Failed Independence and the National Middle Class: A Psycho-social Reading of Three Post-colonial Texts

Egehiza Eric Edward*, Dr. Felix Ayioka Orina, Dr. Joseph Musungu

Department of English, Journalism, Literature and Mass Communication Kibabii University -Kenya
Corresponding Author*

Abstract: **Many critics have discussed failure of independence evident in dehumanized existential conditions in African and Diasporic writing. This failure has been placed at both the door step of colonial powers and the post independence leadership. This leadership has variously been described as the ruling class, political elite, ruling elite. The net effect of this typing has been a limitation of the proper analysis of the notion of middle class in post independence Africa and her Diaspora. As a critical structural aspect of capitalism within the colonial process, the middle class has received limited critical attention in contemporary post-colonial analyses. Using the Marxist and psychoanalytic prisms, this study descriptively deviates from the general depictions of class. By focusing on the middle class, this study argues that post-independent challenges have a correlation with the nature of the defective middle class that fails in its historical mandate of humanizing the dehumanized post-colony. It fails the test expected of the 'new men' in rehumanizing the diseased post-colonial spaces. By taking over most of the critical socio-political institutions between 1956 and 1986, the emergent middle class as reflected in *The Beautiful Ones*(1968) by Ayi Kwei Armah, *Breath, Eyes, Memory*(1994) by Edwirge Denticat and *The Invincible Weevil*(1998) figuratively shrinks and deviates from the 'ideal' as conceptualized by sociologists. Members of this class mutate into criminality and entrench a subculture of deviance driven by an instinct of primitive 'colonial' accumulation. These three writers fictively make a statement on the reciprocity between individual psychological predisposition and material social conditions in which the struggle for mental and social liberation is waged by the neo-colonial subject.**

Keywords: **Middle class, bourgeois(ie), capitalism, embourgeoisement, subaltern**

I. INTRODUCTION

The crises facing the colonized societies have largely been externalized. Many critics have blamed the twin forces of colonialism and slavery and their debilitating psycho-social impact on the colonized/oppressed victims. However, with the end of formal colonialism, there has been a need to focus on what happens within the post-colony to establish the subsisting impact of slavery and colonial legacies. Slavery and colonialism were driven by the profit motive as conceptualized within the capitalist ideology, the spirit of colonialism. Capitalism is more than an economic system; it is an ideology that principally structures society in terms of

capital and labour engendering social inequalities due to what Marx considers its exploitative and oppressive nature. It is one of the key defining colonial forces that have shaped the post-independence representation of post–colonial nation state. It was expected that the colonized would rehumanize his society as advocated within the spirit of the utopian nationalist ideologies. These ideologies advocated for complete change in the structure of society in which a perfect egalitarian system is envisioned evident in the struggle against colonial oppression. However, what has been, and continues to be experienced is a failure of independence in Africa and her Diaspora. This raises key questions on the validity of continued blame for these crises on the twin forces because the human being is not only affected by nature but has the capacity to affect social order and transform human psychology as well(Hook,2004) by consciously transcending his base motivations . Since most of the post-colonies were run on a capitalist structure with social hierarchies actuated by capital and labour, it becomes important to have an understanding of how capitalism functions. As Aihie (2014) acknowledges that "the nation is a creation of the modern capitalist state" (p. 10; Mbembe, 1992).

The tenor of this paper is to examine and evaluate how Armah in *B.O*, Denticat in *BEM* and Okurut in *IW* make representations of the nature of the post-independence middle class to show how it correlates with post-independence *dystopia* as a body corporeal in the dehumanized post-independent existential crises as reflected in the three post-colonial novels. These texts are chosen for their characterization of the post-colonial crises between 1956 and 1986 to demonstrate how similar circumstances produce similar responses with regard to the middle class and failed independence. This requires an interdisciplinary approach. Thompson Klein(1990) is of the view that interdisciplinarity seeks to, "answer complex questions; which address broad issues; to explore disciplinary and professional relations; to solve problems that are beyond the scope of any one discipline; to achieve unity of knowledge, whether on a limited or grand scale"(cited in De Zepetnek,1998) in this case, the psychological and the sociological concerns. The notion and practice of class has both social and psychological implications because the subject of literature is both a social

and psychical being. Fanon (1961) comparatively uses this 'ideal' to criticize this class for failing to fulfill its historically important messianic mandate. It is against the 'ideal' national middle class the notion and practice of the middle class is mapped to contextualize why and how this class correlates with failed independence in Africa and her Diaspora.

Achebe (2012) has pointed out that the rain that began beating Africa and by extension her Diaspora began with slavery and post –Berlin conference of 1885.Slavery and colonialism were driven by capitalism, an ideology driven by the profit motive which structured colonial subjects in terms of hierarchies relative to capital. Achebe, like Hook (2004) encourages an objective introspective location of the challenges facing the post-colony. That if the colonizers language can be appropriated, why not the colonial institutions? How could the notion and practice of the middle class be adapted to suit the post-colonial spaces as criticized from the Marxist and psychoanalytic paradigms? Is it possible that the notion of class in general was misunderstood by the post-independence national middle class which, in the transitional period mutated into the political class/ruling elite? Is class necessarily an exclusionist and divisive socio-political practice that explains why the oppressed turns oppressor after flag independence? What are the psychological motivations for unethical behaviour like greed, aggression/violence and their impact on the social whole to justify a   psycho-social reading from Freudian and Freirian perspectives within this 'ideal" class? ideal by alternative reconstructions of psycho-social realities.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2 .1 Originating Class: A General Historical Perspective

Class is a notion that dates back to the feudal epoch and the Grecian setting. Feudalism was a social, political and economic system, dominant in the middle ages (Quinn, 1999).It was replaced by capitalism captained by a growing mercantile class and urbanization whose climax was the industrial revolution fuelled by a high market demand for finished goods. Slavery and colonialism are the logical economic strategies employed to meet these market demands with devastating psycho-social effects on the slave masters, the slaves and most African societies from where slaves were sourced. Plantocracy was instituted in the West Indies or the larger Caribbean privileging the 'supposed' minority owners of factors of production over the majority (Bird, 2007). Bird describes this planter class as pseudo-aristocratic colonial society dominated by the minority planter elite who had more privileges "occupying the best lands, dominating the economy, politics and social life in its entirety"(Bird,2007:1). This social organization was replaced by capitalism, an invariably oppressive, exploitative and dehumanizing system motivated by the profit motive. Abolishment of slavery became an economic threat which culminated in the Berlin conference of 1884-1885 that ushered in colonialism, an imposition driven by the profit motive but disguised as

pacification. Tarkshnivilli and Tarkshnivilli(2013) trace present application of the notion of class within the Grecian setting featuring the "demos- the social layer between propertyless [sic] class of slaves and the "lamina" of oligarchs". Oligarchy is 'capital' based and according to Plato (2002) is a "form of government in which the rulers are elected for their wealth" (p. 411).

Karl Marx distinguished society in terms of owners of capital and owners of labour. Max Weber distinguishes these classes as: the propertied upper, the propertyless white-collar workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the manual workers. (Haralambos 1991:45).Importantly, Weber shows what determines ones market situation and the rewards due to each according to the value commanded by their labour in the market situation with the more knowledgeable and most skilled commanding a sizeable market share views shared by Davis and Moore(1967(in Haralambos,1991). Weber (1864-1920) makes two important points about class as the unequal distribution of economic rewards and a possible basis for group formation, collective action and acquisition of political power which ought to further productivity and not destruction. Group formation for Marxist sociologists entails class consciousness described as a full awareness "by members of the working class of the reality of their exploitation" (Haralambos,1990: 81-82).This class ought to not only recognize its common interests but equally identify the opposing group with whom their interests are in conflict. The object of this solidarity is to overthrow the oppressor for the collective good.

Matthew Arnold (1869), according to Lee (2017) identifies analytical aspects of class in metaphorical terms as: Barbarians, these being aristocrats (upper class), Philistines (the urban middle class), and the Populace (the working class).Tarkhnishvili & Tarkhnishvili (2013) corroborate Arnold's Philistine class which rose from the 16th century growth of cities arising from mercantilism. This new bourgeoisie as the vanguard of capitalism embraced new methods of production leading to the natural death of feudal system in the wake of industrialization (Haralambos, 1991). *Hard Times* by Dickens and *North and South* by Gaskell, Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* and *Wuthering Heights* by Bronte make representation of the socio-political effects of the profit motive. These texts represent Raymond Aron's (1967) view of capitalist spirit (profit) which is, "to proceed from money to money and end up with more money than one had at the outset…" (Cited in Haralambos, 1991: 41). A view similarly echoed by Albert Memmi (1967) that ... "a colony [is] a place where one earns more and spends less" (cited in Aveling, 2006:160). Rhys' *Wide Sargasso Sea*, demonstrates this reality and the psychological effect when the profit motive becomes the all that matters. With slavery abolished, Lord Rochester is economically and psychologically devastated. He commits suicide out of fear and shame because he has become a prisoner of the profit motive. The question of profit motive as much as it makes

economic sense raises moral question in terms of how capital is raised and the ends to which it is put. Importantly how is profit made? Who makes it? And importantly, who appropriates it?

2.2 Contemporary Configurations of the 'Ideal' Middle Class

Karl Marx, according to Quinn (1999) hierarchised the capitalist society in terms of the dominant *bourgeoisie* class who are the ruling class, the *petty bourgeoisie* and the *lumpenproletariat*-outcasts of society, designated by Fanon as the 'wretched' of the earth. Marxist Sociologists structure capitalist societies along the capital/labour axis in terms of: the upper, middle and lower classes with their accompanying sub-cultures. The middle class is divided further into the upper middle class, middle-middle class and the lower middle class. The middle class according to Giddens is "composed of professionals who possess education and technical qualification" (cited in Haralambos 1991: 47; Quinn, 1999:58).Within its ranks, the middle class has higher and lower professionals. The former is composed of judges, barristers, solicitors, architects, planners, doctors, dentists, university lecturers, accountants, scientists and engineers. The later has, "school teachers, nurses, social workers and librarians" (Haralambos 1991:71) and *self* made entrepreneurs who may not necessarily be part of the government bureaucracy.

Matthew Arnold criticizes the 19th century middle class failure as a universal ideal for abdicating its historical role by failing to transcend its "narrow, harsh, unintelligent, and unattractive spirit and culture by failing "to mould and assimilate the masses below them" (cited in Eagleton 1996:21; Tarkhnishvili & Tarkhnishvili,2013:26).The middle class is designated as "the natural educators of the masses below them. A classic case of the envisaged proletarian revolution depicted in Sembene's *Gods's Bits of Wood* to reflect (inter)national class consciousness which ends in a *cul de sac*- or what can be described as a state of *aporia*. It leaves more challenges in its aftermath than it resolves. Is the worker able to control the means of production (capital) and appropriate profit arising from his labour? What ought to happen after the revolution to ensure an egalitarian society?

Fanon (1961) answers the above question. He notes the behavioural frailties of the class that takes over after independence. This post-independence national middle class becomes narcissistic evident in its incapacity "to rationalize popular action" (Fanon, 1961:153 & 163) after independence. It becomes mentally bankrupt and moves away from unity as one of the major ideals of nationalism to tribalism, racism, regionalism and sectarianism as defense responses to mask failure among other subjective labels resulting from fear of change. In its ideal, the middle class is considered a determiner of "the priorities and value orientations for the electorate. The political orientations are based on the following aspects: law-abiding citizens should protect human rights and principles of democracy."(Tarkshnivilli

&Tarkshnivilli, 2013:26). Democracy requires a "class of people whose economic position is virtually independent of those who hold power,"(Ozbudun, 2005:98). Aristotle comprehensively underscores the value attached to the 'figurative' middle position relative to the upper and lower classes. Aristotle describes the obedient nature to reason of middle class compared to the poor/downtrodden and the rich. The latter according to Aristotle "commit deeds of violence on a large scale, the latter are delinquent and wicked in petty ways…"The middle class, however, is "the steadiest, the least eager for change. They neither covet, like the poor, the possession of others, nor do others covet theirs, as the poor covet those of the rich…"(cited in Ozbudun, 2005:97).

Barber (1963) has distilled the most essential attributes of this class as "being in possession of a body of systematic and generalized knowledge which can be applied to a variety of problems". Importantly, this class serves all members of society and not a particular group. It is equally, imbued with professionalism which "entails a certain concern for the interests of community rather than the self-interest" (public service).Lastly, this class is "guided by a code of ethics which 'controls' their behaviour and high rewards and prestige are symbols of their achievements."(Cited in Haralambos, 1991:71)

2.3 The Middle Class as a Societal Model for Socio-political Stability

Socio-political predictability and stability follow from institutionalized norms. Frank Parkin (1972) sees the middle class as important because of two reasons. First, it acts as a 'political safety valve' as it avails opportunities for self improvement for the many able and ambitious members of the working class". Secondly, its "moral judgments of those in higher social positions, by virtue of their long period in training as professionals are likely to have their ideas adopted by society (cited in Haralambos, 1991:49, 90). Adeyemi (2013) highlights aspects of the moral (dis)order in neo-colonial mismanagement by what he calls the "new pseudo-bourgeois elite" which 'objectifies' "social disorder such as corruption within the political and bureaucratic elite… the hypocrisy and mediocrity among middle-class professionals and technocrats…" (p. 37) .The following issues arise: To what extent is this unprofessional conduct a reflection of the colonizer's culture? Does, and must failure to be dutiful necessarily follow from the colonial experience? Are there other underlying motivations that explain this degenerate state of affairs? Wanjala in (1978), not necessarily, talking about the middle class generally describes "corrupt politicians as criminals who have stolen from the people (p. 24).Theft however is not limited to the political 'class' as it subsists into other public service sectors where the bulk of the middle class is found. Omutatah (2019) sees the middle-class as a creation of theft of public resources (*The Star*, 3 May, 2019). Omutatah, though not clear on the 'supposed' creator of this class correlates Wilensky & Edwards (1974) view that "crime is largely a working-class phenomenon"(in

Haralambos.1991:446) as it largely involves the powerful 'middle class' individuals in corporate and other influential positions.

This is why it is important to follow in Young's(2001) view of the object of post-colonialism as a re-examination of the history of colonialism from the perspective of the colonizer as much as the colonized/subaltern with regard to the economic, political, and cultural impact of colonialism. This is important in the analysis of the process of decolonizing the inherited socio-political institutions in order to achieve the goals of political liberation such as "equal access to material resources, the contestation of forms of domination, and the articulation of political and cultural identities" (cited in Habib, 2005:11). Decolonization is not the same as africanization nor de-africanization. These two process are mutually exclusive with the former giving the native blacks socio-political prominence and the later diminishing the blacks as seen in Haiti and the larger Caribbean.

Liberation for Freire (2000) is endogenically motivated and only possible when the oppressed/subaltern becomes a master of himself. The colonized in Memmi's view (1967) needs to do away with colonization ... to become a man, he must do away with the colonized being he has become" to become "a whole and free man" (cited in Aveling, 2006:162). Antonio Gramsci uses the term subaltern to refer to "the working masses that needed to be organized by left-wing intellectuals into a politically self-conscious force"(Habib,2005:749) whose object is true liberation from colonial conditions . Spivak (1999) uses the term subaltern to characterize Foucault's notion of "epistemic violence," i.e. the imposition of a given ideology on the historically existent and the re-created other after independence. Haralambos posits that ideology is "a set of beliefs and values which provide away of seeing and interpreting the world which results in a partial view of reality" (p.22): African socialism, Nkrumaism and Duvalierism were 'false' narrow beliefs which characterize the intellectual crisis in the emergent middle class. These beliefs were imposed on the 'liberated' people which created more problems than they addressed evident in the high turnover of political leaders without change in the '(post)colonial' strategies of domination. Spivak (1987) contents that "even radical intellectuals …who would speak on behalf of the oppressed, effectively romanticize and essentialize the other."She concludes that "the intellectual is complicit in the persistent constitution of the other as the self's shadow" (cited in Habib, 2005:748-49).

The middle class sociologically speaking anchors and models the nation state and is the most ideal for social stability because the middle class is, metaphorically, not predisposed to polarization, rather, according to Westergaard & Resler (1976), "the middle class is seen as a bridge of the gap between capital and manual labour" (Haralambos, 1991:66). The Greek equivalent of the middle class was known as the "*demos*, a hated entity by both the oligarchy and the slaves. It however endeavoured to unify society. This class is marked out by three key features: being against tyranny (oligarchy) and cherishing democracy, "the power and authority of the free and educated class" (Tarkhnishvili &Tarkhnishvili ,2013:26; Plato, 2002:412).Lastly, it aimed at bettering the polis/society through teaching, governance, exploration of the laws and mysteries of the nature and exercised creativity. In ancient Greece, these individuals "became the class of poets and scientists, patriot rulers and philosophers (Tarkhnishvili &Tarkhnishvili, 2013, p. 26).

Madland (2011) is of the view that a, "strong middle class provides a stable consumer base that drive productive investment. Beyond that, a strong middle class is a key factor in encouraging other national and *societal* conditions that lead to growth" (*https: //democracyjournal.org.*). Tarkhnishvili & Tarkhnishvili (2013) make a similar commentary based on Aristotle's reading of Euripides text, *Suppliants* to the effect that the "most perfect political community is one in which the middle class is in control and out numbers both of other classes" because it holds "the *keys* [emphasis mine] of social progress" and the middle class "can defend the economic development and political interests of its country"(p. 23). The foregoing describes the composition, function and social outlook of the middle class in terms of social capital.

The middle class subculture according to Haralambos (1991) is "characterized by a purposive approach to life" whereby "man is in control of his destiny and with ability, determination and ambition can change and improve his situation"(p. 55). Haralambos argues further that this class is defined by "long term planning and deferring or putting off present pleasures for future rewards"(*ibid*).

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper attempts a psycho-social analysis and evaluation of Denticat's Armah's and Okurut's perceptions of the national middle class through the Marxist lens. The study equally reads the texts through Fanon's theoretical perspective to gain an insight into the psychology of the oppressed in order to appreciate the psycho-social nature of the national middle class. According to McCulloch(1983),Fanon's theoretical stands have a convergence in sciences of personality and society converge … [in an attempt] to traverse the distance between an analysis of the consciousness of the individual and the analysis of social institutions" (cited in Hook,2004:85).This then becomes the basis for psycho-social reading. A key Marxist concern is the intersection between capital and labour in the (re)production of the individual and his society with regard to social hierarchies. It attempts to account for differences arising from class struggles in society and the effect of the complexities of the capitalist system as the source of post-colonial experience in the societies reflected in the three texts. A Marxist critic in literature seeks to establish how and why capitalism in spite of being characterized as exploitative conditions its subjects to view social inequalities as normal.

Marxism is driven by the belief that the driver of historical change are the material realities of the economic base of society, rather than the ISAs like ideological superstructure of politics, law, philosophy, religion, and art that is built upon that economic base" (Richter 1088). Ideology is what is used to maintain the structural relationships through processes like *interpellation* or what Mbembe (1992) describes as *commandement* so that "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness"(Marx) which implies that the ability to think for oneself is determined/conditioned by the existential material conditions. This is the reductionist view in Marxism, where the individual is *thingified /commodified.* Commodification is the treatment of people as objects whose value only lies in their contribution to profit in the production process and not their human essence. Negation of the human value, according to Marx and Fanon (1961) causes tension, resistance and eventually revolution towards an egalitarian society arising from heightened levels of consciousness of the oppressed/exploited masses. In Marx's view, the cycle of contradiction, tension, and revolution is inevitable but a necessary condition for social and economic transformation through the *embourgeoisement* process which must equally be reflected in literature. This study uses Marx Weber's tampered view of class struggles as not necessarily polarized and exploitative relative to capital; but as one characterized by interdependence based on the individual's market position based on their skills and knowledge within the production process(Haralambos 1990).

IV. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study is qualitative. It employs descriptions and comparative analysis derived from a close textual reading of both primary and secondary texts which were contextualized within class as an important colonial legacy of the post-colonial nation state in a bid to demonstrate how the three writers reflect the nature of the post-independent national middle class in the three texts.

V. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

These writers reflectively give insightful perceptions into the notion and practice of the middle class which is embedded in the post-colonial narrative. The three writers differentially demonstrate failed independence evident in failed hellenization, ideological bankruptcy, and institutionalized deviance responsible for the failed public system. Importantly, these narratives implicitly envision *embourgeoisement* as a key paradigm shift for a humanized post-colonial existence

5.1 Class and Social Change: The Pariah 'Intellectual' and Failed Hellenization

These three writers show that while conflict is an essential necessity for social change, it failed to work as the driving force of social and psychological change(Haralambos ,1991;

Jung,1966:184) driven by the national middle class. Post-colonial transformation required an enlightened leadership with a transcendent vision towards an egalitarian 'tensionless' post-colony. Most of the nationalist leaders had fought in the 2nd WW and gained knowledge of the colonizer and the colonial conditions which marked a turning point in the struggle for independence. Others had attended foreign universities as part of the hellenization program meant to transform their societies and not maintain the colonial conditions. Education was an emancipatory tool meant to enlighten the metaphorical slave and not buttress the slave's oppressed status. The post-colonial tragedy is seen when the intellectuals are imprisoned by their learning. They fail to be the natural "educators for the low class individuals (cited in Eagleton, 1996:21). Hellenization entails a reasoned pursuit of knowledge, moderation, civic responsibility and bodily development which prioritizes societal/collective over individual wellness. The national middle class in the undeveloped countries was marked out for greater duty which was "to put itself to school with the people: in other words put at the people's disposal the intellectual and technical capital that it has snatched when going through the colonial universities"(Fanon,1961:150). Armah captures this ideal in the pre-independence struggle in Manaan's hero the 'new man', the captivating eloquent nationalist(the younger Nkrumah) who not only espouses new values but also encapsulates the nation's entire hopes as he galvanizes the masses towards group solidarity as a tool for acquisition of power from the oppressor (Armah,1988:86- 87).So is Denticat's and Okurut's portraits of Haiti under Duvalier and Uganda under Obote who deviate from their initial heroic and promising positive path opting for what Fanon describes as "antinational… abhorrent, path of a conventional bourgeoisie…" (Fanon, 1961:99).This is what marks the false beginning to a humanized post-colony.

Intellectual depravity can be seen in the effects of nationalization where political pragmatism clashes with theoretical tenets of economics, which this paper describes as 'failed hybridization' and by extension failure of the ideological experimentation in Africa arising from a functionally illiterate national bourgeoisie. While many of the leading lights in this class of individuals were well educated there occurred a *willed* disconnect between the *praxis* and *gnosis* of power. There was 'mental atrophy', with a lack of knowledge transfer in resolving post-independence challenges. This can be seen in socialism, where the imagined structure (hardware) ran on a capitalist mentality (software) under Amin, Nkrumah and Obote in which the state was 'politically' socialist but the practice of state craft was capitalistic. While the socialist ideal centralizes the human condition based on the notion that man is the most precious asset (Fanon (1961).These leadership make society a caricature privileging the few holding political and economic power without a thought for the nation as a whole(Fanon,1961: 56). This perspective is related by Okurut in the fictionalized reigns of Opolo(Obote) and

Duduma(Amin) where a perverted version of the Russian *proletarianization* program (Clark, 2017) was thoughtlessly executed with indiscriminate appropriation of private property into individual hands. Anybody with(out) requisite knowledge of how capital works, became a 'producer' of both material and ruling ideas demonstrated in the 'class' of *Mafutas*-middle men specialized in the black market. Okurut shows the disdain for education in how the *Mafutas* become in the Foucauldian sense creators of a new truth as "favoured actors" (in Aishling, 2017:58). Their gospel as Mzee says is "I never went to school or I had little education and yet, look at me I am much better off than a university professor"(Okurut, 1998:117). Okurut decries the internalization of this attitude by the young people. (p. 124) The Mafutas do not see education as an existential necessity which they state as a dominant truth which results in a lost generation of unconscienticised citizens. The teacher in *The Beautyful Ones* is clear in terms of what can be done to change society, "the things people want, I do not have to give. And no one wants what I happen to have. It only words after all…" (p. 79). Education does not guarantee immediate gratification for those who are in a hurry to get the gleam .Okurut(1998) represents a lost generation of young people under Idi Amin.

The national bourgeoisie, in spite of this inherent weakness, becomes Fanon's metaphorical businessman and not captain of industry. This class crudely takes over the factors of production these new men were mentally bankrupt with no "idea of the economic programs they intended to install"(Fanon,1961:99).Duduma by chasing away the Indians shows that he does not understand the economy of his country as his misdirected political decrees affect the demand and supply equation causing economic ruin responsible for Uganda's current economic state. The net effect was intra and interclass conflicts leading to a massive exodus of professional managers. Emigration in Haiti as recounted by Denticat has been precipitated by endogenic push factors like racialized political repression under the Duvalier regime. These 'new men' (emancipators) fit the Gramscian intellectual because they are members of a social group/hegemony (Reddock, 2014, p. 4) who "rule as thinkers, as producers of ideas which they justify and conceal from the rest of the members" (Haralambos 1991:14) and by such concealment weaponize knowledge to create states of dependence. This is the basis of exploitation and oppression on which their dominance rests. Armah describes these educated individuals as "our magicians, people with some secret power behind them" (Armah, 1988:81). However, their intellectual hollowness is discovered because their sense of independence and power was false for the reason that "they had spent their life time fleeing from themselves into the enslaving whiteness" (Armah, 1988:82) meaning that independence did not narrow the gap(Wanjala ,1978: 7) due to the alienating consequences of this mental flight. Independence had changed nothing for the collective good. Education failed because it did not liberate them from *whititude*- the enslaving 'things' of the west.

Opolo and Duduma in the *Invincible Weevil* exemplify the tragedy of independence which lies in the weakness of the national middle class which has "no intellectual, political, or economic leadership or enlightenment, national consciousness" (Fanon, 1961:106), the two degenerate into disunity, regionalism, racialism, and tribal conflicts which existed before colonial rule. They fall in the Fanonian category of "the true traitors of Africa, for they sell their continent to the worst of its enemies: stupidity" (p. 124). Okurut shows through the character of Rex that the greatest post-colonial challenges after independence is ignorance which is endogenic than exogenic. The rebels demonstrate the need to oppose and neutralize this class. They are the new vanguard of Fanonian elites, intellectuals and civil servants, who are sincere and wish to transform their societies through a new party that guarantees a paradigm shift in politics .The party's objective according to Mama is to "change the face of politics in this country"(Okurut ,1998:143). The rebels in *Invincible Weevil* are able to resolve the contradictions in the revolutionary intellectuals with regard to why and how society fails in the libertarian agenda as a collective good embodied in their guiding socialist ideals. The rebels through the embourgeoisement process form the necessary critical mass of intellectuals who cannot be neutralized as they get into every sphere of public life from where the libertarian agenda can be effected for a humanized existence. This shows why a strong, numerically, intellectually, and economically large and conscious national middle class is important is advantageous to the post-independent society. This is the only time Uganda enjoys political stability under President Kazi as narrated by Okurut unlike the emasculated Haiti and Ghana.

Armah, Denticat and Okurut show that post-independent leadership was largely led by a villainous political middle class because the would be 'Messiahs' like the New Man(Nkrumah),Opolo(Obote) and the Duvaliers were not "subjects who act upon and transform their world"(Freire,2000:32) as expected. These new men do not move themselves nor their societies to "new possibilities of fuller and richer life under the new dispensation" (*ibid*). The 'new man' in Ghana as in Uganda and Haiti is sadly, destroyed by his own "youth with the powerful ghost of his promise"(Armah, 1988:88).This is so because of his reductionist mentality which commodifies/thingifies humanity. Armah underscores this reductionist mentality where "a man's value could only be as high as the things he could buy" (p. 115).This correlates with Zachary's & Steinbock's (2019)view of late capitalism where "all goods, objects and beings are valuable only in so far as they are able to generate more wealth. Armah questions whether this new reductionist bourgeoisie in the image of Koomson qualify as agents of conscienticization of the masses not only in Ghana but Africa and her Diaspora. This is the Marxist question posed in the Russian revolution: who ought to educate the 'puffed up' educators, who saw themselves as dominantly different from the 'rest'? And what kind of education was most viable for the oppressed.

From Matthew Arnold's perspective, education after independence fails to cultivate the post-independent 'philistine' middle class (cited in Eagleton 1996:21) by linking it to the best culture of the nation"(*ibid*).Though a relative question, the best culture would imply that, which foregrounds human essence in view of Plato proposition that the "rulers of an ideal state should be philosophers, those uniquely in possession of methods for attaining knowledge of the eternally existing Forms[*sic*]that constitute absolute values in Plato's universe"(cited in Janaway , 2001:3).This is what Wanjala(1978) comments of the post-independence leadership in Tanzania that attempts to promote literacy of the masses(p. 23).Okurut, Denticat and Armah present the complete opposite of the Platonian ideal of the 'educated 'in the manner they (re)produce barbaric states of existence.

Armah, Okurut and Denticat collectively mediate through their protagonists and antagonists, the intellectually unstable 'new man' who is overwhelmed by the new status of opulence contrary to the image of misery/deprivation invoked during the galvanization against the colonial hegemony (p. 87). Freire (2000) has criticized this new man's limited vision as "individualistic; because of their identification with the oppressor, they have no consciousness of themselves as persons or as members of the oppressed class" (p. 46).The 'new man', in *The Beautyful Ones,* disguises himself in the discourse of the oppressed describing himself as "a veranda boy" (p. 87) to endear himself to the masses. This status is soon discarded once in power. Rex in *The Invincible Weevil* has similar high ideals but political power as Minister for Turbulence Affairs under Duduma denatures him. He becomes a worse tyrant as observed by Freire that, "it is a rare peasant who once "promoted" to overseer, does not become more of a tyrant towards his former comrades than the owner himself" (Freire, 2000:46) .Rex replication of oppression proves that imitation is limitation. He suffers an inferiority complex.

Armah's thesis is that the Blackman's desire after independence has not been nationalist but to be like "the white governor himself, to live above all blackness in the big castle"(Armah,1988:92 & 126).The same mentality can be seen in Haiti's early post-independent days under Henri Christophe who orders the construction of *Sans Souci palace* (Fehder 2011) .The 'castle mentality' is "a symbol of power's isolation" (Greene,2002: 70) and a weak point in the neo-colonial ruling class. By foregrounding his status, he becomes an easy target for attack in the manner it creates a siege mentality because it marks him out as the oppressor. This mentality according to Greene "creates more problems than it solves"(p. 70) as it is founded on fear and irrational decisions. Armah affirms this in unprioritized grandiose projects of no national economic value like the Atlantic Caprice Hotel described as, "an insulting white" and a useless structure which "sometimes it seems the building had been put there for a purpose, like that of attracting to itself the massive anger of the a people in pain"(p. 10) which leads to his ouster. Armah

contrasts his unde(r)developed Ghana with an allusive sub-narrative of two communist countries: Cuba and China under Fidel Castro and Mao respectively who as the teacher says stood up and decided "there and then to do what ages and millions had called impossible"(Armah,1988:91).The impossible could refer to the capitalist criticism of the impossibility a proletarian revolution envisaged by Communism or the Eurocentric assumptions that the colonized were incapable of self-direction. Armah notes through the teacher that failure of independence is the "curse of Africa against which "people could do nothing that would last"(Armah, 1988:91)

5.2 The middle Class and Death of Meritocracy

Class is predicated upon a system of production that relies on the division of labour and which warrants specialization for maximized productivity. Specialization ensures efficiency and effectiveness (Haralambos,1991). Education becomes key in the determination of role and status. Role allocation is generally viewed by Marxism as an exploitative and oppressive relationship which becomes the basis of social inequalities. Davis and Moore (1967) look at social stratification as a "mechanism for ensuring that the most talented and able members of society are allocated to those positions which are functionally most important for society" (In Haralambos.1991, p.176). The term status is defined by Kombo and Munyua (2007) as "the position an individual occupies in a given society" while social role is "a collection or cluster of standardized behaviour or norms that accompany a given social position." (Munyua & Kombo, 2007:17; Haralambos, 1991:8). These norms ought to be institutionalized for social systems to work well.

Status in the industrial context unlike pre-industrial period is not socially ascribed but achieved based on meritorious criteria like hard work, ability, ambition and talent. Denticat demonstrates material rise of the *Cacos* from a low class status to middle class like Monsieur Augustin (Denticat, 1994:11) is achieved through Martine's immigration to America made possible by the "rich mulatto family for whom she worked"(p. 139) in Dame Marie. Their social status is determined not by internal but external social conditions which Tante Atie calls "New York money" (p.11). She recalls how their father died of sun stroke, like many others before in the village, exploited and toiling in the unproductive cane fields (p. 4) as a family with under their fingers. They, like most of the workers in Croix-des-Rosets are low class and uneducated (Denticat, 1994:20).They live communally in cramped houses to minimize expenditure in order to support their families back in the province (p. 11). Martine's exodus to America is a testament of how the social political conditions in America enshrined in the nations collective values accord the individual an opportunity to make it in life irrespective of their status and social backgrounds.

Armah and Okurut demonstrate the converse. Social mobility is a departure from the ideal as proposed by

Aristotle(2002),Marx Weber and Matthew Arnold among other critics with regard to the unethical means not limited to violence and corruption used to gain a middle class status. They from the Pareto point of view, the villainous middle class infiltrates the socio-political systems and institute a subculture associated with the low class. The end result is the production of low class 'ruling' ideas which formalize norm violation by a carryover of non-middle (standard) class values .This violation tends to overhaul and actualize a contradictory subculture characterized by greed/base desires that clash with the greatest good principle: humanized existence. The author observes, that Makerere University had changed greatly in the seventies, "the dons used to a living wage. Books and journals were available ... Books were vandalized by illiterates who would sell them cheaply to the market vendors who used them as wrappers for foodstuffs" (p. 96) Mzee decries this attitude in the *self-made* neo-working class. Education has been rendered meaningless with the *Mafuta's* boasting. The apex of Duduma's educational degradation happens when he sends his class seven son to join Makerere University. Duduma's action provokes the academia precipitating his ouster from power (Okurut, 1998:121-123).

Haralambos (1990) defines culture as "the learned recipes for bahaviour shared by members of society"(p. 373).This means that "norms, values and roles are culturally determined and socially transmitted"(*ibid*). The man in *The Beautyful Ones* figuratively belongs to the lower middle-class as seen in his tenacity to the public value system. He plays his designated role in the system unlike Amankwa, the corrupt timber merchant whose status is not achieved (buys his status).Amankwa shows how private interests interferes in the public service overriding public good (Armah,1988:28-30) through corruption euphemized as the culture of taking and giving. The man considers this culture as repulsive "something unnatural. Something very cruel, something that was criminal" (Armah, 1988:32) which leaves him isolated from the herd of corrupt individuals. Even when the timber merchant comes back, the man refuses to "prosper from the job he does" (*ibid*). He does not allow himself to be crashed by an entrenched dehumanizing low value like abuse of office.

Armah shows how some middle class individuals like the protagonist 'willfully' denied themselves the opportunity to be the 'natural' educators. As pointed out by Haralambos (1991), the man by refusing to further his studies additionally fails to bridge the inequality gap through meritocracy. His social stagnation from a Weberian perspective results from his diminished bargaining power and still expects a higher income and status. He exemplifies what the sociologist Liebow (1967) concludes of the low class persons "who want higher pay and status but they lack the necessary qualifications and experience" (cited in Haralambos, 1991:158).To the man, 'western' education becomes meaningless because it is unable to win the war against poverty as it reflects and serves the interests of the capitalist

ruling class (Haralambos, 1991). From Niestchze's perspective, the man fails what is expected of the new man, he cannot 'will' the present moment. He 'consciously' makes a choice not to be part of the change agents in his society and displaces his stalled life on Oyo's pregnancy (Armah,1988:117).This can be read as an allegorical sub-narrative of the colonial subject who externalizes post-colonial failure. He makes a conscious choice not to continue with his education. He does not see the predictability of education in his life (p. 99). Legon University to him is an image of alienation and corruption euphemized as the national game (p. 55). Like the teacher who represents the disillusioned intellectual, the man views 'colonial' education as the problem which should be avoided for its corrupting and alienating influences. Armah in *The Beautyful Ones* does not hint at a viable alternative. This is unlike Okurut who centralizes the revolutionary intellectuals as post independent middle class. This results from their heightened levels of class consciousness informed by intolerable existential conditions to fulfill the middle class' historical mandate(Okurut,1998). She reflects Lukacs' view of the proletariat as historically positioned to be able in principle to unlock the secrets of capitalism as a whole (cited in Eagleton, 1996:96).The secret is awareness to how capital and labour can be tampered with humanness bareft of commodification as envisaged in the socialist ideal.

Mami (2011) is of the view that Armah's works illustrate a relentless intellectual campaign for articulating the ways in which the "right" and committed intellectuals can be singled out from what he takes as multitudes of pseudo- or parvenu academics For Armah, a carefully devised and administered educational system should form the basis of reformed African ethos (p. 164). Mami's position foregrounds the probable. The discourse on education is a complex socio-political and economic issue. Arguments for and against it end up in a state of *aporia:* is the education system the problem or the educated are the problem? Okurut's comparison of Duduma, Kazi and Opolo (Amin, Museveni and Obote) shows that barbarism in the undeveloped society is a possibility irrespective of one's intellectual status (Okurut, 1998:173-4). A *Hellenized* individual however, ought to transcend subjective labels in pursuit of objective knowledge about his existence.

Critics like Mami(2011) and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o(1986) are critical of western education. Ngugi refers to it as psychological violence of the classroom. Implicit in their arguments is that the western educated and those who partook of such education after independence undertook tailored courses to 'buttress' their inferiority and (under)develop their societies which does not hold in view of most post-independence leaders who were trained professionals. Pre-independence colonial education did allocate lowly roles to the oppressed (Herbst, 1997; Keller, 1995).However, from Spivak's learning/unlearning perspective; western education as Denticat, Armah and Okurut show of Francois Duvalier, Nkrumah's constitutional subversions is not a necessary

condition for the degenerate state of affairs in the post-independence period. In spite of its deficiencies, it was not formally inclined towards the (re)production of vicious individuals without a sense of duty. Decolonization meant unlearning harmful experiences that had been learnt. Why is the educational ISA still the problem yet, the 'messiahs' were some of the best western trained intellectuals sent through the "determination of individual Africans and their communities that enabled them to seize opportunities to master the ways of their European colonizers and thereby improve their status" (Keller, 1996:159)?

Davis and Moore (1967) propose that "education is the selective agency for placing people in different statuses according to the capacities"(in Haralammbos,1991:176).How did this education incapacitate the nationalists and the western educated national bourgeoisie tasked with bettering the post-colonies? Was education the problem or the educated were? Armah raises this at the Railway Headquarters. The supervisor cannot transfer the skills he has learnt from his tour of England on efficient management several months since he came back. His attitude is similar to the filing clerk's lethargic attitude to work. Both designate post-independence inefficiency and lethargy in the public service (Armah, 1988:156).

Ungwuanyi (2014), claims that "anti-colonial struggle had masked the class contradictions between the petit-bourgeoisie and ordinary people" (p. 72) which became manifest after independence. Mami's and Ungwuanyi's positions are contestable in view of what Fanon (1961) says. For Fanon, the fundamental problem is personal as seen in the unpreparedness, intellectual laziness and bankruptcy of the educated classes which becomes a question of will. The educated could not have been averse to these contradictions on which the nationalist struggle was predicated as contextualized within the larger goals of Pan-Africanism and as argued by Weber on the mutual nature of class relations. Armah's comparative discussion of other jurisdictions like China and Cuba is summed up in the man's rhetoric question "what is wrong with me?" (Armah, 1988:57).This is an allegorical pointer to the individual a source of the post-colonial challenges.

Okurut interrogates this introspective paradigm shift in the struggle for a better post-independent Uganda. Liberation from the neo-colonial forces is premised on the rebels' awareness of these contradictions in their re-assertion of the goals of nationalism that have been perverted by Opolo and Duduma who relate Althusser's view of *interpellation*. Interpellation as proposed by Althusser is a function of ideology and entails placement of "an absolute or supreme subject as the model and it is on its basis that other subjects act and understand themselves". Barry (1995),describes it as "is a web of tricks spun by capitalists to pull the wool over the eyes of proletarians who they (the bourgeoisie) make believe are "free and independent of social forces that hinder their upward socioeconomic mobility"(cited in Ayediyi,2017:64).Manaan and Kofi Billy victims of this web of tricks. Kofi Billy commits suicide because of the dehumanizing existential conditions. He is neither rewarded by the colonial government nor honoured by the post-independent leadership as a WWII veteran (Armah, 1988:86). Okurut narrates through Mzee the psychic challenges faced by members of the "ruling class" who out of fear must produce 'ruling ideas' (Okurut, 1998:118). Duduma's magnanimity arising from his dreams is an act of interpellation in view of its aims that seek to make the population dependent. Armah also supports this position in the '(mis)interpretation' of capitalism as a mere 'unethical' race for money by a degenerate narrow minded bourgeoisie who thrive on dishonesty and double standards in the public service. At independence, they tore down "the veils behind which the truth had been hidden" however, once in power the same men, "began to find the veils useful. They made many more." As the teacher sadly observes "life has not changed, only some people have been growing and becoming different, that is all."(Armah, 1988: 92)

5.3 Nationalizing the Middle Class Sub-culture: Normalization of Deviance

The three texts are a demonstration of the national middle class failure to entrench a culture of dutifulness/responsibility, patriotism and hard work. Culture according to the *Oxford University Dictionary* (1965) is "the improvement and refinement by education and training" (p. 437). Mami's take on Armah's works is that western education remains the problem; however, what is the nature of African *ethos* in view of Aristotle's(2002) and Winslow's (2003) propositions with regard to duty? Who are these "right" and committed intellectuals, perhaps 'uncontaminated', by western education? This study alternatively reads improvement and refinement as arising from the utilitarian arguments where the individual growth and development is in tandem with the collective growth. In this regard, it adds to the total sum of the collective good and not mere promotion of utility over the value of life. Education was, and remains a tool towards a humanized existence. On the contrary, the educational ISA has been weaponized as an exclusionist tool which shows how the 'intellectual messiahs' failed in harnessing important skills, values and knowledge to individually transcend Freire's (2000) "myth of the old order". This order arises from what he describes as *"prescription"*[sic] where "the behavior of the oppressed is a prescribed behavior, following as it does the guidelines of the oppressor" (p. 46-47).Prescription continues in the 'new' post-independence order with new strategies of containment put in place by the emergent middle class. Koomson's fish tokenism is one such strategy to keep the masses in a state of expectancy. Violence is another political strategy of containment used by Dududuma. Okurut presents the antagonistic interclass tension between the 'political' class and intellectuals. The former views the university community as enemies who must be silenced (Okurut, 1998:120).

There is a false perception of the existential reality seen in the soldiers' displaced horizontal violence (Freire,2000) who world their fellow oppressed. This Worlding brings into prominence Mandeville's (2003) proposition of some individuals in the post-independence period who by virtue of their education and social status considered themselves special with a sense of entitlement. They looked down upon those who were not as privileged. Okurut portrays the converse in the soldiers' attitude. The fundamental problem from Mandeville's perspective is that the illiterates' and literates' effort is aimed at "no less than the public welfare and the conquest of their own"(cited in Archie,2003:280).Education fails to be the practice of freedom and becomes the practice of domination(Freire,2000:81) in the post-independence nation state. Denticat (1994) through Marc shows why education for the *worlded* is not highly prized in Haiti because "all brains leave the country" (p. 54) but some who remain by virtue of their positions in government are "crooks" (*ibid*). This explains Haiti's continued national regression/stasis.

Denticat attempts to answer Benedicty's (2013) question of what it means to be a "citizen of a failed state" (p. 36) in the larger Caribbean and Africa. Her work mediates the low literacy levels and developmental atrophy in Haiti through Tante Atie's laboured struggle with her adult classes (p. 4, 16) which is a reflection of the failure of education traceable from the Boyer presidency. Black Haitians cannot break even as an economic force (unless they emigrate) leaving the civil service to the educated mulattoes who are more French than Haitian (The Columbia Encyclopaedia, 6th edition, 2004) and serve their own interests. Adeoti (2005) indicts the character of the elite for the underdevelopment of the post-colony as being "parochial, self-centred, and committed to accumulation of material possessions rather than general well-being" (p. 4). Adeoti's assertion is captured by Okurut through Rex, a key antagonist, a debased, yet well 'educated' individual who like the unionist in Armah's text*,* exemplifies Fanon's (1961) "late comers" (p. 224) who join the victors after the revolution.

The Socratic paradox on knowledge is revealed in Armah's i*ntertextual* allusion to Plato's cave analogy which sums up Fanon's view of intellectual laziness within the post-independent bourgeoisie who choose darkness and not light (Armah, 1988:79-80).This is suggestive of the metaphorical pursuit of the personal over the collective. For Socrates, it is morally utilitarian to gain as much useful knowledge as we can and that ignorance can, and ought, not to be an excuse to do what is not good. This argument can be extended further to the Freudian unconscious and subconscious. These unconscious impulses are fundamental aspects of knowledge or, the lack of it, in the sense that it contains uncontrolled impulses which drive the individual to unconsciously commit harmful acts to the self and others. Since the unconscious lacks logic, it exemplifies "ignorance" which Socrates characterizes as not mere lack of knowledge but acting with a lack of knowledge in spite of the fact it is our duty and within our power to act knowledgeably.

Okurut and Armah expose the paradox of education and political power in their societies. The Man in *The Beautyful Ones* observes the dialectics of power transfer on the day of the coup, "people were given power because they were good at shouting against the enslaving things of Europe and the same people using the same power for chasing after the same enslaving things…" (p. 149). The recorded coup in *The Invincible Weevil* on January 24th 1971 in Uganda (Okurut, 1998:83) reveals the undifferentiated psychic effects of the illiterate and literate in the public service. The headmaster gives the students a biography of Duduma in the colonial project of the WW2 which required "tall, strong, illiterate people who could obey orders without questioning" (p. 85).Opolo uses and dumps the post WW2 Duduma, a northerner, to fight "his battles, especially one with the Kabaka of Uganda" (Okurut, 1998:39-40; 85-86). In a case of poetic justice, Opolo is ousted by Duduma (Okurut, 1998:86).The three writers demonstrate that autocracies are sustained largely by ignorance of the objective need for humanized existence. From Okurut's perspective, it shows that humanized existence is based on an awareness of the fact that freedom is not a gift but it is "acquired by conquest," (Freire, 2000:47) and must be pursued constantly and responsibly, disillusionment occurred because the masses believed too much in the emergent national middle class immediately at independence.

These writers raise key concerns on the nature of education and its failure in the post-colonial transformation process. Okurut and Denticat and Armah, show what needs to be done at the institutional level, who needs to do it, how it should be done and why. By using the *chichidodo* analogy, Armah proposes a post-colonial introspection with regard to re-education/re-learning in the resolution of post-independent challenges because it is within the psychic processes where an empowered *ego* transcends the unconscious promptings through the process of sublimation. Sublimation entails creative/conscious re-direction of destructive energies towards social re-construction as a consciousness process. For Denticat and Okurut, regeneration lies in the capacity of the oppressed to come to terms with their psychic turmoil by a reconciliation of the conscious/unconscious binaries. This study views education as a transformational agency where the *ego* is empowered to mediate and transcend the impulses from the unconsciousness towards consciousness. A weak *ego* is tamed by the unconscious hence atrophy/stunted development; a strong ego on the other hand tames both to achieve a balanced individual not given to either extremes of ignorance or intellectualism hence progress towards the ultimate ideal. Ashcroft et al (2002) acknowledges the role education has to play in the determination of social class and the privileges that accompany this status. In *Breath, Eyes and Memory*, Martine reminds her daughter, Sophie upon landing in America of the importance of education as a pathway to an individuated/self-actualized status because "schooling is the only thing that will make people respect you" (Denticat,

1994:43).This implies that education can diminish the inferiority complex.

Armah shows how undiminished inferiority fuels post-colonial degeneration on the other hand in the mismatch between education and opportunities for growth for the opportunists he describes as "veranda boys... building palaces in a matter of months" (p.93). The man's desire, in *The Beautyful Ones* for education as an equalizer is dimmed for it is not the knowledge and skills one has that determines the upward climb towards the gleam, rather it is a question of who one knows and Oyo's analogy of "speed, drivers and roads and accidents"(Armah, 1988:58-59). A fatal attitude towards education can be detected. The quality of life is not necessarily commensurate with ones education but the physical, psychological and moral risk one is able to stake in the 'national game'. In the protagonist's view, everything is reduced to a game of lots/ chance.

5.4 Middle Class 'deities: Inflated Egos and Ideological Bankruptcy

Social (dis)order results from ideology. Ideology determines the nature of society as either progressive or regressive. These writers effectively demonstrate notion of the middle class as not a class in itself but a class for itself because it does not "develop class consciousness and solidarity" (Haralambos, 1990:43) in the fulfillment of its historical mandate. This is evident in the various levels of ideologically inclined conflicts beginning with the widely supported nationalism versus imperialism/colonialism in the struggle for independence, and capitalism versus communism/socialism occasioned by the cold war. Most ideologies later became narrow and introverted/inflated personal, religious or misplaced cultural epithets (pseudo-ideologies) of self-justification imposed on the entire post-colony(*Duvalierism, Nkrumaism, Mobutuism, Nyayoism*).The aim of these pseudo-ideologies was to further dependence through creation of a national mystique that approximated to the colonizer.

These writers reflect on the transitional consequences of capitalism and Socialism/communism and their experimental versions in Africa and her Diaspora. They demonstrate that ideology is "a medium through which human consciousness works" (Ngara1990:11).For one to comprehend and interpret reality, whether inner or outer, ideology is imperative. Ideology is a system of "integrated assertions, theories and aims that constitute a socio-political program" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Ideology shapes, and is shaped by human consciousness relative to the existential conditions. Existential conditions, though impersonal, determine how society is consciously formed. The earliest formative ideology in the Blackman's emancipation was Pan-Africanism. Armah alludes to UNIA's objectives through the widely travelled shipman, Tricky Mensah who talks of "the coming black Americans with love and power and goods coming to free us" (Armah,1988:76).One can conclude that indeed nationalism and the humanizing ends to which it was meant to serve was a

solidifying ideology. The post Independence ruling class of Nkrumah, Obote, Mobutu, Duvaliers and Nyerere amongst others developed their own socialist versions. Most were abandoned soon after, for egocentric ideologies which gave birth to two distinct classes of the 'haves' and have-nots' but not as envisaged within capitalism *per se.* Plato (2002) describes this phenomenon as two nations in one with both "struggling together in one- the rich and the poor" (p.92) and which by default, raises one group above the rest(commoners) in the process of deification.

Deification then, becomes a process through which members of the post-independent middle class mutates into a 'ruling' (upper) class. Armah and Okurut shows how the media, an ISA owned then, by government strategically reinforce *deification* as diversionary tactic from the reality perpetuated by an emergent bourgeoisie. The Duvaliers from Denticat's perspective become demi-gods. Duvalier preserves himself in the national flagship 'fetishising' *Mais Gâté* international airport as François Duvalier Airport (Denticat,1998: 4). This is Fanon's (1961) leader who stands for moral power signified in culturally, popular and resonant ceremonial terms meant to venerate the leader. Mbembe (1992) captures this idea as *commandment* whose objective is to achieve legitimation and hegemony (p. 4) through *fetishization* of the leader. It works by disarming both the oppressor and the oppressed and turns power-play into a performance (p. 39) around which, in the extreme, is created a *castration anxiety* for those who dare question the idolized leader. Ghana had the Osegyaffo (Armah, 1988:127) while Obote was referred as *Nyamurunga*.

These three writers demonstrate Jung's (1951) view of the dangers of *deification* in the sense that the individual becomes unconscious of their shadow in a process he describes as *inflation*. This is an unconscious psychic condition where the individual has an exaggerated sense of one's self-importance as they are directed by their persona (mask) or in this case the archetypal image of the *messiah* for Nkrumah in Ghana and Obote and Amin in Uganda or *Mardis Gras* for Duvalier in Haiti. The mask is a compensation for feelings of inferiority which inform the pseudo-ideologies. The hero-quest and problems of integration back into society (Mills, 2010:66) occurs in the post-independent heroes who having led the struggle for independence install themselves as such. These 'heroes' having identified so much with their 'false' hero/superior archetype: the colonial master, it 'logically' followed that after the quest, they saw themselves as the new superiors/master which becomes a vicious cycle in Uganda, Haiti and Ghana. Duduma, Opolo in *Invincible Weevil* see themselves as messiahs and proceed to fulfill their 'messianic' roles not limited to 'purificatory' expulsions and extermination of those considered dissident.

The danger of inflation lies in the inferiority complex's capacity to make one "capable of a level of violence and destructiveness towards fellow human beings never before known in human history" (Schlamm 2010:435). Armah

originates and shows the psychological effects of violence on victims of colonialism like Homeboy an ex WWII veteran who becomes a mental wreck, seen in his regressive behaviour of re-enacting senseless military drills and commands. Others directed the violence inwards on their own people (Armah, 1988:64-65).The people saw these derelicts as strangers, their "own people who had gone as seamen to West Indies, came back wearing only calico and their beards, talking openly about the white man's cruelty" (Armah, 1988:76). Armah implies the colonial connection of colonial violence with post-independence violence. Colonial wars were essentially capital driven not different from slave trade which according to Wiedner (1967) was "more profitable than establishing plantations in Africa" (p. 57). Wiedner observes further that "competition among African groups for slave profits encouraged a marked increase in warfare" (p. 64). Capitalism like other ideologies has a correlation with violence as a behavioural response. Sempangi (1975) like, Schlamm makes an encompassing criticism of ideology (Nazism, Leninism, Stalinism etc) not limited to Uganda. He is of the view that "too many of the new ideologies produce states of terror and that "physical brutality is not only unfortunate result of some new African ideologies" (p. 20). Okurut demonstrates ideological extremism in how state terror is used as strategy of containment. The state Research Bureau agents (SRB) are a law unto themselves (Okurut, 1998:112-113).Denticat re-enacts Haiti's destruction. Stanley(2014) claims that Duvalier turned Haiti into a *voodoo* nation masking himself along the *voodoo* spirit of *Baron Samedi* with mystical powers accompanied by unmatched false generosity in a bid to endear himself to the citizens. Hidden in this generosity according to Freire (2000) is "an unjust social order which is the permanent fount of this "generosity," nourished by death, despair, and poverty." Freire concludes that "the dispensers of false generosity become desperate at the slightest threat to its source" (p. 44) which is corruption. Through Sophie, Denticat recounts the terror prone ideologies and how they reconstruct the individual (Denticat, 1994:156) and how in turn the individual reconstructs society. She portrays how an extremely subjective ideology shaped the Haitian society. Haitians responded to this ideological mystification through the *zombification* process which Sophie captures as doubling. Doubling is a coping strategy resulting from extreme trauma and the need to avoid facing reality in Haiti by both the victims and victimizers. Smith & Sheridan (1993) elaborate by relating it to the Auschwitz doctors and their medical experiments on Holocaust victims who become the 'living dead'. Under Hitler, death was inevitable and one could do nothing about it. According to Benedicty (2013), to contest the Duvaliers was in "a sense to contest national identity" (p. 39) which engendered personal and collective danger for Anti-Duvaliers Haitians because '*l'état c'est moi'*-the state and the president, in the De Gaullist sense, were one and the same.

Armah portrays the tragedy of ideological bankruptcy in a revealing discussion with Koomson, Oyo's mother asks about

the fishing boat, one of the symbols of pilferage of public resources (Armah, 1988:135). Koomson without showing a grasp of what socialism is, dubiously comments that it "cannot work here' and the only reason is that the "old man himself does not believe in it" (Armah, 1988:136). Scheler (1874-1928) looks at capitalism as, "an approach and a way of configuring the world (cited in Zachary & Steinbock, 2019). It is not just an economic system. Armah demonstrates the ideological tragedy when the old man (Nkrumah) deviates from his nationalist belief in "the individual's right to be the master of his own destiny …" (Kwasi 2014:55) and entrenched authoritarianism with his Biblical parody of 'seek ye the political kingdom and the economic will follow"(cited in Sempangi,1975:20).The undefined political kingdom implies a selfish gratificatory vision. This is why socialism cannot work as Koomson 'rightly' observes due to the kleptocratic mindset creeping into the society. It is not that capitalism could not work; rather, it was *willed* not to work after independence. When objectively analyzed from a Marxist perspective, capitalism like nationalism is blind to other factors like tribe, race, and ethnicity. It, however, is used to multiply diverse forms of political deviance by the middle class persons in positions of influence service. In Eagleton's (1991) view, ideology becomes an "illusion, distortion and mystification" (p. 3& 26) of reality used to justify decadence.

Armah reflects the paradox of nationalism and the changing post independence reality. The national bourgeoisie dissociates itself from the oppressed and identifies with the former oppressor (Armah, 1988:81). Okurut similarly narrates the false beginning in Uganda four years into Independence. The neo- oppressor/colonial and his neo-colonial subject demonstrate not only intellectual, but; ideological vacuity as paranoiacs imprisoned by their false ideology. Okurut demonstrates projection in how the meaning of independence is inverted with the oppressed becoming oppressor Freire (2000). Some citizens in a show of ideological confusion in Kampala turn against the white men who are made scapegoats upon whom the burden of colonial oppression is cast (Okurut, 1998:38). Okurut shows how nationalism, though transcending class, tribe, race, religion and creed at independence did not exclude coercion in the execution of Opolo's version and vision of socialism described as the "The Common man's charter" (Mugisha, 2017:99) under Obote's UPC (Uganda People's Congress) in 1962.The aim of UPC was nationalization of resources for the 'benefit' of the common man. The net effect according to Mugisha (2017) was "flight of capital" (p. 100) and professionals who were replaced by incompetent managers who personalized and mismanaged socio-political institutions.

5.7 Towards a libertarian Paradigm: Ideological Paradoxes and challenges of embourgeoisement

A truly liberating ideology requires a psycho-social paradigm shift and can be considered within Eagleton's (1991) description of ideology as: "*unifying, action oriented, rationalizing, legitimizing and naturalizing"*[*sic*] (p.45).

Stuart Mill's and Plato's ideas can be used to rationalize how and why ideology fails. Stuart (1991) gives a template for construction of a collective emancipatory ideology. Mill is of the view that rulers should be identified with the people so that their interests and will are the same as the interest and will of the nation. By extension, "the interest of the workers should be the interests of the masters so that in the end there is a balance.(p. 7). Plato, in *The Republic* attests to this in his proposition that virtues "of the State and of the individual are the same"(p. 53).Armah, Okurut and Denticat show how the post-colony mirrors not the collective but the personal which is made to pass for the national (collective).These views essentialises humanization as the object of ideology.

The problem of ideology extends to political models. President Kazi's 'ideological' analysis views imperialism as the source of Africa's post-independent problems ranging from divisive politics, tribalism, regionalism based on badly drawn boundaries and inter-tribal wars. Kazi suspends political parties which he feels are the major "causes for the country's many years of upheaval". (Okurut, 1998:172). While the imperial attack holds, it is a scapegoat in the long term. President Kazi comparatively, downplays the devalued individual in Opolo and Duduma and how they unde(r)develop the country in the previous regimes.

A reading of Eagleton(1991) shows the inherent danger in some ideologies that "what persuades men and women to mistake each other from time to time for gods or vermin is ideology"(1991 p. xiii).From a moral and psychological perspective, dehumanization of fellow oppressed was a default choice driven by hedonism and not reality principle as observed by Taata, the oldman, in *Invincible Weevil* who makes a premonitive observation of what was to become Uganda's, and largely Africa's and her Diaspora's curse, his fear is that "things which start in blood end in blood"(Okurut, 1998:40).The distorted view of Opolo's (Obote) nationalization and Africanization programs as aspects of the socialist (mis)adventure explodes during Duduma's(Amin) reign. This confirms Fanon's (1961) view of the bourgeoisie not being "rooted in a genuine endeavour [*sic*] at nationalization, but merely corresponds to a transfer of power previously held by the foreigners, (p. 103). Okurut mirrors Fanon's analysis of the native bourgeoisie whose aggression aims at cornering "the positions formerly kept by foreigners" (Fanon, 1961:103). The Indians are worlded by Duduma's pseudo-ideology so is the Kabaka by President Opolo (Okurut, 1998:39). Duduma has a 'revelation' which directs him to arbitrarily appropriate private property (p. 92). Recasting Achebe's view of the problem with Nigeria ,it holds across Africa and her Diaspora that, it is not the nature(tribal/ethnic/regional/racial) that is the problem rather, the nature of the political leadership with regard to allocation of limited resources is what politically subjectivises objective realities of tribe and race as labels responsible for negative ethnicity/tribalism, social injustice, a culture of mediocrity,

and widespread indiscipline which cripple chances of most post-colonies becoming modern countries.(Achebe,2012).

These three writers make subtle representations similar to the proletarianization program in Russia where the party and the state are undifferentiated as the party leadership is appointed into public administration (Fanon, 196:116) with no options for dissenting views. Armah criticizes a similar view of education where merit and professionalism are sacrificed at the altar of party politics and 'false ideologies'. False in the sense that they are not positively directive nor do they permeate to become collective visions for the masses in whose name they are proposed. The 'hijacked' nationalization/Africanization programs across Africa and her Diaspora after independence are moreless ideological replications whose objectives failed because the nationalist middle class saw its narrow interests as indistinguishable from the national interests. The reason why the "bourgeois phase in the history of the undeveloped countries is a completely useless phase"(Fanon,1961:103) completely different from the (m)other country.

Okurut presents the dismissive nature of most African post-colonial leaders who dismiss anything western without serious interrogation of any possible merits. President Kazi dismisses democracy as Western and "only conducive to their situation and not for African countries because the context pertaining in this continents is different, they are at different stages of development"(Okurut, 1998:172-173). Kazi seems to imply that Uganda and by extension Africa and her Diaspora must undergo its 'dark ages'. An elitist voice is heard making a cynical remark, "well, we hope he'll not take on the economic policies of the developed nations since he has discarded 'their'[*sic*] democracy"(Okurut, 1998:173).Okurut foregrounds the misunderstood function of the nation-state. She echoes the bourgeoisie's displaced fallacy noted by Samatar & Samatar (2002) that "African development has stalled because the state is of the wrong kind and, therefore, a re-thinking of its form seems to be of utmost necessity" (cited in Aihie, 2014:11). Kazi does not give a viable alternative to democracy to distinguish it from 'his' ideological inclination, neither does he elucidate the differences when weighed against Ozbudun's conclusion of Aristotle's democratical state in which, "a highly developed middle class would contribute to endeavors for transition to democracy"(Ozbudun, 2005:95). His speech suffers a poverty of ideology. Ideology for President Kazi becomes an "an imaginary resolution of real contradictions" (Eagleton,1991:6) yet it is "a rational way of coding and decoding existence which may not necessarily be homogenous but whose underlying substance is universal: humanized existence. Since democracy and socialism could not work, autocracy and its endless cycle of horizontal violence became the post-colonial 'normal' perpetrated by the national bourgeoisie against the rest of the population. Armah exemplifies this cycle of violence after the coup where Ghanaian socio-political space is turned into a senseless and

endless cycle of the hunters and the hunted (Armah, 1988:162).

Okurut demonstrates how the, would be, middle class intellectuals like Kazi downplay the Fanonian intellectual bankruptcy of the national bourgeoisie and the negative effect arising from the bankrupt individuals in the ousted regimes. He blames political parties which ideally are supposed to be organizational tools for psycho-social development. He does not demonstrate awareness of how material/external conditions actualize the egalitarian challenges he is supposed to be addressing: the inverse relationship between unethical material accumulation and the dehumanized existence driven by the pleasure and not reality principle. The reality principle is a precondition for rebellion as narrated by Okurut resulting from intolerable existential conditions. From the analytical perspective behaviour is informed by both one's inner desires and recognition of external realities of what is reasonable or acceptable. By forming a new party based on ideology and not on religion, it is hoped that there will be "change the face of politics in this country"(Okurut ,1998:143) with the potentiality of diminishing unparalleled 'colonial accumulation'.

Ideology as reflected by these writers is a vision limited to individual subjectivism and at variance with the collective desires. The coup is but a transitory mechanism in this vicious race for 'capital 'not for economic, but political manipulation as its sole objective. Herbst's (1997) ideas can help us psycho-socially contextualize the coups in the three texts as a struggle between those who were afraid of losing their privileges as "there was no guarantee" of retaining power "if they experimented with new political organizations." (p. 121).The tension Armah alludes to is the fall out in Ghana between the Nkrumah and radicals within the UGCC (United Ghana Convention Congress) party (Herbst, 1997:16; Kwasi 2014:54).Armah shows how, the common person (Oyo and her mother) become prisoners of this false ideology. They are the least conscienticised because they are too pre-occupied with desire for capitalist consumption and uninterested in the human condition. The two cannot relate what the leaders are doing and the difficult socio-economic conditions they face. They suffer the burden of taxation while party men, like Uncle Asford, as Estella reveals, avoid paying taxes (Armah, 1988:132). *The Mafuta-Mingi* in the *Invincible Weevil* follow a similar pathway (Okurut,1998:98-99). Oyo and her mother are ruled by the 'slave mentality' forever dependent on 'fish' tokenism and not aspiring to be legitimate boat owners for their own fish. The problem of ideology can be seen in how Koomson rises immediately he leaves for Accra where everybody believes nothing but "saying they believe everything that needs to be believed, so long as the big jobs and the big money follow" which is worsened by what Armah describes as "men who know nothing about politics but have grown hot with ideology"(Armah, 1998:89).This, as Armah shows extends to the civil servants who hate socialism but "are singing hosanna"(*ibid*).This is a case of conflict of

interest and dereliction of duty which explains the death of public service in the hands of the middle class.

Okurut further problematizes the ideological tensions in Uganda with his perverted view of political parties founded not on common values but religious foundation. Fanon (1961) notes the divisive nature of the religious ISA which adds to post-colonial tensions (p.107). According to Genesis' father in *The Invincible Weevil*, the Democrats party is for Catholics while the Congress party takes on Protestants and Moslems (p.150). The coups in Ghana can be attributed to an 'ideological' tension between the Nkrumaists and unnamed others in the (un)conscious race for 'capital' crass material accumulation which runs counter to the socialist ideal a point made by the insecure allocation clerk in *The Beautyful Ones* who unhappily notes the conflictual nature of the personal and the collective in the undeveloped middle class on the day of the coup, that "another group of bellies will be bursting with the country's riches" (Armah,1988:158).

Okurut shows the centrality of the committed Gramscian intellectual fulfilling its historical mandate. She uses Mzee to demonstrate how the dehumanizing existential conditions become the driving force on which 'class' consciousness towards the ideal is launched as a prerequisite for societal restoration (Okurut,1998:51) Mzee sums up the foundation and need for psycho-social restoration through self- sacrifice as a higher ideological ideal embodied in the *collective hero*. Self sacrifice according to Spitzer (2010) is the "uncontrolled and absolute giving (which is a relinquishing of the egoistic claim and therefore not overseen by ego-consciousness," (p. 2). The rebels demonstrate Jung's view on the importance of the unconscious in the quest for mental liberation in moments of crisis where the unconscious becomes "greater than the conscious" for in ''the act of sacrifice the consciousness gives up its power and possessions in the interest of the unconscious'' (Jung, 1956:671). Okurut exemplifies conformism and the antebellum like spirit under the regime of President Kazi. The new middle class is able to restore social order resulting from what Mugisha (2017) describes as "Amin's economic war (1972) against the self made middle class Asians and imperial forces" (p. 101). Okurut fictively represents this reality during Duduma's reign where the Asians are given 90 days to quit. The leaderships and the people blame economic problems (Okurut, 1998:92-93) on the Asians without looking at their work ethic as a self-made middle class not privileged to work in the public service, compared to the *Mafuta Mingi* illicitly benefiting from public resources.

VI. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From the foregoing, it can be noted that there is an 'ideal' middle class as discussed by Aristotle, Matthew Arnold, Fanon and the Marxist Hungarian critic George Lukacs which gives a backdrop against which the post colonial capitalist nation state's status of (de)humanization and (under)development can be analyzed. The post-independence

national middle class lost its *cause célèbre* as a restitutive agency in the post-colonial spaces by widening and not reducing social inequalities due to psycho-social defectiveness. It abdicates its historical duty and alienates itself which materially affects the existential conditions immediately after independence. Some of the key roles expected of this class were re-education/Hellenization of the masses, re-humanization, and the process of becoming human and socio-political re-structuring as an ideological function. The post-colonial structural experiences in Africa and her Diaspora have largely been regressive under both the western and local (un)educated bourgeoisie. The 'missing middle' as pre-condition for stable post-independent nation state is evident in the three texts. The middle class has not expanded but continues to shrink which explains the continued socio-political tensions in the post-colony. This why this study agrees with Aristotle's view that a stable (democratic) state requires a "class of people whose economic position is virtually independent of those who hold power,"(in Ozubudun, 2005:98) which essentially underscores the importance of the embourgeoisement process. This class, it can be concluded, is one of those colonial structural legacies that were subverted from a progressive organizational tool to one that was used to marginalize and disenfranchise the populations in a complex mix of race and ethnic considerations so that these newly independent sites suffer the irreconcilable double tragedy 'masked' in the discourse of either race and class or ethnicity and class, thus, developmental atrophy. As an organizational notion, the middle class ought to be a universal carrier of social values/norms that anchor society. An evaluation of the 'missing' middle class reveals that it is the weak link responsible for the degenerate post-colonial status characterized by limited socio-economic progress since independence. There is need for a paradigm shift and a new beginning with an objective psycho-social re-evaluation of the functional importance of a dutiful national middle class in the post-independence spaces because it is reflective of the wellness of most progressive societies.

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