar Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2019.

Bu tezin amacı Chinua Achebe'nin *Anthills of the Savannah*, Ngugi wa Thiongo'nun *Devil on the Cross* ve Salman Rushdie'nin *Shame* eserlerinde yansıtılan post kolonyal toplumlardaki yeni kolonyalizm durumunu incelemek ve tartışmaktır. Achebe, Ngugi ve Rushdie dekolonizasyondan sonra eski sömürgecilerin yerini alan yerel burjuvazi ve elitlerin kullandığı politikaları eleştirmektedirler. Bağımsızlıklarını kazanmalarına rağmen, sözde bağımsız görünen eski sömürgeler kendilerini kontrol altında tutan batılı emperyalistlerin uygulamalarından kaçamamışlardır. Ancak batılı devletler bu kez farklı bir yöntem kullanmaktadırlar. Yani, eski kolonilerini denetimleri altında tutabilmek için bu ülkelerin yerel politik liderlerini kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda kullanmaya başlamışlardır ki bu da politik, sosyo-kültürel ve ekonomik çürümeye sebep olmaktadır. Bu cihetle, bu tez Achebe, Thiongo ve Rushdie'nin eserlerindeki büyük halk kitlelerinin imtiyazlı veya güçlü liderler tarafından ezilmesini ve sömürülmesini yansıtmayı amaçlamaktadır. Tez, bir giriş bölümü, üç alt bölümden oluşan bir kuram bölümüne her biri yukarıda belirtilen romanları inceleyen üç analiz bölümünden oluşmaktadır. Giriş bölümü sonraki bölümlerde incelenecek olan konuları genel olarak açıklamaktadır. Kuram bölümü Kwame Nkrumah, Frantz Fanon, Ania Loomba ve Elleke Boehmer gibi önde gelen edebi eleştirmenler ve kuramcılara göndermeler yaparak kolonyalizm, post kolonyalizm ve yeni sömürgecilik gibi ilgili kavramlara odaklanmaktadır. Bu bölüm ayrıca bu baskının yürütüldüğü kurum ve vasıtalara değinmektedir. Üç romanı inceleyen analiz bölümleri ise yeni kolonyalizmin ve sonuçlarının Kenya, Nijerya ve Pakistan'da nasıl yansıtıldığını incelemektedir. Sonuç bölümü ise incelenen romanlar da yeni kolonyalizmin kurum ve vasita açısından farklılık göstermesine rağmen, verilen üç ülkenin de eski sömürgecilerden hiçbir farkı olmayan yerel liderler ve elitler tarafından sömürüldüğünü ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Chinua Achebe, Ngugi wa Thiongo, Salman Rushdie, Post Kolonyalizm, Yeni Sömürgecilik

ABSTRACT

GÜMÜŞ, Ersoy. Neo-colonialism: The Post Independence Dilemma in *Anthills of the Savannah*, *Devil on the Cross* and *Shame*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Ankara, 2019.

The aim of this dissertation is to explore and discuss the issue of neo-colonialism as represented in post-colonial societies reflected in Chinua Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987), Ngugi wa Thiongo *Devil on the Cross* (1980), and Salman Rushdie's *Shame* (1983). Achebe, Thiongo and Rushdie criticise the policies that have been utilized by the native elites or bourgeoisie who replaced the former colonisers after decolonisation. Although they gained their independence, the ex-colonised countries were unable to move away from the practices of the western imperialists who kept these seemingly independent countries under their control. However, they used a different method this time. That is, in order to keep them under their rule, the westerners made use of mainly the native political leaders of these countries, an action which resulted in political, socio-cultural and economic corruption. Thus, this dissertation aims to illustrate the subjugation and exploitation of the masses by the privileged or politically powerful leaders in Achebe, Thiongo and Rushdie. It includes an introductory chapter, a theoretical chapter which includes three subchapters, and three analytical chapters, each of which attempts to discuss the above mentioned three novels. The introductory chapter presents a general view of the issues that will be explored in the subsequent chapters. The theory chapter focuses on the related concepts; colonialism, post-colonialism, and neo-colonialism with references to some leading literary theorists and critics such as Kwame Nkrumah, Frantz Fanon, Ania Loomba, and Elleke Boehmer. This chapter also deals with the agencies or institutions through which the oppression is carried out. The following three analytical chapters, which focus on the exploration of the three novels, investigate how neo-colonialism and its consequences are reflected in Kenya, Nigeria, and Pakistan. The concluding chapter presents that though there are some differences in agencies or institutions of neo-colonialism, all the three given countries are exploited by their native leaders who are not different from the ex-colonisers.

Key Words: Chinua Achebe, Ngugi waThiongo, Salman Rushdie, Post-colonialism, Neo-colonialism

for my late father...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There, behind any success, lies many people whose efforts made it come true, and it is also true for my dissertation.

Firstly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Kuğu Tekin who is the master builder behind this success. Her guidance, encouragement and psychological support were invaluable. This dissertation would have never been completed without her.

I would also like to thank the members of my committee: Prof. Dr. Belgin Elbir, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aslı Özlem Tarakçıođlu, Asst. Prof. Dr. Hülya Yıldız Bağçe, Asst. Prof. Dr. Gökşen Aras. Your helpful comments and criticism were much needed and appreciated.

I also owe my family a debt of gratitude. I am grateful to my mother, brother, and sisters whose moral support was always with me. My special thanks go to my father, my first teacher. Unfortunately death took him away from us too early. May he rest in peace.

My sincere thanks are forwarded to Gamze for her love, support, and patience during my busy times. You are my source of inspiration.

Last but not the least; I would also like to extend my gratitude to TÜBİTAK for its support by “2211-A Yurt İçi Doktora Burs Programı” during my hard times.

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INTRODUCTION

The dissertation discusses the issue of neo-colonialism in post-colonial societies as they are represented by the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe in *Anthills of the Savannah*, the Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o in *Devil on the Cross* and the Indian writer Salman Rushdie in *Shame*. The dissertation dwells on the similar and different practices employed by Western imperialists to keep the seemingly independent former colonies under control. Thus, the novels are studied from socio-political, historical and cultural perspectives. To this end, the first part of the dissertation which is titled "The Theoretical Background of the Study" explores the terms colonialism and post-colonialism by referring to different definitions of these terms given by literary critics such as Ania Loomba, Elleke Boehmer, and Bill Ashcroft. Additionally, the first chapter investigates the historical process of colonialism starting from second century to the British colonialism which is the subject matter of this dissertation. The second subchapter focuses on neo-colonialism and for this purpose, it initially analyses the reasons that have given birth to the idea of neo-colonialism by referring to the theorist Patrick J. Young. Then, it moves on to the occurrence and definition of neo-colonialism as a term. Since neo-colonialism as a term was coined by Kwame Nkrumah, the first post independent president of Ghana, this part focuses on his work to explain neo-colonialism. Additionally, this chapter discusses the similarities and differences between colonialism and neo-colonialism through references to Frantz Fanon who severely criticises neo-colonialism. The next subchapter of the theory chapter, "Agents, Institutions, and Practices of Neo-colonialism," initially presents the major problems that the newly independent countries suffer from. Indeed, it is claimed that all these problems derive from the native leaders who are still under the control of ex-colonisers. Thus, this part is based on Fanon's definition of the elites or national leaders who are mostly educated by the westerners in the west and sent back to rule the previously colonised countries. Fanon's idea, which presents brain washing as the major reason of neo-colonialism, is also supported by Ngugi wa Thiongo who stresses the effects of western education, the underlying factor of mental enslavement. Thiongo's view is extended to the point that language of the westerners is another significant medium of neo-colonialism. Additionally, this subchapter once again refers to Fanon as his

ideas of “Rights of the Former Occupant” and “Zones of Influence” reflect the economic reasons of neo-colonial ideology. This subchapter also puts emphasis on the ideas of Ndringa Mwaura, a Kenyan literary critic, who also claims that underdevelopment of ex-colonised countries is because of the native rulers who are totally under the effect of imperialists. To illustrate this bitter fact, references to different countries are made through the quotations from Ndringa Mwaura who explains that if western imperialists cannot keep the leaders under their influence, they reject accepting them as true leaders as in the case of Kwame Nkrumah who was exiled after being elected as prime minister. The concluding part of this subchapter focuses on the ideas of Jomo Kenyatta, Thiongo, and Fanon all of whom discuss solutions for the practices of neo-colonialism.

The next three analytical chapters investigate the neo-colonial practices as portrayed in *Anthills of the Savannah*, *Devil on the Cross* and *Shame*. The reason for studying these three particular novels is that they have many thematic correspondences. First of all, these novels are the representation of formerly colonised countries, Nigeria, Kenya and Pakistan. Thus, they demonstrate the conditions of these countries after their independence. In other words, all these novels are post-colonial works. Secondly, all these three novels clearly reflect how oppressive and exploitive the native elites and rulers are against their own citizens though they differ in terms of their settings. They provide readers with a platform to see the political leaders who are alienated from the masses, the lower class citizens. In addition, these three novels reflect the leaders as figures who are only interested in their own profits and are just concerned with the idea of maintaining their positions. Moreover, these novels present some characters who are alienated from their own culture, or who are more keen on the culture of the westerners. Hence, they all reflect both the political and cultural exploitation of newly independent countries through the hands of their own leaders. Another common point is violence that is traced in all three novels is the violence. It might be said that the insurrections or violent actions are riots against the corruption, exploitation, and the oppression in neo-colonial societies, an action which is claimed to be the first way out of neo-colonialism. Finally, all three novels have some important female characters who reflect the conditions of women in neo-colonial societies.

The first analytical chapter entitled “Irony of Democracy in *Anthills of the Savannah*” has four subchapters. The first one introduces the writer Chinua Achebe and his art by referring to his own works and other literary critics, such as Emmanuel Nelson, who clearly illustrates that Achebe as a writer has some vital roles to voice his own nation’s values and ideologies and to reject all the western impositions. The second subchapter, “Native Elites as the Source of Neo-Colonial Dilemma in *Anthills of the Savannah*,” demonstrates that although Nigeria has gained its independence from the westerners, its nightmares have not come to an end. It investigates the power psychology through the analysis of a small group of western educated elites who take the power to rule the fictional country, Kangan, in the novel, which is in fact Nigeria. Through the actions of these characters, Achebe demonstrates that these leaders are completely alienated from the sufferings of masses or their own kin a case which is not very different before the independence. What Achebe extensively alludes to in this part is the cultural corruption as he clearly expresses how the western values, qualifications or education are overvalued. The fourth subchapter entitled “Nation Construction and Nation State in Neo-colonial Communities” focuses on the significance of a true nation which can only be constructed by raising the national awareness and keeping the importance of national culture in mind. Here, Achebe explains that all the problems derive from a lack of nationhood which is a consequence of the society divided into two main classes: privileged rulers and the others. Finally, the third subchapter is “Reflections of Neo-Colonial Dilemmas Through Symbolism” is an investigation of some images or symbols which Achebe employs to depict the oppression. In general, the first analytical chapter refers to literary critics and theorists such as Frantz Fanon, John McLeod, Bill Ashcroft, Nadine Gordimer, Ania Loomba, Homi Bhabha, Christopher Miller and David Carrol.

The second analytical chapter is titled “The Exploitation of the Africans and Their Culture by the Neo-Imperialists in Ngugi wa Thiongo’s *Devil on the Cross*” and it has six subchapters. The first one is in a way a theoretical subchapter about the ideology of Thiongo’s writings and particularly it focuses on the significance of *Devil on the Cross*, which is the first novel written in Gikuyu by Thiongo, an attempt to break away with cultural imperialism. Additionally, this part

refers to Thiongo's some other works to lighten up his perceptions about not only Kenya and its natives but also all the post-colonial nations. The second subchapter is "Cultural Imperialism in Neo-Colonial Societies." Thiongo is a writer who highly appreciates the cultural values of Africa though he stresses the fact that most of these values are underestimated by the westerners. Thus, this subchapter investigates the cultural exploitation of ex colonial countries by referring to the native lore, customs, traditions, songs or dances that have been forgotten by the natives since the western imperialists imposed the idea of their cultures' superiority. Moreover, this subchapter also examines the significance of religion as a tool of cultural exploitation. Therefore, this part puts forward that natives have been blinded to their own values. The third subchapter, "Capitalism, Social Classes and Elitism in Neo-Colonial Societies", on the other hand, firstly focuses on the class division in neo-colonial countries. To be more precise, Thiongo emphasises that the societies are divided into two classes, the elites and the masses in which the former exploits the latter. Furthermore, this part illustrates the similarities between the native elites and the western imperialists, both of whom have been indifferent to the problems of the masses while living in luxury and lavishness themselves. In other words, this part is more concerned with economic indicators which lead to a strict distinction in the society. The next subchapter "Corruption" dwells on the cultural values that have been corrupted firstly by the white masters, than the native leaders. As religion, education, and language are the factors that shape a nation's identity, this subchapter mainly focuses on the corruption of these values. Firstly, it investigates Christianity which has turned into a defence mechanism to prevent the natives from revolting against imperialists. Then, the focus shifts to education systems which only teach the western values and has nothing about the African culture. The fifth subchapter, "Women Question in Neo-Colonial Communities", addresses the problems that women suffer from. To illustrate, in neo-colonial societies, women are tend to be seen as possessions that have no right or role. What is more, this false assumption is not only held by the whites, but also the blacks who just see women as an object of pleasure. The last subchapter which is titled "Liberation through Resistance" is an illustration of Thiongo's idea that liberation is only possible if masses unite and revolt against their own black leaders.

The third analytical chapter is “Irony of Independence in Salman Rushdie’s *Shame*” which has three subchapters. The first subchapter discusses Salman Rushdie as a post-colonial writer as he has been criticised to be an outsider who writes in English, the weapon of the westerners. Then, it focuses on Rushdie’s novels, hence on ideas from the post-colonial and neo-colonial perspectives by referring to critics such as Aijaz Ahmed and Bill Ashcroft. This part represents the political and social atmosphere of Pakivistan, a fictional version of Pakistan, which is deprived of freedom, but surrendered to power relations traps. The second subchapter is “Parody of Politics and Democracy in Neo-Colonial Lands: Pakistan in *Shame*” attempts to illustrate the political upheavals in Pakistan. Firstly, it explains the partition process, which was put into practice by the westerners and Muslim intellectuals and its outcomes such as mandatory migration of the masses. In addition, Rushdie utilises fictional characters to reflect the corruptions and manipulations of the real political figures holding the power. Thus, in order to investigate all these problems, Rushdie uses parody by means of which he also questions the historical knowledge. This part also stresses that although it has been a long time since the independence, the natives are still under the influence of the white masters who are still able to affect the natives easily. However, through the narrator Rushdie here clearly reveals that white masters and Muslim leaders are in cooperation which results in the sufferings of the masses since the only focus of these leaders is to strengthen their power. Furthermore, it is stated that it is not only the leaders who are corrupted but almost everyone who has a kind of power in the society. For instance, the corrupt officers add much to exploitation of natives. Another significant problem is that democracy is nominal as leaders are easily dethroned or executed leading to political, thus social and economic instability. This subchapter also discusses that religious values are exploited in order to keep the masses under control or to eliminate any threat coming from the masses. The third subchapter “Women Identity in Neo-Colonial Societies” attempts to investigate the role of the women. The leaders do not want to have daughters as they are seen unsuitable and insufficient to take over their thrones. Pakivistan is reflected as a country where women make no sense and are easily exploited. However, the narrator of *Shame* reveals that if any living being is exploited in a society, that society is open to every kind of exploitation. Rushdie here

uses different female characters to portray different problems related to women. Finally, this part reflects the idea that if freedom is desired and looked for, it should concern everyone from every social class and gender.

The last part of the dissertation is the “Conclusion” which discusses the similarities and differences between the aforementioned novels. Thus, it attempts to give a brief analysis of similar and different practices and representations of neo-colonialism.

CHAPTER 1

THE THEOROTICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The second chapter of this dissertation is the theoretical part of the study and it gives a detailed investigation and examination of critical terms and theories. The first part of this chapter defines colonialism and post-colonialism by referring to different critics, writers and their works. The second part is about the term “neo-colonialism.” In this part after giving the definition of the term, its practices and institutions are given by mentioning the works of authors like Fanon, Nkrumah, and Ngugi.

1.1. Colonialism and Post-colonialism

Since different forms of historical and contemporary interaction between different people and different nations can be characteristically described as colonial, defining colonialism is not an easy or straightforward task. Etymologically the word “colony” is originally a Latin word meaning “farm” or “settlement”. According to this view, colonialism simply means the transfer of population to a new land or territory. In other words, it refers to Romans settling in other lands. However, this definition does not explain many aspects of the term “colonialism”. In her book titled *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* Ania Loomba cites the term “colonia” as:

a settlement in a new country...a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community so formed, consisting of the original settlers and their descendants and successors, as long as the connection with the parent state is kept up. (1)

Ania Loomba, however, adds that colonialism indicates much more than this, so this citation is insufficient. According to Loomba, colonialism encompasses the confrontation, invasion, and domination from different countries, religions, and ethnicities and it indicates that “peoples” means two different groups, the “natives” and the “newcomers” who aim at “forming community”, which is actually a process of “re-forming” or “unforming” the native communities (Loomba 8). The main objective of colonialism is keeping the target lands’ people and their goods under

control and it is carried out by means of direct rule (Loomba 8). Therefore, according to Loomba colonialism includes many practices some of which are warfare, commerce, enslavement and rebellions and these practices take place during the process of “conquest” and “control” (Loomba 8). Although there were many different causes or reasons of colonisation in different parts of the world, the eventual outcome was identical everywhere; natives and the colonisers were engaged in the most “traumatic relationship” of the history (Loomba 8).

Colonialism is prevalent all over the world, that is, it is not only the European expansion into Africa, Asia or America which roughly started in the fifteenth century. On the contrary, Loomba states that colonialism has been not only repetitive but also a common characteristic of humanity (Loomba 8). Historically, it can be dated back to 2nd century when the Romans were dominant on a very broad territory. Similarly, Genghis Khan, the famous commander of the Mongols, invaded many parts of Asia, and Middle East in the thirteenth century. Some other major colonialist nations include The Aztec Empire and Inca Empire in the Americas, Vijaynagar Empire in southern India, Ottoman Empire in Asia Minor and Chinese Empire. Although these early colonial practices cannot be separated from the modern European colonialism, unlike the early practices, the newer European colonialism changed the whole world. There is clear distinction between these earlier practices of colonialism and the modern colonialism. From the Marxist point of view, colonialism which was not capitalist or pre-capitalist in its early periods, outgrew into a capitalist movement in Europe (Loomba 9). Colonialism in its modern form focused both on the goods and prosperity of the target countries which were conquered and also on restructuring them. This complex relationship resulted in a flood which was not only about sources and wealth but also about human beings between the colonisers and the colonised lands. Although this flood was in both directions, the benefits and earnings were almost always one sided, from colonised countries to the so called mother country. As colonialism is a broad term to analyse, the focus of the dissertation will be on the British colonial as well as post-colonial history and literature written in English, especially in Africa and India.

According to Simon Gikandi there are four stages in colonisation of Africa. The earliest one started with the conquest of the West Africa by the Europeans towards the end of the fifteenth century and it culminates in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which were the major periods of slavery. Gikandi explains the second phase of colonialism in Africa as a period in which practices of colonialism spread all over the continent. To illustrate, Christianity covered almost all colonised countries and additionally missionary schools were established. The main purpose of this was to bring up the African intellectuals, writers and also the readers of them in accordance with their own ideologies (*From Commonwealth to Post-colonial* 22). The African continent was physically occupied in this second phase, and under the mask of civilisation process, the European colonisers exploited the resources and labour force for their own benefit. The stage which lasted from 1880 to 1935 is the third phase of European colonialism in Africa. In this period colonialism expanded into almost all parts of the black continent. It is also in this stage that Europeans introduced political and economic systems into Africa and overthrew its own cultural systems by which they tried to reshape the African communities in accordance with their own desires and wishes. According to Gikandi, this period was significant because it witnessed the very first seed of resistance. To put it more explicitly, culture and literature turned into important weapons against colonialism in this period. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, some new African writers focused on both the problems and chances that colonialism created for them. The last stage of colonialism, which is called “the last stage” by Gikandi is the period when African countries decolonised themselves and became politically independent after lengthy and difficult periods of efforts between the years 1945 and 1960 (171). Here the term “political independence” has a major significance because it implies that Africans or natives who got the control back from the colonisers are the new rulers of the newly founded African states. This last phase also brings the term post-colonialism under discussion. In other words, the dismantling of colonial control which started in the twentieth century and reached its peak in 1960s is a crucial point for African history, because many countries gained independence one after another, a process which gave birth to the term “post-colonialism”. The term post-colonial, usually in the hyphenated form, was used before the development of postcolonial

cultural critique and it was a political and academic practice. Moreover, the term which had a Marxist perspective was also applicable to all social sciences. In his book *Postcolonialism: A Historical Introduction* Patrick J. Young states that “In this earlier usage, the phrase ‘post-colonial states’ have been used to describe many states from Albania to Vietnam that have since mediated Marxism in its various forms with a free-market economics” (Young 58).

However, post-colonialism is a term that emerged as a result of colonialism and according to Bill Ashcroft this term implies the “discourse” that works through the consequences of colonial period especially on culture and community (168). In other words, it particularly reflects the culture from the colonial period to present day which stands for the post-independence period. Not only third world’s culture but also almost the culture of the whole world was dominated by the ideology of the colonisers, or more specifically by the western ideology, so post-colonial literature provides a framework to analyse, reread, and redefine texts, events and theories which were developed to support, reinforce, and justify colonialism. It also gives an opportunity to revisit and analyse the colonial institution, the relationship between the colonisers and the colonised through the eyes of the colonised. Since colonialism predominated many parts of the world and many people suffered under the colonial dominance, post-colonialism has a significant role to reflect the problems of these people. Ashcroft explains that post-colonialism is not about the period “after colonialism”. On the contrary it is the period starting from the very beginning of colonisation (Ashcroft 5). Ashcroft’s idea has two crucial points. The first one is that the effects of colonisation have been seen since the very beginning of colonialism and have been felt from the moment of first colonial contact and the second one is that “post-colonialism exists.” Furthermore, Bill Ashcroft and his colleagues provide a definition which has a wider scope by writing that the use of post-colonial;

...cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression. (Ashcroft 6)

From another point of view, Ania Loomba claims that although the age of colonialism is over, “the whole world is post-colonial” (Loomba 12), because people

who were once-colonised live everywhere. Thus, post-colonialism is not only a reference to the colonial period but also to a victory against the oppressions of the colonial period. Furthermore, “post” is a prefix which refers to several victories. As its name indicates, post-colonial era is a period in which the colonised people realised many historical achievements by resisting against the colonisers and Young states that “... paradoxically, it also describes the conditions of existence that have followed in which many basic power structures have yet to change in any substantive way” (Young 60). In Brief, Young writes that post-colonialism and its theory derive from several various sources:

... a product of revolutionary Marxism, of the national liberation movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the political and cultural consequences of the success of those movements, the tricontinental economic and cultural critiques of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s and the historical effects of migration, past and present forced or voluntary. (Young 61)

From the point of literature, colonial literature includes the works written not only by the Europeans but also by the natives of the colonised countries during the colonial times and it covers all kinds of public and private writings, letters, fiction and scientific works, governments records, and trade documents. However, Elleke Boehmer explains that it is a tough task to differentiate or draw the borders of literature in colonial period because the scope of it covers not only the literary works created in Britain, but also every piece of work written in any part of the empire throughout this period. Boehmer also adds that every literary work representing local people, their traditions or motifs, such as works of Rudyard Kipling, are regarded as works of colonial literature (*Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* 2). Boehmer also adds that colonialist, on the other hand, deals with the colonial expansion. In general colonialist literature can be defined as the “literature written by and for colonising Europeans about non-European lands dominated by them” (*Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* 3). Colonialist literature is also a reflection of imperialist perspective and it in a way supports the idea that as European culture is far better and superior, it is justified for the empire to colonise and rule these countries. (*Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* 3).

Postcolonial literature, however, does not mean the literature coming after or pursuing the empire. Moreover, postcolonial literature is described as the works of literature that “critically or subversively scrutinizes the colonial relationship” (Boehmer 3). It is also important to note that postcolonial literature is all inclusive, which means it covers the works produced both in colonial and postcolonial periods. The interdependent nature of colonial and postcolonial literature is expressed by Loomba as :

... the interdisciplinary nature of colonial and postcolonial studies which may range from literary analysis to research in the archives of colonial government, from the critique of medical text to economic theory and usually combine these and other areas. (18)

According to Boehmer, “postcolonial writers sought to undercut thematically and formally the discourses which supported colonisation—the myths of power, the race classifications, the imagery of subordination” (*Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* 3). Thus, post-colonial literature is not something that comes after colonialism and something that shows the collapse of colonialism, on the other hand it shows the heritage, influence and repression of colonial period and this point of view allows postcolonial literature to include people who were displaced by colonialism. For example, the African-Americans or Asian origin people who live in Britain are regarded as postcolonial subjects, even though they live in metropolitan cultures. In general the word postcolonial, a term used to generalise the whole process in which colonised people experienced many syndromes, has many different structures and it is almost impossible to escape from the effects of colonialism.

1.2. Neo-colonialism

Direct domination which was employed by the European imperial powers was not applicable after 1945, but it took them almost two decades to realise this fact. According to Young, there were three main reasons for breaking up the old system, namely colonisation. Firstly he points out that the most important factor was that colonised people started to resist to this system. In addition, these people explicitly backed by the Soviet Union and some other countries. Secondly, Young stresses that the Europeans were exhausted due to long wars which also caused huge

economic problems. As a result, they were unable to keep the current system, colonialism, as it was highly costly. Finally, the third reason was the USA as colonialism constituted a barrier against its economic expansion. However, Young states that “The new system that replaced it; however was in many ways a more subtle, indirect version of the old one” (44). When the causes that Young has written are considered, it can be concluded that the two world wars resulted differently. While World War I caused a deeper exploitation of the people in underdeveloped countries, World War II caused the birth of a new system, neo-colonialism. However, the new system was not at all different from the old one, it was the indirect version of the old. In other words, it is impossible to say that European imperialism has come to an end with the decolonisation which especially refers to the period during and just after the WW II. This new period is called “neo-colonial age” which refers to the continuation of the old system, the domination and oppression of the colonialists and imperialists in a new and different way even after colonised countries gained their independence.

Neo-colonialism has been used more than fifty years though it is hard to give a general definition of the term. Broadly speaking, neo-colonialism stands for a new version, but it is the restructured and reshaped version of colonialism, thus continuation of its flaws and oppressions which occur in a lurking way to exploit the natives of the colonies after they have become independent nations. Some critics indicate that it was first used by Jean-Paul Sartre, a figure who stood against colonialism, in one of his essays in 1956. On the other hand, there are some others who see the basis of the term in Leninism, in which it is used to explain the system of new domination which was put into practice after the end of the colonial period. In her essay “Mechanism of Neo-colonialism” Diana Haag writes that neo-colonialism is a colonial policy which was carried out by the old colonisers or new imperialists not explicitly but implicitly with the help of some “hidden mechanisms. The main purpose of this system, however, was not different from that of the old one: to boost the benefit coming from the previously colonised countries thus to make capitalism safe and secure and more powerful, and most importantly to “maintain the economic, political, ideological and military influence of colonial times” (9). Thus, neo-

colonialism is the new policy of the ex-colonisers who still maintain their control on every institution of the independent nations.

The term “neo-colonialism” was officially first seen in “All African People’s Conference” which took place in 1961 and in that conference neo-colonialism was defined as:

The survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in emerging countries, which become victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination by political, economic, social, military or technical means. (Martin 191)

Some critics towards the end of the twentieth century have used neo-colonialism with a political view so as to refer to the method of oppression and exploitation which contributes to maintaining the Empire’s colonial ideology in a totally different approach. Sourav Kumar Nag in his essay “Fighting Neocolonialism” describes neo-colonialism as:

Instead of the formal and direct imperialist control by exerting political exploitation, by implementing administrative structures to rule and dominate the colonised masses, neo-colonialism operates indirectly by controlling the economics and cultural dependence of the newly decolonised countries. (137)

Hence, neo-colonialism is a new method to exploit the previously colonised nations not only economically but also culturally in order to satisfy hunger of the imperialist powers.

Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of the independent Kenya, is regarded as the first person who made the term internationally known. In his pioneering work *Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965), where he presents a detailed discussion of the term neo-colonialism, he expresses that this is the last and most dangerous phase of imperialist ideology and he explains neo-colonialism as follows:

The neo-colonialism of today represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage. In the past it was possible to convert a country upon which a neo-colonial regime had been imposed - Egypt in the nineteenth century is an example – into a colonial territory.

Today this process is no longer feasible. Old fashion colonialism is by no means entirely abolished. It still constitutes an African problem, but it is everywhere on the retreat. Once a territory has become nominally independent it is no longer possible, as it was in the last century, to reverse the process. ... In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism. (ix)

He puts forward that the colonisation that had been in practise for hundred years is now obsolete, and the colonialist countries still control the decolonised countries but it is now in an indirect way which is based on cultural, political and economic domination. It is clearly seen that the previously colonised countries are now independent; the concept of independence is only an abstract term which is far away from reality. From another point of view, Nicholas White defines this as “only pseudo-independence” (2) as it is detected that these previously colonised nations now have a national flag and an anthem. However, these are not enough to believe that these countries are fully independent. Moreover, in order to claim that they are fully independent, they should have cultural, religious, political and economic independence which is impossible to see in the third world countries.

The colonisers quit the third world countries physically but they left their ideologies and minds there since they had already planted the seeds to maintain exploitation. They continued to exploit formerly colonised countries by the use of a substructure which was an indirect way of colonisation. They have achieved this particularly by brainwashing the native people, “by imposing the colonial education, religion, and culture upon them” (Fanon 80). Obviously, the new method of the colonisers is to colonise these countries mentally which transforms the natives of these countries into puppets. Mentally-colonised natives have become the accomplices of the colonial powers who made them believe that they govern their countries together to have peace and prosperity. Consequently, Ngugi puts forward that the first step of decolonisation should have been the “decolonisation of the mind” (*Toward the African Revolution* 82) by which he stresses the importance of mental independence.

According to Nkrumah, although decolonised, a state which suffers from neo-colonialism is governed by either the local elites who are the followers of the old

colonisers in terms of ideologies or the military forces that have been stationed by the previous colonialist countries. This is put into action by expressing that it is just for the peace and security of the masses of decolonised lands. Nkrumah explains that another important feature of neo-colonialism is the administrative actions that have been kept under control by colonialist countries so that they can benefit from them. These administrative policies are carried out by the local elites who are even worse than the previous colonisers as they are only interested in their own benefits and peace. In other words, Nkrumah puts forward that the basis of neo-colonialism is the independency of the previously colonised countries which are still subjected to economic, cultural and political oppression coming from outside. In short, the purpose of the colonialism and neo-colonialism are not very different as in both cases the colonies are kept under control and dependent positions.

Practically colonialism and neo-colonialism have a similar goal, but there are some differences, especially in terms of the mechanisms that have been used to guarantee the dependence of the neo-colonised country. Firstly, one of the most significant mechanisms that helps to keep the colonised country dependent is economy and economic tools. To illustrate, colonisers can control the prices of goods and services or they can oblige the colonised countries to buy manufactured products from themselves and to sell raw materials to them as well. Although economic regulations are an important part of neo-colonialism, this dissertation focuses more on political, cultural and educational perspective of neo-colonialism. From this point of view, colonisers keep the colonised countries under control by appointing some elites or western educated officers to high positions who after awhile turn into the followers of the colonisers. Hence, these officers assist whenever the colonisers need them, even when there is a need of a coup or a so-called revolution. Furthermore, Nkrumah expresses that neo-colonialism also includes cultural and educational dependence. This is generally controlled by sending teachers, different types of officers including military personal, ambassadors or even presidents to the target country (23). Since the new system of exploitation is not directly put onto stage, it is hard to express the presence of it in a specific community. In other words, imperial powers no longer need to create colonies in underdeveloped lands in order to exploit the natives and their sources which makes neo-colonialism an insidious

form of colonialism. Thus, as Nkrumah has stated it is much more dangerous than the old form.

Apart from Nkrumah, there are many critics who have attacked and criticised neo-colonialism. One of these critics is Frantz Fanon who in his work *Toward the African Revolution* explains the reasons of neo-colonialism. He states that neo-colonialism has come into being as a result of the “indetermination” which can be seen in every single step of the decolonisation process. Fanon defines the term “indetermination” as “the lack of collective nationalist consciousness of the people” (*Toward the African Revolution*138). He stresses that although Africans suffered under the strict policies of colonialism, they were not able to create a common consciousness to fight against the colonialists and their oppressions. In other words the process of decolonisation is a struggle that the nationalists carried out in a gloomy atmosphere and Fanon describes it as “a refusal, at once and the same time, of political non-existence, of wretchedness, of illiteracy, of the inferiority complex so subtly instilled by oppression” (*Toward the African Revolution*120). Hence, the natives of the formerly colonised countries found themselves in a combat: at first they tried to get rid of the stereotypical characteristics which have been imposed on them and secondly they struggled to get their political power back from the colonisers. As a result this indetermination of the natives raised neo-colonialism (*Toward the African Revolution*121). This illustrates that Fanon believes that the independence of the formerly colonised countries is a fraudulent one simply because of the lack of “national consciousness” (*Toward the African Revolution*120) which hindered them to act as a whole and consistently. As a result of this lack of consciousness, a group which can be categorised as western-educated elites came in sight. The members of this group overvalued the western norms, customs, practices and patterns which resulted in rejection of their traditional local customs and cultural values. In brief, neo-colonialism is the continuation of colonialism as they are both based on the ideology of superiority of the colonisers.

1.3. Agents, Institutions, and Practices of Neo-colonialism

There are many social and economic problems in neo-colonial countries. However, all these problems mainly derive from the lack of true leaders who only focus on the needs of the masses and who do not follow the paths of colonisers. In other words, especially after the decolonisation period political and official leaders of these countries, who have had no vision except their own benefits, have permitted the previous colonisers to loot their own kin. From another point of view, the rulers of the independent countries are the fruits of colonialism which means they cannot represent the masses, but can only help to advance neo-colonialism and its subtle mechanisms. These rulers are generally educated or brought up in Europe, so they are not able to create a bond with the people that they administer. Particularly they cannot relate themselves with the culture that they are in. For instance many rulers in Africa cannot speak even a sentence in their mother tongue such as in Swahili. On the contrary, they are able to speak in English, which, in their view, give superiority over the masses who are not able to understand or respond. In many cases, these leaders or elites have the feeling of living in Europe, not in their own country or capital.

Though there are a number of exceptional African leaders who could be called true nationalists, the majority of them act like puppets whose strings are in western hands. Ndringa Mwaura stresses the role of these leaders by writing:

Within Africa, the collapse of European rule meant that “reliable” Africans were selected to take over the artificial states that were carved out. Those who were chosen could be trusted to subvert their own people’s interests in favour of the old colonial power. Therefore, at independence, a majority of Africa’s new rulers were, in a sense traitors, pretending to a false patriotism — one that never promoted domestic interests over foreign ones. The few rulers who were genuine nationalists were soon eliminated by coups and assassinations with the result that the political, cultural and academic elite, throughout the continent, with few exceptions, became dominated by reactionary, mentally-colonised elements who did everything to undermine Africa’s success. This remains the situation today. (6)

Yet, at the very beginning, almost all of these native rulers had the common goal which was to increase the life standards in their own country. However, in the long

term, majority of them deceive the masses for the sake of their self interests. Another problem about the leaders is that when they make an effort to help the masses, they only follow the advices and guidance of the colonisers, so they become the tools of the imperialists, and either unintentionally or willingly the allies of the international colonialism and imperialism. Though they are expected to enrich the country and the masses, these elites work to accumulate personal benefit and in order to achieve their personal goals they use political and even military power. At the same time they do not hesitate to cooperate with the west to exploit and oppress the masses and their own lands. The reason for this transformation is “lack of consciousness” which might be based on the western education that these leaders got both during colonial and neo-colonial eras. As a result of their western education, these leaders know almost nothing about their indigenous culture, so they offer what they know, namely western paradigms. This is even the case in army where generals are mostly western-trained and the rest are generally illiterate members who only have ranks. As these illiterate members of the army feel the pleasure of power, it is also very easy to manipulate and use them for self interest.

The underlying reason of these leaders who betray their own countries is that there are not any genuine and nationalist leaders as they were disposed of by the imperialists during the decolonisation period. From another point, the nationalist leaders were put into jails, dispersed or even killed; in contrast, some others who are both loyal to the imperialists and mentally colonised were brought into power and given high ranks and positions not only in the administration but also in the army which ensured to keep all the institutions of these countries under control. Moreover, these elites or leaders were besieged by the Europeans who both gave advice and manipulated them. However, it is not fair to claim that these leaders are all betrayers. There are of course some true nationalist leaders, but those who stood against neo-colonialism and its mechanisms are destined to topple or fall from the position that they hold. This is done through military coups, civil wars, economic crisis or even assassinations. Nkrumah stands as a good example of these type of leaders who supported that the only way to solve many problems in Africa is to unite the continent and have a common conscience. In order to raise this awareness and to unite Africa, he started many campaigns and actively propagandised which caused to

his breakdown. In the end the US and the UK arranged a military coup by which they toppled Nkrumah. In his book *Kenya Today* Ndiranga Mwaura describes Nkrumah's case as follows:

Nkrumah had won national elections twice and both times the British colonial government refused to have his named Prime Minister for the simple fact that they could not control him. When he did become the leader, he was soon thrown out and exiled. (42)

This is almost identical in all neo-colonial countries. As an illustration, in Algeria, Ben Ella who was the leader of the group that revolted against the French forces became the target just after Algeria became independent and there happened a coup so as to keep Algeria under control (Mwaura 43). Another plot that the imperialists put on the stage is civil wars in neo-colonial countries. If the rulers do not satisfy the demands of the colonialist nations or if they try to improve their nations' welfare, "a civil war is fomented so as to render impossible the move from a colonially structured economy to a normal growing economy" (Mwaure 43). One of the techniques used to create a civil war by the imperialists is to make use of the ethnic or political classes as it is the case of Biafran War.

Another mechanism of neo-colonialism is the assimilation of the rulers or elites. In other words, the rulers tend to deceive the masses by identifying themselves with the imperialists. As Africans have suffered from mental colonisation, inferiority complex, and cultural imperialism, they believe that if they look like, behave and live as the imperialists do, they will be much more valuable. That is, they think resembling the colonisers gives them prestige. The main reason for this is the association of Africa with ignorance, inferiority, diseases, poverty and impoverishment, while imperialists are associated with wealth, superiority and in short every aspect of good life. As a result when someone from the third world countries gets a position or becomes rich, this suddenly transforms him into a white man in terms of the way of life and customs that he follows. Elites, rulers and the rich speak English or another prestigious European language, have European eating habits and food, and they send their kids to European-based schools. In brief, as the rulers are still mentally under the dominance of imperialists and mentally colonised, the nations are doomed to draw back. From the point of economic view, since these

elites are educated and trained in accordance with the imperial notions, they apply the sanctions and follow the guidance of IMF or WB which lead to the recession or collapse of these countries. Furthermore, it is more agonising that this lack of true leadership was common all over the previously colonised countries and all around Africa as a continent which extended and reinforced the effects of neo-colonialism.

As a consequence of assimilated leaders and rulers, the term “elites” carries a major thematic significance in neo-colonialism. Although there is not a general definition of the term, when it is about neo-colonial lands it refers to the social classes and hierarchy. More clearly, “elites” is a small group who hold very prestigious and effective positions in society as they are given some kinds of privileges generally by the imperialists. They are generally exploiters of the common people or collaborators of the imperialists. Fanon describes this group as:

Not so very long ago, the earth numbered two thousand million inhabitants: five hundred million men, and one thousand five hundred million natives. The former had the Word; the others had the use of it. Between the two there were hired kinglets, overlords, and a bourgeoisie, sham from beginning to end, which served as go-betweens. In the colonies the truth stood naked, but the citizens of the mother country preferred it with clothes on: the native had to love them, something in the way mothers are loved. The European elite undertook to manufacture native elite. They picked out promising adolescents; they branded them, as with a red-hot iron, with the principles of Western culture; they stuffed their mouths full with high-sounding phrases, grand glutinous words that stuck to the teeth. After a short stay in the mother country they were sent home, whitewashed. These walking lies had nothing left to say to their brothers; they only echoed. From Paris, from London, from Amsterdam we would utter the words "Parthenon! Brotherhood!" and somewhere in Africa or Asia lips would open "...thenon! ...therhood!" It was the golden age. (*The Wretched of the Earth* 1)

As Fanon puts forward these elites were pre-possessed and they were just the reflections of the previous colonisers or their “echoes”. Moreover, they simply told lies to their brothers, the common man, just in order to satisfy their egos and keep their positions. Although they make up a very small proportion of the whole society, they are the decision makers who shape the destiny of all the people and the nation. It is also argued that they are not critical about the decisions made by imperialists as

they are educated in imperialist countries. In other words, education has a crucial role in neo-colonialism and Ngugi expresses that at first colonised people thus their countries suffered from “physical violence” (*Decolonising the Mind* 29) which came from battlefield and then it was succeeded by psychological violence which appeared clearly in schools. Ngugi also mentions how effective education system in neo-colonialism was as follows:

On the black continent, one began to understand that their real power resided not at all in the cannons of the first morning but in what followed the cannons. Therefore behind the cannons was the new school. The new school had the nature of both cannon and the magnet. From the cannon it took the efficiency of a fighting weapon. But better than the cannon it made the conquest permanent. The cannon forces the body and the school fascinates the soul. (*Decolonising the Mind* 9)

As he reflects, the western type of education imposes mental enslavement about which the rulers do not even think about. Moreover, Ngugi particularly emphasises the significance of language that the rulers are exposed to during their education: “In my view language was the most important vehicle through which that power fascinated and held the soul prisoner. The bullet was the means of the physical subjugation. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation” (*Decolonising the Mind* 9). As a consequence of their education and the language that they speak, rulers believe that they are superior to their fellow citizens which make them indifferent to the problems of common people. The consequence of western education and language is described as “their universities where they give our children an education to enfeeble minds, make them slaves, apes, parrots, shadows of the men and women they could have been”(48). In order to solve the problems related to education and language, Ngugi offers three main solutions which are quoted by Nag as following:

[Firstly] In schools and teacher training colleges, African literature and the literature of African people in the West Indies and America should be principally taught. [Secondly] Imported literature should be relevant to the African situation. [Thirdly] A positive critical outlook towards literature should be formed. (143)

In short, Fanon emphasises that in order to get rid of the continuation of neo-colonialism and its consequences, there should be a true national education and literature. However, the elites who have been educated in imperialist countries and

who speak in their languages cannot form an intimate relation with the masses. More precisely, this western-educated small group of people cannot form a national identity for they have split personalities. Firstly, they have a sense of pride as they are the leaders of their society even if it is corrupted, exploited and oppressed by the westerners. Moreover, in order to strengthen their positions they do whatever they can and maintain their control over the masses. For instance, they believe that jobs in government sectors are the guarantee of their political support or at least they can be used in order not to revolt against the rulers if they are given to the right people. In addition, they put restrictions on the media and press, they incorporate non-governmental organizations such as women's associations and trade unions into their party so as to create a consciousness for their interests. In short, they make use of every single state apparatus to build their hegemony and keep it strong on the masses which means in neo-colonialism that it is these elites that carry out colonial and imperialist actions. From another point of view, in many neo-colonial countries there is a clear dualism; while elites are the exploiters, common men are the exploited. That is, there is a clear distinction between the westernlike city men and the country men or proletariat. This dualism or polarisation is significant as almost all of the previously-colonised countries are subjected to this new form of colonialism under the disguise of leaders and the common people, who replaced colonisers and the colonised.

According to Fanon, liberation of the natives and their countries depends on the unity which should be supported by the national elites or bourgeois. Fanon criticises national elites severely by stating that if they remain unengaged, it is impossible to talk about a national development. In other words, he stresses the importance of elites' contribution to sovereignty of the formerly colonised nations and their development in every field. Nevertheless, he writes:

African unity, that vague formula, yet one to which the men and women of Africa were passionately attached, and whose operative value served to bring immense pressure to bear on colonialism, African unity takes off the mask, and crumbles into regionalism inside the hollow shell of nationality itself. The national bourgeoisie, since it is strung up to defend its immediate interests, and sees no further than the end of its nose, reveals itself incapable of simply bringing national

unity into being, or of building up the nation on a stable and productive basis. The national front which has forced colonialism to withdraw cracks up, and wastes the victory it has gained. (*The Wretched of the Earth* 160)

From the above quotation, it can be seen that nothing has changed for the better in the newly independent countries as the national elites have taken the positions of the colonialists carrying out exploiting the masses. As a consequence of their self interests, they never pay attention to the struggles of their own people and their poverty. In other words, they turn into deaf and blind puppets doing nothing to develop their countries. On the contrary, they create a basis which brings these countries backward. Hence, they are the spoilers of the victory which has been gained thanks to natives who lost their lives during the efforts for independency. Fanon criticises the national elites by writing:

Since the sole motto of the bourgeoisie is "Replace the foreigner," and because it hastens in every walk of life to secure justice for itself and to take over the posts that the foreigner has vacated, the "small people" of the nation—taxi drivers, cake sellers, and bootblacks--will be equally quick to insist that the Dahomans go home to their own country, or will even go further and demand that the Foulbis and the Peuhls return to their jungle or their mountains. (*The Wretched of the Earth*158)

As is seen, the main objective of the national elites is to take over the positions that were once occupied by the colonisers. Moreover, this shows that the colonisers did not abandon their ex colonies, but created a superficial image of abandonment. In other words, the ex-colonisers delegated the elites or the members of the national bourgeoisie to their seats before leaving these countries which paved the way to continue the exploitation of so called independent countries. Thus, Fanon states that the elites have become the agents of neo-colonialism, and he writes:

Seen through its 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 mask of neo-colonialism. The national bourgeoisie will be quite content with the role of the Western bourgeoisie's business agent, and it will play its part without any complexes in a most dignified manner. (*The Wretched of the Earth*152-153)

In short, Fanon clearly describes these elites as the agents of neo-colonialism who have just masqueraded and easily adopted their new roles.

Fanon particularly focuses on two significant cases in which neo-colonialism runs. According to Fanon, the first one is “Rights of the Former Occupant” by which he describes that among the masses there is a false conception of a common and priceless past which has its own characteristics and culture. Contrarily, the ideology of the neo-colonialism focuses on “the persistence of a rejuvenated colonial pact, ... the permanent bases of an attack directed against national sovereignty (*Towards African Revolution* 122). By this, Fanon explains that the former colonisers still believe that they have some “rights” to involve in the affairs of the newly-independent countries. Especially, the ex-colonisers interfere in the economic affairs of these countries so that they could heavily undermine the economic improvement of them. The second one called “Zones of Influence” is described by Fanon as follows:

The concern to maintain the former colony in the yoke of economic oppression is obviously not sadism. It is not out of wickedness or ill-will that such an attitude is adopted. It is because the handling of their national riches by the colonised peoples compromises the economic equilibrium of the former occupant. The reconversion of the colonial economy, the industries engaged in processing raw materials from the underdeveloped territories, the disappearance of the colonial pact, competition with foreign capital, constitute a mortal danger for imperialism. (*Towards African Revolution* 122- 123)

Here Fanon focuses on the fact that the imperialist powers or ex-colonisers want to renovate the old economic system, so they do “stifle the national aspirations of the colonial peoples” (*Towards African Revolution* 123). Their main purpose is to create a global market in which they are the main rulers. However, Fanon believes that this goal is the underlying reason of the underdevelopment of neo-colonial countries as well as threatening their existence (123). By holding this point of view, Fanon claims that imperialists will never stop chasing their own interests in third world countries which means if one of their strategies stops working, they will find a new way of exploitation as it is the case of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Nevertheless, Fanon is not totally pessimistic about neo-colonialism and he points out that it will be disrupted because of its own discrepancies:

It is true that such a dictatorship does not go very far. It cannot halt the processes of its own contradictions. Since the bourgeoisie has not the economic means to ensure its domination and to throw a few crumbs to the rest of the country; since, moreover, it is preoccupied with filling its pockets as rapidly as possible but also as prosaically as possible, the country sinks all the more deeply into stagnation. And in order to hide this stagnation and to mark this regression, to reassure itself and to give itself something to boast about, the bourgeoisie can find nothing better to do than to erect grandiose buildings in the capital and to lay out money on what are called prestige expenses. (*The Wretched of the Earth* 165)

As the above quotation illustrates, Fanon believes that the exploitation of the national bourgeoisie will not last very long. Contrarily it will be a short period because of three main reasons. Firstly, they are based on the ex-colonisers or neo-colonialists. In other words, they do not own any economic mechanism which would stop the collapse of their domination. The second reason is that they are not truly interested in the problems that the masses suffer from. That is, they ignore the masses in general. The third reason is that all kinds of dictatorships will finally encounter a civil act which tools the death kneel of neo-colonialism.

The Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiongo has also focused on colonialism and neo-colonialism not only in his novels but also in his theoretical works. He and his works generally deal with the obstacles derived from colonialism and neo-colonialism. As a native of Africa, Ngugi himself has suffered from the cruel practices of both colonial and neo-colonial periods. Ngugi defines neo-colonialism in his *Writers in Politics* as:

Neo-colonialism then means the continued economic exploitation of Africa's total resources and of Africa's labour power by international monopoly capitalism through continued creation and encouragement of subservient weak capitalistic economic structures, captained or overseered by a native ruling class. In the political sphere, this class will often make defence pacts and arms agreements with the former colonial masters as a guarantee of its continued claim to political power. A political characteristic of this class is its discomfiture with

the masses. The masses (peasants, workers) are not to be trusted and ethnic divisions are now actively encouraged and perpetuated. (24)

It is obvious that Ngugi, as many other scholars, believes that the independence of the former colonies is hollow and means almost nothing for the masses, whereas it is a cloak for the imperialists by which they maintain their dominance over these countries, and continue exploiting them. Fanon also states that neo-colonialism advances due to the “alliance between a native comprador class and a foreign bourgeoisie” (*Writers in Politics* 120-121). Moreover, in spite of the hopes and expectations of the masses from this comprador class for the better and the improvement of the nation, they rule “by torture, fraud, imprisonment, military brutality, terror and so on to suppress the people on behalf of their paymasters in London, Paris, New York, Amsterdam and Tokyo” (*Writers in Politics* 120-121). It is evident that Ngugi also blames the native elites as they helped imperialists to flourish neo-colonialism. In other words, Ngugi imposes the idea that “the compradors sell” their souls which eventually results in selling of their own nations and people.

In contrast to Nkrumah who mainly deals with the economic implications of colonialism and neo-colonialism, Ngugi generally emphasises the cultural perspective of imperialism and neo-colonialism because he believes that it is the European cultural perspective held by the natives which leads to rob their every possession including their minds and souls. Cultural neo-colonialism is defined by Kumar Nag as “a continuation of cultural imperialism in the colonies by the imperialist powers after the achievement of independence” (143). In a very general sense, through cultural imperialism, the imperialists brainwash the natives so that they can exploit them as well as their sources. As a result, Ngugi explains that it is “a very powerful instrument of oppression because it distorts a people’s vision of history and of the reality of the world around them” (*Writers in Politics* 37). By this, Ngugi stresses the fact that as a result of colonialism and neo-colonialism natives have been brainwashed, or their brains are emptied. Therefore, they are unable to judge, criticise or even question anything, particularly unfair events and actions taking place in their countries. Moreover, they are incapable of grasping the reality of their lands. As a consequence, some of the natives become the fellows of the colonisers.

For all the nations culture plays a major role since it establishes the basis of a nation's existence. Jomo Kenyatta stresses the significance of culture in his work *Facing Mount Kenya* where he states that culture provides nations with "human dignity" and "material prosperity". Additionally, culture "teaches him his mental and moral values and makes him feel it worthwhile to work and fight for liberty" (Kenyatta 317). Therefore, it can be claimed that in order to have a true independence, firstly native culture should be liberated as native culture is the real expression of that nation's being. Ngugi, on the other hand, points out that cultural independence is the key factor for natives' creativity and imaginative power and the cultural independence depends on political and economic freedom. In other words, culture can grow out of a powerful economy and liberated political system because culture cannot flourish under any kind of oppression. In short, in order to create a national culture and identity, the country should be entirely free from every single agent of oppression. Kenyatta underlines the importance of material prosperity in shaping a national culture by writing "... a culture has no meaning apart from the social organisation of life on which it is built" (317). He also adds that as the imperialists come to the colonised lands, they do not rob the resources only, they also steal the values and cultural symbols that keep the nation together. By doing so, they hack the "social, moral and economic" foundations of the colonised countries (317). That is, cultural imperialism which destroys the national consciousness can be defeated by having a free economic and political system. Ngugi also highlights the importance of a national culture by writing that in order to have it, colonised countries need "a completely socialized economy" and it should be kept under control by the natives. Besides, Ngugi adds that "a complete and total liberation of the people, through the elimination of all exploitative forces, is necessary for a national culture" (*Homecoming* 13). Thus, having a national culture is only possible by knocking all the forms and effects of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and their agencies. From another point of view, Fanon attaches importance to necessity of having a national culture by writing about national culture "does not only rehabilitate that nation and serve as a justification for the hope of a future national culture. In the sphere of psycho affective equilibrium it is responsible for an important change in the native" (*The Wretched of the Earth* 210). Hence, in neo-colonialism, just as in the

case of colonialism, the colonised nations cannot preserve their indigenous cultures and this leaves them hopeless for the future.

As Fanon does, Nkrumah and Ngugi also believe that neo-colonialism will sooner or later collapse as a result of its contradictions. Firstly, Nkrumah indicates that neo-colonial states are ruled by a minority group who behave according to the needs and desires of their colonial or neo-colonial masters, not to those of their own people, and the interests of these masters will prevent the aids which will develop these countries multilaterally. However, he believes that eventually there will be a revolt among the masses which will push neo-colonialists to use military aid and this will be the last stage of neo-colonialism (Nkrumah xv). Based on these points, he claims that “Neo-colonialism is a mill-stone around the necks of the developed countries which practise it. Unless they can rid themselves of it, it will drown them”(Nkrumah xvi). Similarly Ngugi is also positive about the collapse of neo-colonialism simply as he believes that “dominated have always resisted and will always resist” (*Moving the Centre* 72). Hence, according to Ngugi the solution lies in the civil resistance which is the real and most powerful tool to overthrow neo-colonialism. However, he also notes that this civil insurrection should be supported by every member of the nation, particularly by the national bourgeoisie annihilating the masses. In short, he believes that building collective consciousness is the solution for destroying neo-colonialism and its institutions (*Moving the Centre* 74) .

CHAPTER 2

IRONY OF DEMOCRACY IN *ANTHILLS OF THE SAVANNAH*

2.1. Chinua Achebe, His Art and *Anthills of the Savannah*

The Nigerian writer Albert Chinualumogu Achebe, who is better known as Chinua Achebe, published his debut novel *Things Fall Apart* while he was working in Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation in 1958. Since the publishers and the editors were not very sure about whether Western readers would buy a book of an African writer, they were not eager to publish it. As a result they published only 2000 copies, but it became a success story soon after the first publication and it was translated into more than fifty languages. The success of *Things Fall Apart* started a new era for both African Literature and Achebe's writing career (Nelson 20). In addition to being a politician, a lecturer and a writer, Achebe had a great role in the emergence of postcolonial Anglophone literature in Nigeria and Africa. Firstly, Achebe became the director and editor of Heinemann Educational Books in Nigeria by which dozens of African writers had the chance to publish their works. In 1971, Achebe founded the *Okike* which was a journal for new writers of Nigeria and African writers in general. Later in 1984 he established a journal on Igbo life and culture which was a bilingual periodical for students of Igbo civilization (Nelson 20).

From the point of art and literature, Achebe is a magnificent writer who tells the traditional stories of Igbo life and culture, a talented poet, a literary and cultural critic. In "The Novelist as Teacher", an essay which was published in London's *New Statesman* (1965) and reprinted in his *Morning Yet on Creation Day* (1975), Achebe regards himself as a teacher whose responsibility is not only to reflect but also to shape the communal visions and values of his people, culture and country. Emmanuel Nelson explains that Achebe refuses all the western assumptions about the role of the writer in society, especially the one which imposes an isolated position on the writer. He explains Achebe's literary perspective as following:

To Achebe, the artist is an integral part of his or her community; what he or she creates, therefore, must have functional value and relevance to those individuals who make up the community. He also rejects the

pseudo-universalist precepts and apolitical pretensions of the western aesthetic orthodoxy. To Achebe, art and political concerns, be they local or global, are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, he insists that the artist has an obligation to remain committed to the well-being of his or her people: the most compelling duty of the current generation of African intellectuals, according to Achebe, is to help their fellow Africans regain the dignity and self-esteem lost during the colonial years. (21)

In other words, Achebe takes a stand as a cultural nationalist whose goal is to revolt against western powers and their ideologies. He explains that his society lost its belief in itself and his main purpose is to help his society to achieve this belief again. Moreover, he wants his nation to get rid of the defamation, self degradation and particularly inferiority complex that have been imposed for many years. (*Morning Yet on Creation Day*, 44). In short his main purpose is clearly political, that is to say, he tries to rehabilitate his community psychologically through cultural literacy.

Chinua Achebe's literature has had a great amount of attention. Almost all critics agree that Achebe's works have given him a unique and important place not only in African Anglophone writing but also in contemporary world literature. Like many other critics who regard Achebe as a literary pioneer, John Povey states that Achebe is one of the best writers of the fifties and he has contributed a lot to the birth of the African Literature particularly in English and he adds that his works are so strong in their structure and so coherent that they cannot be matched by any other literary works (97). Another literary critic C.L. Innes explains the effect of Achebe and his works on African literature and African writers by entitling Achebe as "the father of the African novel" (19).

The writer's fifth novel *Anthills of the Savannah* appeared in 1987, nearly two decades after the publication of his previous work *A Man of the People*. It is somehow different from other novels by Achebe since it is Achebe's first novel after the Biafran War, a civil war which divided Africa into two different parts; the East and the West.

2.2. Native Elites as the Source of Neo-Colonial Dilemma in *Anthills of the Savannah*

After a long period of waiting Nigeria gained its independence in 1960, but freedom failed to satisfy the expectations of the people. Newly independent Nigeria started to waste the opportunities provided by independence. The country experienced corruption, lawlessness, sufferings which resulted from lack of a civilian regime and as is seen in *AS* due to many coups. In other words, although Nigeria became a free nation, Nigerians did not see great positive changes. On the contrary, Nigeria was still a victim of colonisation as colonialism was still prevalent under different masks. Chinua Achebe in *AS* demonstrates the sufferings and troubles of a new nation, since it is set in a time when Nigeria has had great political, social and economic unrest.

The novel, a political representation of Nigeria, illustrates the problems and degeneration of neo colonial power hierarchies as well as discussing exploitation and oppression employed by the previously colonised powers. However, the exploitation was not directly carried out by the colonisers, but by the native officers or dictators who came to power just after the European colonisers left the country. In other words, the novel presents a detailed examination and investigation on the nature of power in order to reveal Nigeria's nightmare caused by the misused power. In short, the novel illustrates the manipulative power that was put into action by the national elite class in a recently decolonised, thus a post-colonial state. The novel takes place in a fictional country which is in the west part of Africa, yet in reality this is Nigeria. Moreover, the novel covers the period from the independence (1960) to the novel was written (1987) and Achebe reflects political, social and cultural turbulences during this time span. There are multiple narrators in *Anthills of the Savannah* recounting the stories of four major characters of the novel. The first one is Sam, a Sandhurst-trained military officer. He later sets up a coup and becomes the president of Kangan. The second one is Chris Oriki who is Sam's boyhood friend and a member of his cabinet. Oriki is a governmental officer whose main responsibility is to apply censorship on every kind of media in Kangan. Another character is Ikem Osodi, another friend of the President. He is also the editor of

National Gazette. The fourth important character is Beatrice Okah. She is Chris's girlfriend and she was educated in London and she is a top government official. She is an agent during Chris's and Ikem's moral transformation and corruption. Although these two men, Chris and Ikem, follow different routes, towards the end of the novel they both resist Sam's mad authoritarianism. As they lose their political power, they begin to have closer link with the masses of their own country. Not only Chris but also Ikem die while they resist the violent abuse of power. And finally there is another coup in which Sam also dies.

In the novel Achebe demonstrates the unstable politics of Nigeria. In *Lifetimes Under Apartheid* Nadine Gordimer points out that Achebe is "a writer who has no illusion but is not disillusioned" (10), because he has deep sorrow as Nigerian people are betrayed by their own political leaders who are irresponsible and self appointed. These people are called national bourgeoisie and Frantz Fanon explains the status of this group as follows:

The national bourgeoisie turns it back more and more on the interior and on the real facts of its underdeveloped country, and tends to look toward the former mother country and the foreign capitals who count on its obliging compliance. As it does not share its profits with the people, and in no way allows them to enjoy any of the dues that are paid to it by the big foreign companies, it will discover the need for a popular leader to whom will fall the dual role of stabilizing the regime of perpetuating the domination of the bourgeoisie. (*The Wretched of the Earth* 165)

In *Anthills of the Savannah* Achebe describes the efforts and struggles carried out by Kangan state and the people of Kangan in order to establish a postcolonial and independent government. However, in *AS* Achebe presents that in Kangan there are dangers, oppressions and exploitations that come out as a result of blind pursuit of power by the ruling class and the elites in a neo colonial community. In the novel, Kangan people are divided into social classes according to their Western education level. The native characters that are educated in Kangan (Africa) are regarded as the second class. However, the others who received western education have better positions in the society and in employment. Hence, they are able to get government jobs and better social recognition compared to the native educated characters. In

Kangan which is a newly developing nation, these western educated characters have more influential political power than the other groups. To illustrate, the Kangan society is divided into two different social groups. On the one hand, the first group is the ruling elite class, the members of which are western educated people. For example, Sam who is called His Excellency as well as Ikem and Chris who have been his friends since their childhood are the members of the ruling elite class. The state's economy and political ideology are totally under control of this ruling elite class. On the other hand, the second group is the ordinary natives of the Kangan State. This group includes peasants, students, workers and any other ordinary people who represent the exploited poor social class in Kangan. The elite ruling class simply neglect the needs of the second class and its members.

In his book, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, John McLeod emphasises the significance of AS since it reflects the troubles of a post-independence nation. *Anthills of the Savannah* offers an important criticism about the conditions in which the nation suffers even after gaining its independence. On the one hand, the novel presents West Africa and its conditions in which natives and their lives have been damaged as a result of “chauvinistic educated elite” who are distinguished from the masses “by education, class, power and privilege” (134). Similarly, Fanon claims that this new elite class does not only exploit the ordinary people, their customs and values but also they imitate the previous colonisers. Fanon describes this elite class as follows:

In an underdeveloped country an authentic national middle class ought to consider as its bounden duty to betray the calling fate has marked out for it, and to put itself to school with the people: in other words to put at the people's disposal the intellectual and technical capital that it has snatched when going through the colonial universities. But unhappily we shall see that very often the national middle class does not follow this heroic, positive, fruitful, and just path; rather, it disappears with its soul set at peace into the shocking ways—shocking because anti-national—of a traditional bourgeoisie, of a bourgeoisie which is stupidly, contemptibly, cynically bourgeois. (*The Wretched of the Earth* 148).

In other words, the national elite class or in Fanon's words “traditional bourgeoisie” (*The Wretched of the Earth* 150) who wear the masks and steps into the shoes of the

ex-colonisers perpetuate the roles of the colonialists. What is more, some ordinary natives also regard the ruling class elites as superior because of their western education and British lifestyle. For example, the Attorney's General clearly reflects the separation between these two groups: "As for those like me, Your Excellency, poor dullards who went to bush grammar schools, we know our place, we know those better than ourselves when we see them. We have no problem worshipping a man like you. Honestly I don't" (24). As a result, although the newly independent state encounters with some changes, these are not for the better. Contrarily, they are for the worse, especially for the lower classes of the society.

In most of the neo colonial societies the elite ruling class is presented as totally alienated from the common people of the lower class. In the work *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* the literary critic Ashcroft argues that the first group namely western educated elites of the newly independent state who were "brought to power by independence and often educated and trained by the colonialist powers were unrepresentative of the people" (163). Similarly, Achebe depicts Kangan as a state where the elites do not take the exploited class into account. In "Towards the African Revolution" Fanon writes that:

The European states achieved national unity at a moment when the national middle classes had concentrated most of the wealth in their hands. Shopkeepers and artisans, clerks and bankers monopolized finance, trade, and science in the national framework. The middle class was the most dynamic and prosperous of all classes. (96)

As Fanon explains, almost all power and wealth are accumulated in the hands of the ruling elite class. However, they use the public wealth and treasury for their own sake, not for their people in general. In *AS*, Sam and his despotic government use the public sources in order to have better living conditions and a luxurious life. For example, this luxurious life that elites lead is clearly conveyed in the Council meetings. The rooms that host the council meetings are equipped with all sorts of luxury, including the air conditioning. However, on the other side of the coin, ordinary people of Kangan have to stand the unbearable heat. Achebe contrasts the conditions of the rulers and the ruled by describing:

The low hibiscus hedge outside the window and its many brilliant red bells stood still and unruffled. ... Over and beyond the roof the tops of palm-trees at the waterfront swayed with the same lazy ease they display to gentle ocean winds. ... And the world surges into the alien climate of the Council Chamber on a violent wave of heat and the sounds of a chanting multitude. (AS 9)

The common people of Kangan wait to see His Excellency under the “violent wave of heat” with the hope of a solution to the drought that they suffer from, while the members of ruling elite class live all the luxury of the “alien climate of the Council Chamber” (AS45). Moreover, the ruling elite class capitalise on the national wealth. For instance, the construction of the Presidential Retreat, Sam’s Castle, costs forty five million dollars. Beatrice who had visited the president’s palace before describes it as follows:

Going up to it now with the great shimmering expanse of the artificial lake waters stretching eastwards into the advancing darkness on your left and the brightly lit avenue taking you slowly skywards in gigantic circles round and up the hill, on top of which the Presidential Retreat perches like a lighthouse, was a movingly beautiful experience even to a mood as frayed and soured as mine that evening. (AS73)

Moreover, Beatrice explains the irresponsible spending of the elites by indicating that nearly twenty million was spent for the restoration of the palace. Moreover, the current president dethroned the civilians who had spent “forty-five million” to build such a magnificent palace(AS73).As Beatrice describes sixty five million dollars all of which is a part of the national wealth was spent for Sam’s castle and it is the extravagancy of the ruling elite class for their own pleasure.

After the colonisers left the country, the powerful western educated native elites came to power. Achebe describes this power as “...the most awful thing about the power is not that it corrupts absolutely but that it makes people so utterly boring, so predictable and ... just plain uninteresting” (56). However, there was almost nothing different from the colonial era since these elites were alienated from their country and people. In AS Ikem Osodi, who works in the National Gazette as an editor, criticises his own men, the new ruling elites who turn into dictators in power as follows: “And he and all his innumerable doubles, were they not mere emulators of others who daily stole more from us than mere lace and terylene? Leaders who

openly looted our treasury, whose effrontery soiled our national soul” (42). Ikem tells that his own men are worse than thieves since the leaders openly steal their own country’s treasures and this makes their national soul soiled. Ikem complains about his own men because he claims that they rule their own country worse than the actual colonisers who exploited the country during the colonial era. Ikem claims that these elites are strangers to their own country, and people and they pollute their own nation since they try to implement the same policies that were used by the former colonisers in the newly decolonised country, Kangan. Ikem makes a radical speech in Bassa University and in this speech he warns all Nigerians to be careful about the elites:

You must develop the habit of scepticism, not swallow every piece of superstition you are told by witch doctors and professors. I see too much parroting, too much regurgitating of half-digested radical rhetoric ... When you have rid yourselves of these things your potentiality for assisting and directing this nation will be quadrupled. (AS161)

In this speech, which expresses Ikem’s patriotism, he addresses all Nigerians not a particular group, and argues that in order to be truly free and to have a better nation they should be sceptic about their rulers and direct the nation themselves. Moreover, they should get rid of the westernised ideology of power and introduce the national and cultural identity.

In *AS*, most of the characters, after the colonial oppression era, have transformed themselves into modern and sophisticated members of western culture, so Achebe tries to rise the true sense of African values and nationalism primarily in the people of his own country. First of all, His Excellency of Kangan State, Sam, is the representative of the characters who follows western values and behaves like a European coloniser. In *AS* Achebe describes the western educated African characters, who follow and imitate the British values and lifestyle without questioning or thinking about their native values. First of all, the central character, the megalomaniac dictator and the head of Kangan State, Sam, for example, welcomes everything offered by the colonisers though they are illusory not only for himself but also for his native citizens. Achebe describes Sam as a fool who admired them and his main weakness was to imitate the colonisers. Moreover, he only wanted to satisfy

the colonisers by doing whatever they expected him to do even if it is something about his own private life. Achebe writes “when our headmaster, John Williams, told him that the Army was the career for gentlemen he immediately abandoned thoughts of becoming a doctor and became a soldier” (AS49). As is seen clearly although he himself wanted to study medicine and become a doctor, after the British headmaster John Williams’ offer, he gave up his own desire and goal and followed the route offered by their previous masters. This was possibly a consequence of his educational background as he studied in “Lord Lugard College” (AS 12), where a greater number of his teachers, almost half of them, were British and there was almost nobody from his country or culture. That is, his teachers in the college had a great influence on him and they instil into him the British culture and foreign policies fully. In other words, he is the embodiment of westernised characters.

The other members of elite class are Ikem, Chris, Mad Medico and Beatrice all of whom are unsurprisingly educated in Britain. These characters not only try to imitate western customs and values but also have a deep admiration for English language, which is thought to be the true representative of culture. First of all, Sam blindly follows the language, customs and almost all components of English culture. Sam has a great admiration for people who have westernised habits such as speaking Standard English, listening to western music, attending night clubs and so on. Achebe illustrates that Sam “was fascinated by the customs of the English, especially their well-to-do classes and enjoyed playing at their foibles”(AS49). Achebe then questions the attitudes of Sam by writing:

Of course one may well question the appropriateness of these attitudes in a Head of State. But quite frankly, I am not troubled by that. In fact the sort of intellectual playfulness displayed by Sam must be less dangerous than the joyless passion for power of many African tyrants. As long as he gets good advice and does not fall too deeply under the influence of such Rasputins as Reginald Okong we may yet avoid the very worst. (AS49)

As Achebe puts forward the negative consequences of neo-colonialism embodied by the rulers can be eliminated if these rulers are not under the influence of the westerners or their co-workers as in the case of Okong who was an American minister before getting a higher position in Kangan. Furthermore, not only Sam but

also other characters such as Chris and Ikem admire the Western cultural motifs. To illustrate, Chris and Ikem establish a close relationship with the English character Mad Medico in order to imitate the western life style. In chapter five in *AS*, Sam orders a drunken party and all elite class members of the society attend. In this party, western table manners and drinking style are all described by Mad Medico. Chris portrays the western drinking style taught by Mad Medico as follows:

Mad Medico pours out two long gins made longer still by ice cubes he has transferred with his fingers from a plastic bowl. He pours a little tonic water into each and I ask him to add more to mine. Then he throws into each glass a slip of lemon from another bowl giving it a little squeeze between thumb and forefinger before letting it drop, and stirs. Twice or thrice in the preparation he has licked his fingers or wiped them on the seat of his blue shorts. (*AS*54)

As Chris describes, Mad Medico shows every single detail about the drinking style of the westerners such as mixing the liquor and ice cubes, and lemon squeezing. During Mad Medico's show all elites who have been already alienated to their culture watch him and the demonstration of western culture in admiration.

Furthermore, similar to what the actual colonisers did before, the ruling elite class members believed that they were superior to the ordinary Kangan people as they have been educated in western countries. As a result they were not close with their fellow countrymen, on the contrary they were eager to keep some distance with them. Ironically, though they were the ruling class, they were not taught anything about Africa or African values during their education in British education system. Contrarily, they were more prone to learn and know about the imperial values, cultural values of the British people or the colonisers. In fact, it is a powerful strategy used by the colonisers to keep Kangan (Africa) under control not directly but indirectly with the help of the natives. This is what critics call "neo-colonialism" and it is the remaining legacy of colonialism. However, since it is implicit and comes from the inner side of the nation itself, it is more dangerous than the physical and political invasion. Beatrice Okah who is Chris's girlfriend is a true embodiment of these type of characters. Achebe portrays Beatrice as a female hybrid character in *AS*. She was born in Kangan but she studied in London and got a degree in English. After her graduation she returned to Kangan where she was hired in an office job by the

government. Although she works in the government, she learnt almost nothing about her country, its culture, values, myths and legends during her education in London.

BEATRICE NWANYIBUIFE did not know these traditions and legends of her people because they played but little part in her upbringing. She was born as we have seen into a world apart; was baptized and sent to schools which made much about the English and the Jews and the Hindu and practically everybody else but hardly put in a word for her forebears and the divinities with whom they had evolved. So she came to barely knowing who she was. (AS105)

As Achebe illustrates, Beatrice is everybody else, but not someone from Kangan as she was baptized and educated in English. In other words, Achebe illustrates Beatrice as a hybrid character who suppresses her African identity and in this way she gets an important and successful role in the power equation of a neo colonial country. In addition, she shows some signs of cultural mimicry of western ideology that she adopted during her education in London. Especially, when Beatrice goes to a party which was hosted by Sam, she depicts the party as a microcosm of western culture. The party is a true reflection of mannerism. From the very beginning of the party, Beatrice describes that everything is in accordance with western lifestyles:

A pleasant-faced army major searched my handbag at the entrance and another officer took me up a wide and red-carpeted flight of stairs. ... The guests sat in scattered groups of twos and threes on chairs, settees and pouffes drinking and dipping into bowls of assorted finger-food laid out on stools and on the floor. (AS74)

When Sam introduces Beatrice to Miss Cranford an American lady and journalist at the party, he focuses on her western education and her excellence in English, not anything about her African background:

Meanwhile His Excellency was literally reciting my CV. 'Lou, this is one of the most brilliant daughters of this country, Beatrice Okoh. She is a Senior Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance--the only person in the service, male or female, with a first-class honours in English. And not from a local university but from Queen Mary College, University of London. Our Beatrice beat the English to their game. We're very proud of her. (AS75)

He not only overemphasises Beatrice's western education by telling that she studied at Queen Mary College which is in London and she got an English Education with an excellent degree but also underrates his own country's universities.

This party also carries a major significance as it clearly shows the relationship between the people of the formerly colonised state Kangan and the west and westerners. The manipulation of Africa carried out by the westerners is observed during the party. The main purpose of Sam for holding the party is to impress a westerner. Although she is a simple and ordinary journalist, she lectures the Kanganese people about Kangan's foreign affairs. She is truly the representation of western attitude towards the Africans and unjust treatment of westerners. Beatrice criticises the party, and privileges given to the American journalist by explaining that it is impossible for an African to go into white house, to have a special party and to be with "the American President" (AS81). However, she was criticised by a guest at the party who says: "Oh, don't be such a racist, Beatrice. I am surprised at you. A girl of your education!" (AS81)

Additionally, Beatrice's depiction of the party shows that in order to imitate their previous masters, elite class members follow the food habits of western culture. Since they believe that social recognition is only possible by the western way of life, they abandon their natural ethnic food such as yam or coco and they replace them with food of the western world. To illustrate, Beatrice describes the food that was served at the party with every detail: "The food was simple and tasty. Shrimp cocktail; *jollof* rice with plantain and fried chicken; and fresh fruit salad or cheese and English crackers for dessert" (AS77). At the party, the cultural mimicry of the native elites is illustrated through the western food conventions.

However within the course of the novel Beatrice experiences a deep transformation and especially in the second part of the novel she realises her own cultural roots, myths, proverbs, cultural practices and so on. Achebe illustrates her transformation when Beatrice realises the birds which she knows that did not appear all of a sudden. Therefore, she says that "here ... they have always slept" (AS109). Beatrice also questions herself about the reason of not realising them before as

Achebe explains her illumination by writing “Beatrice had never until now shown the slightest interest in birds and beyond vultures and cattle egrets hardly knew any of them by name. Now she was so taken with this conscientious palace official that she decided to find out his name as soon as possible”(AS108). To be more specific, Achebe criticises Beatrice and all the members of the elite class as they are unaware of their native values. Moreover, Beatrice finds out that her ancestors have preserved the true African values for centuries which she expresses as follows:

So, two whole generations before the likes of me could take a first class degree in English, there were already barely literate carpenters and artisans of British rule hacking away in the archetypal jungle and subverting the very sounds and legends of daybreak to make straight my way. (AS109)

In AS the western educated characters are the powerful upper class members of Kangan. In other words, Achebe creates a microcosm of Britain with the class distinction in Kangan. These elites behave as if they were not Kanganese but British who recently left the country so they do not do anything for the well being and prosperity of the ordinary class of Kangan. Frantz Fanon also explains that the elites or the bourgeoisie of their own countries identify themselves with the imperialists coming from the west. Thus, he writes “it is in fact beginning at the end” (*The Wretched of the Earth*153). As a reflection of what Fanon expresses, in AS since the three main characters are the figures that represent the national bourgeoisie and they imitate almost all traits of the Westerners. For example, “His Excellency” exemplifies Fanon’s views about the national elite and he is corporeal character of Kangan’s neo-colonisers. Fanon also states that:

In spite of his frequently honest conduct and his sincere declarations, the leader as seen objectively is the fierce defender of these interests, today combined, of the national bourgeoisie and the ex-colonial companies. His honesty, which is his soul’s true bent, crumbles away little by little. His contact with the masses is so unreal that he comes to believe that his authority is hated and that the services that he has rendered his country are being called in question. The leader judges the ingratitude of the masses harshly, and every day that passes ranges himself a little more resolutely on the side of the exploiters. He therefore knowingly becomes the aider and abettor of the young bourgeoisie which is plunging into the mire of corruption and pleasure. (*The Wretched of the Earth*163)

Similarly, in the novel Sam is a leader whose contact with the ordinary Kangan people is too unreal and he believes that his authority is detested. As a military dictator, Sam does not deal with the problems of masses, but he is driven with his desire to maintain his position at all costs. Additionally, Sam has the tragic fears of a postcolonial leader. Particularly, when there is a big protest by the people of Abazon, the masses create a panic, and alarm in Sam. When they shout and chant outside his palace, he gets mad and he gets mentally unstable: “And His Excellency rushes back into the room at the same time leaving the huge doors swinging” (AS12). Moreover, he accuses the Chief Police of not having any idea of the danger by accusing him of just “gossiping” while a storm is approaching (AS12). Sam should have had some ideas about the sufferings of the masses, but he is ignorant of the needy and wants an explanation from the others: “Now can anyone here tell me anything about that crowd screaming out there?”(AS12) Contrarily, Sam’s fears are incomprehensible for Chris:

...why the military armed to the teeth as they can find unarmed civilians such a threat. ... He soon mastered his fear, although from time to time memories of it would seem to return to torment him. I can see no other explanation for his quite irrational and excessive fear of demonstrations, for example. Even pathetically peaceful, obsequious demonstrations. (AS12)

Chris is baffled with the fears of Sam because Chris does not know the huge gap that Sam puts between himself and the masses. As a consequence of his fears, Sam dwells on probability of any disorder and the ways to overcome it: “In his first days of power his constant nightmare was of the people falling into disaffection and erupting into ugly demonstrations all over the place, and he drove himself crazy worrying how to prevent it” (AS13). From another point of view, the group that comes to the Palace is merely a delegation from Abazon to invite Sam to see their problems. Nevertheless, Sam believes that they are only “sheer signs of indiscipline” (AS16) In addition to this, Sam claims “Intelligence reports have established that he [Ikem] was involved in planning the recent march on this Palace by agitators claiming to come from Abazon. In fact they were found on careful investigation to be mostly motor-park touts, drug pushers and other criminal elements right here in Bassa”(AS143). More clearly, for Sam they are just “criminals”, and he does not

want to take the needs of his own people into consideration. As a result he does not want to see them but he asks his representative to meet and dismiss them “Find some nice words to say them. Tell them we are tied up at this moment with very important matters of state. You know that you like, that I’m on the telephone with the president of the United States of America or the Queen of England. Peasants are impressed by that kind of thing you know”(AS17). Sam’s reactions towards the Abazonians illustrate the leaders’ and elite class’s antipathy toward their own people, but this can be generalised as the attitude of the bourgeoisie towards the people from the ordinary class which created a huge and insurmountable gap. Also Achebe underlines that the member of the bourgeoisie believe that talking to the U.S president or to the Queen of England is more important than the people of his own country. Additionally, Sam pretends to be dealing with the problems of the masses and paying attention to them when he says:

Now if indeed they have brought a petition, accept it on my behalf and tell them they can rest assured that their complaints or rather problems – their problems, not complaints, will receive His Excellency’s personal attention. Before you go, ask the Commissioner for information to send a reporter across; and the Chief of the Protocol to detail one of the State House photographers to take your picture shaking hands with the leader of the delegation. (AS17-18)

Moreover, Sam is blind with power and he is so obsessed with his power that he commands to be called “His Excellency”. Ayitte explains that Hastings Kamuzu Banda was the lifelong president of Malawi and he has expressed the extremely dangerous sides of the rulers: “I want to be blunt. As long as I am here and you say I must be your president, you have to do what I want, what I like, and not what you like and what you want” (*Africa Betrayed* 64). Similarly the president of Ivory Coast Houphouet Boigny says “There is no number two three or four, In Cote d’Ivoire; there is only number one: that’s me and I don’t share my decisions” (AS64). Similar to the presidents of Malawi and Ivory Coast Sam wants to be elected as a president for life in the postcolonial Africa. In the novel this same ideology is expressed by the General of the Justice: “You are condemned to serve them for life” (AS5). However, this desire is not approved by the Abazonians and his idea is ridiculed by the leader of the Abazonian delegatin who says “...even when a man marries a woman he does

not marry her forever. One day one of them will die and the marriage will end (AS126). After “his failed referendum for life president” (AS147), Sam judges the masses harshly. In revenge Sam reduces the water supply to Abazon as a punishment as they did not support him. In other words, since the Abazonians are hostile against “His Excellency”, he punishes them. “... all the water bore-holes they are digging in your area to be closed so that you will know what it means to offend the sun. You will suffer so much that in your next reincarnation you will need no one to tell you to say yes whether the matter is clear to you or not” (AS127). Additionally, Professor Okong a member of the ruling elites accuses the Abazonian people about the drought that they suffer from:

Why does every bad thing in this country start in Abazon Province? The Rebellion was there. They were the only ones whose Leaders of Thought failed to return a clear mandate to Your Excellency. ... If you ask me, Your Excellency, God does not sleep. How do we know that that drought they are suffering over there may not be God's judgement for all the troubles they have caused in this country. (AS18)

In neo colonial countries racism and ethnic discrimination have great significance. Fanon discusses that Africa as a continent has suffered from racial discrimination for centuries, but western racism was much better than the ethnic discrimination of the national bourgeoisie who regard themselves as ‘human beings’ and the masses as ‘natives’. In other words, the privileged one makes himself a man by freely exercising his rights; on the other hand, ‘the other’ is denied of all rights and is condemned to misery, hunger ignorance and reduced to subhuman status (Zahar 19). More clearly, the native ruling elites imitate the former colonisers in everything even in racism. It is also claimed that the national bourgeoisie has accepted and even internalised the ideology of the former colonisers, yet they have gone a step further as they are more corrupted. Additionally, the national bourgeoisie is deceitful because they advocate racism which was supposed to be one of the main fallacies of the colonial period. Furthermore, he notes that even after the independence when you are in Africa, you feel as if you were in one of the European capitals. Zeilig explains this by writing “By its laziness and will to imitation, it promotes the ... stiffening of racism which was characteristic of the colonial era. ... these attitudes common now in independent Africa, gave a person the impression of being in Paris, London or

Brussels(Frantz Fanon: *The Militant Philosopher of Third World Revolution* 164). Additionally, Ikem criticises racial attitudes and colour supremacy of western educated elite by stating as follows:

You see, they are not in the least like ourselves. They don't need and can't use the luxuries that you and I must have. They have the animal capacity to endure the pain of, shall we say, domestication. The very words the white master had said in his time about the black race as a whole. Now we say them about the poor. (AS 40)

Ikem states that some insulting words that were used by the white masters in the past for the Africans are now being used by their own elite people. This racist attitude is even more oppressive, bitter and severe than the one which had been implemented by the White colonisers during the colonial era. Through the ideology of native bourgeoisie Achebe warns that this time exploitation and oppression do not come from an outer source namely from westerners but from their own people who are neo colonising Africa. Thus, these elites cannot represent the African people and it is impossible to identify them with the ordinary people of Africa. Also Achebe thinks that the problem that Africa experiences during the 1980s is another phase of the western colonialism but it is carried out indirectly with the hands of native Africans who are in fact more harmful than their European masters. In AS Chris criticises Sam as he imitates the English by saying:

...a budding dictator might choose models far worse than the English gentleman of leisure. It does not seem to me that the English can do much harm to anybody today. After a long career of subduing savages in distant lands they discovered the most dangerous savage of all just across the English Channel and took him on and brought him to heel. (AS49)

Achebe also illustrates the transformation process from colonialism to neo-colonialism through the words of Chris who says:

Whatever fear the ghost of British imperial vocation may still hold over the world's little people was finally removed when a renegade Englishman and his little band of thugs seized Her Majesty's colony in Rhodesia... No, the English have, for all practical purposes, ceased to menace the world. The real danger today is from that fat, adolescent and delinquent millionaire, America, and from all those virulent,

misshapen freaks like amin and Bokassa sired on Africa by Europe.
(AS52)

In short, although the white colonisers of Africa had left the continent before, the western educated elites and bourgeoisie follow their practices even in a more oppressive way against their own people.

In neo-colonial societies language is another matter of fact. Frantz Fanon focuses on the same problem by stressing that western educated elites who come to power in the newly decolonised countries have some problems about the linguistic practices. By addressing these elites Fanon states that:

It is true that if care is taken to use only a language that is understood by graduates in law and economics, you can easily prove that the masses have to be managed from above. But if you speak the language of every day; if you are not obsessed by the perverse desire to spread confusion and to rid yourself of the people, then you will realise that the masses are quick to seize every shade of meaning and to learn all the tricks of the trade. If recourse is had to technical language, this signifies that it has been decided to consider the masses as uninitiated. Such a language is hard put to it to hide the lecturers' wish to cheat the people and to leave them out of things. (*The Wretched of the Earth*189)

In the novel Ikem is assumed to know the common and ordinary people in Kangan. But Achebe puts forward that as the western educated elites have a distance with the ordinary masses, they are not able to transmit their messages and opinions to them. Obviously these elites fail to have a healthy communication with the ordinary people to share their views. This is due to their assumed cultural and ideological supremacy which creates a powerful barrier to have a common ground with the Africans most of whom are semi literate. As an illustration, when Ikem makes a speech to the Abazonians, most of them do not understand what Ikem means since he uses Standard English which is not accessible for the ordinary Pidgin English speakers. Achebe writes that "When you hear Ikem Osodi everywhere you think his head will be touching the ceiling. But look at him, how simple he is. ... Our people say that an animal whose name is famous does not always fill a hunter's basket"(AS121). Similarly, though Ikem Osodi is very famous and his "doings are known everywhere and fill our hearts with pride", he cannot convey his messages to the ordinary people

of Kangan. Thus, an elderly Abazonian man says in Pidgin English: “I have never read what they say he writes because I do not know ABC. But I have heard of all the fight he has fought for poor people in this land” (AS122). However, Ikem has a different perspective and he believes that the ordinary people of Kangan are ignorant and incompetent to understand their country’s policies and political situation. Moreover, he thinks that his and all elite’s intellectuality separates them from the ordinary people of Kangan. Fanon also focuses on the linguistic problems of the Kangan state and linguistic practices that are implemented by the western educated elites. That is to say, Fanon claims that it is not about intellectuality but it is about Ikem’s inability to be able to communicate with the people of his own country so he and the western educated elites cannot have any idea about inner needs and wishes. Thus, the problem of communication between the elites and the ordinary people widens the gap between these two groups.

Like other elites who rule Kangan, Ikem also uses his power over the people of his own country, a practice which was previously done by the colonisers against the Africans. The night when Ikem calls a taxi to send Elewa, his girlfriend, to her home illustrates the use of power by the elites on the ordinary people of Kangan:

“To reassure Elewa I make a show of studying the driver's face in the light of my torch. The driver protests:
 'I beg make you no flash light for my eye. Wayting?'
 'I want to be able to recognize you in the morning.'
 'For sake of what?'
 'For nothing. Just in case.' I move to the front of the car and flash the light at the registration number.” (AS36)

Ikem, who is aware of his power over the ordinary people of his own country, points out his torch to the driver’s face and also he checks the registration number. Also, his way of speaking clearly demonstrates the hierarchy and the power. Additionally, Ikem makes use of the taxi driver’s ignorance by saying: “Do you know it is an offence to operate a vehicle without interior lights according to the Criminal Code chapter forty-eight section sixteen subsection one hundred and six?” (AS36). Ikem shows his higher education level that he gained in London by referring to the Criminal Code, but in fact he tells lies to the illiterate taxi driver who has no idea about the real law. Ikem tells “His lie is as good as mine but I have an advantage: I

know he is lying; he doesn't know I am, and he is scared" (AS37). In other words, western educated elites, like Ikem, make use of their education to deceive, oppress and exploit their own country's people.

In neo colonial societies, the main problem is no longer the external colonisation or the colonisers, but the problem lies within its own nation as the ruling class exploits and oppresses its own country and the common man of his own country. Similarly, Achebe criticises the ruling elites as they are not interested in the problems of ordinary class and in this way they perpetuate the roles of colonisers which is expressed by a famous African proverb "If you want to get at the root of murder, you have to look for the blacksmith who made the machete" (159). When Ikem speaks in Bassa University, he expresses the troubles of previously oppressed as follows:

When your fat civil servants and urban employees of public corporations march on May Day wearing ridiculously undersize T-shirts and school-boy caps',... and spouting cliches from other people's histories and struggles, hardly do they realise that in the real context of Africa today they are not the party of the oppressed but of the oppressor. (AS159)

Additionally, in this same speech Ikem exemplifies the fraud in governmental institutions by focusing on the Electricity Corporation in Kangan as he illustrates the things that he has seen in it:

Chaotic billing procedures deliberately done to cover their massive fraud; illegal connections carried out or condoned by their own staff; theft of meters and a host of other petty and serious crimes including, if you please, the readiness at the end of the day to burn down the entire Accounts and Audit Departments if an inquiry should ever be mooted... (AS159)

As is explained, the elites are not interested in the needs or struggles of the common people; on the contrary they exploit almost every source that they can for their own sake. Moreover, they "remain outside the dreams of the real victims of the exploitation in rural villages" (AS159). Additionally, Ikem expresses that the ruling elite class is unaware of the African reality and its context and it is impossible for them to focus on the struggles that their own nation experience. On the contrary, they

speak about the history and struggles of others. Moreover, Ikem accuses the ruling elites for the poor condition of the rural villages in Kangan:

For they are the very comrades who preside over the sabotage of the nation by their unproductivity and fraud, and that way ensure that the benefits of modern life will ever remain outside the dreams of the real victims of exploitation in rural villages. (AS159)

From another point of view, the ruling elite class make use of all kinds of intellectual and technical resources in order to sustain their power. They do not want or are unable to produce original ideas to improve the nation and the country and also they use their power to restrict everything that may risk their authority. For example, Achebe portrays the central figure Sam as if he were a military figure, not a civil leader and he tries to govern the country without paying attention to the balance between the two social groups and he does not check the country, either. Sam shapes not only the media and public department but also the officers who work there. In this way, they all serve the dictator. Moreover, the media and media workers broadcast news and interpret laws in favour of the government that is “His Excellency”. For example, in *AS* there is a strategy called NTBB which stand for Not To Be Broadcast. Ikem explains this strategy as: “Anything inconvenient to those in government is NTBB” (61). Although at the very beginning NTBB strategy was used for “dirty records”, problematic issues, later on government started to use its corrupt power in order to silence the media which can broadcast against its corruption. Furthermore, the Commissioner of the Information defines his primary duty as “to decide what is inconvenient and inform Ikem who promptly rejects the information” (AS61). Clearly, he just works to keep the press under pressure and in silence by which the obedience of the masses will be assured.

In the beginning of the novel, all members of the national bourgeoisie are alienated from the people of their own country, but then three main figures Beatrice, Ikem and Chris realise their identities which pushes them to take side with masses. Thus, they start to think about and be involved in their problems. The editor of the National Gazette is the first member of the elite class who feels the “pain of the wound in our soul” (*African Writers on African Writing* 3). Ikem expresses that although “he had no solid contact with the ordinary people of Kangan” (AS39), he

becomes an ardent supporter of the ordinary people. That is to say, later in the novel he creates a link with the members of the less- privileged class. As he cannot stand the oppressions done by the government, he starts to write critical reviews against the military government. Eventually, he takes part in the movement of the masses against the government. Ikem can be seen as the only character that is against all kinds of authority (social or political). Achebe also defines the role of the writer through Ikem's character in the novel. According to Achebe writers have a major role in "re-education and regeneration" of the nation" (*African Writers on African Writing* 4).

Ikem is an Abazonian which makes Sam believe that he is the head of Abazonian delegation. Sam also believes that Ikem takes an active role in a revolution against his authority through his editorials. Finally when six Abazon leaders are arrested and put into jail, Ikem realises the problems that his nation has at the moment. Then he disconnects from the rulers and the elites and identifies himself with the masses. In the lecture which he gives at Bassa, he clearly puts forward that it is not the external colonisation that threatens Nigeria, but it is the oppressive, elite ruling class. In order to overcome the political and social discomfort among the masses, the nation should believe in its inner strength and improve it. He states that they should "reform it around what it is, it is the core of reality, not around an intellectual abstraction" (AS100).

At the end, since Ikem takes part in some activities which are revolutionary and against the oppression of the government, he is arrested and murdered. Moreover, it is announced that Ikem is killed in an encounter which is an invented story by the government. Ikem exemplifies the victim of the state oppression, but his actions seed a sense of hope that pushes people into action and become more active and conscious in their revolution. Ikem's death is also significant as it is the first step for Chris's transformation and Chris also realises the need for active role. Thus, he quits his job and flees away. Moreover, in order to warn people and open their eyes, he tries to show the government's fallacies and he tries to reveal the actual reasons why Ikem is murdered. During his desertion, he feels more mature through his links with the masses and also he realises the terrible life conditions of the masses that are

deprived by the elites which makes him become a member of the masses. At the end, like Ikem, Chris is murdered as he attempts to rescue Adamma who is a young nurse from a drunken soldier trying to rape her. His death is symbolically important as he does not remain aloof from the sufferings of the masses, on the contrary he intervenes and turns into a heroic character.

The crisis of Kangan reaches its peak when Sam is overthrown from his Presidential Palace. Achebe writes "...his Commander was kidnapped from the Palace by 'unknown persons', tortured, shot in the head and buried under one foot of soil in the bush (219). When Sam is dethroned, it is the Army Chief of Staff who gains the power, but it is seen that the country is at the edge of the chaos. An unknown person explains the strangeness of the situation by saying "This our country na waa! I never hear the likeness before. A whole President de miss; like old woman de waka for village talk say him goat de miss! This Africa na waa!(AS213).

To sum up, it was believed that in the post-colonial era independence would bring peace and stability in both social and political life, but soon after gaining the independence it turned out to be an illusion. The main problem of these newly-independent states is the neo-colonialism which has been practised by the national ruling elites who oppressed the masses and corrupted the nation. Moreover, as these indigenous rulers are alienated from the masses, an unbridgeable void has come into being between the different classes of society.

2.3. Nation Construction and Nation State in Neo-colonial Communities

Many Third World writers have focused on the significance of nation construction through their works. Before independence their views about nation were dominated by the anti-imperialist efforts. However, after independence their views have moved beyond the political ideas and started to include cultural construction of the nation as well. Nation as a concept has many different definitions but to Ania Loomba, the terms nation and nation construction can only be fully understood if Pan-Africanism and Negritude and nation are explained all together:

In the writings of the Negritude movement, or of Pan-Africanism, nation" itself takes on another meaning, a sense of shared culture and subjectivity and divisions of nations as political entities...Both these movements articulated pan-national racial solidarity, demanded an end to white supremacy and imperialist domination and positively celebrated blackness, and especially African blackness, as a distinct racial-cultural way of being. (176)

Negritude can be called a student movement which started in Paris during 1930s. It was an important step for the development of African consciousness. The African students believed in and supported the cultural values of Africa and they claimed that African culture is rich and diverse enough to compete with and even suppress European values. In addition, Pan-Africanism focused on the struggles and efforts for independence and it stressed both the necessity of uniting Africa and creating ways of cooperation among all African nations.

Fanon also stresses the importance of creating a political consciousness among the colonised people in order to have the notion of nation. In order to raise this consciousness, Fanon offers a "national literature" (*The Wretched of the Earth* 212) the purpose of which is to create a national consciousness and to give voice to the struggles suffered for the sake of liberation. Moreover, the national literature also ratifies the values of African culture. In other words, the immediate approach to create a national consciousness is to realise the richness of Africa, African culture and literature. In addition to Africa, Fanon thinks that national consciousness should not be confined to the national borders. On the contrary, he claims that the nation should have a consciousness without a feeling of nationalism and this consciousness can create international horizons (*The Wretched of the Earth* 247). Fanon also emphasises the role of "intelligentsia" (*The Wretched of the Earth* 209) to create a national identity. From this perspective, Achebe is not only a story teller but is also responsible for creating a consciousness about the pride that Africans should feel.

Homi K. Bhabha is another important literary critic who explains the nation as follows:

What I want to emphasise in that large and liminal image of the nation with which I began is a particular ambivalence that haunts the idea of the nation, the language of those who write of it and the lives of those

who live it. It is an ambivalence that emerges from a growing awareness that, despite the certainty with which historians speak of the origins of nation as a sign of the modernity of society, the cultural temporality of the nation inscribes a much more transitional social reality. (*Nation and Narration* 7)

Bhabha defines the term as an “ambivalent” construction, and he also stresses the idea that nations can be seen as narrative constructions. Moreover, he explains that they come into being from the fictional works of “imagined communities”. Anderson claims that imagined communities that form the nation start from very small beginnings and after a period of time the idea of nation itself grows as a number of people at first imagine then believe that they have created or formed a nation. Anderson explains that he uses the term imagined because almost none of the members of the micro nations knows the other members of that specific community, or they have not met, even they have never heard of one another. However, in their imagined world they live in a common community (*Imagined Communities* 6). Moreover, Anderson adds that:

Finally, it is imagined as a community because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. (*Imagined Communities* 7)

In general, Achebe in his works reflects the nation from the point of nation, not from the states and his different works illustrate all phases of Nigeria, from colonisation to independence. He reflects the ordinary people and their sufferings after the independence in AS which can be traced back to the failure of creating a true nation. In other words, Achebe criticises the new state as it cannot fulfil the needs, desires and wishes of the masses. This is due to the fact that an elitist regime that has no link with the people governs Kangan, the post-colonial nation state. It is not a state where a collective vision of rulers and the ruled is observed; contrarily, the power is at the hands of a power-hungry dictator. According to Achebe, these national leaders create a huge gap between themselves and the people. Sam, the military dictator, is the best example of these elite leaders of post-colonial nation state as he has a hierarchical gap with the people of Kangan. Moreover, since Sam

got the power through a series of military coups, his ruling is not a democratic process. On the contrary, he is the heir of these coups and ironically, he solely concentrates on his own benefits and how to make use of his power for himself, not to improve or recover his nation's chaotic situation.

His dictatorship also manifests itself through the cabinet meetings. These meetings are held in Council Chamber which is both physically and spatially distant from the rest of the society. In addition to this, these meetings are used as a celebration of Sam's absolute power since the members of the cabinet are obliged to follow "His Excellency". They give up their duties to represent the masses in order to have a share from the corrupted power. They are the opposite embodiment of what Antonio Gramsci calls "organic intellectuals" (Jones 10). According to Gramsci, organic intellectuals come from a rising class and they work for the progress under the umbrella of class's common sense (Jones 10). However, in the novel cabinet members are not organic because they serve for the interests of themselves or the elites, not for the masses and they collaborate with Sam to oppress other people. Okong stands as the best examples of this group. In order to be approved and appreciated by the power holders, he can do everything. For example, when the civil government is thrown away by the military government, he starts criticising the former government in order to be able to take a part in the new one. Just after when the politicians are dethroned, Okong turns into an analyst who criticises their excessive actions:

...he (Okong) had finally overreached himself changing his tune so abruptly; but not so my readers, judging by their ecstatic letters. Apparently he had scored another hit by describing the overthrow of the civilian regime as 'a historic fall from grace to grass!' After that I doffed my cap to him. And when "His Excellency" asked me to suggest half-a-dozen names for the Cabinet Professor Okong was top of my list. (AS 12)

Ironically, when Sam takes over the power Okong declares "Always at Your service" (AS18). Finally, he gets the position of Commissioner for Home Affairs. Furthermore, Okong is not the only one from the cabinet who is ready to do everything just for the sake of a share from the power. The other cabinet members and commissioners also do everything to be appreciated by Sam. Ikem calls

them “mesmerized toadies” and “court jesters” (AS42). In short, the cabinet members are just in search of applause from Sam, and Sam uses his unlimited power for his own sake which creates two different classes of people.

The terms race, ethnicity and nationality do not always unify in a meaningful and consistent way. Christopher Miller explains that the process of Africa’s division into nation-states was carried out by the colonisers, so it is an arbitrary, thus an invalid division. The underlying reason for this claim is that it is imposed forcefully by the colonisers so it has so little effect on the natives and their identity construction process (48). Achebe tells the story of a fictional state, Kangan, in *AS*. Like other independent African states, Kangan has been defined by the borders which have been drawn by the British, its previous colonisers. After setting the borders, the second step for neo-colonising the state was educating some natives and sending them back to their home lands to govern the country. Similarly in the novel, Sam the western educated president of Kangan has a thirst for power and his thirst makes him blind for the nation and the people he rules. So the ordinary people of Kangan view the state as something foreign and the product of foreign imposition. To illustrate, the Abazonians are the true representatives of Kangan or more generally the traditional Africa. However, in Kangan they are the most suffering group who have the deepest sorrows under the rules imposed by Sam. What Ali Mazrui and Michael Tidy call the “cultural nation” (76) is a term that may be used for the Abazonians since they have common values. However, Kangan is a “political nation” (76) as it is defined by borders of colonisers.

In neo colonial communities many problems stem from the educated elites who are somehow alienated from their country and people. In the novel, it is obvious that the educated elites including Chris, Ikem or Betarice who live in the capital of Kangan do not realise or do not accept the differences between state and nation. On the other hand, the Abazonians who are said to be nationalists are aware of this distinction and they believe that the ruler must be someone from the ordinary people who can understand the problems of Kangan. It is only in this way that people can identify themselves with the state. However, Sam does not have any kind of empathy with the Abazonians, especially when they suffer from the drought. Moreover, Sam

does not negotiate with the Abazonian delegates, so it is impossible for the Abazonians to identify themselves with the state which ultimately leads to the failure of nation-state ideology. In a true nation-state, the links between the rulers, the ruled and the institutions of the state are powerful. In the novel, however, Sam uses the state institutions only to demonstrate his own power. For example, not only the national newspaper but also Ikem, who is its editor, are completely under Sam's control. Although the task of the national newspaper should be disseminating information, it only deals with Sam and his power based ideology. Contrarily, the significance and independence of media is obvious for Ikem and he wants to close the gap between the people and state institutions. Achebe explains that Ikem "in any event ... had always had the necessity in a vague but insistent way, had always felt a yearning without very clear definition, to connect his essence with earth and earth's people. The problem for him had never been whether it should be done but how to do it with integrity" (AS140). As Ikem states, in order to have a true nation-state, there must be a connection between the institutions of the state and its people, but in Kangan there is a big gap. Moreover, Ikem states that the main problem in Kangan stems from "the failure of our rulers to re-establish vital inner links with the poor and dispossessed of this country, with the bruised heart that throbs painfully at the core of the nation's being" (AS141). To be more specific, in Kangan, Sam as the ruler, does not have any link with the common people of the state who have many kinds of sufferings. Thus, this results in Kangan's people alienation.. In addition to this, Achebe creates an ironic contrast between Kangan and Abazon from the point of communication circle. There are six representatives from Abazon who want to visit Sam in order to get help from "His Excellency". It is clear that when they speak, they represent all the Abazonians. That is, the delegates speak for all the Abazonians and their wills.

In his essay "Hopes and Impediments" Achebe makes a comparison between small and modern societies. He states that in pre-colonial Africa although societies were small, they were steady and self-sufficient. On the other hand, today what is called modern Nigeria is multicultural, distinctive and unstable and "highly volatile" (40). In other words, Achebe claims that the attempts to closing communication gap is not only a much more difficult task in modern nation-states than in Abazon which

can be seen as an illustration of pre-colonial African tribe, but also a very different task because of the differences in the structures of the communities. In the novel, Chris who is the Commissioner of Information in Sam's government believes that it is possible to create a nation-state from the top to down which means by starting from the idea of state, its institutions and then people of the state. His reasoning derives from Sam's ruling as he thinks that Sam does not follow the contemporary European model, on the contrary he follows ancient empires of Moghul India and pre colonial Africa:

Nations, he said, were fostered as much by structures as by laws and revolutions. These structures where they exist now are the pride of their nations. But everyone forgets that they were not erected by democratically-elected Prime Ministers but very frequently by rather unattractive, bloodthirsty medieval tyrants. The cathedrals of Europe, the Taj Mahal of India, the pyramids of Egypt and the stone towers of Zimbabwe were all raised on the backs of serfs, starving peasants and slaves. Our present rulers in Africa are in every sense late-flowering medieval monarchs, even the Marxists among them. Do you remember Mazrui calling Nkrumah a Stalinist Czar? Perhaps our leaders have to be that way. Perhaps they may even need to be that way. (AS74)

Chris believes that although Sam does not follow steps of modern nation-state presidents, he can still build a nation. Chris puts forward that in fact European nation states are the role models for other nation states. However, their African counterparts are not democratic or they do not express the democratic will of people. On the contrary, they also follow Sam's model of nation, from top to bottom or from the centre to outward. Moreover, for Chris, everyone forgets how these nations have been created. Similarly, Ernest Renan in his conference "What is a Nation?" claims that if the colonisers and the colonised are to be brought together in order to live harmoniously, nations must have amnesia, "the second circumstance was the forgetting" (2).

Achebe not only criticises the corruption of postcolonial nation-state but also offers some alternatives. The first one is enlightened intellectuals, who after observing and experiencing the oppressions of the corrupt leaders, reject cooperating with them. After enlightenment, they align with the masses and seek for democratic

policies. These enlightened intellectuals include Ikem, Chris and Beatrice. One of the enlightened characters in the novel is Ikem who returned his home land from London as his friends Chris and Sam who were at the native land persuaded him to come back and cooperate with them to build their own nation (AS91). However, later when he remembers this project he thinks it to be “such crap” (AS91). He thinks that it is impossible to build a true nation-state, contrarily it must grow itself from bottom to top, that is to say from nation to state. But, when he comes to Kangan, he finds himself in a divided nation. The first one is what Benedict Anderson calls an “imagined community”, that is what Sam tries to establish. This part makes Ikem realise that nation-state is not and cannot be a solution for the sufferings of the masses:

At some point he had assumed, quite naively, that public affairs so-called might provide the handle he needed. But his participation in these affairs had yielded him nothing but disenchantment and a final realization of the incongruity of the very term 'public' as applied to those affairs shrouded as they are in the mist of unreality and floating above and away from the lives and concerns of ninety-nine percent of the population. Public affairs! They are nothing but the closed transactions of soldiers-turned- politicians, with their cohorts in business and the bureaucracy. (AS141)

Eventually, Ikem finds out that the idea of nation-state is a “false hope” (AS100), and as a result he comes to the conclusion that nation-state cannot supply the needs of masses. However, this does not mean that his efforts about the masses will come to an end. Achebe writes “.. he saw himself as an explorer” and “final goal of his search still lies hidden beyond more adventures and dangers” (AS140) which means he will search for possible alternatives. On the other hand, the second one is a community of masses which is already in existence. Ikem envies this community as it is closely integrated, and there is a strong feeling of unity and community. Furthermore, the members of this community are able to establish an invisible bond among them which is far beyond Ikem’s capabilities. Ikem later questions the possibilities and ways of having a part in this stable society (AS142).

In spite of every drawback, Ikem is ambitious to create a solution for the problems of Kangan, but he thinks that it is almost impossible to change the existing

political system by using some radical methods. Not only in the lecture that he gives to the college students but also in his last conversation with Beatrice Ikem claims that it is not possible to solve Kangan's problems with the help of revolution by which masses overthrow the rulers and take the power. Contrarily, for Ikem revolution means the repetition of unfulfilled promises of elite rulers and the nation state. He explains: "The sweeping, majestic visions of people rising victorious like a tidal wave against their oppressors and transforming their world with theories and slogans into a new heaven and a new earth of brotherhood, justice and freedom are at best grand illusions" (AS99). Through the above quotation, Ikem assures that if there happens a revolution, it will simply alter one group of rulers with another group: "The rising, conquering tide, yes; but the millennium afterwards, no! New oppressors will have been readying themselves secretly in the undertow long before the tidal wave got really going" (AS99). In short, Ikem explains that the fallacies of nation-state can be recovered by totally restructuring it.

Not only Ikem but also Chris discovers the distinction between these two nations. When Ikem is murdered by Sam's order, Chris realises that he is the next target, so he decides to flee to Abazon, Ikem's native land which is described as "the distant sustainer of all his best inspirations" (AS195). During his journey which Achebe describes as a pilgrimage, Chris realises that the capital city does not represent the whole nation. Particularly his transformation occurs when he observes the changes in nature through the windows of the bus. He realises that although nation is said to exist for a long time, it is not a product of the nationalist ideology. Chris feels amazed when he discovers the bitter fact it is the British who drew all the boundaries "arbitrarily" almost a half century ago, and they are totally compatible with the real boundaries today (208). Also it is possible to make a comparison between Kangan and Abazon as the borders of Kangan were defined by the British, the provincial borders of Abazon are natural borders, the savannah. In short, during his journey Chris realises that what they call a "nation-state" is an artificial construct.

Achebe uses a woman character, Beatrice, who will fulfil the incomplete mission of Ikem and Chris. Achebe depicts Beatrice as a new enlightened and powerful woman who can be an ally for men in order to carry out the efforts for

change. Her efforts also show the construction of a true nation. She leaves her elegant luxurious life behind. Furthermore, she starts living with Emmanuel, Braimoh and Adamma, all of whom are common people from different class and of different ethnic origin. This group can be seen as the core of a true nation, because there is no class or gender distinction among them and they have a mutual goal to create and shape their history which has been emptied by the imperialists and they desire to put it back to its original form or core structure (AS 100). The members of this group are real victims of the elite class and they were either marginalised or silenced before. Therefore, now they must be included in the formation of the new nation and regeneration, because it is only possible to talk about a new nation if all the members of the society can express their visions and their wretched case.

Elleke Boehmer describes this group as “ the group that coheres around Beatrice is to be the catalyst of the future. ...In this small group, the tendencies to nepotism and corruption which have compromised elite rulers in the past, will presumably be mitigated by the advent of women’s salubrious force” (*Of Goddesses and Stories: Gender and a New Politics in Achebe’s Anthills of the Savannah* 104).

In addition to the enlightened leaders, Achebe presents some meetings and gatherings that may be seen as microcosm of a perfectionist nation-state. To exemplify, through a social gathering that was held in “the open courtyard of [Harmony] Hotel” (AS121), Achebe shows a true nation. In this meeting, Ikem sees that there is a “truly motley crowd” (AS121), in which there are all kinds of ordinary workers such as mechanics, traders and drivers that bought their cars by loans, or there are some other people who do almost nothing in the city. This meeting is significant as its openness and the variety of people who can attend to this meeting make it the counter version of the meeting held in Council Chamber. In addition, the name of the hotel “Harmony” echoes harmony which makes it a place where everyone can live peacefully and harmoniously since there is not a gap among the members of the community as the bourgeoisie and masses. In fact, there is an elder who has white beard and he can be seen as the leader of the community. However, his ideas are not the mere products of his hunger for power. On the contrary, they make decisions through collective minds, so he is a trusted leader by the Abazonians and he knows his responsibilities for them. For example, when he and the delegation

fail to see and talk with Sam, he knows that he has to make an explanation to them by emphasising the importance of explaining their efforts with their all strength to find a solution to their problems although they could not succeed in their struggles. As he truly represents his people, he is aware of his responsibility. In order to demonstrate these efforts that they have made, the elderly leader of the delegate refers to the last episode of the story of leopard and tortoise in which while leopard is about to kill the tortoise:

...the tortoise went into strange action on the road, scratching with hands and feet and throwing sand furiously in all directions. *Why are you doing that?* asked the puzzled leopard. The tortoise replied: *“Because even after I am dead I would want anyone passing by this spot to say, yes, a fellow and his match struggled here.”*(AS128)

In short, in the meetings of the Cabinet, the dominating factor is tyranny, but in the meetings of the Abazonians there is a much more democratic and pluralistic vision. All the members of meetings have respect and affection for each other. However, this does not mean that they do not make any constructive criticism for a better future. To put it further, any disagreement in the cabinet or any rejection to Sam result in violence and even murder just as in the case of Chris, but in the gatherings of Abazonians, in case of objection they always search for an agreement: “There was such compelling power and magic in his voice that even the MC who had voiced the complaints was now beginning to nod his head, like everybody else, in agreement” (AS122).

Another important example of a true nation state is observed in the naming ceremony which is carried out for Ikem and Elewa’s child. It carries significance as it shows that people from different classes, ethnicities, religions or gender can come together to celebrate the birth of the baby. The ceremony closes the gap between different groups.

To sum up, after gaining their independence, now Africans must take actions against the new class of rulers or oppressors who previously made use of the masses to fight against colonialism since they neglect the masses now and abuses the

opportunities provided by the nation-state for their own interests. In 1969 Achebe had an interview with Bernth Lindfors and he accused the nationalists and new rulers of the collapse of the nation state. He reminds that during the struggles for independence he actively took a role. However, after the independence, the leaders of the new nation state do not fulfil their promises to follow the interests of the masses. As a result Achebe, who had a significant role in the national movement and sided with the politicians, ultimately breaks with these politicians. He points out the reason of this as not fulfilling their commitments particularly for the good of the masses with whom Achebe sides with as a consequence.

Overall, Achebe clearly shows that there is a huge gap between state and nation and tries to resolve it. In the concluding chapter, Beatrice questions the things that these people can do in order to restore their “emptied history” (AS220). In the novel Achebe clearly puts forward his reply by stating that the new true nation must be all-inclusive and he writes “This world belongs to the people of the world not to any little caucus no matter how talented... (AS232). In other words, Achebe supports the idea of pluralism for a better society and he supports this vision by religious pluralism. Aina who is a Muslim takes part in the Christian ritual of Agatha by dancing and singing. Similarly, though Beatrice cannot stand her Christian manners, she also joins that ritual (AS224). Finally the author makes use of an African proverb: “Don’t give up, whatever is hot will become cold” (AS199), meaning that if you try hard enough, there is always hope for a better future.

2.4. Reflections of Neo-Colonial Dilemmas through Symbolism

Chinua Achebe illustrates the oppression of the indigenous Kangan people by their own people in *AS* through different stories and different characters. However, the effects of neo-colonialism are also reflected by employing various images and symbolic levels of the novel.

To begin with, Achebe uses the title “*Anthills of the Savannah*” on a symbolic level. David Carroll explains the symbolism of the anthills as “the time of drought has come round again for the people of Abazon, but the scorched anthills, surviving to tell the new grass of the savannah about last year’s brush fires, offer

little hope of renewal. Also they are the reminder of people's struggle as a warning and a promise" (54). Hence, Carroll puts forward that anthills might be interpreted as the hope or struggle which depends on the view of the reader. In addition to this, anthills can be seen as the miniature of the African community. In an anthill there are many different types of ants that work hard to create a communal society. Similarly Nigerian people or more generally African people, without any kind of discrimination, try to create a society after the independence.

"Tidal Wave" is another important symbol in the novel. It is the representation of the people of Kangan. Beatrice describes the relation between the tidal wave and the efforts of Kangan people as follows:

The sweeping, majestic visions of people rising victorious like a tidal wave against their oppressors and transforming their world with theories and slogans into a new heaven and a new earth of brotherhood, justice and freedom are at best grand illusions. The rising, conquering tide, yes; but the millennium afterwards, no! New oppressors will have been readying themselves secretly in the undertow long before the tidal wave got really going. (AS124)

"Tidal waves" might be likened to the rising efforts of Kangan people. As it rises, the world of the Kangan people changes and turns into a nation of brotherhood, freedom and justice. This stage might be deemed the true independence of Nigeria. However, when the tidal wave falls into a decline, the new oppressors that is the new ruling elite class comes into the power and Kangan and its ordinary people start to suffer once more.

In addition, naming ceremony is the reflection of democracy as in that ceremony everyone regardless of their class or gender can offer a name for the baby. The importance of this ceremony is that it sets a bridge that helps to eliminate the gap which constitutes a barrier between the elites and the masses. The ceremony is also significant as there are many people from different social and religious backgrounds. For instance, before attending the ceremony, Beatrice, an elite member of Christianity, despises Agatha who is Muslim. However, after the ceremony, Beatrice gains respect for everyone who is different both "religiously and economically". As is seen, at the end, particularly when Sam, Chris and Ikem pass away, the gap

between the elites and the ordinary people become more and more intimate and it is followed in the naming ceremony, gathering attendants from all social strata.

Achebe employs some other symbols by using Beatrice and her past. First of all, iron grills are used to show the need for protection. Since Beatrice has experienced the insecure and chaotic atmosphere of Nigeria during her childhood, she has a desire for feeling safe and secure. Thus, the iron grills make her feel better as she says in the novel, "I had been feeling somewhat more protected lately since I had all doors and windows in the flat reinforced with iron grills so that even if the fellow outside did manage to knock down the outer wooden door he would still have to face the iron, all of which gave you some time to plan your escape"(AS93). Furthermore, Achebe uses the image of "the bird in the cage" (180) in relation with Beatrice. Achebe writes "She left her office like a bird released from its cage, on the dot of three-thirty" (AS180). Here Beatrice is the representation of the Kangan people who were previously under the rule of colonisers and then under the rule of its own elite rulers. As the colonisers left the country and now the members of the alienated ruling class died, masses are now free just like the birds released from their cages.

Not only Beatrice's but also all other Kangan people's changing perspective is also illustrated by a mythological story in *AS*. Achebe tells the story of a "black lake" and "a dry stick" (AS103). In this story, black lake may symbolise the sufferings of Africa and the Africans. On the other hand, dry stick which comes out from "the bare earth" (AS103) implies Beatrice's ability to write about her own country. Since Beatrice is a stranger and she could not understand the value of her own country and culture in the beginning of the novel, the earth is not productive but bare. It is only after she realises the values of her own indigenous culture that two different classes come together to form a single entity as water blends the earth and heaven in the novel: "Thus it came about that the indescribable Pillar of Water fusing earth to heaven at the navel of the black lake became in numberless shrine-houses across the country, a dry stick rising erect from the bare, earth floor" (AS103).

In *AS* Achebe tells another story of a mythological woman who can count until seven. The number seven is a holy number not only in the Bible but also in some other cultures and Achebe uses it as the symbol of peace in the novel:

This young woman must stand between him and the Daughter of the Almighty before he can be granted a hearing. She holds his hand like a child in front of the holy stick and counts seven. Then she arranges carefully on the floor seven fingers of chalk, fragile symbols of peace, and then gets him to sit on them so lightly that not one single finger may be broken. (104)

As Achebe explains, the peace is fragile which means that everyone should carefully watch out it. In her book *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature* Greta Gaard writes that “liberation” of women and their integration into public life would effect a feminisation of culture, which would mean a reign of “plantlike gentleness,” a harmonic, peaceful rule, an end to violence of all kinds” (AS173). In other words, Gaard states that women are more sensitive towards peace. Similarly Achebe employs a woman to organise “seven fingers of chalk”, that is peace. Likewise, Gaard adds that evils are “because of men’s aggressive nature” (AS41) and it is symbolised by Beatrice’s father’s whip which stands for violence in *AS*. Beatrice draws the picture of the violence that she witnesses as a consequence of her father’s famous whip. She also describes her father as a “stern” figure whose violence, symbolized by his whip, is well known not only in their home but also in school and all over the territory. Moreover, this violence of her father is appreciated:

One day the local chief paid him a visit and as they sat in the long outer room, and I was hanging around as I was fond of doing when there was a company, the chief was full of praise for my father for the good training he was giving the children of the village through his whip. (AS85)

If Beatrice’s family is observed as the microcosm of Kangan, the domestic violence in her family is the reflection of the whole Kangan society.

Achebe also makes use of animals to express the colonial and neo-colonial periods of Nigeria. At first he writes “Strange, but tears loomed suddenly in Beatrice’s eyes as she spoke to the bird: ‘Poor fellow. You have not heard the news? The king’s treasury was broken into last night and all his property carried away--his

crown, his sceptre and all” (AS108). In this quotation Achebe illustrates the colonisation period through symbols. “King’s treasury” is the symbol of Nigeria’s richness, but it was carried away by the British during the colonisation period. Moreover Achebe adds that “the birds began to fly away in ones and twos and larger groups. Soon the tree was empty” (AS109). Here, the tree is the symbol of Nigeria which is deserted one by one by the birds, that are the colonisers, after they exploited the country’s richness fully. Furthermore, Achebe uses mosquitoes and bed bugs to show the oppressions of rulers.

As soon as the lone light-bulb in the room was turned off the mosquitoes began to sing to the ear which was always worse than their bite and, some would say, even worse than the bite of bedbugs which soon followed the mosquitoes in a night-long assault on these smooth-skinned intruders from the GRA. (AS198-199)

Here, mosquitoes may stand for the colonisers and bedbugs for the ruling elite class that followed the colonisers, but regardless of their types both of them suck the blood of people of Nigeria and Nigeria’s natural sources.

To sum up in *AS* Achebe makes use of symbols and images so as to reflect the problems as well as troubles and oppressions caused by neo-colonialism and its practices.

CHAPTER 3

THE EXPLOTATION OF THE AFRICANS AND THEIR CULTURE BY THE NEO-IMPERIALISTS IN NGUGI WA THIONGO'S *DEVIL ON THE CROSS*

3.1. Ngugi wa Thiongo and *Devil On The Cross*

Ngugi wa Thiongo, who was originally James Ngugi, is a Kenyan novelist, critic, poet and playwright. He is one of the most widely read and appreciated African writers. At the beginning of his writing career Ngugi wrote in English, but then he started to write in Gikuyu which is his mother tongue. He believes that if a writer prefers writing in English, his voice will not be able to reach the common mass. In *Writers in Politics: Studies in African Literature* Ngugi claims that it is a vital duty of the writer to align with common mass and writers in general should be a component of “the song the people sing as once again they take up arms to smash the neo-colonial state to complete the anti-imperialist national democratic revolution they had started in the fifties and even earlier” (102). As an illustration of this *Devil On The Cross* is much more important for Ngugi since he has written it in his mother tongue. Ngugi penned *Devil On The Cross* during his years in jail and he expresses this as “Free thoughts on toilet papers!” (*Detained* 8). Moreover, he claims that he has had a tough task to give voice to the sufferings of the Kenyan who were exploited by the institutions of neo-colonialism (*Detained* 8).

Ngugi's writings, which reflect the harsh conditions of Kenya and in general Africa, have had a satirical and sharp tone about colonialism, neo-colonialism and their institutions. His ideas and writings caused him to be on an exile more than twenty years. He himself tells the main reason of his exile in an interview that he gave to the Guardian: “I never chose exile; it was forced on me. In 1982 I had packed my suitcase to return home from a London book launch when I learnt that the then Moi dictatorship in Kenya planned to eliminate me” (*Changing Communities: Stories of Migration, Displacement and Solidarities* 113). However, after many years on an exile to rescue, he became a true spokesperson for his nation. In his work *Writers In Politics* Ngugi wrote:

Cultural imperialism which during colonialism often affected the population and the country unevenly depending on the colonial policies of the marauding powers and the degree of resistance in each country and in different parts of the country becomes the major agency of control during neo-colonialism. (5)

In his novels Ngugi has focused on cultural imperialism. In other words, he was more interested in Kenya's cultural and literary exploitation. In his essay "Fighting Neo-Colonialism: A Case Study of the Selected Novels of Ngugi wa Thiongo" S.K. Nag indicates that novel means an influential instrument as it is a tool to retell the colonialist history of Kenya and all Africa and also it is able to create a "national consciousness" (142). In *Writing Against Neo-Colonialism* Ngugi describes the chronic pains of Kenya which are the direct result of neo colonial situation and puts forward that the prefix "neo" has always discomfited him. According to Ngugi, after the independence the colonialist empires did not stop interfering with the cultural, financial or political issues of Kenya and Africa. Moreover, it was supported by the ruling class who reinforced the victimisation of nations and it restricted or abolished the importance of freedom and independence. Hence, Ngugi writes "Dependence abroad, repression at home became the national motto" (*Writing Against Neo-Colonialism* 98) and describes the painful conditions of Kenya by making a comparison between the old Kenya and Kenya today. He describes that Kenya was open to all kinds of debates and there was no fear of going into prison because of expressing one's own ideas in the old Kenya. However, when at first Kenyatta and then Moi came to power, Kenya was transformed into a place where there was no tolerance for any ideas questioning the regime or neo-colonialism (*Writing Against Neo-Colonialism* 100).

Devil On The Cross, which is a continuation of *Petals of Blood*, successfully reflects Ngugi's attitude to neo-colonialism in Kenya. The novel itself serves as a sharp analysis and criticism about the corruption of politics and Kenyan society throughout neo-colonial period. Ngugi tells the story of Wariinga, a major character in the novel, to illustrate a significant problem, exploitation and social struggle, of many young Kenyans. Through Wariinga's struggles, Ngugi does not only satirise the so called independent situation of Kenya but also presents a sharp criticism of political, cultural and social conditions of postcolonial Kenya.

Ngugi has devoted his life to Kenya and his primary purpose was to liberate his people and he clearly reflects his struggle in his works. However, he does not only focus on Kenya and its struggle. On the contrary he presents contemporary Africa and its social and political sufferings in general. Therefore, in *DC* Ngugi fiercely attacks the postcolonial African elites as well as native African leaders whom Ngugi calls “local watchdogs” (*DC* 97). Ngugi supports the idea that these African elites are the followers of the white settlers and their presence is not bearable on the African continent as a whole. Ultimately, Ngugi’s purpose is to free Africa and the Africans both politically and culturally. Additionally, he also emphasised the importance of economic, thus social liberation from the colonial institutions. In other words, he tries to liberate Africa from the exploitation and corruption of native ruling elite, capitalism and in general from neo-colonialism. In *Homecoming* Ngugi proposes the solution of this problem by pointing out that the solution is the Kenyan who would not be only debating on problems but willing to find some solutions. In addition, Ngugi puts forward that a truly national culture that encircles every member of Kenya is not a dream; contrarily, it can be established if the members of the society unite. Finally Ngugi adds that as the Kenyan are in love with their soil, this culture will be a unifying element (*Homecoming* 25). In short, he believes that the very first solution of neo colonial problems is to awaken not only culturally but also politically and to create and develop a powerful national consciousness.

In many of his novels, Ngugi delves into the analysis of social problems and facts by rejecting capitalism and its all related institutions, and he clearly and fiercely supports the efforts of masses against neo-colonialism and native bourgeoisie. From this point of view, *DC* might be regarded as one of the most radical donation to African people and literature. The novel has a didactic overtone as well as a political one. Ngugi’s major concern is to raise awareness in the working class and support their war for freedom against the capitalist society and its corrupt nature.

In many of his works Ngugi analyses social structures and facts. While doing this he generally focuses on social classes and their economic conditions which are the cornerstones of society’s social structure. In other words, Ngugi starts from the “base” and goes in to “superstructure” (Anderson 22). In *DC* by writing “the loss of

the masses is the gain of the few” (105), Ngugi puts forward that capitalism which is an unfair system is always good for some elites not for everyone. Moreover, in his work *Homecoming* he asserts that nowadays Africa is suffering due to the “divide and rule” (xvii) ideology of the capitalism and capitalists. As this ideology planted its bitter seeds, it led to an “uneven development” and divided Africans into two classes “the haves” and “the have nots” (*Homecoming*xvii). Hence, it is claimed that capitalism constitutes the major reason for not only economic but also political problems which destroy the postcolonial Africa. In short, Ngugi blames capitalism as the root of political, social and economic problems between the elites and the masses.

According to Ngugi, Kenya got its independence, but it has been extorted by the ruling African elites who turned into the followers of previous colonisers by keeping the social, economic and political practices of the colonial era. Furthermore, the new ruling class or the elites have not taken the peasants and workers into consideration, on the contrary they have used their power in order to secure their positions and to be more and more powerful. Therefore Ngugi claims that the ruling class who took over the government just after the independence welcomed capitalism, and this led to social, economic, political and cultural exploitation of Kenya not only by Western countries but also by the local elites. Thus, *DC* illustrates a system in which the power has been concentrated in the hands of the corrupt minority local elites who only focus on how to keep their superiority or dominance over the masses. Ironically, the dream of the masses is to be satisfied socially, politically and also economically. As a consequence, *DC* clearly shows the disparity between these two groups.

3.2. Cultural Imperialism in Neo-Colonial Societies

When the European masters arrived into Africa, the very first action that they took was lying about the superiority of their culture over the African culture. Since they imposed the idea that the local African culture was inferior and savage, they implemented some new ways of life, new cultural practices and even a new religion. In fact, cultural alienation can be defined as a tendency to refuse his own culture for the sake of another culture which is said to be superior and to adapt to that new culture. In other words, cultural alienation is a consequence of cultural

imperialism which causes the devastation of African identity including their customs, beliefs, literature, language, myths and all traditions and cultural alienation of Kenya and the Kenyans.

Customs and traditions are fundamental keys in the formation of an authentic culture, and they are the great heritage in Africa and in Kenya particularly. To be more specific, traditional dances and songs constitute a big part of African cultural heritage. Although in the past these songs were sung in order to celebrate some special occasions such as marriages or anniversaries, or to mourn in funerals, now in the period of neo-colonialism there are some new songs which are used to criticise new masters. In the novel, Ngugi exemplifies these kind of songs:

“The deaf man, the deaf man,
The deaf man is he who can’t hear for the nation!
The blind man, the blind man is he who can’t see for the nation!” (58)

Ngugi uses this song to criticise the local elites who took the power from their white benefactors and who let them to guide the Kenyans and Gikuyu land in general. It is emphasised that since the local masters or elites were unable to realise the hidden mission of the white man in Africa, they are deaf and blind. Also Ngugi refers to the idea that since these elites did not hear or refused to listen to the sufferings of masses of their own nation, they are deaf. Additionally, local masters are blind because they could not see the things that were going wrong in Kenya and Africa. The local masters and also some members of the masses were not aware of the fact that white masters threw away their customs. Gatuiria denounces this fact by explaining that Kenyan national culture has been lost. Thus, Bascom expresses the significance of the oral literature in *Oral Literature in Africa*: “Myths and songs are prose narratives which, in the society in which they are told are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past. They are accepted on faith; they are taught to be believed; and they can be cited as authority in answer to ignorance, doubt or disbelief” (4). Thus, loss of these cultural elements means the loss of the past which lightens the way of the African. Moreover, in Africa, oral traditions, songs, stories and riddles are the products of the wisdom of the people and these songs and stories are great guides in the society. Also they used to be taught to the young generation by the old people who sat around the fireside during long nights, so nobody who is a

real African wants to throw their great heritage (*DC 73*). Contrarily, every African and Kenyan feels a duty to protect and pass them from generation to generation though Gatuiria stresses that all of these have been “demolished” (*DC59*). In other words, at first the European masters banned the local culture and its practices when they colonised Kenya and Africa, and after taking the power from their white masters, the local elites followed this trend and did not follow the practices of their native culture. One of the most critical drawbacks of banning the local culture was that since the members of the community did not have any guide to follow, there was a widespread immorality. Gatuiri in the novel states it as follows:

The centres of wisdom that used to guard the entrance to our national homestead have been demolished; the fire of wisdom has been allowed to die; the seats around the fireside have been thrown on to a rubbish heap; the guard posts have been destroyed; and the youth of the nation has hung up its shields and spears. It is a tragedy that there is nowhere we can go to learn the history of our country. A child without parents to counsel him – what is to prevent him from mistaking foreign shit for a delicious national dish? (*DC59*)

In the novel, Gatuiri, who is a research student in the department of cultural studies particularly in African culture, believes that their local culture has been erased due to the catastrophic effects of cultural imperialism of the Europeans. He also states that Kenyan culture has been dominated by the British culture and religion. That is why he fiercely attacks on cultural imperialism with a desire to warn the local masters and change their minds about their own heritage by expressing that the African culture has been ruled by the culture of the western imperialists which leads to “cultural imperialism” thus “to the slavery of mind and the body” (*DC58*). As Gatuiri states Kenyan cultural heritage has been devastated by the colonisers, and the Kenyan people have forgotten their past. Moreover, it is pity that there is nowhere that the young generation can learn about their culture or history. In addition to the loss of their heritage, Gatuiri also stresses that Kenya no longer has any talented people who can do some traditional tasks:

Who can play the Giccandi for us today and read and interpret the verses written on the gourd? Today who can play the wandindi, the one-stringed violin, making it sound like the voice of a young man wooing his love as she comes back from picking peas in the field, or

fetching water from a cave in the valley, or digging up arrowroot, or cutting sugar cane in the slopes of the valley? Today who can play the bamboo flute, whose sound makes the hearts of a young man and a maiden beat in unison as they go to the fields to scare birds from the millet fingers while the moon casts its light over the land? (DC 59)

Gatuiriri refers to the very fact that in the old and traditional Kenya there were many talented people, but they were all eradicated by the western imperial powers and today the role of the old masters are carried out by the neo-colonial masters.

Another important tool that is used by the western imperialists to ban the cultural heritage of Africa was the religion, namely Christianity. David Cook and Michael Okenimpe blames the church because it is the major cause of cultural alienation of the African people because churches are responsible of shaping these people and their soul (Ngugi wa Thiong'o: *An Exploration of his Writings* 8). In fact Christianity played a significant role during the colonial period as a tool to turn off the culture of the local people. Moreover, Ngugi points out that the missionaries did not stop in the neo-colonial period and the main purpose of the religion in neo-colonial process is to make the Africans blind to the values of their land, not to show them the true God. By making them blind through religion, it was easier for them to establish the western imperialist domination on the Kenyan people. In order to show the drawbacks that Christianity brought into Africa, it is declared that:

Christianity is part and parcel of cultural imperialism. Christianity in the past has been used to rationalize imperialist domination and exploitation of peasants and workers. It has been used to blind people to reality of their mission that is god as opposed to man conditioned. (Ngugi wa Thiong'o: *An Exploration of his Writings* 9)

Ironically, it is clear that white masters and missionaries betrayed and sinned against not only the Africans but also God by the excuse of qualifying a savage continent. In other words, European imperialists destroyed African culture and imposed their own routines on the Africans. Ngugi expresses that "The missionaries, having destroyed the indigenous culture of the people whom they had ostensibly come to save, imposed on them European civilization... (a) European scale of values and European

customs, rejecting traditional mode of behaviour as evil.” (*Ngugi wa Thiongo: An Exploration of his Writings* 191)

Moreover, the colonisers have told that Africans did not have a well-developed culture which they may want to preserve so they have created a sense of inferiority on Africans to impose their colonial ventures. Edward B. Reuter in his essay “The Death of White Sociology” claims that African people have had no culture thus no language or religion that make them a community. On the contrary, everything that they call a distinctive culture was given them by their white masters. The only thing that the Africans did was to refurbish or embellish what they acquired from the whites. As a result, it is impossible to talk about African culture (138). However, this belief has been refused by the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe who puts forward that:

African people did not hear of culture for the very first time from the Europeans, that their societies were not mindless but frequently had a philosophy of great depth and value, and beauty, that they had poetry and above all they had dignity. (*Emerging Perspectives on Chinua Achebe* 188)

As Achebe puts forward, like Europeans, Africans do have a culture by which they can take pride in. However, as a consequence of colonialism at first and neo-colonialism, the white masters and their black predecessors have devastated many values of African culture.

Language and literature are two other important elements that make a group of people as a nation. That is to say, they are the parts of national heritage and treasure. In the novel there is an old man who is from Nakuru and he knows the significance of literature and language. Hence, he questions Gatuiria by explaining the vital role of literature for a nation. He describes literature as the “honey of a nation’s soul” which should be passed from one to the next so that the next generations may taste it. Additionally the old man tells that if any country abandons its literature, it means that it has lost “its soul” and “has been left a mere shell” (*DC* 62). The old man particularly puts emphasis on literature as the core of nation’s treasure as literature is the main way of informing the next generations about their history, ancestors and philosophy of their actions. Although language and literature

are vitally important, the value of African languages and literature were underestimated and banned by the European imperialists, so Gatuiri asks questions about the loss of the national language and literature by saying:

Where are our national languages now? Where are the books written in the alphabets of our national languages? Where is our own literature now? Where is the wisdom and knowledge of our fathers now? Where is the philosophy of our fathers now? (58)

As Gatuiri explains, there is almost no book being written in the national language of Kenya and as the old man from Nakuru explains the local elites sold their souls to the European imperialists, thus lost their language and literature which transformed them into a mere shell. The underlying reason of banning the national language and literature of Kenya by the Europeans is that they wanted to have a more strict control over them by making them speak and write only in English. In addition to the obligation, the elites also used English as their language in order to gain more money and power. In their speeches, Kenyans avoid using their own language and they talked “only in foreign languages” which is regarded as “the basis of the profit for the modern Kenyan bourgeois” (112). This exemplifies a kind of modern slavery, slavery of mind as they use English instead of their national languages such as Swahili or Gikuyu. Gatuiri indicates it by saying “... the slavery of language is the slavery of the mind and nothing to be proud of” (56). Gatuiri continues to illustrate the negative effects of cultural imperialism when he says:

It is cultural imperialism that gives birth to the mental blindness and deafness that persuades people to allow foreigners to tell them what to do in their own country, to make foreigners the ears and mouths of their national affairs, forgetting the saying: only he who lives in the wilderness knows what it is like.” (58)

Gatuiri has some points as he believes that mental blindness and deafness are two factors that push the imperialists to dictate the Kenyans what to do even in their own land.

As Ngugi is aware of the negative impacts of mental blindness and deafness and ultimately slavery of language and literature, he is the first African writer to stop writing in English in an attempt to abolish the cultural imperialism in Africa and among African intellectuals. In his work “Decolonising The Mind” Ngugi states that

if writers want to address their local audience and produce a national literature, they should write in their native language. Otherwise, Ngugi indicates that if they write in English, it is not a piece of Kenyan literature and adds the things that have been written in English until now by Kenyan writers cannot be regarded as works of African literature, contrarily they are the examples of “Afro-Saxon Literature, Afro-European Literature” (59). Additionally, if they write in Kenyan language, they will be able to be read and understood not only by the elites, but also by workers and peasants. Ngugi explains that it is only possible to talk about national literature of Kenya if the literary works are written in the national language by using the elements of their own traditions, culture and history (59).

3.3. Capitalism, Social Classes and Elitism in Neo-Colonial Societies

In *DC* the focus is on the class distinction which is directly related to the idea of “haves” and “have nots” (*Homecoming* vii), that is economic and social conditions of people in Kenya which characterize neo-colonial conditions of Kenya. It is clearly seen that Kenya has experienced Western capitalism since the beginning of the postcolonial era, so there has always been a conflict between “the hunter and the hunted”(DC 144) or the ruling elites and the masses. In his book *The African novel In English* M. Keith Booker indicates that Ngugi focuses on the distinction between the elites and the workers which can be seen as the acceptance of Marxist ideology about class distinction which is given as “class warfare”(DC178). Similarly, in neo-colonial societies it is certain that because of the modern capitalism and colonialism “Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat” (*Manifesto of the Common Party* 15). In his works Ngugi portrays the neo-colonial and capitalist system in Kenya. According to Ngugi in neo-colonial societies there are divisions or gradations which are based on the power and wealth of people in the society and neo-colonial countries have “a horizontal rift dividing the elite from the mass of the people” (*Homecoming* 24). Moreover, even within social classes there are social and cultural fractions, as in the case of Wariinga, Wangari and Muturi who belong to the proletariat class in the novel. In other words, Ngugi believes that class distinction, which is closely linked with capitalism, has been the base of the society and it shaped

Kenya which is truly neo-colonial. Hence, because of capitalism as a global fact, class distinction and social problems arising from it are not only the matters of Kenya but also Africa in general. As a result Ngugi describes the neo-colonial society of Kenya which is made up by “he who lives by his own sweat and he who lives by the sweat of others” (57). In the novel *Muturi* who is a member of the working class describes the class distinction and its effects on society as follows:

Our lives are a battlefield on which is fought a continuous war between the forces that are pledged to confirm our humanity and those determined to dismantle it; those who strive to build a protective wall around it, and those who wish to pull it down; those who seek to mould it, and those who committed to breaking it up; those whose aim is to open our eyes, to make us see the light and look to tomorrow, asking ourselves about the future of our children, and those who wish to lull us into closing, our eyes, encouraging us to care only for our stomach today, without thinking about the tomorrow of our country. (DC53)

As Muturi expresses the ruling elite class pushes the masses into a silence where they just care about the day and their basic needs like food and through this method the elites maintain their supremacy over them and even they become more powerful and oppressive. Ngugi also uses some religious references to describe the conflict between the social classes:

For each man is part of the forces that have been recruited for creating, building, making our humanity grow and blossom in order to nurture our human nature...these are the forces of the clan of producers; or he is part of the forces of destruction, of harassing and oppressing the builders and the creators, the forces that seek to suppress our humanity turning us into beasts ... these are the forces of the clan of parasites. Each of the two forces builds a heart that reflects the nature of its clan. Therefore there are two hearts; the heart built by the clan of parasites, the evil heart; and the heart built by the clan of the producers, the good heart. It is our actions that show which side we are on and therefore what kind of heart we are building. (DC 53-54)

Therefore, Ngugi in *DC* illustrates Kenya as a country in which the distinction between social classes is very definite and sure. Kenyan society has experienced a double cataclysm and it has gone from colonialism, an oppressive regime during which not only Kenya but also Africa in general suffered from many perspectives, into a new regime where the corrupted African elites got the power which led to a

dictatorial and despotic governance. As a result, class distinction, thus economic inequalities between classes have become more accurate. In the novel Ngugi presents Ilmorog as a city where there are two different classes and areas showing the conditions of social classes in post-independent Kenya:

The residential area is divided into two parts. The first is the *Ilmorog Golden Heights residential area*... The air there is good and clean and that's where anyone who is anyone lives in Ilmorog. It contains the homes of the wealthy and the powerful... The other part of the residential area is called *New Jerusalem*, Njeruca. That's the residential area for the workers, the unemployed. These are the slums of Ilmorog... It's where the wretched of Kenya live. (130)

Moreover, in the novel Ngugi also classifies the characters into two categories according to their social classes and economic conditions. The first category is the proletariat which includes workers, students, and peasants of Kenya. To illustrate, Wariinga, Wangari and Muturi are the members of the first category and they are exploited and harassed by the capitalist system which was brought into Africa in the past, but is now carried out by the neo-colonial rulers of Africa. The second category consists of the local elites or local bourgeoisie that rule the country by holding both economic and political power. Ironically, the second category is made up of a minority group who are the representatives of neo-colonial Kenya; whereas the first group, namely the exploited peasants and workers constitute the majority. In the group of elite rulers there are robbers and thieves. However, Gatuiria's father is the embodiment of the elite, wealthy and powerful ruling class since he quests for more and more economic and political power by exploiting the first group.

In neo-colonial Kenya the distinction which was previously a reality between the colonisers and the colonised is characterized by not only economic but also social classes. Ngugi puts forward that although the new rulers of Kenya or neo-colonial rulers are originally African or they are African in terms of their blood and colour, they are European in terms of their ideas and opinions as well as their taste and styles. The rulers were educated on the lands of the colonisers or in their own country by the western or colonial educational systems both of which imposed the capitalism of western world, and this led to an exploited and a corrupted society as well as greedy rulers. Moreover, these rulers have had very similar opinions and

stereotypical ideas about the first class of people: “And where but in the sweat of workers and peasants can you find such fertile fields? ... For a worker’s sweat is the source of all profit” (DC 165-169). Overall, in the novel Ngugi illustrates a country which is ruled by a small group of elites or bourgeoisie who are completely under the effect of westernised life styles, customs, language and even their names which make them pure imitators of colonisers.

The detailed illustration of African elite rulers and bourgeoisie is reminiscent of Bhabha’s term “mimicry”, a term which is used by Homi Bhabha who explains that mimicry is a phase in which the colonised people are recreated as “almost the same, but not quite”(Of Mimicry and Man: *The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse* 127) as the colonisers. As an illustration of this, in the novel there are many thieves and robbers in addition to Gatuiria’s father who imitate the colonisers and this means that they do not only mimic the colonisers but also it creates a “menace” for the native land. Ironically these mimic men are willing to adopt the colonisers’ speech patterns, traditions and behaviours which can be regarded as the betrayal of their own origin and Africa. To be more specific, Gatuiri’s father organizes the wedding ceremony of Gatuiri and Wariinga in accordance with western styles which indicates that they mimic the colonisers’ customs, not the African traditions.

When Gatuiria and Wariinga walked into the courtyard, they were met by servants in uniform: striped trousers, dark tail coats, top hats and white gloves. Gatuiria and Wariinga were escorted toward a special room, where Gatuiria’s father, together with a select inner circle of elders, was waiting to receive them. Things had been organized so that Gatuiria’s father would be the first to receive his son’s bride, would be the first to touch her. The owner of the homestead had to be the first to receive the bride of his only son, according to modern tradition. (DC 247)

Furthermore, Gatuiri’s father reflects some more westernised customs such as sending invitation cards to only some people, wanting the attendants to wear some specific and appropriate dresses and even giving the names of the shops where they can buy gifts to give at the wedding ceremony (DC 237). All of these are the symbols

of the colonised people who mimic the colonisers. However, Ngugi criticises these kinds of behaviours harshly and indicates that they are embarrassing for the native Kenyans: “There is nothing as terrible as a people who have swallowed foreign customs whole without even chewing them, for such people become more parrots” (*DC* 238). From another point of view, this wedding ceremony clearly shows the economic and social differences and thus distinction between the two groups of people, namely the elite bourgeoisie and the masses or between the rich and the poor which is the outcome of capitalism and imperialism in Kenya and all around the previously colonised countries. More clearly Ngugi explains the effects of capitalism in Kenya by stating that neo-colonialism mainly works through the “political dictatorship.” However, the most crucial control method of the neo-colonial countries is “through culture” (Childs and Williams 61).

In short, *DC* reflects the conditions under which the masses of post-colonial Kenya try to survive and it also shows the inheritance of colonialism in neo-colonial society, in a deep political and economic inequality between the aforementioned two social classes.

Another important issue is elitism in neo-colonial countries. Elites and elitism carry a major significance in neo-colonial societies and they are directly related with social, economic and political issues. Hence, *DC* in which Ngugi clearly describes and presents elites, illuminates an important aspect of neo-colonial communities. In *Homecoming* Ngugi states that colonialism and colonial powers in Africa created a class of elites, the members of which adapted the “tongue” and life style of the “conquerors” (10). In particular Ngugi illustrates the cataclysmic impacts of capitalism which also lead to neo-colonialism and he expresses his worries about the working class in Kenya since they were exploited by the colonisers before the independence and after that they have been exploited by local elites who took over the power.

It is claimed that in every single society there is a small group of elites having some very important positions in the society due to some kinds of economic or political privileges. Similarly in Africa and in Kenya there is a small group of elites who are elected by the Europeans or colonisers and they rule the country. Ngugi

describes this group of elites as “ the imperialist watchdogs, the children of the Devil” (*DC* 196). In short, African elites are the corrupted ruling minority who took their education, economic, social and political power from colonisers.

In *Decolonising The Mind* Ngugi stresses the fact that the colonisers have introduced new economic, educational and religious systems which were all different from those of the Africans and these systems “put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart” (10). In *DC* Ngugi reflects Kenya as a country in which elites take over the power of British colonisers and exploit and oppress the masses, namely workers, which is very similar to almost all of the colonised countries. These rich and powerful elites came into being as a result of the capitalist system which also imported both economic and social exploitation in the colonised countries during the colonial period and this is the main characteristic of neo-colonialism which is described as the “last stage of imperialism” by Kwame Nkrumah. Hence, Ngugi states that due to the outcome of neo-colonial processes the ruling class in Kenya is made up by the members of the society who are the richest, the most educated and powerful. In *DC* this social class is illustrated by the participants of Devil’s Feast which is described as a kind of competition in which the most talented robbers and thieves gather to share their stories about the corruption and exploitation in neo-colonial Kenya. What is more bitter is that the common men act as judges who “must clap each speaker to show how inspired you have been by his account of his earthly wiles” (*DC* 87). In other words, Devil’s Feast in Ilmorog serves as an allegory of the condition of Kenyan working class who are exploited by not only by foreigners and also by Kenyan elites and bourgeoisie. The competition constitutes the climax and it enriches *DC* with symbols, some references to religion, and many terms about capitalism. In this part of the novel the robbers and thieves who are said to be competitors and also the spectator “absurdly exaggerate their exploits and their plans for the future” (Gugler 335). Chijioke Uwasomba asserts that “... the creation of the Devil’s feast ...provides Ngugi with the space for enacting or deconstructing, through the grotesque and the obscene, the banality of power, in neo-colonial African society” (102). Therefore, Ngugi has a very clear and neat description of the Kenyan bourgeoisie as corrupted and greedy whose main purpose is to exploit the masses economically and socially.

In the novel, obesity, lavishness and extreme wealth are used several times to define the elites or exploiters of the masses. As an illustration, one of the most talented thieves who takes part in the Devil Feast is Gitutu wa Gataanguru and he is reflected as someone who has a huge stomach which “protruded so far that it would have touched the ground had it not been supported by the braces that held up his trousers ... It seemed as if it had absorbed all his limbs and all the other organs of his body” (DC 99). Ironically he explains his daily diet as follows:

When I wake up in the morning, I swallow a few eggs on top of pieces of bread and butter and a glass of milk to chase them down. At ten o'clock or thereabouts I manage to put away a couple of pounds of cooked mutton. At twelve I attack four pound of beef (fillet steak) dipped in wine and then nicely roasted over charcoal, I wash the beef down with a cool beer, one bottle. At six, I nibble at a piece of chicken, just to have something in the belly as a base for whisky, pending supper proper in the evening. (DC100)

Through this passage Ngugi clearly shows the greediness of the bourgeoisie in Kenya which is one of the main features of capitalism and neo-colonialism. The master in the Devil's Feast points out some rules about the thieves and robbers which control the competition. For instance he emphasises that “no one without a big belly and fat cheeks should bother to come up here to waste out time. Who could possibly argue the size of a man's belly and cheeks is not true measure of his wealth? (DC96) Moreover there is another competitor called Nditika wa Nguunji who is described as: “ ...very fat. His head was huge, like a mountain. His belly hung over his belt, big and arrogant. His eyes were the size of two large electric bulbs, and it looked as if they had been placed on his face by a Creator impatient to get on with another job” (DC176). Similarly, there is another character who is called Fathog Marura wa Kimeengemeenge and his name “Fathog” is an implication of his greedy nature. He is also portrayed with a giant belly which “was so huge that it almost bulged over his knees” (DC112) Another important point is that Wariinga has had a nightmare about the devil which she describes as having a huge belly which “sagged as if it were about to give birth to all the evils of the world” and its skin “red, like that of pig” (DC 12) and all the participants of Devil's Feast have almost all the physical features of the Devil in Wariinga's nightmare.

The two major motivations of the competitors that characterise all neo-colonial countries are power and wealth, as a result they only look for land and money. Since they are under the wings of capitalism, they hold the idea of “the democracy of drinking the blood and eating the flesh of workers and peasants” (DC89) Ngugi describes Kenya as a piece of land which is shaped by exploitation, corruption and greedy elites that govern the country and this is narrated through some stories in the novel. To illustrate, Gaturia tells the story of an old man, Nding’uri:

... Nding’uri began to fart property, to shift property, to sneeze property, to scratch property, to talk property, to sweat property, to piss property. Property would fly from other people’s hands to land in Nding’uri’s palms... He was always involved in lawsuits as he grabbed other people’s land, extending the boundaries of his own property further and further. ... When people were dying from famine that was when Nding’uri was happiest because at such times people would dispose of their property as readily as they would give away broken pots. (DC64)

As the given quotation indicates Nding’uri is taken captive by ambition and greed for property and land and his soul was taken over by devil. Ngugi also mentions that in Kenya or in any other neo-colonial country property is crucially significant: “Property is the great creator and the great judge. Property turns disobedience into obedience, evil into good, ugliness into beauty, hate into love, cowardice into bravery, vice into virtue” (DC65).

The writer describes Kenya as a country which is totally dominated and governed by a small group of local elite, and they are the agents who carry out all social, economic and political changes. Ngugi calls this group as “local watchdogs”, and points out that this group is split into two subcategories. The thieves and robbers that take part in the Devil’s Feast make up the first group and they are the followers of the British colonisers since they have taken over the ideology of colonialism and political leadership from their previous masters. Ngugi stresses that these men are highly “determined to oppress” the entire country (DC183). In *DC Kihahu wa Gatheca* clearly demonstrates the ways which are used by the national bourgeoisie to gain power and exploit the masses. He demonstrates that in neo-colonial age of Kenya everyone who has some money and wealth wants to have more and more, so

almost everyone whoever gets some money or property desires “to enter *Parliament*” (DC114) because they believe that politics is the only way to get profit in modern Kenya (DC112). To demonstrate, Kihaahu abuses his political power just for himself and his own interests and to become wealthier. In addition to this, all of his actions are based on financial and social corruption and exploitation when he describes how he got all his property: “I hadn’t shed a drop of sweat. All my money came from the very people who had voted for me. How? Because it was their tax that would go to pay the money borrowed from foreign banks” (DC116). Kihaahu is the representative of the elites of Kenya in neo-colonial age. Also, it is indicated that he learnt all of his skills from the previous colonisers and he continues exploiting the masses of his own country. In short, members of this first sub-category hold the political power which they took from the Europeans and they make use of this power just for their own profit.

On the other hand, the second group of “local watchdogs” includes people who have money but who do not have political power. Mwireri wa Mukirai is one of the most distinctive members of this group. He is one of the competitors and local bourgeoisie who “believes in the ideology of modern theft and robbery” (DC161). He expresses that during his education, he realised that:

... power has been taken away from the workers and peasants and given to the heroes of theft and robbery – in English we might say – to those who have capitalist business know – how ... I, Mwireri wa Mukirai, have studied thoroughly this system based on theft of the sweat and blood of workers and peasants – what in English we call capitalism ... the masses cultivate; a select few (those with talents) harvest. (DC165)

Nevertheless, it is ironic that he is regarded as a nationalist who also has a good education background. He does not approve the exploitation of anyone foreign or their companies and he is totally against the Europeans, imperialists and their policies. On the other hand, he relies on the exploitation done by the national bourgeoisie. In other words, he believes that even if they steal, they should “consume the plunder right there, in the country itself” (DC166). The previous quotation indicates that the elites and the bourgeoisie of neo-colonial Kenya do not want to work together with the foreign international companies in the process of

exploitation; on the contrary they want to hold the national wealth for themselves, because they believe that international companies want to “monopolize” the profit (*DC170*). Mwirei claims that the only thing what the bourgeoisie of Kenya needs is to achieve an agreement and unity which will lead to a “native capitalism” (*DC170*).

To sum up, Ngugi claims that during the period of colonialism, colonisers in other words Europeans trained the native bourgeoisie which led to the birth of elitism in Kenya. The basic principle of this training was modern capitalism which Ngugi describes that workers are the source of “wealth” (*DC187*). Moreover, they imposed the idea that in neo-colonial countries as in the case of Kenya everything depends on the money which paves the way for property or land. Ngugi explains this fact by writing: “Money is supreme. Money rules the world” (*DC173*). All in all, Ngugi focuses on the greedy and corrupt characteristics of African elites in a neo-colonial country which is a destructive outcome of neo-colonialism and capitalism.

3.4. Corruption

Corruption is another important theme in *DC*. Mainly it causes to immorality as it is a force which throws a person away from his duties, primarily from the moral ones. In each neo-colonial countries corruption has different shapes and in the case of Kenya Ngugi presents some daily examples and details to show the corruption.

First of all, Ngugi explains that Christianity, the religion of white man, is absolutely corrupted. In the novel *Kihaahu* criticises the corrupted nature of Christianity by saying “Why do you think that our imperialist friends brought us the Bible? ... Why they urged workers and peasants to close their eyes in prayers and told them that earthly things were vain?” (*DC123*). As *Kihaahu* puts forward although any religion and in particular Christianity should lead people to heaven, in Kenya it is used to reach personal goals. In other words, the major concern of the religion in Kenya is to blind masses and to block their minds in an attempt to prevent their abilities to stand and fight against exploitation of the elites. Indeed, the white man or the local elites tell masses to close their eyes during the prayer and they impose the idea that everything on earth is futile. However, during this process they steal the values of Kenya. In short, the only purpose of the white man’s religion was

not to show the correct way that goes to God, but to exploit and oppress the masses. In his work *An Introduction to the Writings of Ngugi wa Thiongo* G.D. Killam quotes from Ngugi: “The church in the colonies is the white people’s church... she does not call the natives to God’s ways but to do the ways of white man, of the master, of the oppressive” (12). Ngugi states that a religion which only oppresses people is useless and such a religion can only create corrupted people who ultimately devastate the community.

Another corrupted institution that Ngugi delves into in *DC* is the education system which is dictated to the Kenyans by the Europeans. The very first problem about education is that Kenyan people only learn in accordance with European life style, their traditions and culture, but not anything about their local values or customs. Ngugi criticises the education system by writing: “The new education bequeathed to us by the white man has clipped the wings of our abilities, leaving us limping like wounded birds” (*DC*63). That is to say, westernised education, a totally foreign education system to Africa, demolishes the local abilities of Kenyan people which makes them dependent on Europeans. Moreover, in their work *Ngugi wa Thiongo: An Exploration of his Writings* David Cook and Michael Okenimpke focus on Ngugi’s concerns about the new education system and its results in Kenya by writing:

There is something wrong in the education system that brings up a child to value and know about Europe when he does not know even the very simple facts about his own country. Not that there is anything wrong in studying and knowing things related to other countries. (16)

As it is stated European education system has caused Kenyans to lose their own identity and their own image as there is nothing about themselves in this education system. As an example of alienation of local people from their own culture and identity, Gaturia who had a western education background in *DC* is criticised strictly by an old man from Nakuru village, because he does not know anything about his own culture, more specifically tales about animals or ogres in the novel: “Young man, I can’t understand the kind of education you all receive these days, or the kind of learning you want to acquire overseas during the course of so many years (*DC*62). Ngugi stresses the significance of a national literature. However, since the Kenyans

were taught overseas, they are alienated to their own literature and to the soul of their own country.

Thirdly, moral and religious corruption is very widespread in Kenyan community. Particularly throughout the novel, there are many scenes in which immoral deeds against women are presented. Gitahi, for example, is morally corrupted and his actions reveal this corruption towards many women in Ilmorog. It is ironic that he wants to have a kind of marriage with Wariinga as his second wife. In other words, Gitahi wants to exploit Wariinga, as he just wants to have her. In addition to Gitahi, Boss Kihara follows a very similar trend. Although he seems to be a true believer, it is later revealed that he is an absolute hypocrite as he is a notorious man for having immoral affairs with many girls in Ilmorog which in fact sets a bad example for disorder in Kenya. When Kihara has intention for raping his secretary,

He remembers his wife and children. He recalls that often on Sundays he is the one who reads the Bible at the altar in the church of Heaven, and that from time to time he gives talks at weddings, advising newlyweds about the need for parents and children to live together in love and harmony. (23-24)

As a conclusion, Ngugi presents that two men of church are morally corrupted and they only exploit women, without paying any attention to their social roles and responsibilities which indeed show the corrupted condition of the society.

3.5. Women Question in Neo-Colonial Communities

Ngugi wa Thiongo firmly stresses in *DC* that women are more of than not regarded as the members of the society, thus disintegrated from the community. In other words, men treat women as human beings who have low importance and deny their rights in the society. That is, the new masters of Kenya, namely local elites, follow the very paths of their predecessors who made black women experience double fold of otherness. In the novel, Ngugi particularly presents Jacintha Wariinga and Karendifor a detailed observation about women who are under miserable conditions in neo-colonial countries.

First of all, Wariinga, who lives in Ilmorog, is an unemployed woman. Although she has many skills such as typing, she is still unable to find a job and earn

some money to survive. As Wariinga cannot find a job in her hometown, she goes to Nairobi in order to find a well paid and secure job as Nairobi is the trade centre of Kenya which makes it easier to find job:

So when the piece of land was sold, and I saw that I had no land to cultivate and that I would not get a job in Ilmorog, I thought I should go to the capital city of Kenya to look for work. ... So, alone in my hut, I told myself this: I can't fail to find a job in Nairobi. (DC42)

Although Wariinga goes to the capital city of Kenya and does not have a high level of expectation as she is ready to work as a babysitter or as a cleaner, she once more fails to find a job even there. When she applies for a job for the first time, a European man tells her that "there were no jobs for her" (DC42). Wariinga believes that she is refused just because she is a black woman. Therefore, she wants to raise her chance and she tries to contact with black bosses as she thinks they will give her a job since they are the members of the same clan:

Then I wandered into shop after shop, looking for one that employed black men. One's own family and age-group are never disowned: and we black people, aren't we all of one kin, one clan? I entered a shop which looked like a store for household goods and garden tools. ... A black man. There was a black man in the shop. My heart lifted with hope. (DC42)

Apparently the decision that Wariinga made was very logical as she believes that the white men were jealous of the black women who were strong enough to have a role in the society. Also, black men, according to Wariinga, would be glad to accept the integration of their own clan's women into the society. However, she would be disappointed once more, because the response of the black man was almost identical with that of the white man. After explaining all her troubles, "He (the black man) collapsed with laughter. He told me that the only job he could offer me that of spreading my legs, that women with mature bodies were experts at that job" (DC42-43). Although she was in an expectation of a good result, two black men's strange behaviours against Wariinga made her to have a sense of total disillusion. Ngugi states that not only Wariinga but also all Kenyan women were betrayed by the reactions of two black men. What is more agonizing is that there are many Kenyan men who believe that there is nothing a woman will be able to do with the exception

of “spreading their legs” (DC42) and this strengthens the positions of men in the society. Wariinga stresses this false accusation as follows:

The foreigners are not entirely to blame. ... Even you, the Kenyan men, think that there is no job a woman can do other than cooking your food and massaging your bodies. The other day I told some young men that my ambition was to design and build a simple machine to ease the burden of rural women, a simple machine that would exploit the greatest source of energy on the Earth – solar energy: And you know, the men laughed! Why have people forgotten how Kenyan women used to make guns during the Mau Mau war against the British? Can't people recall the different tasks carried out by women in the villages once the men had been sent to detention camps? (DC245)

In spite of the biases of not only white men but also their own black men, Wariinga does not stop her efforts for a job and finally she gets a job at the Champion Construction company which is managed by Boss Kihara. At first sight this can be regarded as something positive, but as Wariinga describes the condition of her house, her bitterness comes into light: "On Saturday morning Wariinga was visited by her landlord, the owner of the house in Ofafa Jericho, Nairobi in which she rented a room. (A house or a bird's nest? The floor was pitted with holes, the walls gaped with cracks, the ceiling leaked.)" (DC10). Moreover, in the end Wariinga was fired not only from the company but also from her room mainly due to the fact that she refused Kihara to sleep with which can be observed in the conversation that takes place between Gaturia, Wariinga and Wangari:

... Yes, Kihara was my boss? But what a boss! Today I'm also on the road looking for another job.
 Did you go on strike too? Gaturia asked.
 No. I refused to be his sugar girl. Wariinga said.
 She went on strike all right – against the tyranny of the Boss's bedroom. Wangari said, as if the question had been directed at her.
 (DC73)

As the given quotation indicates Boss Kihara and his ideology is one of the great barriers against the integration of women into the society. In addition to this, Wariinga is also left by her boyfriend, John Kimwana who falsely accuses Wariinga to be Kihara's mistress: "That evening Wariinga was abandoned by her boyfriend John Kimwana" (DC10). However, Wariinga never stops her fight to take a place and have a role in the society. Particularly, when she refuses to bed with Kihara, she

becomes the symbol of all neo-colonial women trying to have a position in the community by not as an object of pleasure, but only working and contributing to the development of the society.

All in all, towards the end of the novel, Wariinga undergoes a great transformation and becomes a militant to defend women's rights:

This Wariinga is not the one we met two years ago. This Wariinga is not the one who used to think that there was nothing she could do except type for others. ... The one who used to think that there was only one way of avoiding the pitfalls of life: suicide. No, this Wariinga is not that other Wariinga. Today's Wariinga has decided that she'll never again allow herself to be mere flower. ... The Wariinga of today has decided to be self-reliant all the time, to plunge into the middle of the arena of life's struggles in order to discover her real strengths and to realise her true humanity. (DC216)

The second female character whom Ngugi presents in order to show the problems that women experience to be a part of the neo-colonial society is Kareendi. She is Wariinga's best friend and a perfect learner who has many struggles to get the level of Form Four and she gets her EACE, a prestigious certificate showing her success in Swahili, English and religion (DC18) In addition to having a very good education background, her family also sends her to Nairobi secretarial school where she learns typing and shorthand and in a few months she becomes an expert:

They speedily enrol Kareendi at the *Nairobi Secretarial Collage* so that she can learn typing and shorthand. At the end of nine months Kareendi can pound a typewriter, thirty-five words a minute, and she is now an expert at shorthand – she has reached the speed of eighty words a minute. (18)

After having so many and unique qualifications, Kareendi starts looking for a job: "Kareendi now tramps all over Nairobi "looking for a job" (DC34). Although she has many unique skills, her case is not very different from that of Wariinga's. In her first job interview, she meets with Mr. Boss who tells her that they should go to a bar to discuss the case more fully:

Ah, Kareendi, jobs are very hard to come by these days. But a girl like you ... it should not be too difficult to find something for you to do. But, Kareendi, a matter like this can't be finalized in the office.

Let's go across to the Modern Love Bar and Lodging to discuss the question more fully. (DC19)

In fact, Kareendi knows that Mr. Boss's invitation is the first step of woo, and she refuses because she knows the real target of Mr. Boss is her thighs. However, it is not surprising for Kareendi as she knows all Kenyan men have the same opinion which indicates that if a woman wants to have a job, she should sleep with her boss. Kareendi deeply experiences this fact as she keeps looking for a job:

The next day she is still combing the city for a job. She enters another office. She finds there another *Mr Boss*. The similes are the same, the questions are the same, the rendez-vous is the same – and the target is still Kareendi's thighs. (DC19)

In spite of her efforts to get a job, and being refused by two Mr. Bosses, one morning she is offered a job even though she had not visited it before, "Hotel For Modern Love" (DC34). Her new boss is Mr. Kihara, the managing director of a firm. Since Kareendi has had some struggles to find a job, she does her best to do her tasks carefully and by this way her boss will not find any way to dismiss her and their relationship is a very good one at the beginning. Kareendi believes that her life is very smooth though Mr Boss's attitudes toward Kareendi changes and soon enough Mr. Kihara starts treating her as if she were his lover. Finally he expresses his main purpose clearly by asking: "What are your plans for this weekend? I would like you to accompany me on a small safari-what do you say to that?" (DC21) Moreover, another day, Mr. Boss invites Kareendi to stay in his own office after five o'clock, and he pretends that she will help him to type and send some letters. As she does not want to lose her job, she stays, but it turns out to be something different as just after everyone leaves the office and they stay alone there, Boss Kihara "asks her to take a seat so that they can talk" (DC21) As is seen, working overtime is a new strategy in order to trap his secretary. In other words, Kihara is still in search of an opportunity to sleep with Kareendi which he reveals more clearly while asking her to type letters:

Kareendi, darling mine are letters dictated by the heart... Wouldn't it be better for you to type them yourself, so that the secrets of your heart will not be read by someone for whom they are not intended? Beautiful Kareendi, flower of my heart. No one but you can type them. For I want to send them care of the address of your heart, by the

post of your heart, to be read by the eyes of your heart, thereafter to be kept within your heart sealed there forever and ever. (*DC*21)

Although Kihara is as talented as a poet to seduce any woman and rape her, Kareendi refuses him. As Mr. Boss hates failure, he dismisses her from his company. Consequently, Kareendi is another victim of neo-colonial Kenyan men.

In short, in neo-colonial countries there is a great exploitation, and women suffer the most because of this exploitation. The new masters namely the local elites are even worse than their predecessors for they regard women as solely objects of desire.

3.6. Liberation through Resistance

Ngugi in *DC* presents the conflicts of class distinction and the results of capitalism, yet he also presents some solutions to these major problems of neo-colonial countries. To be more specific, he believes that in order to be truly independent and free from the exploitation of neo-colonialism and capitalism, Kenyan people need to resist and revolt against the national bourgeoisie and elites. In other words, Ngugi confirms that it is only possible for people in neo-colonial countries to have nationally economic and political liberation through resistance. Ngugi writes that “the voice of the people is the voice of God” (*DC*63), by which he stresses the necessity of liberation in not only Kenya. William Slaymaker states that Ngugi’s liberation in *DC* is “a total immersion in the struggles of Kenyan workers and peasants for the liberation of the products of their labour for the benefits of Kenyans” (95).

Elleke Boehmer who also writes about Ngugi’s literary works expresses that Ngugi is dedicated to liberate his country. She states that “whereas in the early novels the concept of nation was identified with a leader figure, a Kenyatta type of patriarch, it is now seen in terms of the “people”, bound together by their shared history and cultural traditions” (*Stories of Women: Gender and Narrative in the Postcolonial Nation* 43). In his initial novels Ngugi had a nationalist view which is described as “populist nationalist programme for a new Kenya” (*Stories of Women: Gender and Narrative in the Postcolonial Nation* 43), but in *DC* he changes his mind and he supports the idea of resistance and revolution which will be held by the

masses in order to achieve social, economic and political liberation of Kenya. In *Homecoming* Ngugi writes that the revolution by the proletariat aims for a “complete and total liberation of the people completely socialized economy collectively owned and controlled by the people” (13). However, there are some important points that should be done in order to achieve a successful revolution. First of all, there must be a sense of unity in the masses all over the country. After achieving unity, the masses should struggle against the problems with the soul of collectivism. Finally, the masses should have a national consciousness which will help them to realise the value of their lands and traditions. As an illustration, the masses march to the Devil’s Feast which sets a good example of a common action carried out by peasants, and it can be regarded as the first step of social collectivism which identifies the struggle of the masses against neo-colonialism and practices of capitalism. Moreover, it is the embodiment of the necessity of revolution as well as an indication of an armed action which should be taken by the masses. Regarding the necessity of an armed action against capitalism, Ngugi writes in *Homecoming*:

Democracy and justice can only be achieved when the various interest groups voice their opposition and fight for them. Until democratic-minded Kenyans, workers, peasants, students, progressive intellectuals and others, unite on the most minimum basis of patriotic opposition to imperialist foreign domination of our economy, politics and culture, things will get worse, no matter who sits on the throne of power. No country can consider itself politically independent for as long as foreign interests dominate its economy and culture. (28)

From another perspective, salvation of the masses depends on the share of common wealth and prosperity in addition to the revolution. In other words, masses will be able to awaken against capitalism and neo-colonialism with the sense of sharing among all members of the society and masses: “The fruits of each worker’s labour went into his own pocket. But at the end of the month would contribute a fixed sum to common pool... No one in the community of workers lived on the sweat of another. Everyone received according to his ability, his reputation and the quickness of his hands (*DC* 227). Muturi sets a very good example for this ideology as he tries to persuade the people in Ilmorog to react if the rights, interests or relative wealth of the masses are abused or even threatened by the elites or the bourgeoisie. In other words, he is a revolutionist who leads the masses and makes them awaken to

form “the great organization of the workers and peasants” (DC204) and tells them to fight against the bourgeoisie:

I’m sure that the system of theft and robbery will never end in this country as long as people are scared of guns and clubs. We must struggle and fight against the culture of fear. And there is only one cure: a strong organization of the workers and peasants of land, together with those whose eyes and ears are now open and alert. (DC204)

Ngugi explains that this group of revolutionists include three groups of people namely workers, peasant and students who are called the holy trinity. It is important to note that if these three groups can have a unity, they will be able to repel not only foreign but also local capitalist from their country, or in the novel from the cave at the Devil’s Feast. Therefore, Ngugi believes it is only possible to be liberated if every member of Kenyan society listens to the “voices of rebirth and revolution” (DC230) and this will be the very first step of their struggle against neo-colonialism. However, the success of these movements can only be granted by the “revolutionary unity of workers and peasants” (DC230). Moreover, in the revolutionary stages of the novel, Ngugi stresses that proletariat should have the responsibility of socialist movement to awaken every member of the masses and should start a revolution in order to overthrow neo-colonial rulers and modern agents of capitalism: “Come one and all, and behold the wonderful sight of us chasing away the Devil and all his disciples” (DC201).

Ngugi particularly stresses that it is highly important to unite while fighting against all the agents and practices of neo-colonialism and puts emphasis on the dedication of the proletariat for their own liberation. Moreover, if they show their hunger and thirst for a complete liberation, they will be able to shape their future and since they “all come from the same womb, the common womb of Kenya” (DC234), they will be able to shape their fate. In addition to a better future, complete liberation and salvation from the neo-colonialism, revolution and resistance will help to form a new African identity which will be national. Ngugi explains that the united forces of the masses in Kenya will give a bright future.

From another point of view, Ngugi believes that the corrupted education system should be revised in order to have national soul and this path will be an important step in the course of national liberation. In other words, Ngugi claims that the very first step of the national liberation is the rejection of westernised education system and its cultural roots by writing: “Indeed most national liberation movements start by rejecting the culture of the coloniser, by repudiating the religion of the oppressing nation and the entire education system of the coloniser” (*Writers in Politics* 27). In addition to the revision of the education system, Ngugi stresses the importance of writers thus literature in the course of liberation, as he believes that writers shed light onto community: “I believe that we as teachers of literature can help in the collective struggle to seize back our creative initiatives in history. For this it is essential that we grasp the true function and role of literature in our society (*Writers in Politics* 30).

All in all, in *DC Ngugi wa Tiango* does not only present the troubles the masses suffer in neo-colonial countries as a result of capitalism, but he also explains that there is always hope for liberation and freedom which depend on unity, collectivism, resistance and revolution of the masses against all giants of neo-colonialism and its agents and all exploiters.

CHAPTER 4

IRONY OF INDEPENDENCE IN SALMAN RUSHDIE'S *SHAME*

4.1. Sir Ahmad Salman Rushdie, Postcolonialism, Neocolonialism and *Shame*

Ahmad Salman Rushdie is an Indian-born British prolific novel and essay writer who has written many literary essays and literary reviews in addition to his twelve novels. His writings cover subject matters such as political, cultural, historical and also mythological inquiries. Especially after his second novel, *Midnight's Children*, which was published in 1981, he has been a highly influential literary figure all over the world. His writings, particularly his novels, have provided new perspectives to fiction and mainly to postcolonial fiction. His writings focus on multiculturalism; they have many different layers and multiple meanings, and have a richness of intertextuality, all of which make him a major exponent of postcolonial writing. Moreover, his works, which generally take place in the Indian subcontinent, are a combination of historical fiction and magic realism from the ex-colonised's perspective as Rushdie is a representative of diasporic identity of India.

Rushdie has been criticised as a postcolonial writer since he is regarded as an "outsider" due to the fact that not only he is an immigrant but also he writes in English even while writing about the problems related to the east. Similarly, it is possible to claim that Rushdie himself knows all these criticisms as *Shame*'s narrator describes this case as "this Angrezi in which I am forced to write" (8). Moreover, the problem of being an outsider is reflected in *Shame* as follows:

Outsider! Trespasser! You have no right to this subject!...I know: nobody ever arrested me. Nor are they ever likely to. Poacher! Pirate! We reject your authority. We know you, with your foreign language wrapped around you like a flag: speaking about us in your forked tongue, what can you tell but lies? (28)

However, Rushdie can be seen as a both postcolonial and postmodern writer thanks to the unique techniques and themes that he uses in his works. On the one hand, he focuses on "particular cultural roots and the particular subject matter" in his fiction and these "have led many critics to see him as an exemplary postcolonial writer"

(Reder 2) and on the other hand, as he uses “irony, parody and exuberant carnivalesque imagery and language”, he is accepted as a “paragon of postmodernism” (Reder 2). Rushdie states that particularly the eastern readers see his novels as realistic works which represent history and politics (Ball 117). Nevertheless, Rushdie’s novels also represent the structures in western ideology and thinking and cast doubt on their objectivity. Thus, history becomes one of these structures which is often parodied and challenged by Rushdie in his works. In other words, his literary works, especially *Shame* which is the subject matter of this chapter, has come out as a result of the use of history as a discursive material as the history has a significant role in both literary theory and criticism. Additionally, it can be said that Rushdie’s novels have emerged as a consequence of the concern in postcolonial literature in literary theory (Reder 2). Hence, Rushdie’s *Shame* deals with not only history but also tradition and culture of the east which make it an object to be studied in postcolonial literature. Furthermore, the novel takes place at a time after the independence and secession of India, a period which was full of political and cultural turbulences and unrest, a common case in neo-colonial countries.

History, politics, culture and marginality are highly significant themes in, postcolonial and neo-colonial writings, and writers tend to use and subvert historical events which cause to erode their ideological significance. Similarly, Rushdie makes use of many postcolonial and neo-colonial theories so that he can generate some new ways to conceptualize the history or past. While some of the historical events which are represented in Rushdie’s novels are representation of the history, some others are in contradiction with their official forms. Rushdie attempts to alter the history or historical events of the coloniser by creating some different versions or explanations of the historical accounts. Therefore, in his essay “The Empire Writes Back with a Vengeance” Rushdie claims that postcolonial and neo-colonial writers, thus their novels, may “write back” to the colonisers or imperialists which may “decolonise Britain” (Ashcroft 33). In the same essay Rushdie draws on the idea “the empire writes back” by which he implies that postcolonial and neo-colonial writings have a capability to challenge the ideology and ground which western colonialism and imperialism depend on. As a result, it is claimed that instead of being a part of

“western game of history” or trying to rewrite subcontinent’s history “Rushdie has decided to challenge Western history on alternative grounds” (Reder 228). From this point of view, Rushdie claims that the western ideas are not adequate to reflect the “Third World”; therefore, Rushdie creates alternative histories in his novels. Similarly, Rushdie appropriates English, the coloniser’s language to write back and to assert his identity since he reshapes it and creates a hybrid form which contributes to the representation of Pakistan’s cultural values and identity. Analogically, “the inventive impurity of Rushdie’s heteroglot style provides a challenge to the idea of proper English, the King’s English, and therefore to British colonialism” (Gorra 195).

After *Grimus* (1975) and *Midnight’s Children* (1981), Salman Rushdie published his third novel *Shame* in 1983 by which he won “The Best Foreign Book” prize in France. In *Shame* he illustrates Pakistan’s political turbulences by using some fictional characters that are based on real political figures such as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. *Shame* is viewed as a classic of Third World Literature by Aijaz Ahmad in his book *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*. He explains the reasons why *Shame* may be read as an exemplary work of Third World literature as:

The colonial, determination of our modernity, the conditions and corruptions of post-coloniality, the depiction of the Zia and Bhutto periods in Pakistan as emblematic of Third World candillos and dictators in general, myths of nationhood and independence, the myths and gods of India, Third World migrants in metropolitan cities, the world of Islam and so on. (126)

What makes *Shame* a unique work is the fact that it has many connotations from cross cultural and multicultural contexts. Additionally, Rushdie’s early works including *Shame* have dealt with individuals who have lost their freedom in a world that has politically and socially corrupted states. Rushdie, in *Shame*, presents the current political conditions of Pakistan where people are deprived of the atmosphere of freedom. Aijaz Ahmad points out that in Pakistan there is no freedom or right to resist. However, if there is someone who resists, he will be trapped into the power relations which will ultimately result in violence. He describes Pakistan “as a space

occupied so entirely by power that there is no space left for either resistance or its representation; whoever claims to resist is already enmeshed in relations of power and in the logic of all-embracing violences” (*In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* 127).

Rushdie’s works, specifically his novels, cover the themes about the history or politics of the colonised countries, their time spans cover the period after the decolonisation or when the colonisation has already been over. In *Shame*, Rushdie focuses on the political cataclysm in Pakistan just after when it became an independent country. In other words, the events in *Shame* do not cover the time period before Pakistan’s independence and additionally almost every character and historical point emerges in the time period after the independence. In one of his articles, Rushdie describes Pakistan as a place where “democratic institutions” or “democratic instincts” have never been permitted to flourish. Rushdie also explains that “instead, the country’s elites—military, political, industrial, aristocratic, feudal—take it in turns to loot the nation’s wealth” (*Step Across This Line* 307). That is, *Shame* focuses on the tyrannical and repressive nature of the regimes of Pakistani elite whereas democracy is displaced and violence rules. Similarly Cynthia Abrioux states that “The predominant discourse of *Shame* is that of an incendiary and denunciatory evocation of a post-colonial nation in a state of moral chaos and murderous repression” (48). Thus, *Shame* is a neo-colonial country dominated by corruption.

In *Shame* Rushdie makes colonial history obvious on a metaphorical level by making the main character of the novel an illegitimate son of colonialists. In other words, Omar Khayyam Shakil realises that his father is not unknown but with a high probability that his father is a previous coloniser, an Englishman who departed before. His birth is reflected as fairytale which narrates that Chhuni, Munnee and Bunny, three daughters of Old Shakil, are Omar’s mother. The three sisters hold a party for which they also invite “a uniformed and ball-gowned crowd of foreigners. The imperialists! The grey skinned sahibs” (*Shame* 16). Just after the party, it is a hearsay that one of the hosts, sisters, is pregnant, and this is a dishonour which is described as “poppy-shame” (*Shame* 17). Furthermore, being pregnant from an ex-

coloniser or as stated in the novel from a “colonial authority” can be seen as the first step of a new invasion: “Invasion has already occurred” (*Shame*17). To be more precise, although the physical colonialism is over already, neo-colonialism is still there. That is, there is a certain parallelism between Omar and Pakistan. Omar is fathered by a coloniser and similarly Pakistan is conceived by the colonisers or the British who departed the country before. Hence, the relation between an unacknowledged or unnamed but genetic father and an illegitimate child creates a metaphor which uncovers the influences of the colonial past or in a sense the illegitimate past of the country. Rushdie invokes this colonial past by illustrating that what the colonisers have left behind them has been taken over by the previously colonised people. As an example, in the novel Omar realises that his grandfather had taken his library from a Colonel and preserved it which brings out the idea of colonial heritage:

Something – conceivably remorse – led him to his grandfather’s dark-panelled study, a book-lined room which the three sisters had never entered since the old man’s death. Here he discovered that Mr Shakil’s air of great learning had been a sham, ... because the books all bore the *ex libris* plates of certain Colonel Arthur Greenfield. ... and it had remained unused throughout its residence in the Shakil household. Now Omar Khayyam fell upon it with will. (*Shame*33)

As the narrator explains after his grandfather, now Omar takes over the library, a possession of the old coloniser, which is also described as “the symbolic takeover of the intact Englishness” (Cundy 59).

In *Shame*, Rushdie presents the despotism of an authoritarian regime which tries to validate its tyranny by Islamic doctrines. Rushdie narrates the conflict between Iskander Harappa and Raza Hyder who are the representations of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and General Zia ul Hak respectively. They were once the rulers of Pakistan, but then they were assassinated. As in many neo colonial communities, *Shame* represents a small minority who holds the political power, controls the country and recreates history. In other words, the characters in the novel are the embodiment of real historical figures. In *Shame* Rushdie explains that he has known Pakistan since he was born, but he has not been or lived there for a long time. Hence, his memories and feelings about Pakistan are only in fragile pieces. Moreover,

Rushdie states that he went back to Pakistan to live for a long time. However, he had to leave Pakistan not because of political or economic reasons but because of inner drives that are clearly represented in *Shame*.

Rushdie criticises the political, religious and social practices of Pakistan by selecting and reporting some important points from its history. Thus, it is possible to say that the narration in *Shame* is the history or story of Pakistan. He uses the events in Pakistan to satirize the dilemma of independence by referring to the actions and life courses of two important political figures Iskander Harappa, the representative of civilian power and Raza Hyder the military figure. In other words, *Shame* is a novel that reflects the issues about Pakistan just after its independence, so it may be regarded as a neo-colonial and post-imperial or post-colonial text. Cynthia Abrioux explains that *Shame* “is an exemplary incarnation of the modern, post-colonial novel, the novel as a metamorphosing process itself, where names, nations, narrations are subject to de-formation and re-formation...” (241). Thus, it is obvious that Rushdie has created a modern novel which may also be seen as a fairy tale by recreating history and historical figures in a created, new geographical area. Sushila Singh explains that the novel reflects the realities and truths about Pakistan by combining “free flight fairy tale and a savage political indictment” (16). It is also possible to call the novel a palimpsest which means a piece of parchment on which the initial records are wiped out and a new record is written on it. Rushdie has a metaphorical view while using the term palimpsest, as there is an attempt to wash away the history of Pakistan and to recreate or rewrite its official history. Hence, Pakistan’s new or rewritten history illustrates characters not only as heroes but also as martyrs. However, Rushdie believes that this effort to rewrite the history is something that has been dictated to them since violence, exploitation and oppression in the country are the main themes of history that is intended to be rewritten. In *Shame*, Rushdie deals with nationalism, gender discrimination and bias, smuggling, and unfair political franchising.

In short, *Shame* is in a way the story of the new country Pakistan, as it begins in 1947 when it partitioned from India and lasts to 1983 when the novel was

published. The novel is narrated by a narrator who has a multicultural background and he tells the history of the new country from an external perspective.

4.2. Parody of Politics and Democracy in *Shame*

In *Shame*, Rushdie presents politics in Pakistan through parodies. He uses fictional characters in his novel to reflect the political actions, manipulations and corruptions of the leading real political figures. Linda Hutcheon explains the term parody as a unique literary device of reproduction which paves the way for investigation and examination. She also asserts that parody provides a good way to emphasise the “politics of representation” (317). From another point of view, parody turns into a powerful means which overthrows knowledge. *Shame* may also be regarded as an example of historiographic metafiction since it is suspicious and sceptical about the recordings which are seen in history. Hutcheon explains that historiographic metafiction is:

...self conscious about the paradox of totalizing yet inevitably partial act of narrative representation. It overtly ‘de-doxifies’ received notions about the process of representing the actual in narrative, be it fictional or historical. It traces the processing of events into facts, exploiting and then undermining the conventions of both novelistic realism and historical reference. (75)

In short, *Shame* is a postmodern novel which does not claim to reflect an authentic history; on the contrary, it questions the historical knowledge and problematises it. In the novel the narrator explains:

The country in this story is not Pakistan, or not quite. There are two countries, real and fictional occupying the same space. My story, my fictional country exist, like myself, at a slight angle to reality. I have found this off-centring to be necessary; but its value is of course, open to debate. My view is that I am not writing only about Pakistan. (*Shame*29)

As is seen, in the novel Rushdie intermingles history and fiction which is a characteristic of postmodern texts and their paradoxes. That is to say, absolutely there is a past, but it can only be seen and understood through texts which generally represent history indirectly through some documents, works of arts and also

literature. Although the events that are depicted in the novel seem as if they are the incidents of any country, they are the illustrations of post-colonial Pakistan and its political and historical conditions. Therefore, in the novel there are only two characters Omar and Sufia Zinobia who are fictional, all the other characters are the reflections of real figures taken from Pakistan's social and political life.

Shame reflects the theme of politics which particularly in neo-colonial countries has turned into a kind of an endless game between the citizens or masses and the political figures which make up a privileged minority. The main purpose of this game is to attain power to dominate the masses and in order to keep this political power. There are attacks and counter-attacks by these people who actively take part in politics. In order not to lose their power, the political figures risk themselves, their minds and souls. As Rushdie shows in *Shame*, the conflict between political figures and political parties causes antagonism, resentments, and clashes all of which result in violence. From another view, politics does not directly concern people and it is not straightforward. For some, politician and fox are two words that have become synonymous, as politicians use every kind of tricks to acquire power and retain it. Furthermore, politicians in neo-colonial societies do not hesitate to use or exploit family and friendship circle which depicts the cold bloodedness of political figures in neo colonial lands.

As Rushdie has done in many of his books, he has also used magic realism in *Shame*. Rushdie depicts an imaginary state where Shakil, an old man, and his three daughters who are called "Bunny, Chhunni and Munnee" live all together. The mansion in which they live is in the town of Q and both the town and their house are described as follows:

... old town and Cantt, the former inhabited by the indigenous, colonised population and the latter by the alien colonisers, the Angrez, or British Sahibs. Old Shakil loathed both worlds and had for many years remained immured in his high fortress-like gigantic residence which faced inwards to a well-like and lightless compound yard. The house was positioned beside an open maiden, and it was equidistant from the bazaar and the Cantt. (*Shame*12)

As is seen in the quotation, their house is far from the town and bazaar. The underlying reason of this distance is that the old man wants his daughters not to interact with the colonisers or the white man, so his daughters live in isolation from the outside world in the closed mansion. This isolation continues for a while even after their father dies. However, after some time the three sisters exterminate the subjugation imposed by their father and they are charmed by the white men. Hence, they hold a party to be closer to the colonisers and also among their guests there are some privileged indigenous people: “Can it really have been the case that the few non-white guests- local zamindars and their wives, whose wealth had once been trifling in comparison with the Shakil crores – stood together in a tight clump of rage, gazing balefully at the cavorting sahibs?” (*Shame* 16). However, the non-white guests leave the party early, so they leave the three sisters alone with colonial officers. The party may be seen as a result of their fascination with the outside world, or white people’s colourful world. Moreover, the party serves for the idea that they are not inferior to the colonisers any more. That is, it is emphasised that the colonisers hold the economic and politic power which makes them superior to the natives, but natives try to get rid of their inferiority feeling by various activities such as the party held by three sisters. During this party, one of the sisters has sexual intercourse with a coloniser who impregnates her and she gives birth to a male child called Omar Shakil. In order not to damage the reputation of their family, they do not admit their relations with the colonisers and they do not tell the name and identity of Omar Shakil’s mother. They again close themselves to their mansion so that they will not have any interaction with the rest of the world. Neluka Silva describes the condition of three sisters as living in the cage: at first because of their father, and then “self-imprisonment” during her pregnancy (*The Politics of Repression and Resistance* 153). Here, Rushdie illustrates that there is almost no difference between the colonial and postcolonial eras as the native people are still in a cage.

The novel depicts how the natives are obsessed with the white men and Rushdie parodies this obsession. The party is the first moment when the three sisters confront with the whites, but in this very early moment one of the sisters has had an affair with the colonisers. This affair may be regarded as an action which shows the natives are easily deluded by the white men and their cultures. Here, the three sisters

symbolise the masses of the countries that had been colonised previously. Their affair with the white men is the representation of socio-cultural exploitation which also leads to the degeneration of language and identity. Rushdie also uses the mansion on a symbolic level as it symbolizes the efforts of the natives who try to go back to get rid of the culture of the colonisers and to regain their cultural values, identities and roots. Through these efforts, Rushdie stresses that although not only Pakistan but many other third world countries gained their independence, they cannot escape from the impacts of previous colonisers. Mahendrakumar M. explains this view as follows:

Rushdie describes a “not-quite Pakistan” thirty seven years after independence from colonial rule. While describing this, Rushdie sees it still caught up in the subject- object dialect imposed on third world people by a Manichean imperialism. To him, Pakistani people still view themselves as objects. This is because they have been unable to shake off the sense of shame and denigration heaped on them during colonial rule. (1)

As Mahendrakumar describes, previously colonised countries are still under the influence of their previous masters and their cultures which is an indicator of the neo-colonialism.

One of the major characters of the novel, Omar Khayyam Shakil, lives in the mansion for twelve years which pushes him to have an imbalanced psychology and mind. He also develops an inferiority complex as many people have in colonised countries. Moreover, as he is confined in an isolated mansion he has psychosis. The narrator describes the conditions in which Omar lives as:

He was not free. His roving freedom-of-the-house was only pseudo-liberty of a zoo animal; and his mothers were his loving, caring keepers. ... Omar Khayyam, walled up in ‘Nishapur’, had been excluded from human society by his mothers’ strange resolve, and this, his mothers’ three-in-oneness redoubled that sense of exclusion, of being, in the midst of objects, out of things. (*Shame*35)

Omar, who is a product of his mother’s relation with a previous coloniser, or a white man, cannot encounter with the world because of this shameful affair. Rushdie makes a clear connection with the birth of Omar, an illegitimate boy, and the birth of

Pakistan. Since Pakistan has partitioned from India, Rushdie feels a great pain and grief. He believes that this is a political plot which has been planned even before the independence and put into action by the colonisers after independence as they wanted to divide the country into two. As the narrator explains:

This was the time immediately before the famous moth-eaten partition that chopped up the old country and handed Al-Lah a few insect-nibbled slices of it, some dusty western acres and jungly eastern swamps that the ungodly were happy to do without. (Al-Lah's new country: two chunks of land a thousand miles apart. A country so improbable that it could almost exist.) But let's be unemotional and state merely that feelings were running so high that even going to the pictures had become a political act. (*Shame*61)

Hence, Rushdie claims that the division of India and Pakistan was the outcome of previous colonisers and their policies. Moreover, Rushdie also believes that self-centred Muslim leaders also contributed to this partition because of their profit-based policies. In the novel the narrator clearly demonstrates that Pakistan was constructed by a group of Muslim leaders who have western education background:

It is well known that the term 'Pakistan', an acronym, was originally thought up in England by a group of Muslim intellectuals. P for Punjabis, A for the Afgans, K for the Kashmiris, S for Sind and the 'tan', they say, for Baluchistan. ... So it was a word born in exile which then went East, was-borne across or translated, and imposed itself on history; a returning migrant, settling down on partitioned land, forming a palimpsest on the past. (*Shame*87)

As Rushdie indicates, the white men who cooperated with the native Muslim leaders, succeeded in dividing a united nation into two separate countries. Nkrumah refers to this as a consequence of neo-colonialism: "The post-war period witnessed a deliberate attempt by the imperialist countries to break up the colonial territories into small states, so that they may be incapable of independent development and have to rely on greater economic and political powers possessed by the imperialist nations" (76). As Nkrumah claims this might be an action of the agents of the colonisers who are now practitioners of neo-colonialism. In other words, in *Shame* Rushdie presents the relationships of the political figures and their affairs and he blames these figures to be the core reason of partition since they are still under the influence of their white masters. The Indian writer Shashi Tharoor also blames the previous colonisers as the

only reason of partition in his novel *Riot* where he claims that the partition was not a wish of the Muslims. On the contrary, it was a manipulation which was put into action by “the Muslim League, the Congress Party, and the British” (111). Moreover, Rushdie believes that there are two possibilities of this betrayal: The first one is that these Muslim figures have their self interests in the partition, and because of this they take side with the colonisers, and the second one is that they could not understand the vicious plan of the white men. Rushdie claims that this was a conspiracy which was formulated by both the white men and the political Muslim leaders who did not inform the masses about the plot. As a result, Rushdie blames these leaders for leaving the masses in dark about the partition after the nation gained its independence.

Rushdie lightens up the process of partition which took place in 1947, and he particularly focuses on the crisis and damages imposed on the masses of India. He presents many events in the novel which prove the destructive roles and effect of the colonisers. For instance, “Palladian Hotel” giving out light symbolizes the colonisers who are thought to be enlightening the ignorant masses: “The colonizers’ pride radiates throughout the novel: just across the street, opposite to the isolated mansion, there is a shining Palladian hotel...which acts as the metonymy of the colonizers’ glittering gaze” (Morta Pellerdi 187). In other words, the colonisers have the mission of civilizing and their seeming purpose is to educate the ignorant natives, and to enlighten them. Rushdie believes that the partition and its results were shameful for both the masses of Pakistan and India. Furthermore, the masses had riots against the partition which at the end only brought anguish and hardship to the masses of both countries. Also, the partition ended up in a mandatory migration for the masses of Pakistan who had to leave their homeland. Rushdie presents this migration problem repeatedly in the novel. He describes the city as “a camp of refugees” (*Shame*45), and this refers to the refugees who left their homeland due to the partition in 1947. Rushdie regards the partition as a great mistake that was committed by the political leaders of both countries, India and Pakistan, just because of their selfish desires, but it resulted in spiritual and material loss. The narrator demonstrates the losses by writing “the end of Mahmoud the Woman and her nudity in the Delhi streets” (*Shame*173). The death of Mahmoud the Woman is an illustration of the brutality

from which the masses of both countries suffered. In other words, many people were murdered and many moral values were lost. Especially, women were heavily affected and they lost their honour. In order to portray the conditions of women and their loss of honour the narrator expresses:

She (Bilquis) understood that she was leaning against the endless wall of the red fortress that dominated the old city, while soldiers, shepherded the crowd through its yawning gates; her feet began to move, faster than her brain, and led her into the throng. An instant later she was crashed by the reborn awareness of her nudity, and began to cry out: 'Give me a cloth!' until she saw that nobody was listening, nobody even glanced at the body of the signed, but still beautiful, naked girl. (*Shame*64)

As it is described, women and their honour are under a great threat because of the riots of partition. Therefore, it can be claimed that the catastrophe was the result of the actions of native political leaders, yet the ones who suffered were the masses and the women in particular.

Immorality and immoral acts in every social layer is another major problem in neo-colonial societies. Rushdie criticises this case as Pakistan is so corrupted that society does not claim corruption is illegal. To exemplify, Rushdie writes:

A custom officer depends, for a decent income, on traffic. Goods pass through, he not unreasonably impounds them, their owners see reason, an accommodation is reached, the customs man's family gets new clothes. Nobody minds this arrangement; everyone knows how little public officials are paid. Negotiations are honourably conducted on both sides. (*Shame*51)

As seen, officers are not afraid of or hesitant to take part in illegal actions as they cooperate with the political figures. Through these examples, Rushdie clearly shows that in neo colonial countries almost every type of profession is involved in immoral deeds and the administrative and political authorities are not able to or do not want to check all these immoral practices. Moreover, Rushdie tells the story of Bariamma who is an old and blind woman ruling her own Empire. In her house, many families, husbands and wives sleep in the same room which is all darkened. Thus, it is impossible to know what exactly is happening during the nights. In the novel it is described as:

Bilquis enjoys (while pretending to be scandalized) Rani's malicious ruminations on the subject of the household sleeping arrangements. 'Imagine, in that darkness,' Rani giggles while the two of them grind the daily spices, 'who would know if her real husband had come to her? And who would complain? I tell you, Billoo these married men and ladies are having a pretty good time in this joint family set-up. I swear, maybe, uncles with nieces, brothers with their brothers' wives, we will never know who children's daddies really are!' Bilquis blushes gracefully and covers Rani's mouth with a coriander-scented hand. 'Stop, darling, what a dirtyfilthy mind!' (*Shame*73)

Nobody knows who he or she is sleeping with, and nobody complains about it. Therefore, the corruption starts from the most basic unit of the society, family, and clearly shows how it affects the whole society. Through the depiction of Bariamma, Rushdie illustrates the prevalence of corruption in Pakistan. Moreover, it is important to notice that as soon as Rani starts criticising all these immoral practices, he is silenced. This indicates that whoever in the masses voices against the current system will be silenced immediately. Additionally, Rushdie once more makes a connection with the partition of Pakistan and these sleeping arrangements. The immoral acts of the nobles in Bariamma Empire who are delighted by the pleasure they take in sleeping arrangements are very similar to the acts of Pakistani leaders who did not revolt against the colonisers. On the contrary, leaders in Pakistan were also delighted by the power they got from the colonisers, so they make people obedient.

Moreover, the corruption in relationships may also be observed in the rulers' families. To illustrate, although Iskander Harappa and Pinki Aurangzeb have an illicit relationship, Harappa pretends to be a good man and husband by walking on the podium with his wife because he knows that it is important to look like a good role model in the eyes of the masses. However, it is impossible to believe that someone who is not sincere to his family, may be faithful to the people and the country that he rules. Additionally, marital adjustments are desired to be done in accordance with the political profits. For instance, Raza Hyder, a power hungry political figure, wants her daughter to marry Iskandar Harappa's nephew just because he believes that Harappa's political power will also make him more powerful. This also shows that the political figures only aim at keeping the power in their hands which makes them totally opportunist figures.

In the novel, Rushdie satirizes the social, political and economic condition of Pakistan particularly by telling the story of Barimma Empire. The pitiful conditions of masses in Pakistan are reflected as following:

As the officially designated poor-thing, Bilquis was also obliged to sit each evening at Barimma's feet while the blind old lady recounted the family tales. These were lurid affairs, featuring divorces, bankruptcies, droughts, cheating friends, child mortality, diseases of the breast, men cut down in their prime, failed hopes, lost beauty, women who grew obscenely fat, smuggling deals, opium-taking poets, pining virgins, curses, typhoid, bandits, homosexuality, sterility, frigidity, rape, the high price of food, gamblers, drunks, murders, suicides, and God. (*Shame*76)

This very general description of the country clearly depicts the economic crisis, political and social corruption in Pakistan all of which are directly the result of the political leaders who are not interested in the masses and their problems. Moreover, the blind old lady telling the story is a symbol of the political leaders in Pakistan who have no foresight or vision. As a result of these blind leaders, the masses suffer from all kinds of hardships. Indeed, the leaders are so self-centred and selfish that even when Bilquis tells the story of "Mahmood the Woman and her nudity in the Delhi streets", Bariamma approves it by saying: "Never mind, ... at least you managed to keep your dupatta on" (*Shame*76). Since India was colonised for a very long time, the masses were used to it. Thus, when they came under to domination of the local leaders or native colonisers who did not give them any of their rights, they have done nothing to improve their conditions, to reform the current systems, or to get rid of the local dictators. Tariq Rahman describes the masses and their conditions as following: "Salman Rushdie uses another important technique to reinforce the impression that politics dehumanizes human beings and makes them so different from what we understand by the term 'human' that they appear to us strangers, aliens and monsters" (113). The idea of alienation or dehumanisation of the rulers is also reflected by Aijaz Ahmad who writes:

The fictional equivalents of Bhutto and Zia are such perfect, buffoon-like caricatures, and the many narrative lines of the political parable are woven so much around their ineptitude, their vacuity, their personal insecurities and one-upmanships, their sexual obsessions, the absurdities of their ambitions and their ends, that one is in danger of

forgetting that Bhutto and Zia were in reality no buffoons, but highly capable and calculating men whose cruelties were entirely methodical. It is this tendency either to individualize completely the moral failures of a ruling class (Bhutto, or Zia, or whoever, is a bad character) or to spread them far too widely through society at large (the country was made wrong; what else do you expect?) which gives to Rushdie's *Laughter*, so salutary in some respects, the ambience, finally, of the modern cartoon. (141)

As Ahmad points out masses suffer under the ruling of Raza Hyder and Iskander Harappa who are the fictional representations of Bhutto and Zia, the actual oppressive rulers who never cared about the masses and their welfare. The only thing they focus on is the tools and means which enable them to remain powerful. By fictionalizing the actual political figures, Rushdie shows that the local rulers imitate the legacy of the previous colonisers in their administration. Rushdie thinks that Pakistan is a state whose leaders are crooked and corrupted, and this leaves the masses not only hopeless but also helpless as they do not voice against their rulers. In his work *Joseph Anton* Rushdie particularly emphasises that “civilian politicians and unscrupulous generals allied with one another, supplanted one another and executed one another... (60). From another perspective, it is possible to attach a connotation to the name Raza as it sounds like ‘raja’ which is similar to the ‘raj’, the British officer or authority who ruled India between the years of 1858 and 1947. In other words, Rushdie suggests that although the raj left the country after gaining the independence, their native agents, as in the case of Raza, pursue their ideologies and interests by oppressing and exploiting the masses.

Rushdie particularly focuses on the major political rulers and their manipulation through Iskandar Harappa and Raza Hyder as the embodiments of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister and Zia ul-Haq the president of Pakistan who have kept the political powers and ruled the country since the end of the colonial period. These political leaders do not only exploit the masses through their actions but also make the masses suffer when they fight for the power: “Quarrels between three Generals. Continued public disturbances. Great powers shifting their ground, deciding the Army had become unstable. ... And after that arrests, retribution trials, hangings, blood a new cycle of shamelessness and shame” (*Shame*276). Moreover, masses also suffer from coups which are provoked by the dictator rulers aiming at

gaining the power. In the history of Pakistan General Zia ul-Haq directed a coup in order to dethrone Bhutto in 1977. After the coup, Bhutto was kept imprisoned for a month at first, but after having been accused of murdering his political opponent Ahmad Raza Kasuri, he was sentenced to death which was put into action by hanging him in 1979. This coup is reflected in the novel where the military dictatorial figure Raza Hyder overthrows Iskandar Harappa. Rushdie refers to this political instability and politicians' manipulative manoeuvres in Pakistan and the indifference of the masses firstly when the narrator says:

One evening, soon after my arrival, I visited an old friend, a poet. I had been looking forward to one of our long conversations, to hearing his views about recent events in Pakistan. ... His house was full of visitors as usual; nobody seemed interested in talking about anything except the cricket series between Pakistan and India. ... But I really wanted to get the low-down on things, and at length I brought up the stuff that was on my mind, beginning with a question about the execution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. (*Shame*27)

In neo-colonial societies, democracy is one of the most problematic issues of the state. As in the case of Pakistan, the prime minister was dethroned and executed by the military forces. It is more ironic that almost nobody is interested in the anti democratic actions in the country, and they only care about less important things such as cricket. In addition to the execution of Bhutto, Nusrat Bhutto, the wife of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and their daughters were taken into a military camp where they were kept as prisoners for a long time. However, Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of Bhutto, obtained power, and was elected as the Prime Minister in 1988. Similarly in the novel, just after Iskandar is arrested, his wife and daughter are also arrested and put into house confinement for almost six years. The conditions of Harappa family are explained as:

Rani and Arjumand were kept under house arrest for six years exactly, two before the execution of Iskandar Harappa, four after it. ... They were living in usurped soil, in occupied territory, and they were determined not to let the invaders see their tears. ... Their chief warder, a certain Captain Ijazz... at first attempted to goad them into it. "God knows what you women are. You rich bitches. Your man is dead but you will not wet his grave." (*Shame*188)

Furthermore, when Raza loses his power, Arjumand, the daughter of Iskandar Harappa, takes the power and influence, which is almost the same as Benazir Bhutto. The main rule of the political life in many third world countries is that whoever has the right is mighty. Therefore, it is evident that democracy is a temporary dream and a kind of masquerade. In short, Rushdie explains that there is almost no difference between dictators and the leaders who are elected by people as these leaders get used to the policies of dictators as soon as they get the power. As a result, it is the fate of the masses to suffer under the oppression of the rulers. From another perspective, it is only possible to talk about a real democracy if the masses are educated and have a common ideology for the development of their nation. However, as in the example of Pakistan or Pakivistan, democracy turns into the ruling of a family, Harappa family, or dictatorship which is illustrated by Raza Hyder. From the perspective of the masses, they do not raise their voice against this tyranny. Another issue about democracy is that the ruling class, a minority privileged group, make the laws and regulations. However, they make these laws so flexible that they can make use of them by just adapting them to their wishes and desires. In neo-colonial lands the only wish of the ruling class is to keep the power at their hands so they want to make the laws just for themselves. In the novel Raza Hyder exemplifies this as following:

He informed the minister that although construction work at Needle was well advanced the threat from the tribals could never be eliminated unless he, Hyder, were empowered to take draconian punitive measures. 'With God's help we are defending the site, but now we must stop this pussyfooting. Sir, you must place the law in my hands. Carte blanche. At certain moments civil law must bend before military necessity. Violence is the language of these savages; but the law obliges us to speak in the discredited womanly tongue of minimum-force. No good, sir. I cannot guarantee results. (*Shame*101-102)

As Rushdie writes, the military figure Raza wants to have the power of regulation to use violence against anyone who opposes him and his actions. Particularly, he wants to be empowered so that he will be able to dominate the masses whom he calls "savages"(*Shame* 102).

Rushdie represents Q as a place where not only political but also social life is surrounded with chaos, corruption and confusion. Politicians are only concerned with

the ways which help them to keep the power. Since the political leaders are corrupted, the underdeveloped, deficient status of the nation is due to their malpractices or misbehaviours. To illustrate, although they claim that they are the guardians of democracy, they make the elections a mockery. Normally if a country is democratic, the candidate who is the man of masses should be elected. However, in Pakistan, which may be seen as a microcosm of neocolonial countries, elections are manipulated by the use of force and duress. For instance, in the novel Iskandar Harappa wins the election and comes to power through the help of his manipulative acts. The strategies that he follows in order to win the election are totally undemocratic. The narrator clearly demonstrates the atmosphere in which the elections are held:

From the beginning, then. The elections which brought Iskandar Harappa to power were not (it must be said) as straightforward as I have made them sound. As how could they be, in that country divided into two Wings a thousand miles apart... she remembers that first day, the thunderous crowds around the polling stations. O confusion of people who have lived too long under military rule, who have forgotten the simplest things about democracy! Large numbers of men and women were swept away by the oceans of bewilderment, unable to locate ballot-boxes or even ballots, and failed to cast their votes. Others, stronger swimmers in those seas, succeeded in expressing their preferences twelve or thirteen times. (*Shame*178)

In the given atmosphere in which elections take part, it is seen that there is nothing different between dictators or democratic rulers since the votes which are not in favour of Harappa are cleared away. Moreover, the open counting goes on during the night when it is almost impossible to count them correctly. Many people try to lighten the ballot boxes in vein and Rushdie writes “Outside the errant polling stations large number of democrats assembled, many holding burning brands above their heads in the hope of shedding new light on the count” (*Shame*178). The masses that had been under the rule of the colonisers for a long time now have the chance to express their own preference. However, the manipulation of the rulers which is a common problem in previously colonised countries also takes place in Pakistan. Moreover, in order to get support of the masses, it is common to tell lies even promise to them. For instance, Harappa promises that if he is elected, every single peasant will have their own land, yet it is never put into practice. In short, the title of

the novel *Shame* becomes a term which symbolises all the illicit affairs and practices of not only rulers but also officers and also even some members of the masses:

Shameful things are done: Lies, loose living, disrespect for one's elders, failure to love one's national flag, incorrect voting at elections, over-eating, extramarital sex, autobiographical novels, cheating at cards, maltreatment of women folk, examination failures, smuggling, throwing one's wicket away at the crucial point of a Test Match: and they are done *shamelessly*. (*Shame*122)

Shame as a symbol in fact stands for the unified responsibility of both the rulers and also the masses that altogether let shameful and inhuman actions occur in their independent countries.

The corruption of the rulers is also projected through the shawls which have been created by Rani. Rushdie portrays the eighteen shawls of Rani all of which illustrate the shamelessness of Iskander Harappa as Rani entitles them "The Shamelessness of Iskander the Great" (*Shame*191). Moreover, the narrator describes the significance of these shawls as: "What did eighteen shawls depict? Locked in their trunk, they said unspeakable things which nobody wanted to hear" (*Shame*191). As Rushdie writes, the shawls are the expression of the shameful acts of the rulers and the political life that are not easy or possible to unclothe. It is evident in the novel that the rulers as in the case of Iskandar Harappa are immoral and they exploit their status and the power that they have, and they almost do nothing in favour of welfare of the masses or the state. Rushdie shows how the rulers subordinate the masses or the other rulers who are junior administrative officers through the depiction of the slapping shawl:

... and the slapping shawl, Iskander a thousand times over raising his hand, lifting it against ministers, ambassadors, argumentative holy men, mill owners, servants, friends, it seemed as if every slap he ever delivered was there, *and how many times he did it, Arjumand, not to you, to you he would not have, so you will not believe, but see upon the cheeks of his contemporaries...* (*Shame*192)

As is seen, Rushdie claims that politicians cannot tolerate anyone who is dissident. They do not want to see or hear any resistance. Additionally, they do not want to have close relations with the subordinates, even with their own friends. Possibly one

of the most terrifying acts of Iskander is brought under light through the description of torture shawl which clearly depicts the oppressive ruling:

... and the torture shawl, on which she embroidered the foetid violence of his jails, blindfolded prisoners tied to chairs while jailers hurled buckets of water, now boiling hot (the thread-steam rose), now freezing cold, until the bodies of the victims grew confused and cold water raised hot burns upon their skins... (*Shame*193)

Rushdie also satirizes the elections through the “election shawl”, which symbolizes all the undemocratic practices of Iskander Harappa just to keep the political power. More specifically, Rushdie explains that in Pakistan the representatives are just a fabrication. In order to demonstrate the corruption that goes hand in hand with violence, the election shawl is described as follows:

... and the election shawl, one for the day of suffrage that began his reign, one for the day that led to his downfall, shawls swarming with figures, each one a breathtakingly lifelike portrait of a member of the Front, figures braking seals, stuffing ballot-boxes, smashing heads, figures swaggering into polling booths to watch the peasants vote, stick-waving rifle-toting figures, fire-raisers, mobs, and on the shawl of the second election there were three times as many figures as on the first, but despite the crowded field of her art not a single face was anonymous, every tiny being had a name, it was an act of accusation on the grandest conceivable scale, *and of course he'd have won anyway, daughter, no question, a respectable victory...* (*Shame*193)

As Rushdie reflects during the election process, the rulers do not hesitate to utilise violence for their own sakes. In other words, they hold elections which have no meaning and they capture the chairs through force. However, Iskander is so power hungry that winning the elections is not enough for him and he wants to destroy every kind of opposition against him. Iskander’s unlimited greediness is explained as “*but he wanted more, only annihilation was good enough for his opponents, he wanted them squashed like cockroaches under his boot ...* (*Shame*193)

Rani’s another shawl is called “allegorical shawl” which is also named “the Death of Democracy” (*Shame*194). Through this, Rushdie points out that political leaders can be cheated or defeated by their own supporters as they are also power hungry figures who have personal goals. To illustrate, Iskander is demonstrated to be

hanged, yet he is in fact slaughtered by Generals who were once his own men. In other words, the Generals used to cooperate with Iskander once, but then they allied with Raza Hyder and they altogether overpowered him. In fact, Iskandar is aware of the conditions in which he lives and the narrator describes as “ ‘Iskander’ Raza said without raising his voice, ‘don’t forget your friends.’ ‘A man in my position has no friends,’ Harappa replied. ‘There are only temporary alliances based on mutual self interest’” (*Shame*209). Iskander shows that dictatorship is a trap which ends up by entrapping the dictator itself and Rushdie describes his final scene as: “ and Iskander with his eyes shut squeezed and squeezed, while in the background the Generals watched, the murder reflected by a miracle of the needlewomen’s skill in the mirrored glasses they all wore, ... and behind the Generals other figures, peeping over uniformed shoulders” (*Shame*194). In short, dictators at the end get eliminated by other power hungry political figures or their own men who regard them as barriers to get the absolute power.

From the very early stages of his writing career, Rushdie has been bothered by the dictators, dictatorship, tyranny and tyrannical figures. Not only in *Shame*, but also in his earlier novels *Grimus* and *Midnight’s Children* respectively, Rushdie attacks the rulers of Pakistan and India, with his illustrations of tyrannical figures who are hungry for power. Particularly Cynthia Abrioux regards *Shame* as “an urgent, courageous and committed act of protest against the democratic deficit in Pakistan” (45). In other words, Rushdie has always been in search of an influential method that can be used against the dictators. In the novel this is explained as follows:

How does a dictator fall? There is an old saw which states, with absurd optimism, that is the nature of tyrannies to end. One might as well say that is also in their nature to begin, to continue, to dig themselves in, and often, to be preserved by greater powers than their own.

Well, well, I mustn’t forget I’m only telling a fairy-story. My dictator will be toppled by goblinish, faery means. ‘Makes it pretty easy for you,’ is the obvious criticism; and I agree, I agree. But add, if it does sound a little peevish: ‘*You* try and get rid of a dictator some time.’ (*Shame*257)

Though Rushdie takes a stand against dictatorship, in the novel it is legitimised by Raza Hyder as he links his ruling with religion. In other words, Raza Hyder obtains

the power of Iskandar Harappa when he is imprisoned, and his major purpose is to create a strict religious society, so he uses Islamisation as a technique to attain his purpose. Although Raza and Zia Ulhaq differ from each other at the beginning of their careers, they become very similar when Raza goes into the political affairs. Zia can be seen as a zealot who believed that the only way to improve the condition of the nation is religion which would also allow him to apply his own ideas and goals into action without any control. In short, political rulers exploit religion and use it as a tool for more exploitation. In other words, Rushdie puts forward that religion, in postcolonial nations, has become a strategy which has been exploited by the native rulers to ensure their power. Under the rule of General Raza, Pakistan becomes more and more Islamised and he makes many regulations such as prohibition of alcohol, censoring TVs, promoting charities, especially the religious ones, restraining people who support rival politicians and backing the religion through every kind of media. The narrator explains this as:

What Raza did: he banned booze. He closed down the old beer brewery at Bagheere so that Panther Lager became a fond memory instead of refreshing drink. He altered the television schedules so drastically that people began summoning repair men fix their sets, because they could not understand why the TVs were suddenly refusing to show them anything except theological lectures, and they wondered how these mullahs had got stuck inside the screen. (*Shame*247)

Moreover, Rushdie also claims that public and private life of masses have been kept under control through the exploitation of the religious values: “On the Prophet’s birthday Raza arranged for every mosque in the country to sound a siren at nine a.m. and anybody who forgot to stop and pray when he heard the howling was instantly carted off to jail” (*Shame*247). Moreover, he interferes into personal freedom by announcing that if women go out without a veil, or anyone who does something against the religious values during Ramadan, they all would be punished. In other words, Rushdie explains that as the Muslim masses are sensitive about religious value, it is easy for Raza to use these values for his own advantage. As an illustration, Raza is sure of himself when he speaks about Islam and its doctrines and also he has no hesitation to impose any kind of punishment that Islam approves. For instance when some western television interviewers visit Raza, they ask:

‘General Hyder, informed sources opine, close observers claim, many of our viewers in the West would say, how would you refute the argument, have you a point of view about the allegation that your institution of such Islamic punishments as flogging and cutting off of hands might be seen in certain quarters as being, arguably, according to certain definitions, so to speak, barbaric?’ (*Shame*245)

However, Raza is sure not only about himself and his justice, but also he claims that these rules are not manmade, on the contrary they are holy words, so it is impossible to question. As he answers the question of the interviewers, he counts three main reasons why it is not barbaric:

‘Number one... a law in itself is neither barbaric nor not barbaric. What matters is the man who is applying the law. And in this case it is I, Raza Hyder, who am doing it, so of course it will not be barbaric.’ ... ‘But the third reason is that these are not laws, my dear fellow, which we have plucked out of the wind. These are holy words of God, as revealed in sacred texts. Now if they are holy words of God, they cannot also be barbaric. It is not possible. They must be some other thing.’ (*Shame*245)

Rushdie uses some native characters as the agents who work for the former colonisers even after the independence. Maulana Dawood, a character who seems not to have national awareness, is only directed by the greed of power. He is also the embodiment of Raza’s fanatical views of religion. In India, British rulers gave Maharajas some lands in order to follow and promote their interests and Dawood follows the acts of these Maharajas:

This Ibadalla had found his job through the malign influence of the bearded serpent who stood beside him in the heat, the local divine, the notorious Maulana Dawood who rode around town on a motor-scooter donated by the Angrez sahibs, threatening the citizens with damnation. (*Shame*42)

Maulana and his evil deeds reflect the corruption of the religious natives who serve as the institutions of the white men or previous colonisers. They, in other words, are the agents of the native rulers and colonisers. They also initiate the native rulers to carry out illegal and undemocratic acts. Rushdie shows the ways how Raza Hyder represses the masses by using every kind of power as a consequence of Dawood’s impulsion. In order to silence and keep the masses under control, he does everything

he can. For example, Raza demolishes or breaks up the current legal systems into part. Moreover, for all of his actions, he declares that God lets him do. The narrator says:

The legal system was dismantled, because the lawyers had demonstrated the fundamentally profane nature of their profession by objecting to diverse activities of the state; it was replaced by religious courts presided over by divines whom Raza appointed on the sentimental grounds that their beards reminded him deceased advisor. God was in charge, and just in case anybody doubted it He gave little demonstrations of His power. (*Shame*248)

Rushdie makes a clear analogy between Raza and Zia in an interview. He asserts that Zia keeps everything that he does quite by religion so people cannot question his actions as a result of their respect to the religion. Therefore, Islam creates a protective shield for Zia and his actions, so it makes Zia's dictatorship legitimised. Similarly in the novel nobody opposes the tyrannical actions of Raza as his religious words are unquestionable.

Shame is an illustration of Pakistan's history, its rulers and their irrational political practices. In general, there are no established rules or values and this transform Pakistan into a despotic country. Firstly, Harappa, as the president of the country, wants to establish a stable and ideal community with fixed rules, yet he himself never obeys these rules. Seemingly he is an advocate of the democracy. However, he prepares his daughter Arjumand to be the president after himself. Hence, it is impossible to talk about democracy in Pakistan. On the contrary, after the independence it turns out to be a country ruled by monarchy. On the other hand, Raza Hyder benefits from religion to practise his desires. Therefore, Rushdie explains that in both cases, it is the masses of the country who suffer from the fantasies of the rulers as both so-called democracy and religion do not relieve the masses:

So-called Islamic 'fundamentalism' does not spring, in Pakistan from the people. It is imposed on them from above. Autocratic regimes find it useful to espouse the rhetoric of faith, because people respect that language, are reluctant to oppose it. This is how religions shore up dictators; by encircling them with words of power, words which the

people are reluctant to see discredited, disenfranchised, mocked.
(*Shame251*)

The citizens in Pakistan are oppressed by the dictators. However, they cannot do anything if they do, they feel that they are opposing the religious doctrines. Therefore, they turn into speechless figures even under the terrorism imposed by the rulers and they are accustomed to this silence.

After a while the dictatorship of Raza and control of army on people and their private lives become so deep that they do not have any freedom. Eventually this becomes so unbearable that even the supporters of Raza try to revolt against his policies. However, they are cleared away. The attempt of revolt and its ultimate consequences are described as following:

But the ramming-down-the-throat point stands. In the end you get sick of it, you lose faith in the faith, if not *qua* faith then certainly as the basis for a state. And then the dictator falls, and it is discovered that he has brought God down with him, that the justifying myth of the nation has been unmade. This leaves only two options: disintegration, or a new dictatorship. (*Shame251*)

So the people of Pakistan are hopeless as they believe that even if Raza gets dethroned, there will be another dictatorship. Here Rushdie believes that the only hope for the nation is to remove the religion from the state affairs, and this will help them to get rid of the generals as well. In other words, the state can only survive by removing dictators and their main politic tool, faith. Moreover, Rushdie indicates that after the partition, there should have been a unity among the different groups of people. However, Islam was unable to unite the main groups of Pakistan; Sindhis, Baluchis, Punjabis, and Pathans. Thus, Rushdie offers a third way to unite the nation which is also the motto of French Revolution: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. This is also considered an alternative to Islamisation which can bring order and stability to nation:

... no there is a third, and I shall not be so pessimistic as to deny its possibility. The third option is the substitution of a new myth for the old one. Here are three such myths, all available from stock at short notice: liberty, equality, fraternity. I recommend them highly.
(*Shame251*)

4.3. Female Identity in Neo-Colonial Societies

Women question is another problematic issue in many neo colonial countries. In a general sense, they are regarded as the second sex. To illustrate, politicians do not want to have female children as they believe that the hierarchy must pass on to sons, not to daughters. The underlying reason for this is that male children are believed to be more powerful both mentally and physically which make them more suitable heirs. In the novel, Bilquis and Rani have expected male children who would be their heirs for their political tradition. However, Rani has a female child called Arjumand, and Bilquis has two daughters, Sufia Zinobia and Naveed Hyder. The expectations of the families are reflected as following:

Here I should explain the matter of daughters-who-should-have-been-sons. Sufia Zinobia was the ‘wrong miracle’ because her father had wanted a boy; but this was not Arjumand Harappa’s problem. Arjumand, the famous ‘virgin Ironpants’, regretted her female sex for wholly non-parental reasons. ‘This woman’s body.’ She told her father on the day she became a grown woman, ‘it brings a person nothing but babies, pinches and shame.’ (*Shame*106-107)

Rushdie particularly deals with women characters as they occupy underscored roles in society due to some obvious features. More specifically, women are not easily accepted by the male dominated society. In short, women are not counted in Pakistan.

From another point of view, Rushdie believes that a society, in which women are oppressed, is open to other kinds of oppressions. Therefore, the narrator says:

Repression is a seamless garment; a society which is authoritarian in its sexual codes, which crushes its women beneath the intolerable burdens of honour and propriety, breeds repression of other kinds as well. Contrariwise: dictators are always – or at least in public, on other people’s behalf – puritanical. So it turns out that ‘male’ and ‘female’ plots are the same story, after all. (*Shame*173)

Therefore, Rushdie implicitly explains that if a society is to be liberated from all kinds of repressions, the first step should be the improvement of women condition. In other words, the development of a nation depends on the level of women’s freedom.

Thus, the oppression of women directly impedes the nation as a whole. In this regard in his article Keith Booker points out that:

Rushdie's contention, then, is not that we should not have faith, but that each of us should have the freedom and opportunity to explore and enact his or her own faith in his or her own way. Rushdie is an apostle of freedom, proclaiming the creed that none of us can be truly free as long as any of us remain oppressed. In this regard, it is significant that he has become more and more concerned with the oppression of women in Islamic society. After all, the male-female distinction is among the most important of the dual oppositions that Rushdie consistently attacks, and as long as women are oppressed, men cannot have true freedom either. (*Beauty and the Beast: Dualism as Despotism in the Fiction of Salman Rushdie*994)

As Booker addresses, the true freedom should encompass people from all social strata and should be true for both genders. However, in religious societies as in the case of Pakistan, the case becomes sharpened and the conditions in which women live become disastrous. T.N Dhar in his book *History Fiction Interface in Indian English Novel* reveals that as Islam obtrudes into the women's life and Islamic doctrines dominate their lives, women in Islamic countries become doubly repressed which distinguish them from the other oppressive societies. The reason for this is the extra burden that the religion lays on women which limits their roles in society. Even they can be deprived of basic rights such as attending school which can be seen in the case of Arjumand: "Arjumand has persuaded her father to let her live and go to school in the city. ... Arjumand cannot restrain her joy" (*Shame*126). For Arjumand it is a grace of her father to allow her to go school because her father Iskander reminds her that "It is a man's world, Arjumand. Rise above your gender as you grow. This is no place to be a woman in" (*Shame*126). In other words, there is a biased viewpoint against women in Pakistan, and society is not concerned about the problems women suffer from. Thus, it is possible to say that women do not have an identity in neo colonial countries. Aijaz Ahmad explains:

... what we find is a gallery of women who are frigid and desexualized (Arjumand, the 'Virgin Ironpants'), demented and moronic (the twenty-odd years of Zinobia's childhood), dulled into nullity (Farah), driven to despair (Rani, Bilquis) or suicide (Good News Hyder), or embody sheer surreal incoherence and loss of individual identity (the Shakil sisters). Throughout, every woman, without exception, is

represented through a system of imageries which is sexually over determined; the frustration of erotic need, which drives some to frenzy and others to nullity, appears in every case to be the central fan of a woman's existence. (*In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*144)

As Ahmad points out women do not have their own identities, on the contrary the reason of their existence is seen as only an erotic need. As a result, the ideology of the newly partitioned nation puts a heavy burden on women which hinders its development and freedom.

In *Shame*, Rushdie portrays all these problems of women through different female characters such as Bilquis Hyder, Rani Harappa, Arjumand Harappa, Sufia Zinobia and Naveed Hyder. In this group, Sufia Zinobia is the only one who battles with oppression against not only women but also all the oppressed. In other words, she is the representative of collective consciousness and the embodiment of Pakistan, its masses and all the countries where dictatorship is conducted. To begin with, Sufia is seen as a shame by her parents because at first she is the “miracle that went wrong” and secondly she is a mentally-retarded child. As she comes down with a brain fever, her brain does not develop and Rushdie describes her mental condition as “Sufia Zinobia at twenty eight had advanced to a mental age of approximately nine and a half... (*Shame* 218). Although she is not normal, she is the reflection of every kind of repression; political, religious and social. Sufia Zinobia is at the centre of the novel by her marriage to Omar Khayyam which is something in between shame and shamelessness. She is also the figure who gives birth to violence not just for herself but for everyone who is oppressed and more generally for the all world. Ahmad describes Sufia as “Sufiya Zinobia, this Shame personified, is no mere character; she is presented from the outset as the very embodiment of the principle of redemption – if redemption, in this altogether unheroic, unscrupulous world, is even possible. (Ahmad 145). Moreover, Sufiya’s mental condition is a metaphor of the gender ideology of Pakistan and other similar countries. In these countries gendering puts a heavy pressure on female figures because they are seen as incapable and even deformed. As in the case of the novel, Sufiya and other women are seen as psychologically flawed and insufficient.

From another perspective, Sufiya Zinobia can be regarded as the representative of all women and the masses in Pakistan. As both of these groups are oppressed by male figures or more generally by the rulers; they are psychologically frail. However, Rushdie offers a solution to the oppression of masses by Sufiya and her violent acts. At her first action at the age of twelve, she slaughters two hundred eighteen turkeys “with a certain orgiastic relish” (Ahmad 147). This scene is described as follows:

They found her in the aftermath of the Loo, sitting fast asleep under the sun’s ferocity in the turkey-yard of the widow Aurangzeb, a little huddled figure snoring gently amidst the corpses of the birds. Yes they were all dead, everyone of the two hundred and eighteen turkeys... .
...Sufiya Zinobia had turn off their heads and then reached down into their bodies to draw their guts up through their necks with her tiny and weaponless hands. (*Shame*138)

In the opening chapters of the novel Sufiya is seen as a source of shame for her family. However, as it progresses, Rushdie focuses on the shameless world in which Sufiya has to live. Therefore, Rushdie explains that when the shame and shamelessness encounter, the eventual outcome is violence which is described as “intrinsically a cleansing virtue” (Ahmad 146). That is to say, Sufiya battles against the unjust rulers and the system and every kind of repression. She also brings the shameful operations of the rulers into the light through her violent actions. Catherine Cundy explains that the writer “desires to tell a cautionary tale about Pakistani elite in *Shame* – a tale that demonstrates the numerous ill bred by oppression and in which corruption gain their just rewards”(44). Hence, Sufiya’s slaughtering of turkeys may be regarded as an answer to the rulers who oppress the masses who are psychologically weak. In other words, Sufiya and the sufferings which she has experienced can be related to the masses of Pakistan. She is the embodiment of Pakistan and the spirit of both country and the masses who have been exploited by their own family. Moreover, Rushdie implicitly explains that just like Sufiya who has not developed mentally and who is not stable emotionally, Pakistan and its masses have not been developed; hence they are suffering from political instability.

Another eruption of violence comes after many years. Although Sufiya and Omar Shakil get married, they are not allowed to sleep, so Sufiya whose brain is at

the age of six at that time starts questioning the essence of marriage, sex and having children. Once she gets frustrated and angry with the case and goes out of home, she finds four men with whom she sleeps and finally she kills all of them. When she returns home, she is portrayed as engulfing in blood and semen. The narrator describes this as following:

Shame walks the streets of night. In the slums four youths are transfixed by those appalling eyes, whose deadly yellow fire blows like a wind through the lattice-work of the veil. They follow her to the rubbish-dump of doom, rats to her piper, automate dancing in the all-consuming light from the black-veiled eyes. Down she lies; and what Shahbanou took upon herself is finally done to Sufiya. Four husbands come and go. Four of them in and out, and then her hands reach for the first boy's neck. The others stand still and wait their turn. And heads hurled high, sinking into the scattered clouds; nobody saw them fall. She rises, goes home. And sleeps; the beast subsides. (*Shame* 219)

As Rushdie explains, suppression ultimately gives birth to extreme violence and cruelty as Sufiya Zinobia does. Especially her extreme violence is a reflection of the masses that struggle under the ruling of Zia. From another perspective, here Rushdie explains his own desire to put an end to the dictatorship in Pakistan as Sufiya puts a symbolic end to the male domination. Therefore, the women that Rushdie portrays in *Shame* are not passive figures who accept their fate in a patriarchal and dictatorial society. On the contrary, they are aggressive and they are able to overthrow the conventional ideologies in the society. Moreover, the number “four” also plays a significant role as in Islamic rules men are allowed to have four wives. However, by having sex with four different men, Sufiya voices against the religious inequality between genders. In short, Rushdie puts forward that if a society is kept under control by the political figures or males in general, there cannot be any kind of equality.

Moreover, after a while Sufiya's violent actions spread over the whole country. Rushdie explains the reason for her growing violence as “once a carnivore has tasted blood you can't fool it with vegetables any more” (*Shame* 242-243). Also her mass murders are described as following:

The killing continued: farmers, pie dogs, goats. The murders formed a death -ring round the house; they had reached the outskirts of the two cities, new capital and old town. Murders without rhyme or reason, done it seemed, for love of killing, or to satisfy some hideous need. (*Shame* 260)

Here, her “hideous need” is getting rid of the oppression of her husband Omar Khayyam Shakil and her father Raza Hyder who not only psychologically but also physically try to keep Sufiya under control by agreeing “that Sufiya Zinobia was to be kept unconscious until further notice” (*Shame* 236). Thus, Shakil and Hyder keep Sufiya in enslavement in the attic which also symbolises the so-called freedom of Pakistan and India after the imperative partition. Sufiya’s condition is illustrated as following:

Hyder brought long chains and they padlocked her to the attic beams; in the nights that followed they bricked up the attic window and fastened huge bolts to the door, and twice in every twenty-four hours, Omar Khayyam would go unobserved into that darkened room, that echo of other death-cell, to inject into the tiny body lying on its thin carpet the fluids of nourishment and of unconsciousness ... (*Shame* 236-237)

Here, Rushdie refers to two different oppressions. Firstly, in a patriarchal society females are under the dominance of male figures who not only physically but also mentally restrain the females and as a result they may lose their identities. All the oppression that Sufiya suffers from transforms her into a beast at the end and the narrator says “A beast is born, a ‘wrong miracle’... This was the danger of Sufiya Zinobia” (*Shame* 200). Secondly, on the symbolic level, Sufiya is the representation of Pakistan a country under the control of the western powers even after the independence. Moreover, the partition of India and Pakistan might be regarded as an injection “into the tiny body”(Shame 237) which has been done by the previous colonisers. Rushdie describes the effect of this injection on the country as “two Wings without a body, sundered by the land-mass of its greatest foe, joined by nothing but God” (*Shame* 178). However, Sufiya finally escapes from the captivity which is described through Omar Shakil as:

‘For the first time in her life’ – he shocked himself by the sympathy in the thought- that girl is free.’ He imagined her proud; proud of her

strength, proud of the violence that was making her a legend, that prohibited anyone from telling her what to do, or whom to be, or what she should have been and was not: yes, she had risen above everything... (*Shame* 254)

Rushdie points out that since in many third world countries the right place that women deserve is not given to them as in the case of Sufiya, she escapes from everything that restricts her. Moreover, Rushdie describes her freedom as being “above everything.” Her escape is a kind of revolt against oppressions of men and may be seen as a major step of her taking an active role in a patriarchal world. Finally, in order to be fully free, she kills her husband Omar Khayyam Shakil in the last episode. Rushdie describes it as “... and as he stood before her, unable to move, her hands, his wife’s hands reached out to him and closed. His body was falling away from her, a headless drunk, and after that the Beast faded in her once again” (*Shame* 286).

As a conclusion, *Shame* is a postcolonial novel in which Rushdie underlines and portrays a detailed parody of democracy, politics and equality in a country which suffers from neo-colonial troubles. At the first glance, the novel is a highly critical work about Pakistan where there is no democracy, thus ruled by dictatorship. However, it is a deep analysis of the common political misconducts in many postcolonial countries. Although Pakistan, which is Pakivistan in the novel, got its freedom and liberty from the colonisers, the country now has to deal with its own corrupt political leaders who are almost the same with the former colonisers in terms of their actions.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation, which attempts to investigate Chinua Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah*, Ngugi wa Thiongo's *Devil on the Cross*, and Salman Rushdie's *Shame* discusses that the works of the aforementioned novelists bear some similarities in terms of their subject matters. All these three novels are post-colonial novels which not only reflect the conditions of the newly independent countries but also criticise corruption, exploitation, and oppression in different sections of societies. The writers create countries or societies which are seemingly different, yet the western imperialists are still able to keep them under control by using various strategies. However, this dissertation claims that this indirect colonialism causes a deeper chaos in ex-colonised countries. By referring to Nkrumah, Fanon, Ahmad and Thiongo as literary critics, this dissertation has proven that although Achebe, Thiongo, and Rushdie investigate the destructive outcomes of this new form of imperialism from different perspectives, they all agree that colonialism has not come to an end, but changed its structure, institutions, and means.

All the novels discussed in this dissertation take place in ex-colonised countries where political, cultural, social, and economic problems have emerged as a consequence of the new system, the continuation of the imperialism, domination and oppression of the westerners in a necessarily and totally different version. Kwame Nkrumah explains that though there are many ways by which neo-colonialism is exercised, one of the most effective one is keeping the rulers or leaders under control. Therefore, he writes "The administrative policies of neo-colonial state are often controlled by the imperialist powers for their own benefit" (*Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* 23). In all novels, there are leaders or officers who take the role of the ex-colonisers in terms of their actions. As most of these administrators are educated in the countries of the old colonisers, they have and feel deference to their neo-colonial masters. However, this results in a division in societies: the rulers and the masses whose needs or wishes are ignored by the former group. Moreover, this ignorance has led to a regression in vital living conditions of the masses such as political stability, education, culture and development. By utilising these native rulers, western imperialists created a fake independence, and this, in turn, made their

exploitation less direct but much easier. In other words, allocation of independence has created a huge space for exploitation. Yew Leong who also defines neo-colonialism as an indirect form of control stresses that it is based on economic and cultural dependence. Hence, he explains neo-colonialism as “continued control of former colonies through ruling elites compliant with neo-colonial powers, populations that are exploited for their labour and resources in order to feed an insatiable appetite” (96). All three novels reflect examples of the rulers who exploit the masses just to secure their powerful positions. However, perhaps the best example of these is Sam, in Achebe’s *AS*, who is also called His Excellency. Through his character Achebe puts forward that it is impossible for the western educated leaders of independent countries to be representative of masses since they have a superiority feeling which is not at all different from that of the ex-colonisers’.

Additionally, Fanon also dwells on the idea that danger is no longer from the colonisers, but from the home-grown western-educated elites who act even worse than the colonisers. Thus, neo-colonialism maintains its position as a mutation of colonialism. Similarly, Thiong’o indicates that even after the independence, in every part of the ex-colonised countries’ lives have been heavily affected by “the social, political, and expansionist needs of European capitalism” (*Homecoming* iv). He stresses the fact that capitalism has not only economic but also political and social devastating effects in new-born societies. Additionally, it is a straight inheritance of the colonial experience and now it becomes an intrinsic part of the neo-colonial societies. Thus, Thiong’o introduces the terms “elites” and “masses”, which are consequences of capitalism, to reflect the distinction in the society. As in the other novels, Thiong’o emphasises that between these two groups there is a social tension which results in disorder in society. That is, the elites of the neo-colonial societies are the pawns who are directed by the western capitalists and this causes a complicated link between the elites and the masses who are students, workers or women. This link recalls the relationship between the colonisers and the colonised as the masses are oppressed and exploited by the elites who are figured as robbers or thieves. Rushdie also focuses on the political leaders and officers who are indifferent to the problems and corruption in the society. His depiction of political figures is termed as “candillos” or “dictators” by Ahmed, and as it is the case with neo-colonial

societies, they just concentrate on the issue of maintaining their power. As in the case of Achebe's Sam, Iskander Harappa and Raza Hyder are the despotic leaders who only aim at keeping the society under their control. In addition to these fictional characters, who are the embodiments of real political figures, corruption can be seen among the officers who are ready to exploit every member of the society. Thus, Ahmad describes *Shame* as a work of "corruption" (141), a common and spread characteristic of neo-colonial societies.

It seems that in the corrupted and immoral atmosphere of neo-colonial societies every member of the masses suffer from the exploitation of the elites. However, it is the women who are most significantly exploited by the elites. All three novels introduce women characters that are seen as possession. Especially, Thiong'o presents women who are either seduced or raped. Moreover, they are not given any roles in the society as they are regarded as insufficient or unskilful no matter how educated or talented they are. Similarly, Rushdie presents a society in which women are not regarded talented enough to take the governance of the country.

Culture, education, and literature carry major significance in the process of a true nation to be developed. However, degeneration or corruption of cultural values started during colonialism and it has become more prominent in neo-colonial societies. In the novels some major characters that have high position ranks in the society have been educated in western systems which only teach western values. A common ideology of the colonial era is that western values are superior and Africa or other colonised countries do not have an authentic culture. However, after the decolonisation, it has not altered significantly. The characters that have a western education background in the novels are bowed and scraped. Moreover, they are given some crucial position in the administration of the country. Especially Thiong'o gives voice to the importance of having a national culture for a bright future by stressing that societies need a "true national culture which can produce healthy stubborn youths, a culture that nurtures a society based on co-operation" (Homecoming 21). In contrast to Thiong'o's idea, in all three novels, there are many characters who know almost nothing about the richness of their native cultures. Although there are various

customs, legends, songs, oral traditions or unique skills, they are all erased by the westerners who impose the idea that they are worthless and nonsense. Moreover, these characters just emulate and imitate the western traditions, an action which devalues the worth of their native traditions. Even the daily lives of these societies are shaped in accordance with the western styles as parties, table manners, music or television programmes are copied from the west. Therefore, in neo-colonial societies, local cultures are tend to be banned or forgotten; one of the most significant consequences of this trend is that natives are left without a guide to trust or follow. In short, cultural imperialism imposed by the westerners resulted in a more corrupted and immoral lifestyle.

Additionally, although all three writers focus on the exploitation and corruption, they present some different methodologies by which the communities are kept under control. Firstly, control over media is an effective tool for the ruling dictators. In *AS* and *Shame*, TV programmes are strictly controlled by the governments. On the one hand, in *AS* anything threatening the government or “His Excellency” is forbidden and not broadcasted. On the other hand, in *Shame*, all programmes are organised and rescheduled in accordance with the ideas of the rulers. Secondly, religions play a significant role as a means of exploitation. Though they differ in Africa and Pakistan, the eventual outcome is the same. That is, in Africa the imperialists exploit Christianity to prevent any uprising in the society and in Pakistan almost every injustice is veiled by Islam. In both settings, masses are kept captive through the doctrines of religions.

In spite of the problems deriving from the native rulers that push ex-colonised countries into chaos, there is still hope to have a truly democratic and independent country. All three novels in this dissertation tend to emphasise the themes such as resistance, social collectivism, or revolution in order to get rid of the neo-colonialist, imperialist, and capitalist oppression. Elleke Boehmer gives the recipe for any country suffering from the malpractices of neo-colonialism by writing that these societies should depend on “the people, bound together by their shared history and cultural traditions”(*Colonial/Postcolonial Literature* 144). Therefore, if people are aligned around a common culture and history to form a social collectivism, then it is

possible to free from corruption and exploitation. Similarly, Ngugi believes that to be politically and socially liberated, masses should at first resist and then revolt against the elites and any institutions of neo-colonialism and in *Homecoming* he stresses that there should be a “complete and total liberation of the people completely socialized economy collectively owned and controlled by the people” (13). However, in order to achieve this liberation, every member of the masses needs to have a national awareness and unite around it. The importance of the participation of everyone in this unity is stressed by Achebe through the last chapters. Firstly, he illustrates a scene where everyone celebrates the murder of Sam, the dictator who had taken over the role of exploitation of masses. Additionally, in the last chapter, he presents a symbolic naming ceremony in which Beatrice gives the name of a new born boy. This is significant as it is normally an action carried out men, yet Achebe emphasises that not only women, but also students, peasants, and workers need to unite and share the responsibility for a liberated country. Similarly, Ngugi highlights the vital role of the masses to unite when he describes the capability of workers, women, peasants, and students to revolt. The song which is sung by the masses clearly attempts to overthrow neo-colonialism and its institution: “Come one and all, and behold the wonderful sight of us chasing away Devil, and all his disciples: Come one and all” (*DC* 201). Finally at the end of *DC*, Ngugi presents a party in which Wariinga, the representative of the exploited masses and women, shoots the Old Rich Man who is the symbol of neo-colonial oppression and abuse. Wariinga’s action, which symbolically puts an end to the exploitation of the rich elites, also reflects the idea that masses are able to shape their fate. Lastly, Rushdie emphasises the idea of revolution from different angles. To begin with, when Sufia decapitates firstly many turkeys, and then four men, it is the first step of revolution against all the exploitation of the society. Similarly, the former Prime Minister Harappa is hanged because of the crimes he has committed against his own country and its people. Although these murders or hanging are all violent actions, they are not just savagery. On the contrary, Ngugi explains the holiness of these actions as “violence in order to change an intolerable, unjust social order is not savagery. It purifies man. Violence to protect and present an unjust, oppressive social order is criminal and diminishes man” (*Homecoming* 28-29). In conclusion, all these three novels affirm that the only way

to liberate the masses is to come together in a united and collective manner and to revolt against institutions of neo-colonialism.

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Kelime sayısı: 50,382
Karakter sayısı: 255,338
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