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A Study of National consciousness in Chinua Achebe's novel *Anthills of the Savannah*

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Abstract

The application of postcolonial theories relating national consciousness through story telling about own society brings interaction between people. The interaction helps the discourse of the people. The story telling guards nation and people. The story telling is also telling the history of people. Chinua Achebe's novel *Anthills of the Savannah* (1997) is about the story telling. Most of the characters: Sam, Chris, Ikem and Beatrice narrate the situation and events of Kangan imaginary nation of Nigeria. The main character, the ruler of government, is out-of-touch with citizen. Sam, Chris and Ikem are educated in London and Washington. They try to rule like colonizers. But they failed to rule and their death at the end. The end of the tyrannical government is beginning of the new Nigeria.

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Introduction

Albert Chinualumogel Achebe, African novelist, poet and critic, the son of Isaiah Okafo, a Christian churchman, and Janet N. Achebe, was born on November 16, 1930 in Ogidi, Eastern Nigeria. Since 1950's, Nigeria has witnessed the flourishing of a new literature, which has drawn sustenance from traditional oral literature and from the present and rapidly changing society. His achievement, however, has not been limited to his continent. He is considered to be one of the best novelists in English language. Achebe's works explore the impact of European culture on African society. In 1956, he published his first major novel *Things Fall Apart*. In 1960, Nigeria got independence. In the same year, he published his second novel *No Larger at Ease*. His third novel *Arrow of God* in 1964, fourth novel, *A Man of the People* in 1966; and his fifth novel *Anthills of the Savannah* in 1987. He is the editor of several anthologies including the essay collections, *Morning Yet on Creation Day*, and *Hopes and Impediments* and the collection of poetry, *Beware Soul Brother*. He was the editor of the magazine, *Okike*, and founding editor of the Hieneman Series on African literature. He is often called the father of modern African literature.

Chinua Achebe is a fine stylist and an astute social critic, one of the best-known African writers in the West. His works explore the impact of European culture on African society. Achebe's unsentimental, often ironic books vividly convey the traditions and speech of Ibo people. His concern was with emergent African people at its moments of crisis, his novels range in subject matter from the first contact of an African village with the White man to the educated African's attempt to create a firm moral order out of the changing values in a large city. Achebe demands some concepts of Igbo tradition. Achebe himself comes from Igbo group, and his works refer to Igbo tradition.

Anthills of the Savannah published in 1987, is about troubles of Nigerian people. The subject matter reflects the political realities of Nigeria during the last two decades of civil war, the corruption of power, rapid alternations of civilian and military rule and censorship in newspapers. Ruling governments have oscillated between corrupt citizens and violent army generals. For the first time, Achebe chooses to disguise the setting by investing a state, Kangan. This may be intended to universalize the African situation, of the of his country. But there are some flickers of hope. Interestingly enough, it is the female characters who display strength and assurance through the corruption and violence.

Perhaps Achebe has begun to lose confidence in young generation. Nevertheless, his early quartet stands as a masterly achievement which informs readers of the disasters that colonialism has brought to Africa. His subject matters are from contemporary social events but we can not equalize them with contemporary newspaper events.

Chinua Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah* illustrates postcolonial writing that rejects colonialism and establishes national consciousness. He depicts the radical newspaper editor, Ikem Osodi, talking on the corrupt new postcolonial government led by president, Sam, the "nation's man of Destiny," the University of Bassa. Achebe narrates the students a story from an oral tradition about Subverting westernized culture expectations, inherent in terms of like lecture and university the text becomes an act of revolt against the hegemonic imprisoning nationalism within the newly independent fictional African state of Kangan.

Anthills of the Savannah portrays modern, independent postcolonial Africa. It presents the social and personal turbulence of a late 20th century African country, Kangan by fictional name and Nigeria is real nomenclature. The novel dramatizes

political struggle among Africans. It shows the continuing British and Western economic and cultural influences. The novel begins with military government and ends with the overthrow of government by another coup.

The narrator is not straight forward. Several characters tell the stories- Christopher, Ikem, and an unknown narrator. It is not always immediately clear which of the character is speaking. Relatively little time, perhaps less than one year, passes between Chris's opening narration and the naming ceremony at the end of the novel. But we are told a number of past events from the mouth of several characters like Beatrice, Chris and Ikem.

This is a story that effects Nigerian life in the 1980's, the life of instability and fear. The military leaders of the 1980's are so scared of possible counter-coups that they instigate a rule of fear and evidence. Public executions, police searches and a dummy governments and this in turn creates more instability and breakdown of law and order.

The novel begins with the conversation between commissioners of information, Mr. Christopher and president, Sam, of Kangan. There is an assembly of high officials of that country. The novel ends with naming ceremony to Ikem's daughter. By that time all the three major characters of the text are already dead.

Anthills of the Savannah reveals extent to which any political hope placed in the hands of the military is misplaced. Like its predecessors, the novel is an examination of the role of the writer in society. There are persistent references to 'story' and 'storyteller' that exemplify the claims for the function of art In 1971, Achebe founded the journal *Okikell*, a forum of presentation for new imaginative writing, and the expression of critical opinions. He was also instrumental in reviving

the Association of Nigerian Authors in 1981. The aim of the association is to create a forum for Nigerian and African writers. They can publish their writing and it helps foster the growth of local publishing and also provide suitable space for African literary tradition.

Achebe's imaginative and non-fictional writing reveals his wish to determine a just system of government for Nigerians and his advocacy about the role of literature as serving the 'need of society'. Achebe's achievement has been to set the record of Nigerian history straight to restore his people's faith in them, and, in his own words, to provide a context in which they can articulate their values and define their goals in relation to the cold and alien world around them. Achebe has a central place in African and contemporary literature.

Berth Landforms analysis of *Anthills of the Savannah* is that the story telling is more important to a community than fighting a war. He explains that over the last century Africans have experienced a great deal of turmoil, heard many war-drums and seen many battles. Initially these were colonial conflicts; today they tend to be civil wars or struggles between unselected leaders and the peoples they misrule. The stories of these turbulent years have not been easy to tell, but many writers have taken a stab at it, putting on record at least a small portion of African contemporary history in instructive fictional terms.

Chinua Achebe has been more successful than these storytellers. His novels have offered us not just lucid instruction but also profound enlightenment, enabling us to see more clearly what has happened to Africa and why. His stories have been our escort, or most reliable guide to that continent's troubled past and troubling present. He has made it possible for us to remain blind to African realities.

Landforms explains that *Anthills of the Savannah* has picked up more or less where he had left off, focusing a sharp eye on the military elite that had ruled Nigeria and many other African countries after the collapse of democratically elected regimes.

In the review of *Anthills of the Savannah*, By Lee Lescaze describes Mr. Achebe's telling has been the post-independent floundering of Nigeria and other West African nations and he (Achebe) tells a dark story of corrupt and incompetent government whose abuses, from petty tyranny to state-ordered murder, are unhappily familiar in modern West Africa. (1)

Lescaze explains the post independent Nigerian people's troubles and sufferings caused by corruption and tyrannical military government. He further explains "Mr. Achebe's anger over the ease with which the ruling class has adopted attitudes of the white colonialists."(1) The ruling class of government has adopted the whites' style and system and that was one of the main reasons for troubles in Nigeria.

In *New States Man and Society*, Byd Tonkin says, "*Anthills of the Savannah* is a wonderful novel. Tonkin equals Kangan, the land, where three idealistic friends succumb to the terror and violence of postcolonial elite" (1). Among three major characters, Ikem, a writer and editor speaks up for a poor region Abazon, plundered by the ruling clique. In Tonkin's word Ikem meet "a savage and summary death" (1). Rulers want to bury the voice of the truth by killing the people who go against them or whom, they suspect as their enemy or who don't obey them," State murder stifles the voice of truth" (2). Truth can not be suppressed by killing. Ikem was a writer and story teller. His stories are everlasting. An old man, from Abazon defends the immortality of writer and story.

Tonkin says "on respect, its strange to find that of *Anthills of the Savannah* now reads so painfully as the chronicle of a death foretold" (1). Some numbskull in a fancy uniform decides that, truth can be erased by putting a noose around the neck or a bullet in the brain of the nuisances who utter it. It can't, "outlines the sound of war drums and exploits so brave fighters" Tonkin further says.

Ikem, Chris and Sam all are killed at the end of the novel. Tonkin explains the value of martyr.

In the state of justice, a martyred writer weighs no more or less than martyred farmer or truck driver. But despots who can kill a protester know abroad will inflict any atrocity on observer victims. It's fair to treat the writer's plight as a litmus-test of tyranny, without pretending that intellectuals matter more than anyone else. (1)

The title of this novel also drew attention from critics. According to Tokin the story is immortal "the stories they told prevailed over the crimes that silenced them" (2). This is the meaning of Achebe's mysterious title. The *Anthills of the Savannah*-those tough little towers of chatter-will survive "to the new grass of last year's bush fire"(*Anthills* 31).

James Marcus criticizes, in *The Nation*, that *Anthills of the Savannah* is about the opposing to tyrannical rule and rising conscious, with respect to both women and that ticklish entity, "the people, the setting are the West African nation of Kangan, a fictional cousin to Achebe's own Nigeria. During the last two years Kangan has witnessed a scenario of change from civilian government, to the rule to the "interim" military government. Its leader declares himself president for whole life and the title

of the first citizen His Excellency and so on, many titles as suit to the crazy mind of the dictator.

Marcus further explains "Achebe's treatment of the other target of raised consciousness the people"(541). He gives them voice throughout *Anthills of the Savannah* by turning again and again to the sprung rhythms of the local patois"(541). The forcing of local languages and local culture help to raise consciousness.

Gayle Feldman emphasizes on local culture which helps to raise consciousness. He interviews with Achebe for *Publishers Weekly* as "a fundamental message to any writer: Know yourself; be yourself; explore your own stories, share them with the world and we'll all learn something" (40). The localization of culture helps know stories.

Another critic of Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah* John B. Breslin in his book *Ghosts of the Colonized in Common Weal*, explains that "the novel is about the world of villages, folk wisdom and peasants these achievers have left behind in their fight to the metropolis" (310). Breslin analyses the village life of Kangan and its people, the local languages of Igbo culture, Ikem tells the story of Leopard and Tortoise, he gives lectures. "Achebe is too sophisticated to divide the world neatly between rural virtue and urban corruption, death becomes as violently and irrationally in the bush as it does in the capital" (310). The urban elite people in the government are shown corrupt by power whereas rural people are seen telling stories of their history. At the end of the novel, three elite people are shown dead.

Robin Ikegami's critical discussion in *Knowledge and Power the story and the storyteller: Achebe's Anthills of the Savannah* centres "African oral tradition to enhance Achebe's effort to depict different tensions- such as that between pre-colonial

Ibo ways of thinking and Christian missionary nations or between men and women or between generalizations" (65). Achebe focuses the oral traditions of Igbo society. His use of proverbs, different speech rhythms, and repetitions address in detail the role of story telling as a political or social act, as a demonstration of knowledge and an exercise of power.

In the process of information collection, the president Sam "is always gathering information from various people, listening to and deciphering their stories, and he also tells stories, giving out information or allowing the release of selected pieces of information" (67). The opening conversation between the President and his oldest friend, Chris, points out a connection between political power and power of storytelling. It shows a man who fears losing both. With more than a little frustration to the president, Chris and Ikem both are storytellers. Chris is interested in fact and he sees power is closely linked with a comprehensive knowledge of fact.

David Carroll writes in his book *Chinua Achebe Novelist, Poet and Critic*. By the time "*Anthills of the Savannah* is the exercise of power has become even more extreme: the novel opens with the military ruler of the African state of Kangan disdainfully treating his civilian cabinet like children" (176). The novel explains the political realities of Africa, especially Nigeria, during the last two decades: civil war, the corruption of power, and the rapid alternations of civilian and military rule.

Carroll explains that the novel is the most ambitious novel. He writes:

In asserting the primacy of what is called 'the earth and the earth's people, the privileged triumvirate of characters is destroyed, but their death is interpreted as a rite of passage to be a better world in which the true dialectical of life- of rulers and people of male and female, of

modernity and tradition will be reestablished, with a key role to be played by the women. After the darkness of the Civil War there is in this novel a new kind of confidence both in the storyteller and story teller's audience. (190)

At the end of the novel the old tyrannical government is destroyed the Nigerian civil war also was finished. The new government will be elected. The new president would be liberal than the former one. The present novel ends with the new hope. The title also suggests the story of new generation.

Post colonialism as a New form of Imperialism

Discourse, Power and Truth

Postcolonialism deals with the effects of colonization on cultures and societies. As originally used by historians after the Second World War, 'post-colonial' had a clearly chronological meaning designating the post-independence period. However, from the late 1970s the term has been used by literary critics to discuss the various cultural effects of colonization.

Although the study of the controlling power of representation in colonized societies had begun in the late 1970s with texts such as *Orientalism* and it led to the development of what came to be called colonialist discourse theory in the work of critics such as Spivak and Bhaba. The actual term 'post-colonial' was not employed in those early studies of power of colonialist discourse. It is to shape and form opinion and policy in the colonies and metropolis. Spivak published *The Postcolonial Critic* in 1990. The term 'post-colonial' was first used to refer to cultural interactions within colonial studies in literary circles. This was part of an attempt to politicize and focus the concerns of the so-called New Literatures in English initiated in the late 1960s. The term has subsequently been widely used to signify the political, linguistic and cultural experience of societies that were former European colonies.

The post-structuralist influence of the major exponents of colonial discourse theory, Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak led many critics, concerned to focus on the material effects of the historical condition of colonialism as well as on its discursive power. The postcolonial studies is a field from colonial discourse theory.

'Post-colonialism' is now used in wide and diverse ways to include the study and analysis of European territorial conquest, the various institutions of European

colonialism, the discursive operations of empire, the subtleties of those subjects, and most importantly perhaps, the differing responses to such incursion and their contemporary colonial legacies in both pre- and post-independence nations and communities. While its use has tended to focus on the cultural production of such communities, it is becoming widely used in historical, political, sociological and economical analysis, as these disciplines continue to engage with the impact of European imperialism upon world societies.

In simple sense of the term 'post' as prefix means 'after' colonialism has been contested by a more elaborate understanding of the working of postcolonial cultures which stress the articulations between and across the politically defined historical periods, of pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence cultures. As a result, further questions have been asked about what limits, if any, should be set. The postcolonialism as it has been employed in most recent accounts has been primarily concerned to examine the processes and effects of, and reaction to, European colonialism from the sixteenth century to 'neo-colonialism' of the present day.

Postcolonialism is the most fashionable and relatively neutral descriptive sense to refer to the literature producing or dealing with the people and culture of the land which has emerged out of the colonial rule. It can also be used to imply a body of theory or an attitude towards European essece. Edward Said writes in his book

Orientalism:

Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point colonialism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, setting it, ruling over it, in short Orientalism as a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the orient .(3)

Said takes the issues of colonialism, post-colonialism and even beyond postcolonialism. His evaluation and criticism of the set of beliefs, known as Orientalism, forms an important background for postcolonial studies. His works highlight the inaccuracies of a wide variety of assumptions as it questions various paradigms of thought, which are accepted on individual, academic and political levels by the west. The orient signifies a system of representations framed by political force that brought the orient into western empire. The orient exists for the west as construction in relation to the west. It is mirror image of what is interior to the west. Said writes:

Orientalism can thus be regarded as a manner of regularized (or orientalized) writing, vision, study, dominated by imperatives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the orient. The orient is taught, researched, administered and pronounced upon in certain discrete ways.
(202)

Orientalists appear as a teacher, researcher and administrator. The Orientals accept the involvement of orientalist. The orient is considered separately. The Orientals are backward, sensual and passive. They have neither education nor rational consciousness. Poverty, disease and ignorance have affected them most. The concept of inferiority and superiority are clearly seen. But the orientalists have the capacity to dominate others. They used that capacity as a power and started ruling over orientals. The first orientalists were nineteenth century scholars who translated the writings of the orient into English and who wrote articles and books from their own perspectives. By knowing the orient, the western succeeded in owning it. The westerners accused that the orientals were passive, lazy and greedy. Orient is considered as the vast region that spreads across a myriad of cultures and countries. It includes most of the

countries of Asia and Africa. The depiction of this single orient, which can be studied as a cohesive whole, is one of the most powerful accomplishments of orientalist scholars. It has an image of prototypical orient, a biological inferior and culturally backward. The discourse and visual imagery of Orientalism is laced with notion of the part of the West and perpetuated through wide variety of discourse and policies. The language is critical to the construction. The inferior and weak orient awaits the dominance of the west. It generally looks a defenseless and unintelligent whole that exists in terms of western discourse. Since the notion of the orient is created by the orientalists, it exists solely for them. Its identity is defined by the Orientalists scholars who give it life who and wrote the history of non-western people. Though, the mode of colonial hegemony has changed but the content has remained the same.

Edward Said argues that *Orientalism* can be found in current western depictions of Arab cultures. The depiction of the Arab is irrational, untrustworthy, anti-western and dishonest. Perhaps most significantly, prototypical ideas are those into which orientalist scholarship has enrolled. Those nations are trusted as foundations for both ideologies and policies developed by the occident. In this context Said writes:

The Orientalism is not only a positive doctrine about the orient that exists any one time in the west: it is also an influential academic tradition (when one refers to an Orientalism), as well an area of concern defined by travelers, commercial enterprises, governments, military expeditions, readers of novels and account of exotic adventure, natural historians and pilgrims to whom the orient is a specific kind of knowledge about specific places, peoples and civilization. For the orient, idioms becomes frequent and these idioms took firm, hold in European discourse. Beneath the idioms here was in layers of doctrine about the orient. This doctrine was fashioned out of the

experiences of many Europeans all of them converging upon such essential aspects of the orient as the oriental characters, oriental despotism, oriental sensibility and the live. For any European during the 19th century and think one can say this almost without qualification orientalism was such a system of truths, truths in Nietzsche's some of words. It is therefore correct that every European is what he could say about the orient, was consequently a racist, an imperialist and almost totally ethnocentric. (203-204)

The mission of the western people is to decolonize the Eastern people. The neo-colonialists are involved in various academic and business fields. They came as traders and commercial men, historians, school teachers, and military men to rule the decolonized nations. The colonized countries' people failed to rule themselves because of their lack of education, lack of money and lack of political ideology. Thus, neo-colonization has evolved on the same colonial principles. However, nowadays money is playing the dominant role on it. Edward Said calls into question about the assumptions that form the foundation of orientalist thinking. The rejection of orientalism entails a rejection of biological generalizations, cultural constructions, racial and religious prejudices. It is a rejection of greed as primary motivating factors in intellectual pursuit. It is an erasure of the line between the West and the other. Said argued for the narrative rather than vision in interpreting the geographical landscape known as the orient. It means that historians and scholars would not turn to a panoramic view of half of the globe, but they may be founded in complex type if histories that allow space for the dynamic varieties of human experiences. Rejection of orientalist thinking does not entail a denial of the differences in a more critical and objective fashion. The orient can not be studied in a non-orientalist manner; rather, the scholars are obliged to study culturally consistent smaller regions. The person who

has been known as the orient until now must take a back seat to narrate and self-representation (49 – 73).

Edward Said and other intellectuals have problems in two terms: the West and the East are significantly important. The gap between East and West is important. The question comes: why such gap has occurred? A gap can be seen in terms of economy, politics and ideology. Third world countries and its people always thought about political freedom. They are economically and ideologically backward. Colonial imperialism is responsible to bring measurable situations in decolonized nations to some extent. The natives of the decolonized nations are also equally responsible for such situations.

These terms West and East are geographical divisions. The west desired to govern and control the East. These attitudes are colonial at heart. Orientalism is the discourse of the West about the East. At the very outset, what the Westerns believed was that civilizations, science and progress should be emanated from the West in terms of instinct and intellect. The natives of the East were primitive and barbaric. Because of their intellect, the Westerns started ruling and the non-westerners remained ruled. Edward said expresses his ideas in this way in *Orientalism*:

In practice, this nation has meant that when Orientals struggle against colonial occupation, you must say (in order to rat to risk a disneyism) that Orientals have never understood the meaning of self-government the way we do. When some orientals oppose racial discrimination while others practice it, you say “they’re all orientals at bottom” and class interest, political circumstances, economic factors are totally irrelevant. (107)

The problem of oriental or decolonized people is not that they have not properly understood the importance of self-government. So solution of this problem was not colonial system in the past and nor neo-colonial system at present. According to the problem begin with Westerns desire to govern the others and, the West experiences institutionalized power over the non-West.

Said, in fact, follows the logic of Michel Foucault's theory and he challenges the western discourse. For Foucault, no discourse is fixed for all the time because of cause and effect. Discourse not only wields power but also stimulates opposition. The opposition of the power is just like the other side of a coin. It is natural of an opposition to have a will to power.

The colonial discourse, not only creates power to rule others, but also contains the possibility of resistance from the other. The production of otherness is essential for colonization. It is fraught with internal contradictions, since it produces the possibilities of resistance in the other. Western discourse about non-Western world, including Orientalism, played a vital role in serving the purpose of European expansion. However, the coming of the white men brought some sort of resistance almost everywhere in the Eastern world.

Foucault developed a theory of discourse in relation to the power structure as operating in society. For him, discourse is involved with power. He views that discourses are rooted in social institutions and social and political power operate through discourse. Therefore, discourse is inseparable from power. Discourse is the ordering force that governs every institution. This enables institutions to exercise their power and dominate others. Those who possess the authority to define discourse exclude others, those who are not in power. In *Glossary of Literary Terms*, M.H. Abrams writes:

Discourse has become the focal term among critics who oppose the deconstructive concept of a “general text” that functions independently of particular historical condition. Instead they conceive of discourse as social parlance or language-in-uses and consider it to be both the product and the manifestation not of a timeless linguistic system, but of particular social condition, class structures, and power relationship that alter in the course of history. (241)

Foucault believes that we can never possess an objective knowledge of history “because historical writings are always entangled in tropes” (Seldon 102). Discourse is produced within a real world of power struggle. It is used as a means to gain or sometimes even to subvert power. For Foucault, discourse is a central human activity. He is interested in the process how discursive practices change over time.

The written discourse or the texts are meant to be addressed to the reader/critic. So, they are not meaningful until they are actualized and made present by the reader or critic. Text being emanated from the author is meant to be verbal message, which needs to be deciphered by the critic. This helps to formulate an opinion to engage in an interpretation of a text, take part in a dialogue with another. Bakhtin School, held similar opinion stating that “every utterance is potentially the site of struggle: every word launched into special space implies a dialogue and therefore, a contested interpretation” (Seldon 75). In such a situation, it is impossible to establish a single authoritative meaning because language “is always contaminated, interleaved opaquely colored by layers of semantic deposits resulting from the endless process of human struggle and interpretation” (Seldon 75). All interpretations become a power struggle.

Foucault argues that the rules and procedures, determine what is considered normal or rational and they have the power to silence what they exclude. His main point is that meaning of any discourse depends and who controls it.

Foucault sees every action and every historical event as an exercise in the exchange of power. He has spent a large bulk of his career analyzing the ebb and flow of power in different situations of human life. Structure organizes and broadens the power. The overall volume of power rises with each individual involved in the play. The society is a huge web, and much of the power tends to be concentrated towards the higher echelons Foucault sees the exchange of power in every active terms: “isn’t power simply a form of war like domination?”(1139). It is difficult to sort out just who is fighting the war, since Foucault seems to learn towards the war, of all nations. Power follows simultaneously in different directions and different volumes according to the various forms of "power relations" in the “network” of power exchange.

Regarding power and truth,

Now I believe that the problem does not consist in drawing the line between that in a discourse which falls under the category of scientific or truth and that which comes under some other category, but in seeing historically how effects of truths are produced within discourse which in themselves are neither true nor false. (1139)

He further says that power is not only repression, it is something positive.

In defining the effects of the power as repression one adopts purely juridical conceptions of such power, one identifies power with a law which says no power is taken above all as carrying the force of a prohibition... what makes power hold gold, what makes it accepted is

simply the fact that it does not only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it travels and produces things, it includes pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse. (1139)

The basic problem for non-west is that power, as west has exercised juridical and negative rather than technical and positive. Foucault's ideas are politicized to wonder what the real-world impact of his nations might be. The interviewers apparently shared this inquiry, and asked how all of Foucault's analysis of power relations could be used in life and specifically what is the rate of the intellectuality? Foucault responds with a discussion of the intellectual, who he says has gravitated from a "Universal" intellectual to a "specific" intellectual.

Foucault sees writers, who are sanctioned by a power structure effect reality rather than simply trapping around in ideological terrain. It would seem that an intellectual could not be effective without the support of some structure, but Foucault makes an argument for individual efficacy.

The structure is successful because it creates truth. This recognition can make individuals succeed:

The important thing here, I believe, is that truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power... truth is not the reverend of free spirits, the child of protracted solitude, not the privilege of those who have succeeded in liberating themselves truth is a thing of this world. It is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of this world. It is produced only by virtue of forms of constraint. And it includes regular effects of power. (1144)

Each society creates a "regime of truth" according to its beliefs, values, and mores. Foucault identifies the creation of truth in contemporary western society with

fine traits: the centering of truth on scientific discourse, accountability of truth to economic and political forces; the “diffusion and consumption” of truth via societal apparatuses” and the fact that it is “the issue of a whole political debate and social confrontation” (1144). Individuals would do well to recognize the ultimate truth. As “Truth” is the construction of the political and economic forces that command the majority of the power within the social web. There is no universal truth at all; therefore, the intellectual can not convey universal truth. The intellectual must specialize and specify. So that, he / she can be connected to one of the truths – generating apparatuses of the society. Foucault explains it:

“Truth” is to be understood as a system of procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, civilization and operation of statements.... “Truth” is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produces and sustains it, and to effect of power which it includes and which extend it. A ‘regime’ of truth. (1145)

Foucault sees the political problems of intellectuals not in terms of science and ideology, but in terms of truth and power. The question of how to deal with and determine truth is at the base of political and social strife.

Colonialism involves the consolidation of imperial power. It is manifested in the settlement of territory, the exploitation, the development of resources and the attempt to govern the indigenous inhabitants of occupied land. Colonial literatures are the writing concerned with colonial perceptions and experiences written by metropolitans. Elleke Boehmer writes in his book *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*:

From the early days of colonization, therefore, not only texts but literature broadly defined, underpinned efforts to interpret other lands, offering home audience a way of thinking about exploration, western conquest, national valour, new colonial acquisitions. Travelers, traders, administrators, settlers, ‘read’ the strange and new by drawing on familiar books such as the Bible or *Pilgrims Progress*”. Empires were of course as powerfully shaped by military conflicts, the unprecedented displacement of peoples and the quest for profits. (14)

The colonizers, European countries, especially Britain, France and Spain ruled many countries of Africa. After the independent era, the colonization did not end. Politically the colonized countries became free but other aspects like economic and ideological domination remain unchanged. This is the desert for colonizers. Today, we call this new form of colonialism as neo-colonialism, which remains as an “apple pie” for western colonizers.

The sources of these early interpretations were as extensive as their knowledge and experience of stories. The sources specially included colonized people, their oral narratives, fantasy and ancient sacred books. The subject matters of literature are the narratives, culture and the landscape.

In *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, Boehmer considers Joseph Conrad’s *Lord Jim* as “late imperial hero” (60). The literature or narrative was derived from colonial experiences and such writing revolves constantly, even obsessively, around certain key themes like the intervention of the colonial mission, or colonial drama. The drama deals with the masculine aspects and the resistant incomprehensively or unreliability of the colonialism. The literary writers, with pre-occupied mind and attitudes towards post-colonialism have mixed approach. The colonial politics is one

of the significant aspects of European self-projection. It was the representation of the natives and colonized people inhabited the lands they claimed. Colonial power was far from a metropolitan center, extensively outwards. The natives are portrayed as primitive, as insurrectionary force, as libidinous temptation, as madness in image of extreme colonial uncertainty. Of course, colonization did not do a total destruction of local power structures. The colonizers did not always involve mass exploitation. The colonized were always concerned with power and money. The rich people of colonized nation helped them. For examples, landowners, money-lenders, capitalist farmers chose to co-operate with the colonial power before the independence of India.

Postcolonial criticism is licensed with cultural discourse of suspicion on the part of colonized people. It seeks to undermine the imperial subject. It has forcefully produced parallel discourse which has questioned and challenged the discourse produced by the people who supposed to be subordinates. Those postcolonial writers and critics turned the table from the real situations of the colonial countries and presented colonial history from the perspective of colonized people's experiences. By doing this, they revealed the real nature colonial authority what they did in the name of progress, science and civilization. Frantz Fanon, one of the eminent postcolonial writers and critics, seems to be more radical on this issue. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said writes about Fanon.

Fanon reverse the hither to accept paradigm by which Europe gave the colonies their modernity and argues instead that only were the well being and progress Europe built up the sweet and the dead bodies of Negro, Arabs, Indians and the Yellow Races but Europe is literally the creation of Third World .(197)

In *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, Boehmer writes:

The wretched of the both, Fanon called for the entire structure of colonial society to be changed from the bottom up violently. For him, to decolonize meant that the indigenous be forcefully substituted for the alien in literature as in life colonized had to 'insult' and 'varmint' up white man's value. (183)

Emerging from displacement and dereliction of social marginality, the postcolonial writers produced parallel discourse in order to re-inscribe and relocate cultural differences. Many writers of the colonial period influenced and encouraged by the postcolonial tenants, based their narrative on ideological premises regarding cultural differences. From the perspective of colonized people, colonizers debunked western colonial misinterpretation about themselves. The narratives of the Third World writers are designed in such a way that they help form and change the ideological process of misinterpretations. These writers have made vigorous attempts to restudy, reinterpret and even to rewrite their own history. Postcolonial writers and critics, by subverting the colonial perspective, played a crucial role in reinserting the colonial history. They are concerned about creating/recreating their own history to give the cultural definition of their own.

The mis-translation or imperfect copying of cultural signifiers of the indigenous culture formed a germinal impulse in postcolonial rewritings of colonial experiences, and these writers have attempted to create the "difference" to colonial literature. The complete knowledge of colonial power and colonized normalization of native culture have to be reproduced to bring out the truth of native culture. The Eurocentric vision and the denial of the subjectivity to the colonized were the root cause of the emphasis on difference in post-colonial writings.

The postcolonial nation can not totally transform the basic influence of colonial culture, law and government system: instead it inherits the colonial system of government and social systems. Linda Hutcheon opines that the “structural domination” that the empire represents can take many diverse forms in each of its political, economic, military and cultural manifestation (7). According to Bill Aschcroft and others admit, “Postcolonial literatures are a result of this interaction between imperial culture and the complex of indigenous cultural practices” (Postcolonial Reader 1). Foregrounding the ‘tension’ with colonial culture, the postcolonial literature attempts to dismantle the colonial perception.

The depiction of the Third World as “the other” and their land as the “Heart of Darkness” were always the focal point of colonial narration. Always with references to the superiority of an expanding Europe, colonized peoples were represented as: less human, less civilized, child like, wild man, animal or helpless mass. The characterization of colonized people as secondary, weak, feminine and the others to Europe and in particular to England, was standard in British colonialist writings. Written in colonialist’s point of view, the colonial discourses dealt with imperial ethos on which the real identities of the colonized were never depicted. All types of colonialist writings confined the non-western cultures to a position of subordination. The post-colonial theories try to resist all these colonial perspectives.

The postcolonial theory has used Gramsci’s concept of Hegemony, and Foucault’s writings on power and knowledge. Methods of deconstruction have proved significant inspiration for the postcolonial critics. These critics view the western values and tradition of thought and literature as guilty of repressive, ethnocentrism. These modes of western thought or literature have dominated world culture,

marginalizing or excluding non-western traditions, and forms of culture and expression.

Writing from the Third World perspective, using the symbols from the dominated mythology, highlighting the lost non-western culture; the postcolonial writings seek to repudiate this western “system of domination”. Ashcroft Bill and others also admit, the term “postcolonial” is used to represent the continuing process of imperial suppression and exchange throughout this diverse range of societies in their institutions and discursive practices (Postcolonial Reader 3). This western domination is still propagated by means of Hollywood traditions, means of media, and the modern technologies. The whole post-colonial thought seek to identify all of marginalized indigenous societies and their cultures, which were altered forever by the imperial power. The opinion of Simon During would be of worth quoting here in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*:

The postcolonialism is regarded as need in nations or groups which have been victims of imperialism, to achieve and identify uncontaminated by universalist or Eurocentric concepts and images.

The postcolonial desire is the desire of decolonized communities for an identity. (125)

The education system, literature, history, journalism, and civilization are controlled by Europe, and it is centered to its cultural dimensions. The postcolonial attempt is founded to divert this Eurocentrism. Postcolonial writers and the critics, subverting the colonial center, played crucial role in re-interpreting the colonial history. By giving their culture self-definition they have endeavored to produce/reproduce their history and create their own autonomous identity. These

Third World writers have made vigorous attempts to re-study, reinterpret, event to re-write their own history.

Sometimes, the 'post' in the postcolonial is considered as the 'aftermath' of colonial period the term is applied to represent all writings from the Third World (or once colonized countries) origins in their post-independence period. But the post-colonial theory is an umbrella term that covers different critical approaches which deconstruct European thought in areas as wide-ranging as philosophy, history, literary studies, anthropology, sociology and political science. Viewing in this sense, postcolonial refers not only to a simple periodization, i.e. the period after independence, but it also refers to a methodological revisionism that criticizes the whole structure of western knowledge and power. The post-colonial writings assemble some features of Marxism, and of Feminism so far as these theories support the voice of marginalized community. In other words, the post-colonial writing is the quest for personal and racial, cultural identity, the belief that writing is an integral part of self-depiction, the emphasis on historical reconstruction.

After the World War Second, many territories from Asia and Africa became independent form colonial domination. A new kind of theories different from the former theories is developed to solve the problems constructed by colonialism. Viewing this concept, it can be said that 'postcolonial theory' is an attempt to understand the problems created by European colonization and its aftermath; or it can be argued that postcolonial theory is related to the "Third World" as it is constructed as a political category. Since the term 'Third World' came to designate those states distinct from the West and the Soviet bloc. Aschcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin define that 'Third World' was first used in 1952 during the so called Cold War period, by the politician and economist Alfred Sauvy, to designate those countries aligned with

neither the United States nor the Soviet Union” (Key Concepts 23). With this Third World concept, post-colonial theory, furthermore, came into light as an attack to the claims made for Eurocentric values and norms, Culler emphasized, “in this legacy, postcolonial institutions and experiences, from the idea of the independent nation to the idea of culture itself, are entangled with the discursive practices of the west” (131). As a result, many literary theories, artists, critics, and literary figures have emerged with new approaches to look at the world. Their new approaches furthermore were developed from the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in 1955. By the conference the entire orient had gained its political independence from western empires and confronted a new configuration of twenty-nine nations of Africa and Asia planning economic and cultural cooperation to create their own kind of identities.

After the formal end of colonialism, there is still a kind of domination of metropolitan countries over colonized countries. This is a new form of colonialism, which is called ‘neo-colonialism’. It refers post independent period. It signifies the continuing economic control by the west over the once colonized world. In *The Postcolonial Studies Reader* John Docker defines the term in the following manner:

Neo-colonialism is the imposition of the metropolitan power’s dominant cultural values: it had to come to terms with literature in Australia, and it had done so by appearing it every state to encourage its existence and growth. But it has never permitted Australian or other post-colonial litterateurs to impinge on actual university teaching. . . . It is the strength of Neo-colonialism that it works through Australian who have internalized Anglo centric assumption and who propagate them in their teaching. (445)

This new form of colonialism also appears in the form of culture and media. In other words, culture and media colonization have replaced the former forms of colonialism at the present age. Bill Ashcroft and other critics describes in *Key*

Concepts of Postcolonial Studies:

The term (Neo-colonialism) has since been widely used to refer to any and all forms of control of the ex-colonies. Thus, for example, it has been argued by some that the new elites brought to power by independence, and often educated and trained by the colonialist powers, were unrepresentative of the people and even acted as unwitting or even willing agents for the former colonial rulers. (163)

The system of colonialism is still remaining. The structure is changed but the content is still continuing in independent countries. The elite people are trained and educated by colonial agents. The mentality of ruler is colonized by ex-colonizers. It is the indirect way of colonization. It is the new form of colonization.

‘Anti-colonialism’ is a struggle against colonialism by the colonized people. Anti-colonial struggles had to create new and powerful identities for colonized peoples pose challenge against colonialism not only at a political or intellectual level, but also on an emotional existence plane. Ashcroft and others describe in *Key*

Concepts of Postcolonial Studies:

The political struggle of colonized peoples against the specific ideology and practices of colonialism. Anti-colonialism signifies the point at which the various forms of oppositional became articulated as a resistance to the operations of colonialism in political, economic and

cultural institutions. It emphasizes the need to reject colonial power and restore local control. (14)

In simple language, anti-colonialism is a moment or struggle against colonialism, while the term 'decolonization' is a process of independence of colonies. Decolonization is a continuing process rather than something achieved automatically at the time of independence. Ashcroft et al define, "Decolonization is the process of viewing and dismantling the hidden aspects of those institutional and cultural forces that had maintained the colonialist power and that remained even after political independence is achieved" (*Key Concepts of Postcolonial Studies* 63). Though both the terms, to some extent, seem similar, they are different in the sense that the former refers to the movement, and later refers to the process to achieve independence.

The Post-colonial writing is important for revealing the ways in what that how colonialists used certain agencies to maintain suppression of the colonialized. It was more than physical, it was ideological. The blacks (representing all African, Yellow, Brown and Red) were represented as less human, less civilized, as child or savage or mass, or they were depicted as inferior only because they were different from the whites. Thus over determined by stereotypes, the characterization of indigenous peoples tended to screen out their agency, diversity and resistance. During the time of high imperialism, the writers cherished the idea of white superiority; they maintained and celebrated the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them'. They represented the whites as the civilizers of the world and apostles of fight, and the 'blacks' as degenerate barbaric. In their opinion, it was need of European masters to civilize and to uplift the barbarians out of their filth. In *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, Boehmer writes:

Stereotypes of the other as indolent maligners, shirkers good- for- nothings, layabouts, degenerate versions of the pastoral idler, were the

stock-in-trade of colonialist writing. In contrast the white man represented himself as the archetypal worker and provident profit-maker. (39)

On similar note, Nigerian writer and very important post-colonial critic Chinua Achebe has made a severe critique of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* in his essay book *Hopes and Impediments in an Image of Africa*. He writes:

Heart of Darkness projects the image of Africa as “the other world”, the antithesis of Europe and therefore of civilization, a place where man's vaunted intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by triumphant bestiality. The book opens on the river Thames, tranquil, resting peacefully “at a decline of day after ages of good service done to the race that peopled its banks”. But the actual story will take place on the River Congo, the very antithesis of the Thames. The River Congo is quite decidedly not a River Emeritus. It has rendered no service and enjoys no old-age pension. We are told that “going up that river has like traveling back to the earliest beginning of the world”. (3–4)

According to Achebe, not only dichotomized Thames and Congo, good and bad, but implicated that Thames has overcome its darkness and bestiality, where Congo is still in darkness and bestiality, and to take over this, it needs guidance and light from European national civilization. What Conrad cannot see and believe is that Africa has its own intact history and culture quite distinct from European history.

As Achebe pointed out Conrad's image of Africa as other world, Elleke Boehmer makes similar comments:

The orient, Africa or Latin America is consistently described as mysterious, grotesque, or malign, and in general hostile to European understanding. It is an 'awful lifelessness', or 'vast and stupefying', remaining the British observer, as O. Douglas noted, of the 'uncertainty of all the things'. In Conrad's East, in his Africa, or in the silver mines of the South American country of Costaguana in *Nostramo*, the hero is the loss of national control. It is a condition which appears to emerge in part out of the radical incongruity between the individual and the alien world in which he finds himself. (90)

The postcolonial critique is the rejection of colonial writers' inclusion of indigenous characters and their roles in their texts. If any role is given that is always a negative one. Elleke Boehmer writes in his *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, "Where the west and the non-west, was assumed to be marginal and secondary to the metropolis" (24).

Achebe again braids Conrad as a 'through racist' in *Hopes and Impediments*:

Africa as setting and backdrop which eliminates the African as human factor. Africa as a metaphysical battlefield devoid of all recognizable humanity, into which he wandering European enters at his peril. Can anybody see the preposterous and perverse arrogance in this reducing Africa to the role of props for the break-up of one petty European mind? But that is not even the point. The real point is the dehumanization of Africa and Africans which this age long attitude has fostered and continues to foster in the world. (12)

So, to the readers like us, the world represented in colonialist fiction seems strangely empty of indigenous characters. The important actions and adventures are that of the colonizers white men. As Boehmer writes: “The drama that there is their drama. Almost without exception there is no narrative interest without European involvement or intervention” (69). Even if the natives are presented, they are shown in needless lacking individual identity as human beings. Especially where they were resistant to colonial drama, they were shown in need of leadership, incapable of self-governance and in managing their own resources.

Universality and Difference

The concept of universalism is one of particular interest to postcolonial writers because it is this notion of unitary and homogenous human nature which marginalizes and excludes the distinctive characteristics, the difference, of post-colonial societies. A crucial insistence of post-colonial theory is that, despite a shared experience of colonialism, the cultural realities of postcolonial society may differ vastly. The washing out of cultural difference becomes a prominent effect of European literary criticism, since some appeal to the essential humanity of readers has been constructed as a function of the value and significance of the literary work. The myth of universality is thus a primary strategy of imperial control as it is manifested in literary study and that is why it demands attention early on in this reader. The universality myth has, according to Chinua Achebe, a pernicious effect in the kind of colonialist criticism which denigrates the postcolonial text on the basis of an assumption that ‘European’ equals ‘Universal’.

The assumption of universalism is a fundamental feature of the construction of colonial power because the ‘universal’ features of humanity are the characteristics of those who occupy positions of political dominance. It is these people who are

‘human’, who have a legitimate history, who live in that it provides the terms and the structures which individuals have a world, a method by which the ‘real’ is determined, notions of universality came like the language which suggests them, become imperialistic. The language itself implies certain assumption about the world, a certain history, and a certain way of seeing.

George Lamming has reminded us in his essay *The Occasion for Speaking* of Hegel’s assertion that Africa is somehow outside of history, that Africa is ‘no historical part of the world’. This is simply because history is the story of ‘civilization’ and it is only when that language becomes ‘appropriated’ by other cultures that the very concept of history can be questioned, and that the universal condition of humanity can be revealed as far more heterogeneous. At a strategic moment in the British occupation of India, English literature was invoked precisely for its imputed power to convey universal values. As Gauri Viswanthan points out, the concept of universal became part of the technology of Empire: when the introduction of Christianity was considered by the Indian colonial administration to be too great a threat too good order, the ‘universal’ discourse of English literature was consciously adopted as the vehicle for educating the Indian elites in tenets of civilized morality.

The value of post-colonial discourse is that it provides a methodology for considering the dialogue of similarity and difference; the similarity of colonialism’s political and historical pressure upon non-European societies, alongside the plurality of specific cultural effect and responses these societies have produced.

Chinua Achebe is a well- known Nigerian novelist, critic and another influential writer for postcolonial theory and criticism. He attacks the lingering colonialism in the criticism of African literature. He says that literature has to

represent the struggle, passion and landscapes that lie close to colonized people. He has spoken of the imperative need for writers to help change the way the colonized people were seen, to tell their own stories, to wage a battle of the mind against colonialism. His book *Hopes and Impediments* is a sort of pillar for the development of postcolonial theory. This is a criticism against European colonization over Africa. He makes a suggestion to the African writers to write about African experience. He writes in *Hopes and Impediments*:

Most African writers write out of an African experience and of commitment to an African destiny. For them, the destiny does not include a future European identity for which the present is but an apprenticeship. And let no one be fooled by the fact we may write in English, for we intend to do unheard of things with it. (74)

For him writers have their power to demonstrate that the African past is no longer a night of savagery but like the history of other places. It is full of significant human interaction— conflict, tragedy, friendship, ceremony. Similarly, he has criticized the behaviour of colonialist critics who consider themselves superior and treat others as inferior. He comments that:

The colonialist critic, unwilling to accept the validity of sensibilities other than his own, has particular point of dismissing the African novel. He has written lengthy articles to prove its non-existence largely on the grounds that the novel is a particularly western genre, a fact which would interest us if our ambition was to write “western” novels. (89)

This means that the colonialist critics use western genre in their novel, which is peculiar for the African writers. So, he suggests that African writers should use their own genre to dismantle the western peculiar genre.

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o is a postcolonial critic and proponent of postcolonial theory. His critical essay *On the Abolition of the English Department* is a most prominent writing for the construction of postcolonial theory. As the title suggests, he wants to abolish English Department and wants to build up an African Department of literature and linguistic. He further writes in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*:

We have argued the case of the abolition of the present Department of English in the college and establishment of a Department of African literature and languages. This is not a change of names only. We have to establish the centrality of African in the department. (441)

This expression expresses desire to construct a new tradition in the field of education, culture, and to dismantle the European tradition that have forced textual embodiments.

Chinua Achebe views that there is cultural colonization in terms of literature. The African writers have written the text being affected by the colonial mentality of westerners. Those culturally colonized African intellectuals think that western culture and art and literature are superior to their African native culture. Achebe criticizes such mentality of Africans. Westerners write the text based on African writers and African subject matters with the colonialist mentality. Westerners take the idea from Africans and write themselves about Africa. They create the text taking knowledge from Africans through text, they circulate power and create truth for African writers and they control over them but African writers are not aware of the fact that they are

colonized. So, Achebe attacks on westerners and the African writers who have European mentality. He writes in *Hopes and Impediments*:

. . . Albert Schweitzer's immoral dictum is the heyday of colonialism: "The African is indeed my brother, but my junior brother". The later day colonialist critic, equally given to big-brother arrogances, sees the African writer somewhat unfinished European who with patient will grow up one day and write like other European, but meanwhile must be humble, must learn all he can and while at it give due credit to his teachers in the form of either direct praise or, even better since praise sometimes goes bad and becomes embracing manifest self-contempt. (69)

The westerners think that the Africans are inferior. The African writers accept the western mind because they are colonized. They reproduce the colonial pattern of westerners. Africans write themselves are colonizing the African people. So, Achebe rejects the universalism, rather he favours 'localization'. He argues that African literature has its own particular peculiarity. The mask of European civilization does not know the history of the African people. So, Achebe claims that "blacks" so called colonized should write own history by learning what has been already universalized. He writes "that every literature must seek the things that belong unto its place, must, in other words, speak of a particular place, evoke out of the necessities of its history, past and current, and the aspirations and destiny of its people" (74).

Achebe says that the burden of white is related not with positive aspects but only with the colonialist intoxication. The hidden motives of Europeans are destroying the skills and ability of blacks. So every literature should depict locality. Then the text will be free from 'Universalism' the narrow self-serving parochialism of

Europe. Regarding the universality, Achebe says that the discrimination and artificial truth have marginalized the natives, which has brought the doubt in European Universalism. His theoretical point involves his rejection of universalism.

Achebe as a postcolonial writer and critic rejects the myth of universalism. Westerners generalize the particular African literature, and they created by them are universal feeling and truth of westerners is universal. This concept is imposed by false concepts. Achebe suggests that African writers should be aware of this universalism and they should not be affected by universalism.

Nationalism

The idea of 'nation' is the one of the strongest tool for resistance to imperial control in colonial societies. Benedict Anderson calls as 'imagined community' that is a shared community which has enabled postcolonial societies to invent a self image through which they could act to liberate themselves from imperialist oppression. For Fanon, nationalism is culture which keeps existence itself.

Settler colony cultures have never been able to construct simple concept of the nation, such as those based on linguistic commutability or racial or religious homogeneity. The settler colony culture is also an ambivalent attitude towards their own identity, poised as they are between the centre from which they seek to differentiate themselves and the indigenous people who serve to remind them of their own problematic occupation of the country. While nationalism operated as a general force of resistance in earlier times in postcolonial societies, a perception of its hegemonic and 'monologic' status is growing. From the point of view of literacy theory, nationalism is of special interest. Since its rise is coterminous with the rise of

the most dominant modern literary form at least in European and European influenced cultures that of the novel.

In national struggle, colonized people try to reform the economic and social efforts. Frantz Fanon describes about on National culture in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*.

... the first phase of national struggle colonialism tries to disarm national demands by putting forward economic doctrines... nationalism pretends to consider them, recognizing with ostentatious humility that the territory is suffering from serious underdevelopment which necessitates a great economic and social effort ... that certain spectacular measures delay the crystallization of national conscious for few years. But sooner or later, colonialism sees that it is not within its powers to put into practice a project of economic and social reforms which will satisfy the aspirations of the colonized people. (153)

In nationalistic phase, people are colonized. The colonizers try to control by putting forward economic and social reforms and they try to satisfy to colonized people but colonized people present that colonizers are inherently incapable.

While searching national culture, the colonized people compare the pre-colonial and colonized periods. The native intellectuals get the western culture is small territory and innate. Fanon writes “they (colonized people) realize they are in danger of losing their lives and thus becoming lost to their people, these men, hat-headed and with anger in their hearts, relentlessly determine to renew contact once more with the oldest and most pre- colonial springs of life of their people” (154). He sees the anxieties of people in colonial periods, people are in suffering they are in

anger and they determine to renew the pre-colonial life of the people. Today's history is barbarity than pre-colonial history. The national culture not only rehabilitates the nation but also serves as a justification for the hope of a future national culture. It is important because of the natives are changed psychologically. The native intellectuals see "the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it" (154). By seeing this situation "native intellectuals are not a luxury but a necessity in any coherent program. The native intellectuals who take up arms to defend their nation's legitimacy and who want to bring proofs to bear out that legitimacy, who are willing to strip them naked to study the history of his body, is obliged to dissect the heart of his people..." (154).

The liberation of the nation comes from the national culture. So, fighting for national culture is the liberation of nation. Fanon describes, "To fight for national culture means in the first place to fight for the liberation of the nation, that material keystone which makes the building of a culture possible. There is no other fight for culture which can develop a part from the popular struggle"(154). National culture discovers people's true nature. It presents the reality of the people. Fanon writes:

A national culture is the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify, and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence...
(155)

A national culture is made by people who give identity and existence to people. It is the local culture. At the beginning, the native intellectual used to produce his work to be read exclusively by the oppressor, whether with the intention of charming him through ethic or subjectist means, now the native writer progressively takes in the habit of addressing his own people.

The national culture takes the voice of people. At the level of literary creation, it takes up and clarification of themes which are typically nationalist. Fanon describes:

... a literature of combat, in the sense that it calls on the whole people to fight for their existence as a nation. It is literature of combat, because it modules the national consciousness, giving it form and contours and flinging open before it new and boundless horizons; it is literature of combat because it assumes responsibility, and because it is the will to liberty expressed in terms of time and space. (155)

In the context of oral tradition-stories, epics, and songs of the people which were formerly fixed as set pieces are now beginning to change. The storyteller who used to relate inert episodes, now bring them alive and introduce into them modifications which are increasingly fundamental. The stories help to bring conflicts and used to evoke names of heroes and weapons. The method of allusion is more and more widely used.

The contact of the people with the new movement gives rise to a new rhythm of life and to forget muscular tensions, and develops imagination. Every time the storyteller relates fresh episodes to his public, he precedes over a real invocation. The existence of a new type of men is revealed to the public. The present is no longer turned in upon itself but spread out for all to see. The storyteller once more gives free rein to his imagination; he makes innovations and he creates a work of art.

Fanon describes critically the dangers related to national consciousness. It sometimes becomes the empty shell embrace fixed beliefs of private ropes of whole people and instead of being the immediate and most obvious result mobilization of the

people. While dealing with young and independent nations, he views that the nations gradually passed over for the race and the tribe is preferred to the state. These cracks are harmful to national efforts and national unity. These weaknesses are developed in underdeveloped countries and it is the impact of the colonized regime over the people. It is also the result of the intellectual laziness the national middle class, of its spiritual poverty and its profoundly cosmopolitan mind.

The national middle class which takes over power at the end of the colonial regime is an underdeveloped middle class. It has practically no economic power, and in any case it is no way commensurate with the bourgeoisie of the mother country which it hopes to replace. Fanon further says:

The university and merchant classes which makes up the most enlightened section of the new state are in fact characterized by the smallness of their number and their being concentrated in the capital and the type of activities in which they are engaged: business, agriculture and the liberal professions. (156-157)

The bourgeois dictatorship of underdeveloped countries draws its strength from the existence of a leader. But in well developed countries the bourgeois dictatorship is the result of economic power of the bourgeois. In the underdeveloped countries, on the contrary, the leader stands for moral power, in whose shelter the thin and poverty stricken bourgeois of the young nation decides to get rich.

Fanon further argues that before independence the leader embodies the aspirations of the people for independence, political liberty and national dignity. But as soon as independence is declared, and the restoration of the country to the sacred hands of the people, the leader will reveal his inner purpose: to become the general

president of the company of profiteers, impatient for their returns which constitutes the national bourgeoisie.

Chide Amuta, a postcolonial African writer, supports Frantz Fanon's idea on national liberation in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*. Amuta explains that the national culture mainly focuses on literary productions which interacts the colonial activities. The literary production becomes the opposition of the colonial regime is the act of the anti-colonial consciousness. He describes that "national culture... represents his most orchestrated articulation of the cultural (especially literary) implications of colonialism and its antithesis, the anti-colonial struggle" (158).

He describes three phases of evolution. The first is *assimilation phase* in which native intellectual gives proof that he/she has assimilated culture of the occupying power. In this phase writer produces literary texts of natives which are similar to literary traditions of the colonizing country. The second phase is the *culturalist nationalist* in which the native intellectuals remembers his/her authentic identity and kicks against attempts to assimilate him, but owing his own cultural alienation. The native intellectuals' attempts at cultural reaffirmation stop at romanticization of by gone days corrected by philosophical tradition rhetoric conventions borrowed from the world of the colonizers. The third is the *nationalist phase* which is also the fighting phase in which the native man of culture 'after having tried to lose himself in the people and with the people, will on the contrary shake the people' (159). This is the revolutionary and nationalist phase in the literature of the colonized in which the exposure of more natives to the realities of colonialist oppression also contributes to a democratization of the drive for the literary expression. Therefore, cultural action can not be divorced from the larger struggle for the liberation of the nation. There ought to be a reciprocal relationship between

national culture and the fight for the freedom, a relationship in which national culture submerges national liberation.

Chide Amuta supports Cabral's views about national liberation as an act of culture in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*. Cabral operates materialistic and liberation nation of culture. He redefines the relationship between history (which expresses contradictions and conflicts in the life of society) and culture (which provides insights into the dynamic synthesis to resolve these conflicts) is very dialectical reciprocal terms. The national liberation struggles as a historical act also becomes as act of cultural resistance to the extent that it is recognized that the object of national liberation is the freedom of a society and its values from foreign domination. The great force of culture as an instrument of nationalist resistance derives from its ideological appeal in terms of its ability to reflect history. Its political force is enhanced because it has great influence in intermingling relationships between people and nature, between one person to another, among groups in society and among societies in the international community. Cabral made a distinction not only between the culture of colonizers and that of the colonized but also in terms of the different levels of the colonizers and that of the colonized people. Among the colonized, we can identify the culture of the urban western educated elite of the religious leaders and 'traditional' rulers on one hand, and the indigenous culture expressions of the rural peasantry, untrammelled by the encrustations of foreign impositions and appropriateness.

Amuta focuses Cabral's belief in instrumentality of culture in the national struggle. He writes "... it is only the culture of the rural peasantry, because it represents the authentic culture of African peoples and embraces the interests of the great majority of Africans that can inform genuine natural liberation" (161).Cabral

focuses heavily on peasantry cultures. The authentic indigenous cultures are arising from the intrinsic organic structures of societies themselves.

Chide Amuta also supports Ngugi's concept of literature and the anti-imperialist struggle in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*. He focuses on historical consciousness. Ngugi's conviction about crucial role of literature in creating a truly historical conscious is born of his recognition of the instrumentality of colonialist writers in the denigration of Kenyan nationalist identity. He adds more:

They (the freedom fighters) rediscovered the old songs- they had never completely lost touch with them and reshaped them to meet the new needs of their struggle. They also created new songs and dances with new rhythms where the old ones were found inadequate. (162)

According to Amuta, Ngugi's views have been articulated against the background of the obvious domination of the vital sector of contemporary Kenyan national life by foreign interests and institution. In the area of culture, the domination is in the form of (a) the preponderance of works by foreign (mainly English) authors in the literature syllabus of schools and colleges (b) domination of the film industry by American influence (c) domination of the mass media and publishing outfits by western interests as well as the high foreign content of the performances at the national theatre. A central fact of Kenyan life today is the fierce struggle between the cultural forces representing foreign interests and those representing patriotic national interest.

Leela Gandhi argues that the impact of cultural materialism upon critical practices in postcolonial of the mid 1980s conceded the national underpinnings of all cultures. She writes in her book *The Postcolonialism*:

Texts as now commonly agreed are complicated in their economic and political context. Few critics would despite the understanding that all literature is symptomatic of and responsive to historical conditions of repression and recuperation. While postcolonial literary involves these cultural materialist assumptions in its accounts of textual production under colonial and postcolonial conditions. It goes a step further in its claim that textuality is endemic to the colonial encounter. Texts, like any other social political product, it is argued are the most significant instigators and purveyors of colonial power and its double postcolonial resistance. (141-142)

Literature and texts are based on the colonial and postcolonial conditions. The most important aspects of cultural and individual life are economics and politics. These two aspects play an important role to produce literature. Literature concerns common people. After the independence, literary artists are sometimes influential and sometimes they are influenced by the colonial masters. The views about postcolonialism and nationalism are also remarkable factors affecting postcolonial writers. Migrants and cultural hybrids are always opposed to nationalists. Boehmer says that metropolitan writers, postcolonial writers who are not concerned to rustic and common people. The textual mapping of the colonial encounter relies upon a narrative of completing or contesting textualities. All colonial texts are seen as repressive. While on the other side of the binary, all postcolonial, migrants texts are inverted radically subversive energies. The texts and politics are things to note. The politics of Third World decolonized nations disturbs the common life of individuals. These nations are suffering from poverty, disease, ignorance and violence. The natives and the colonial rulers are responsible for the situation. Both of them are

heading on their own way. They were worshiping power. Colonial rulers show both power and pity towards decolonized people.

Trimothy Brennan, in this essay *Nation Longing for Form*, writes “nations... are imaginary construct that depend for their existence on an apparatus of cultural fictions in which imaginative literature plays a decisive role” (49). That is, the idea of a nation does not correspond to material reality; it is rather an abstraction, as Brennan quotes Jose Carlos Mariategui, “the nation is an abstraction an allegory, a myth that does not correspond to a reality that can be scientifically defined” (49). Other critics like Gellnar emphasises on the creative, side of nation forming focusing on the cultural importance of the idea of nations “Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self consciousness; it invents nations where they do not exist” (49). Every nationalist assertion of independence urgently needs to reconstruct the nations through collective imaginations as Brennan puts it, “the nation is precisely what Foucault has called a discursive formation not simply as allegory or imaginative vision but about a gustative political structure which the Third World artist is consciously building or suffering the lack of”(47). This is to say that every struggle for the establishment of nationhood is, in sense, a struggle to hold discourse and then to exercise it. “Suffering the lack of” discourse: this is what the Third World writers have must often felt in their attempt to write the nation. But same thing may be just the reverse if we see it from the western European perspective. For Europeans, nationalism means, to use Brennan’s words, “not the freedom from tyranny but the embodiment of tyranny owing rather than suffering an Empire “(57). Simon During, in his essay, *Literature, Nationalism’s Other?* Rightly observes that, “it is quite specifically the battery of discursive and representational practices which define, legitimate or valorize a specific nation state or individuals as members of a nation state” (136). The nation

state then is the creation of discursive practice through which we define ourselves by representing everything else which does not belong to us as the other.

In the process of developing national history self-meaning of a nation was much more complicated in such writing. With reference to concepts of nationalism and new nationalism, Boehmer writes: “The early moment of anti-imperialist nationalist or more accurately, ‘nativist’ resistance was in many cases a reliability sedate preliminary to the more offer to the more overt libertinism which followed. But it is also laid the ideological and strategy bedrock of later developments. As with earlier nationalism, the movement sought in the first instance, an inversion of imperial value, if not of structures. Their mechanism drew support from other utopian ideologies of the time. The message they communicated was distinguished a strenuous defense of the virtues of native culture, characterized as rich, pure and authentic. The idea was that a people’s identity, though long suppressed, lay embedded in its cultural origins and was recoverable intact unadulterated by the depredations of colonialism (100).

The colonial and postcolonial countries can be the appropriate places to analyze nation and nationalism rather than the west. The felling of nation and nationalism affected the whole social and political life of the colonizer and colonized during the period of direct colonial involvement and postcolonial time. The national and independent movements caused trouble to the colonized and decolonized people. Culture is supreme importance for Bhabha and other cultural critics because the nation is the conglomeration of cultural policies. Nation can formulate its identity only through cultural policies. Nation can formulate its identity only through cultural manifestations. But, only through nation and nationalism, cultural projection is possible. In his book, *Nation and Narration*, Homi K. Bhabha writes:

The nation, as a form of cultural elaboration, is an agency of ambivalent narration that holds culture at its most productive position, as a force for subordination, fracturing, diffusing, reproducing, as much as creating, producing, forcing and guiding. (4)

The nation in this sense is the sum total of cultural practices, which ultimately contributes to national identity. It describes other cultures in terms of differences so as to put the self in the superior position. Hence, culture acts as force for subordination. Bhabha disseminates about the time narrative and the margins of the modern nations. However, he is concerned with the formulation of “the complex strategies of cultural identification and describes address that functions in the name of ‘the people’, or ‘the nation’ and make them the immanent subjects and objects of range of social and literally narrative” (192). His focus on the nation is a form of the locality of culture paves the way for the temporal dimension in the study of the nation as narration. The locality of culture for Bhabha is “More about temporality than about historically: a form of living that is connotative than country less patriotic than parties more rhetorical than the reason of state, more mythological than ideology, less homogenous than hegemony, less centered than citizen, more collective than subjective, more cyclic than civility, more hybrid in the articulation of cultural differences and identifications gender, race clues than can be represented in any hierarchical or binary structuring of socio antagonism (292).

Bhabha further argues:

It is neither sociological study of these terms, nor their holistic history that gives them the narrative and psychological forces that they have brought to be a cultural production and projections. It is the man of the ambivalence of the nation as a narrative strategy and an apparatus of

power that is produces a continual slippage into analogous, even metonymic categories, like the people, the minorities and cultural differences that continually overlap in the act of writing of the nation. (292)

Such an argument shows that there is always a kind of controversy between the idea of the historical necessity of the nation and the arbitrary signs and symbols. It signifies the effective life of the national culture as Bhabha quotes E. Gellner's words and says that "nationalism is not what it seems and above all nor what it seems to itself ... cultural shared and patched used by nationalism are often arbitrary and historical investments" (293).

The Indian, African and West Indian efforts, it is important to examine the self-absorption of the colonies, metropolitan, interlocutors and the voice of cultural authority. The nationalist self-applications are against these backgrounds.

There are metropolitan representatives from non-western cultures who are concerned with overlapping issues. They spoke about different social and economic contexts and knowledge in the world. Colonial artist had transferred native interferences into western forms. But, the cross-cultural conversion emerged for sharing a relationship or equal interchange. In public life, educational institution, cultural forums and colonial writers are still facing discrimination and restrictions against their self-expression at every moment.

Post-colonial literature resists the hegemony of imperial discourse. Hegemony is the power of the ruling class to convince other classes that their interests are the interests of all. Bill Ascroft and other critics describes in *Key Concepts of Postcolonial Studies* about hegemony:

Domination is thus external not by force, nor even necessarily by active persuasion, but by a more subtle and inclusive power over the economy, an over state apparatuses such as education as the common interest and thus comes to be taken for granted. (116)

The domination is not direct in postcolonial period. Hegemony has become a useful tool to dominate people. The hegemony is transfer through culture. The concept of Eurocentric values, assumptions, beliefs or valuable becomes the accepting their centrality.

The opposition of hegemony to imperial power is national consciousness. The interaction of culture plays vital role in national consciousness. The oral traditions-stories, epics and songs of the people are presented which were formerly field away as set pieces are now beginning to change. Frantz Fanon says in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*:

The formula 'This all happened long ago' is substituted with what of 'What we are going to speak of happened somewhere else, but it might well have happened here today and it might happen tomorrow. (155)

The new type of structure begins in national conscious. The old structure ends. The people focus their own cultural activities. They struggle to old structures. The old structure was about imaginary, but the new structure is about real situation and event about people. They find their reality and reality and struggle against hegemonic culture. The people find their misery and control in hegemonic control. In the process of creating new stories or stories, epics and songs, they focus their local culture, tradition, language. They give the cultural value.

Ernest Renan also focuses the idea of nation exists symbolic formation which has its base in the common cultural ground. In his book *What is a Nation?* has made to attempt to define the nation from a non-naturalist point of view. For him, modern nation is a "historical results brought about by a series of convenient facts" (12). He traces different elements-namely dynasty, race, language material interest, religious affinities and geography and argues that these things are not adequate for the creation of a nation though they are considered to be the constituent parts to the making of a nation.

Renan accepts facts that "geography a what are known as natural frontiers, undoubtedly plays a considerable part in the division of nations" (18) but he does not believe that it is the sole maker of nations. He than defines the nations as:

A nation is therefore, a larger scale of solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the scarifies that one has made in the past and of those one is prepared to make in the future. A nations existence is, it you will pardon the metaphor, a daily plebisute, just as an individual's existence is a perpetual affirmations of life. The wish of nations is all in all, the sole legitimate criterion, the one to which one must always return. (19-20)

He focuses on the human will in the formation of a nation makes the definition of nation more abstract and ambivalent. He cards to the nation that the notion is a symbolic formation which has its base in the common cultural ground.

Textual Analysis

Discourse, Power and Truth

Anthills of the Savannah (1987) presents the scenario of postcolonial country named Kangan and it is full of the postcolonial activities. It represents all the colonized countries in postcolonial setting. The novel explores the post-colonial crisis like political instability, insecurity, propaganda, false rumors, yellow journalism and frequent coups.

In *Anthills of the savannah*, Achebe presents the role of story telling is a political and social act. Achebe discourses about Africa, its people and its troubles through telling stories. The discourse brings knowledge to people. Knowledge helps to be conscious. Knowledge helps to exercise the power. The power creates the truth. The truth is not stable, it changes from time to time. So, the novel can be studied the demonstration of knowledge and the exercise of power. The main character; Sam, Chris and Ikem have studied in London and Washington. Sam knows Ikem and Chris, and he has control over them Ikem and Chris also have knowledge about Sam. So, they also have some influence over Sam. Sam, a postcolonial dictator cannot digest these power exercises. He wants to exercise his power and deny the control over himself. The novel tries to find a way of establishing and maintaining a successful form of postcolonial self government. When whites were in power, they used to say, You see, they (African) are not in the least like ourselves. They don't need and can't use the luxurious 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 (40).

The white domination during the colonial period in Kangan is shown. There is hierarchy between white and black, powerful and powerless, and rich and poor in colonial Kangan village. Now the time is changed, white government is replaced by black elites and the definition to the black race is applied only for the poor black people.

In military government, intellectuals have less value. Ikem was the most intelligent among three friends. But, now he got less success than his friends who were less intellectual, got more success than him. "Ikem was the brightest in the class-first position every term for his six years . . . Sam the socialite . . . I (Chris) have always been in the middle" (65–66).

Ikem is a poet, novelist and an editor of a 'National Gazette' during the gathering utters a speech which is filled with indigenous ideas. He says:

How do we salute our fellows when we come in and see them massed in assembly so huge we cannot hope to greet them one by one, to call each man by his title? Do we not say: To everyone his due? Have you thought what a wise practice our fathers fashioned out of those simple words? To every man his own! To each his chosen title! We can all see how that handful of words can save us from the ache of four hundred handshakes and the headache of remembering a like multitude of praise-names (123).

Chinua Achebe as storyteller centers on the way in which he deliberately draws upon an African oral tradition. It enhances his efforts to depict different tensions- such as that between pre-colonial Igbo ways of thinking and Christian missionary nations, or between man and woman, or between generations. Achebe uses proverbs, different speech rhythms and repetitions but they do not explicitly address any detail role of story telling as political and social act. The novel demonstrates the

writer's power as a storyteller and its relation with knowledge, power and storytelling. Achebe minutely examines the nature of that relation in his latest novel *Anthills of the Savannah*. Achebe's storytelling is manifested in his most recent novels. It determines the ways in which power and knowledge impinge upon stories and their tellers.

In *Anthills of the Savannah*, the relation between knowledge and power is shown the characters have great deal of various kinds of knowledge and they believe that they have a certain amount of power as well. But they recognize that the possession of knowledge and power is not necessarily enough to ensure either for their own well-being and their survival. The fact must be conformed demonstrate that it actually emanated from the people. The electorate is asked to vote on whether or not Sam's presidency should be extended for life, a question that implies a prior consensus on his right to hold the presidency for a shorter term.

The power of storytelling and storyteller in *Anthills of the Savannah* is attributed to the historical setting of the novel. The book's characters represent a generation of Africans that has never experienced life without numerous uncertainties. The novel takes place during a time when colonialism is neither an impending threat nor a distant memory. The remnant of the past, the novel's leading characters would like to transcend the concept of government, like colonialism, power is not a stable entity. Previous forms of government, whether colonial or pre-colonial, are suspect in this novel. Indeed, all constitutions of power are suspect.

The president is extremely insecure about both his claim to the office and his ability to keep the position. The self-doubt becomes almost immediately apparent. The president seems to worry as much about maintaining control of his own cabinet made up of mostly longtime companions who had been providing leadership for his country. We discover details such as the president's adoption of the title "His

Excellency"(2) the obsequious chief secretary's arrangement of the President's shoes under the table, and the orderly's "quivering hands" (10), demonstrating the ways in which the President seeks to safeguard his position through intimidation and exhibition. Much of his ability to preserve his position depends upon his capacity to tell believable stories and his ability to sort through the stories of others. He is always gathering information from various people, listening to and deciphering their stories, and he also tells stories, giving out information or allowing the release of selected. The problem for the president as for the other characters in the book lies in figuring out which stories to believe and in how to make them credible. The opening conversation between the president and his oldest friend, Chris points out a connection between political power and the power of storytelling; it shows a man who fears losing both. With more than a little frustration, the president tells Chris, "The matter is closed, I said. How do you find it so difficult to swallow my ruling. On anything?" (1). His paranoia interferes with his ability to listen and tell a story, and the depth of his paranoia is most clearly evidenced by his readiness to suspect Chris not only of disrespect but insurgency.

Chris and Ikem are in certain ways very different types of storytellers. Chris is interested in fact, and he sees power as closely linked with a comprehensive knowledge of facts. He wants to present a story that is believable because of its objective and factual. We find his first narration an insistence upon his objectivity and aloofness from the events he reports. But his privileging of objectivity is Chris's greatest weakness as a storyteller, a weakness he does not realize until too late. Chris continually asserts the importance of his role in the movement that brought the president to power, his role in the selection of the cabinet, and his role as a voice of reason in deliberations over national policy. He is concerned with demonstrating his

access to and possession of facts; for him the factual story is powerful, convincing story. The problem with Chris's storytelling, Achebe places Ikem's philosophy of storytelling in opposition, demonstrating that Chris's approach is often an impediment to constructive change.

Ikem always questions the source of the so-called facts and suspects claims of objectivity. Ikem recognizes that Chris is not a detached observer, and Chris's stories are influenced by a fear of the facts that compromises his integrity, Ikem advises Chris, "stop looking back over your shoulder"(45). Ikem privileges passionate engagement in storytelling; "Those who mismanage our affairs would silence our criticism by pretending they have facts not available to the rest of us.... Our best weapon against them is not to marshal facts, of which they are truly managers, but passion. Passion is our hope and strength..." (38). Thus Ikem reveals here in his first narration that his view of storytelling is quite different from that which Chris hold and his assessment of the state of their society also varies somewhat from Chris. Whereas Chris views the nation's political situation as something to be neutralized, and Ikem sees- it as something be exploited-which is why both reveal a feeling of urgency in telling their stories and anxiety over the stories of others. As Ikem says in this lecture at the university of Bassa, "storytellers are a threat. They threaten all champions of control they frighten usurpers of the right-to-freedom of the human spirit-in state, in church, or in mosque...." (153).

The problematic relationship between power and knowledge as manifested in stories of the past is particularly evident in the episode in which Chris tells Beatrice about his school days with Ikem and Sam. He characterizes Ikem as the brightest, Sam as the "all-rounder"(65), and himself as "in the middle"(60). Chris tells the story to provide some illumination of the present, attempting to use facts from the past to

create an objective explanation for the unrest state of affairs. He attributes the president shortcoming to Sam's too successful past; "He never failed once in anything. Had the magic touch, and that's always deadly in the long run. He is paying the bills now, I think. And if we are not lucky we shall pay all dearly"(66).

Ikem's "Hymn to the Sun" reveals the significance of the novel's title and points out the importance of stories for the future. Anthills survive "to tell the new grass of the savannah about last year's brush fires"(31). The elder from Abazan says, "the story is everlasting..."(124), the power of the story (and the story and storyteller) lies in ability to bring past, present and future together. We see this power dynamic at work throughout the novel. Ikem's 'Hymn to the Sun'-which itself brings together old proverbs and modern politics- lines on after his death, teaching Chris about the necessity of engagement in storytelling and the danger of complacency.

The power of story and storytelling is mightier than war and warrior. The story telling narrates all situation and its people. It brings the interaction between people. The interaction helps the discourse of the people. The story guards people and nation. It is only the story can continue beyond the war and warrior. It is the story that outlives the sound of war-drums and the exploits of brave fighters. It is the story, not the others, that saves our progeny from blundering like blind beggars into the spikes of the cactus fence. The story is our escort, without it, we are blind. Does the blind man own his escort? No, neither do we the story; rather it is the story that owns us and directs us. It is the thing that makes us different from cattle...."(124).

The storyteller tells the history of the people. The history saves the people. The storytelling is the telling about own history generation to generation.

Achebe's agenda in *Anthills* is to effect change through a new kind of storytelling, Beatrice overly enthusiastic "Oh my Chris!"(233) speech. Elewa worries, "What kind trouble you wan begin cause now? I beg-o Hmm!"(233), ending the novel on an uncertain note and thus reiterating the books refused to supply us with pat answers. We get Beatrice's brand of storytelling for the future, a storytelling that rises to resolve apparent oppositions while preserving individual elements, and we get a new born child who represents a resolution of opposition in its name. However, Elewa's closing lines undercut the satisfaction, ostensibly offered by such resolutions by reminding us that Kangan still in trouble (a new government has not yet been in stalled) and the storytelling always causes some kind of trouble for someone.

Nationalism

Chinua Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah* is a fictional working out of Achebe's concerns expressed in "The Trouble with Nigeria", a brief tract that presumes a stake in the African nation- state and criticizes Nigerian leaders for placing their own interests before those of the nation. The need for Africa and particularly Nigeria to establish a national identity is discussed.

The work of Chinua Achebe is a valuable locus for studying the interplay of village, ethnic, nation-state and race in the configuration of identity in Africa. Achebe is himself the chief of his village, Ogidi and at one time he supported Biafran Independence from Nigeria. The founder of a journal dedicated to Igbo culture, he is so identified with "Igboness" that his style has been called an Igbo style. However, he has written *The Trouble with Nigeria*, a brief tract that presumes a stake in the nation state. Achebe has also, of course, assumed the mantel of spokes man for Africa as whole, a mental cast on every writer from Africa and perhaps falling especially heavily on the shoulders of the editor of the Heinemann African Writers Series.

The tensions between those identities are not always acknowledged and the identities themselves are often conflated. African nationalism does not usually mean the process of nation formation among African states, but the assertion of a black African identity as a resisting imperialistic European nations of the Universal. The story of Achebe is about Nigeria and Ibo culture is a part of this large strategy. The conflation of race, nation-state, and ethnic grouping has validity because it is Achebe's Research in African Literatures own. A gain of hope for the future of African is held out by *Anthills of the Savannah*, and it is based on redemption of an African nation-state.

Nationality, ethnicity and race are not always conflated in this way. To understand African literature, the ethnicity is centered. The nation-states into which Africa divided can be dismissed as arbitrary divisions that were imposed by the colonizers and that have little impact on the identity of the colonized. The nationalist legitimating associated with realism, because nation states have been hopelessly compromised by the African bourgeoisie.

Anthills of the Savannah is a fictional working out of Achebe's concerns in The Trouble with Nigeria's leaders has placed their own interests before those of nation. The novel is set in the fictional West African county Kangan and focuses on a circle of three friends of who have known each other since their early years and who since then have risen to hold some of the most powerful positions in the country, including that of head of the state. They are intelligent, articulate and committed -"the cream of our society and the hope of the black race" (2) but power corrupts. Sam, the military commander who has assumed the presidency in a coup brooks no opposition and he is starving a dissident province into submission to the central authority. The

three friends must learn that "this world belongs to the people of the world not to any little caucus, no matter how talented. . ." (232)

Kangan like other independent African states has been defined in terms of colonial borders that were originally drawn by the British Authority within the territory usurped by Sam, whose thirst for power has been fostered at English schools. If Sam is concerned only with the power wielded by the institutions of state and not with nation, the people he rules over, others regard the state itself as a foreign imposition. The Abazonians, metonymical representatives of traditional Africa suffer the most under Sam's rule, and they constitute a homogenous enteric group.

The educated elite living in the capital, among them are Cheri, Ikem, and Beatrice, can not accept the distinction between state and nation- a distinction that Sam and the Abazonians both assume. They are nationalists who believe in the nation- state, in the identification of state and nation. The ruler of the state must be from among the people of the nation, and what is more, he must identify with the people. The people would then identify with the state.

Ikem is editor of the national newspaper *National Gazette*, and his job involves broadcasting the President's message to the people a dissemination, of information from the centre to the periphery mirroring Sam's conception of his own power. Ikem, however, believes in the independence of the press and wants to close the circle of communication between the people and the institutions of state. He himself "had always felt a yearning without very clear definition to connect his essence with earth and earth's people" (140-141). Kangan's problems, Ikem's believes can be traced to "the failure of our rulers to reestablish vital links with the poor and dispossessed of this country, with the bruised heart that throbs painfully at the core of the nation's being" (141).

The circle of the communication between the leaders and the led in the tribal society predated colonization. All that we readers ever see of drought-stricken Abazon are the six representatives who come to the capital to beg an audience with His Excellency. But we understand that their appearance is enough: when they speak, Abazon speaks. Information in the tribal model does not come from the top down; nor does it travel from the bottom up to the leaders. Instead, the leadership embodies the will of its citizens, and information is always shared because it is never divided.

At times, in *Anthills of the Savannah*, Abazon expands to include all the hinterland outside the capital, and at times, it contracts to become a mere village. The Abazonians have a legend of their origins. In flight from a terrible drought that occurred in the distant past, the Abazonians descended from the North and dispossessed those whom they found living in "the tiny village of Ose" (33). Chris, when speaking of Abazon to the long time Kangan resident, the Mad Medico, reminds him, as if he might have forgotten, "you know the drought place" (57). Depending upon the context, Abazon is either one of four regions into which the country is divided or merely a remote contradiction of the province into a village is explicable if one recalls the portrait of pre-colonization Igboland. Igbos identified prior to colonization was not the ethnic in which everyone else, if only potentially or as the son or wife of someone who is known. Abazon exists in the imagination of its members; it is not, however, an imagined community. A nation-state unlike the village must be imagined. Because no member can know more than a small fraction of his fellow members, the nation-state can never be seen whole except in the imagination.

Chris, the Commissioner of Information in Sam's administration and Ikem's immediate boss, thinks it possible to create the nation-state from the top down, by

starting with the idea of the state. Drawing upon "his incredibly wide reading and fluency"(74), he explains that Sam's rule is not based on the model of contemporary European nation -states, but on the ancient empires of Moghul India and precolonial 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, blood thirsty medieval tyrants. The cathedrals of Europe, the Taj Mahal of India, the Pyramids of Egypt and the Stones towers of Zimbabwe were all raised on the backs of serfs, starving peasants and slaves. (74)

Chris's argument is that, although Sam does not behave like the president of a modern nation state (as defined by Europe), his empire building might still result in the creation of a nation. After all, the original European nation-states, the models for all over would be nation-states, were not originally democratic expression of a people's sovereign will, as they now claim to be. They were created according to Sam's model of the nation, from the top down and from the center outward, and they illustrate Ernest Renan's principle that nations must suffer from amnesia if they are to bring together the descendants of conquerors and conquered alike.

Although Chris's nation of real politico enables him to present an accurate description of the way in which the first nation-states were created. It can not serve to justify the exercise of an absolute power in the late twentieth century, as Sam discovers. Sam is not in the position of an Egyptian Pharaoh or a Moghul. Indeed his legitimacy is in question because he came to power in a coup that overthrew a civilian

government. As a result he feels that he must have this legitimacy confirmed in a referendum. This revolution reveals the paradox of Sam's power; it is his, and it belongs only to him, but society. They are almost perpetually in a state of confusion because the extent of their knowledge and power is always in question, not only in their own minds but in the minds of others as well. Thus, the trope of storytelling and Achebe's own storytelling also demonstrate that confusion. Each of main characters - Chris, Ikem, the President, and Beatrice - participates in the storytelling. The stories in *Anthills* only suggest more questions to the characters. Thus, the concept of knowledge is problematized; or should be used— all the questions with which the characters, and Achebe himself, struggle through the novel.

Ikem had originally come from London in order to join Chris and Sam in nation-building, but he eventually rejects that project as so much "crap"(91). He now believes that the true nation-state is not built but rather grows from below, starting from the nation and not from in Abazon, but in the community that includes his women Elewa (the daughter of market women) and the taxi drivers that he meets on the street. He envies the "artless integrity... a stubborn sense of community which can establish Elewa to establish so spontaneously with the driver a teasing affectionateness beyond the powers of Ikem"(142).

The novel calls for a radical decentering of the nation, but it remains itself centered on Chris, Ikem and Beatrice. The overt message is that Chris and Ikem must learn the importance of ordinary citizens, but the novel focuses more upon the people they must learn about. The school friends learn that they are not significant in themselves, but the novel is predicated on their significance. They are not just anyone, their story are the story of nation, their quarrels are national crisis, their deaths a national disaster. Achebe has admitted that the novel is addressed to Nigerian leaders.

The nations do not preexist but are created by states and by nationalists. Ikem and his friends create the nation, but for the nation to have legitimacy, it must be most be already existing. So it is that Ikem discovers a nation among the taxi-drivers and market women. The stubborn sense of identity that Elewa and taxi drivers share might also be interpreted as class consciousness, but Ikem sees it as an embryonic national identity because that is what he wants to find. The heart of Kangan can not be located in traditional Abazon either. The shared language, ethnicity and religion that hold Abazon together are at best that must be appropriated by a nationalist movement if they are to become the raw material of nation-building and not obstacle to national identity.

The modern nation state could claim to be the most efficient and national organization of modern industrialized society. Ikem's nation-state is centered on an industrialized economy, based on the exchange of commodities (the market women), social and physical mobility (the taxi drivers), and the interchangeable, anonymous individuals who comprise the masses. This nation state presumes the mingling of social classes and ignores ethno-cultural distinctions. Ikem stresses the importance of workers and students to the nation-state in an address to the students at the University of Bassa.

When your fat civil servants and urban employees of public corporations march on May Day wearing ridiculously undersize T-shirt and school-boy caps'- Laughter-'Yes and spouting cliches' from other people's histories and struggles, hardly do they realize that in the real context of Africa today they are not the party of the oppressed but of the oppressor (159).

According to 'epic' statement of national purpose, peasants cannot be expected to lead the nation. Ikem points to their absence from the audience as proof that they are uninvolved in the national discussion. Instead, he summons workers to build the nation, but first, he argues, they must reform themselves, become more productive and more disciplined so that they can extend. There is no doubt, Achebe gives fulsome praise to Ikem's speech. As conceived by Ikem, the nation presupposes a modern industrialized economy based on efficiency and competitiveness. Workers and students are essential, for it they accept responsibilities and disciplines.

Ikem and his university audience live in a mobile society; the range of tasks the students will perform is more varied and less stable than the range of tasks assumed by people in the tribal society. But there are limits to their employability, limits that coincide with the political boundaries of the former British colony in which they live. At every stage in their careers are circumscribed in the same ways. The students to whom Ikem addresses his speech will be obliged to perform some form of National services after graduation. In this way members of the educated middle class became aware of the fact that they constitute a nation.

This nation is what Chris discovers at the climax of the book during his journey north from the capital toward drought-stricken Abazon. He had chosen Abazon as a refuge because it is Ikem's native province-"the distant sustain of all his best inspiration" (195)-and Ikem had just been abducted and murdered. Chris comes to realize that "the ensuing knowledge seeped through every pore in his skin into the core of his being continuing the transformation, already in process of the man he was"(204). But Chris's discovery of the nation occurs as he contemplates the changes in the landscape from the window of the bus in which he is riding. Although this nation is said to exist already, is it not a product of looking at the territory through

nationalist lenses? Chris's height to the hinterland merely stands on its head the "pilgrimage"(56) from the province to capital that the carrier trajectory of the colonial civil servant, the pilgrimage that first allows a social class to define itself as a nation. The ambitions, educated middle class elite and different sides of the border under take pilgrimage to different centers, and these pilgrimages define different nation. Chris himself is amazed to discover that "provincial boundaries drawn by all accounts quite arbitrarily by the British fifty years ago and more sometimes coincided... completely with reality"(208). The provincial border of Abazon corresponds to a natural border the rain forest of the south give way to the Savannah, but, more importantly; Chris's identity has been defined by the borders established by the British. In Africa it is always the colonial self-the self as defined by colonial borders-that seeks national-self-determination.

Anithills of the Savannah is an attempt to resolve this potentially disastrous discrepancy between state and nation. Achebe clearly believes that the nation- state might be artificial, it is essential. He acknowledges the fictional nature of communal identities. Whether best on ethnicity, nationality, or race, identity must be invented and reinvented. It is potential power of an identity based on the state that attracts Achebe. The national consciousness is fostered by print literacy and associated with newspapers and the novel as a genre. Like the members of a nation, the characters in the realist novel share a world of specific landmarks that are circumscribed by common horizons. Readers recognize their own world is the people, places, and things represented within a fictional space by novelists who adopt the realization mode. Achebe's earliest novels established just such as community among readers. In *Anthills of the Savannah*, Beatrice tells Chris that she sometimes feels like "chielo in the novel, the priestess and prophets of the Hills and Caves"(114). She and Achebe

assume that Chris and the reader realize. The university students, that Ikem address, as citizens of a former British West African colony, might well have had to right school leaving examination.

Achebe's invention to his nation requires that he choose to circles joining the national elite and the masses, and another joins the traditional participatory community of Abazon with the mass society of Kangan. To choose these two circles, Achebe runs together two different conceptions of the nation-the nationalist and the revolutionary-democratic. Nationalists believe that the creation of the state depends on the prior existence of an erection of the state depends on the prior existence of an ethnic community that is distinguished from "foreigners" by virtue of language and culture. For the revolution, the democrat, the nations must express the sovereign will of its citizens.

In *Anthills of the Savannah*, the white-bearded elder who heads the Abazonian delegation declares that story-tellers can recreate the war and make people remember it. The stories they tell are what distinguish a people; stories are "the mark on the face that sets one people apart from their neighbors"(124). The Abazonins assumes a world in which people are defined according to physical features and shared memories- a world that is configured by descent. When Ikem speaks in the university, he argues something quite different. He argues that story teller should be threat: "they frighten usurpers of the right-to-freedom of the human spirit in state, in church or mosque, in party congress, in university or wherever "(153). According to him, the writer's task is to promote self-examination among his or her readers. Ikem's community of stranger whose carriers share a common horizons: they accept the assumption that the problems of the nation and their problems.

A national identity is the product of literacy of a standardized modern education. Yet nationalism longs for an older mode of communication that cements community with shared memories. Achebe claims that the novelist should be both a social critic (in Ikem's terms) and the guardian of collective memory (the role suggested by the Abazon elder). Achebe makes the same distinction between the warrior who fights and the story teller who keeps alive the memory of the struggle.

Kangan's legitimacy is ratified by appropriate the means by which the cohesiveness of the traditional tribal community was established: genealogy and ritual. At the end of the novel, a 'born-again' nation is ratified by the blood of two sacrifices; that of Ikem (a victim of Sam's political repression) and that of Chris (killed as he tries to prevent a rape). The two deaths bring together the friends of the slain, who comes from different classes and speak different African languages. The two men's sacrifices are then commented in communion a rite that involves the breaking and sharing of a kola nut. Hope literally assumes the form of a new birth, for the occasion of the gathering is the christening of Ikem's postmous daughter, in whom the blood of an intellectual and that of a market woman are mingled. Chris's death also creates a legacy that can be passed on. Emmanuel, the student leader who accompanies him on his journey, adopts Chris as a father. Emmanuel's own father had died disgracefully and Chris has taught him how one can die with dignity (231).

The Christian echoes at the end are not only romance elements on which the novel relies. The young nationalists attribute Sam's fall (he is killed in a coup) to his failure to embrace the nation. The idea of the embrace is quite literally represented when Beatrice receives an invitation to the Presidential Guest House. Chris, his lover tells her to keep her options open, for Sam knows things are now pretty hopeless and may see in you a last hope to extricate himself. Making love to Beatrice is thus

presented as somehow holding out the possibility for Sam to solve his political difficulties. After obeying the presidential summons, Beatrice discovers that "the sacred symbol of my nation's pride"(80) is accompanied by a white women in London had made Sam aware of sexual resources he had not thought he had possessed. He has been vulnerable to white women and their seduction tongues. The women with whom the head of state sleeps is metonymically linked to the people, he serves, be it the people of Kangan or the Americans. For the good of the nation, Beatrice determines to seduce Sam, throwing herself at him," like a loyal batman covering his endangered commander with his own body and receiving the mortal bullet in his place" (80-81). Unfortunately, she is not successful when she tells him not to trust American temptresses; he pushes her away in a range. The novel thus makes sexual desires a metonymy for the love of one's country; a genuine national leader must be wedded to African womanhood and to seduce him, Sam is doomed to fall. On the morning after the defeat, Beatrice thinks to herself "the king's treasury was broken into last night and all his property carried away-his crown, his scepter, and all"(108) Sam's fall is not immediate, but it is now inevitable.

The communion at the end of the novel represents a fulfillment of romantic love in contrast to the false union suggested by the American journalist's education of Sam and by the rape that Chris dies in attempting to prevent. The pairing of Ikem (the intellectual) with Elewa (the daughter of market woman) symbolizes a conjunction that must be made on a larger basis through the nation. Chris and Beatrice also had a successful union, representing the wholeness to which the young intellectuals and the nation itself aspire.

In his mythic dimension, Achebe is trying to evade the nationalist conundrum: the nation must be created, but it is envisaged as having always existed in the eyes of

God. The meaning of the novel depends on the fact that the friends who gather in communion actually choose to join in a new community, one based on a vision of just power relations. At the same time, once they come together their new community must have a greater degree of legitimacy than can be claimed by a group of strangers; it must be shown to have divine sanction. Beatrice both is and is not vehicle of this message. Legitimacy and credibility require that the new community can be sensual; ideology and narrative exigency require that it have a transcendental underpinning. The group of like-minded individuals who gather to commemorate Ikem and Chris to see the christening of Ikem's baby are brought together by chance. The taxi driver, the women rescued from rape, and the student leader had contingent and random encounters with the two slain friends but this is precisely the pain of their gathering; they constitute a community of consent that transcends the boundaries of the ethnic communities from which they come. Beatrice is depicted as an unwitting instrument of Idemill, the Igbo goddess who links the sky and the earth.

The anthills in the title alludes to the admonition the people must remember those who have gone before just as the anthills remember the fire that cleared the grass lands, the previous year and as the survivors gather to remember Chris and Ikem. However the fire is as necessary as the anthills; amnesia is as important as memory. The internal frontier between the capital Bassa and the province of Abozan is never crossed in the novel (Chris is killed just as he is about to cross it) the noble itself is as unable to enter Abazon as Chris is, and the only images of it that are communicated to readers are those that lie behind the Amazonian elder's utterances. Ironically, the elder (whose imprisonment by Sam precipitates Ikem's incendiary speech and leads to his abduction and death) is forgotten at the end when

Chris and Ikem are remembered. The memory that would create a commands identity must be selection. Not memory but invented memory is necessary for the nation.

Memory might well be a fiction, but it is the fiction is to hold together an imagined community. It must be shared not just among the characters but with readers as well. In *Anthills of the Savannah*, a metaphorical circle links the elite and the masses by consent, another circle links past and present by descent; however those two circles are not concentric with the hermeneutical circle that links the text and its readers. Kangan is *Anthills of Savannah* is an allegory of Africa, a part that is coterminous with the whole and that advertises its own functionality. *Anthills of the Savannah* is a paean to memory, but it does not actually remember anything itself: it creates a viable national myth for a community that is so imaginary that it exists nowhere outside of the novel.

Achebe's novel is not the fictional reconstruction of a history making resistance movement (or Ikem's own play about the Women's War): nor is it an injunction to remember a historical figure. Ikem apostrophizes 1960, the year Nigeria received its independence as "the year of wonders in which Africa broke out so spectacularly in a rash of independent nation states !"(139). If we assume Kangan achieved independence in 1960 and then experienced nine years of civilian administration and three years of military rule.

Africans and non-Africans who know something about Africa are likely to read 'Nigeria' wherever 'Kangan' appears in the text, allowing what they know about Kangan. Much of Kangan is recognizably Nigerian. It is located in West Africa on the Niger River. The characters' name- Reginald Okong, Beatrice Okoh, Joe Ibe, and Ahmed Lango- are plausibly Nigerian. There are references to the National Electric

Power Authority (NEPA), to Lord Lugard College (Lugard was British founder of Nigeria), and to an oil boom.

If Kangan represents Nigeria, the dissident province Abazon corresponds to Igboland (Eastern Nigeria), the one province out of four that does not go along with the President's wishes in a national referendum, much as Eastern Nigeria sought to separate from the other three regions of Nigeria in 1967. The people from Abazon have names like Okeke, Mgbafo and Ikem Osodi- good Igbo names. They speak Igbo as well: Ikem writes that the ancestors used to say Nneka, Igbo for "Mother is supreme" (98) the Abazonians speak of Agwa, the *Igbo arusi* or spirit of divination, and refer to a man's *chi* or personal god a concept familiar to readers. Ikem writes play about "the women's war of 1929 which stopped the British administration cold in its tracks" (91) corresponds to historical events.

Abazon is located in the north-west (57), not the Southeast. The drought and subsequent starvation recall the Crisis in the Sahel during the early 1980s. The landscape in what one would expect of the northern landscape in West Africa: open savannah dotted by anthills and not the rain forest of Southern Nigeria. The Abazonian woman whom Chris saves from rape, Aina, is a Muslim, a detail that would fit a Northern Nigerian State but accords poorly with Igbo land.

Neo-colonialism

The elite people are governing Kagan. Kagan is neo-classical state which represents the postcolonial Nigeria. The president, Sam and his cabinet are not elected. By imposing military power, President is governing Kagan. Sam imposes his military power to Chris, the Minister of Information. He says Chris, "Why do you find it so difficult to swallow my ruling?" (1). Sam is not politician but he is a soldier. Sam

says to Chris, "You (Chris) all seem to forget that I (Sam) am still a soldier, not a politician" (4). In Kangan, the earlier whites were ruler. Now they have gone away and they have left some gaps. In Kangan, the colonial activities are still remaining. So, they are dangerous "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 Bokassa sired on Africa by Europe" (52).

The three foreign educated men: Sam, Chris and Ikem are ruling Kangan. The cabinet is under the control of President, Sam. The ruling style is like an Eastern tyrants but he was educated the West "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" (74). The presentation of fraction description of new rulers. In the tyrannical situation, there is no sovereign of people, no press freedom, and no democracy in Kangan. Ikem speaks for press freedom, "I hear is a Marxist of sorts appears to imagine he can eat his cake as well as have it, as we all tend to do this side of democracy. Admiring Castro may be fine if you don't have to live in Cuba or even Angola" (78). The African people want to free from tyranny, "Free people may be alike everywhere in their freedom but the oppressed inhabit each their own peculiar hell"(99). The Africa wants to create new identity "immemorial bird song this tale of an African bird waking up his new world in words of English" (109).

In Africa, many international companies are involved in media, commerce, hospitals, administrations, schools and churches. The activities of Chris "listen to the BBC at seven, has his bath, eats his breakfast . . ." (112). Kangan people are remembering the colonial past;"Mad Medico's proper name is John Kent but nobody hear calls him by that any more. He enjoys his bizarre title; his familiar friends always

abbreviate it to MM. He is of course neither a doctor nor a quite exactly mad . . . in first place, made him administrator and saved him a year ago from sudden deportation" (55). John Kent, a white is a hospital administrator. He is not doctor. There are English Church missionaries and schools. Pre-colonial Africa was Muslim religion in colonial time, now there is Christian religion and effects of white culture then things fall apart. Sam, Chris and Ikem had educated in local missionary school at Lugard College. Beatrice is talking about her family background " the paster and the catechist, in the farthest corner of the compound was the churchyard, a little overgrown, where one of my sisters, Emily lay buried" (84). The African media depends upon European media. "Try and get the BBC. They are likely to have a fuller story in the African news after the world bulletin . . . All I (Chris) get is that infuriating thing in special English from the voice of America. I think my radio must be made by CIA . . ." (164). The source of knowledge for African is Europe. The system of colonialism is still remaining same. The structure is changed; earlier white people were ruling, now the elite people who were educated and trained by white agents. The mentality of ruler is colonized by ex-colonizers. It is the new form of colonialism.

In *Anthills of the Savannah*, there is the struggle against the new colonial by the colonized people. Anticolonial struggle had to create and powerful identities for colonized peoples and to challenge colonialism not only it a political or intellectual level but also on an emotional existence plane. The struggle begins from cabinet. Ikem criticizes the President's ruling style in Kangan. He wants Press Freedom but there is censorship in newspaper. "Well that's not good enough, Mr. Commissioner for Information . . . that it is my (Ikem) name and address which is printed at the bottom

of page sixteen of Gazette and not that of any fucking commissioner" (26). Ikem's resistance to White, Mad Medico, a hospital administrator:

Of course I wouldn't. Never said I would. But the English are not supposed to have a sense of humor to begin with. And this is not England, is it? Look outside. What do you see? Sunshine! Life! Vitality. It says to you: Come out and play. Make love! Live! And these dusky imitators of petit *bourgeois* Europe corrupted at Sandhurst and London School of Economics except me to come here and walk about in about in a bowler hat and rolled umbrella like a fucking banker on cheap-side Christ!(58).

In *Anthills of the Savannah*, the Africans also oppose the English foods.

Achebe emphasizes culture and people:

The food was simple and tasty. Shrimp cocktail; jollof rice plantain and fried chicken; and fresh fruit, salad or cheese and English crackers for dessert. The wines were excellent but totally wasted on the company, only His Excellency, the American girl and myself showing the slightest interest. The Bassa men stuck as usual to the beer they had been drinking all day; one of the ladies had double gins and lime and the other two shandy of stout and Seven Up which one of them— Irene, I think her name was— apostrophized as *Black Is Beautiful* (77).

In opposition of oppression all people are involved "a full length novel and a play on the women's war of 1929 which stopped the British administration cold in its tracks, being accused of giving no clear political role to women" (91) " the most profound

respect for three kinds of women: peasants, market women and intellectual women"

(92). It is the stage of revolution. This revolution brings consciousness to the people.

The large crowd that had accompanied it to the Palace was Abazon indigenes in Bassa: motor mechanics, retail traders, tailors, vulcanizers, taxi and bus-drivers who had loaded their vehicles, and others doing all kinds of odd jobs or nothing at all in the city. A truly motely crowd ! No wonder His Excellency was reported to have received their news of their sudden arrival on his doorstep with considerable apprehension (120-121).

The civil servants and employers celebrations on May Day, the Labour Day shows revolution against the military government.

When your fat civil servants and urban employees of public corporations march on May Day wearing ridiculously undersize T-shirts and school-boy caps'-Laughter- 'Yes' and spouting clichés' from other people's histories and struggles, hardly do they realized that in the real context of Africa today they are not the partly of the oppressed but of the oppressor . . . (159).

The Kangan People want to establish new liberal government.

No be you tell Whiteman make he commot ?' asked somebody from the crowd.' Ehe whiteman done go now, and hand over the president. Now that one done less for inside bush. Wet in we go do again?' 'We go make another President. That one no hard", said a third person (213).

The novel ends with the death of major three characters, Sam, Chris and Ikem and with the naming ceremony to Ikem's daughter.

Conclusion

Achebe's novels explore the impact of European culture on African society. He used some concepts of Igbo tradition. His subject matters are from contemporary social events.

Postcolonialism is about the effects on cultures and societies. After the Second World War many countries became free from colonization. The study of the controlling power of representation in colonized societies has begun in late 1970s. The postcolonial is concerned to examine the processes and effects of reaction to European colonialism and including neo-colonialism of the present day. The Europeans have created the hierarchy between Eastern and Western. Westerners are so called educated and rich on the other side; Easterners are barbaric, uneducated, poor, inactive. This system continues from colonial to neo-colonial.

Writing from the Third World perspective using relevant local symbols and highlighting the local culture; the postcolonial writing seeks the western system of domination. This domination is still retained by means of European tradition, by means of media, and by means of modern technologies. The whole post colonial thought seeks to identify all of marginalized indigenous societies and their culture. In time postcolonial attempt is to divert Eurocentrism. The Third World writers have made vigorous attempts to restudy, reinterpret event and to rewrite their own history. In other words, the postcolonial writing is the quest for personal, racial and cultural identity. Mainly the Asian and African countries were colonized. After the Second World War, the colonized countries attempt to create them own identity through their culture. On the similar note Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe has made severe critique of European culture. The postcolonial critique is the rejection of colonial writer's indigenous characters and their roles in their texts.

The myth of universality is a primary strategy of imperial control and it is manifested in literary study. It demands attention on this reader. According to Chinua Achebe, a pernicious effect of colonialist criticism which denigrates the postcolonial text on the basis of an assumption that what is European equals 'universal' the assumption of universalism is a fundamental feature of the construction of colonial power because the 'universal' features of humanity are the characteristics of those who occupy positions of political dominance. Achebe is the well-known Nigerian novelist, critic and another influential writer for postcolonial theory and criticism. He attacks the lingering colonialism in the criticism of African literature. The westerners think that the Africans are inferior. The African writers accept the western mind because they are colonized. They reproduce the colonial pattern of westerners. Achebe rejects the universalism; rather he favours 'localization'. He argues that African literature has its own particular peculiarity.

The idea of 'nation' is one of the strongest tools for resistance to imperial control in colonial societies. The liberation of the nation comes from the national culture. So, fighting for national culture is the liberation of nation, a national culture is made by people who give identity and existence to people.

Anthills of the Savannah itself is an Anthill and it is telling the story of that land to new generation. The novel focuses various episodes which ordinary people react to the machinery of oppression with resignation, resilience, protest and wit. It is the discovery of this which turns the crisis for Ikem, Chris and Beatrice into a new kind of education. Achebe has drawn sustenance from both traditional and oral literature and from the present and rapidly changing society.

In *Anthills of the Savannah*, Achebe presents that the role of story telling is a political and social act. He discourses about Africa, his people and its troubles

through storytelling. The main characters, Sam, Chris and Ikem have studied in London and Washington. Sam knows Ikem and Chris, and has control over them but ever Ikem and Chris also have knowledge about Sam. So, they also have some influence over Sam, the novel tries to find a way of establishing and maintaining a successful form of postcolonial self-government.

The story-telling is mightier than war and warrior. The storytelling narrates all situations and its people. It brings interaction between people. The interaction helps the discourse of the people. The story guards people and nation. The storytelling tells the history of the people. The novel brings new kind of storytelling.

Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah* is a fictional working out which expresses the troubles with Nigeria. He focuses the valuable studying the interplay of village, ethnic, nation-state and race in the configuration of identity in Africa. He is the founder of a journal dedicated to Igbo culture. He is so identified with 'Igboness'.

Anthills of the Savannah is about neo-colonialism. After the independence from Britain, Nigeria was still facing neo-colonial state. The direct rule of British is gone but indirect colonial regime is still there. The western economic and cultural influence has played very important role.

Three characters are educated in London, their education and living style is like Britishers. These elite people want to rule Kangan state. By imposing military power, Sam, the President is governing Kangan. All the characters want to impose their power and exercise power to people. But they failed. And the novel ends with a new beginning. There will be no more wars and fighting. The new generation has hope of peace and security. They will choose new leader. The ending of the novel is the beginning of the new history of Nigeria.

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