CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This dissertation will examine the origins and development of pan-Africanism, focusing on the different ways in which the Angophone diaspora (African Americans) and the Francophone diaspora in the Caribbean perceive pan-Africanism. The dissertation will also examine the ways in which the Francophone and Angophone AfricAn writers represent the Angophone diaspora (African Americans) and the Francophone diaspora in the Caribbean. In particular, I will examine the extent to which AfricAn and diaspora conceptions such as Paul Gilroy's "Black Atlantic" remain useful for an understanding of 21st century globalization. In the course of the study, I will therefore attempt an Afrocentric and postcolonial examination of pan-Africanism. In the light of theories on diaspora and globalization studies, the majority of the AfricAn American works involved in this research belong to the Harlem Renaissance era because that period witnessed a resurgence of interest in Africa among black artists who were fighting to assert the "humaneness" and artistic (intellectual) skills of African Americans. I decided to consider globalization in my dissertation because diaspora issues today (like all other fields of study) are influenced by the all pervading/quasi-omnipresent political and economic forces of globalization. This dissertation also stresses the role that erotic imagination plays in the ideologies both of the colonizing cultures (especially Western modernity) and of the colonized resistance movements as they manifest themselves in some of the Caribbean Francophone works that I examine. This research presents the writers whose works are involved in it as participating in a geopolitical colonial and postcolonial context.

The French experience in the Americas: From Conquest to Depopulation...
Kationale

Although a dissertation in my view is worthwhile because pan-Africanism is a topic which has been in circulation for a long time, and it has also always suffered from a lack of clear understanding or definition. The concept of pan-Africanism came into being in the 18th century when Prince Hall and Paul Cuffe initiated the movement to repatriate Blacks from the USA to Sierra Leone. Pan-Africanism is also associated with the numerous pan-African conferences which took place in Europe (in London in 1900 and in Paris in 1919 called by W.E.B. Du Bois), in America (the Chicago Congress on Africa in 1893), and in Africa—especially in Ghana where Kwame Nkrumah organized several pan-African conferences between 1955 and 1966 (Esedebe 1982). Pan-Africanism is also associated with the anti-imperialist resistance to British imperialism in the wake of the Berlin Conference of 1884, and it has ramifications in Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association, or the UNIA (Michael Omi and Howard Winant 1986).

Pan-Africanism is an anticolonial and postcolonial movement which has reflected the mosaic of newly independent African countries and the complex relations between continental Africans and diaspora Africans (Sidney Lemeje and Robin D.G. Kelley 1994). Esedebe (1982) captures the multiple and often contradictory understandings associated with pan-Africanism when he writes that it is impossible to give an accurate definition of pan-Africanism in a short sentence. He rather poses a list of major component ideas which characterize pan-Africanism:

Africa as the homeland of Africans and persons of African origin, solidarity among men of African descent, belief in a distinct African personality,
rehabilitation of Africa's past, pride in African culture, Africa for Africans in church and state, the hope for a glorious future Africa. (3)

My study is interested in the treatment of pan-Africanism in Francophone and Anglophone literature. In the Francophone Caribbean literature, pan-Africanism is not a smooth terrain concerned with the rapport between colonial Africans and the African diaspora. Pan-Africanism is also associated with the rejection of Africa or the denial of ties or links with Africa. The Caribbean Francophone diaspora devised and adhered to the philosophies of Antillanité and Créolité (Edouard Glissant 1989; Bernabé, Chamoiseau and Confiant 1993) which they oppose to Afrocentricism and pan-Africanism. Several previous studies have denounced pan-Africanism but the comparison of Créolité and Antillanité with pan-Africanism in literature remains an untapped subject. In other words, the representations of Africa within the writings of the Antillanité, Créolité and the Caribbean Francophone authors in general are worth exploring because such an enterprise will elucidate the distance that some of the Caribbean Francophones put between themselves and the African continent despite their African ancestry (slave trade). The dissertation also demonstrates that different representations of Africa exist among the Francophone Caribbean writings. As I will demonstrate, most of the Francophone Caribbean writings look at Africa with Eurocentric eyes. However, in some recent novels such as Maryse Condé's Heremokhnon (2000) and Raphaël Confiant's Nègre marron (2006), a distinctly Caribbean, balanced perspective emerges to critique Caribbean Europhilia while not quite denying European influences nor embracing a native Afrocentricism or essentialist pan-Africanism. The other virgin terrain that any dissertation will explore is the representations of the Francophone diaspora in the
writings of Francophone African writers. My dissertation will therefore open the way for a third way pan-Africanism.

**Literature Review**

In this section I will examine some of the works which analyse the historical dimension of pan-Africanism, and also the treatment of pan-Africanism by the continental African writers, the Anglophone diasporan writers, and the Caribbean Francophone writers. The literature review also takes a lengthy analysis of the representations of Africa in Modern European writings, and that correlation between Modern Europe’s representation of Africa and the Caribbean Francophones’ representations of Africa will constitute one of the main arguments of my dissertation. I would also like to point out here that although this literature review touches upon several works, ideas and positions which have some connection with pan-Africanism, my main position and understanding of pan-Africanism -- which I will expose further in the dissertation -- is informed by Kofi Anyidoho’s *The Pan-African Ideal in Literatures of the Black World* (1989). That work clearly poses that pan-Africanism means talking about the black world, the various areas where blacks live, how they got there, but also and above all, the current conditions in which blacks live, all the world over.

He writes:

In our search, however, we must be careful not to dwell only on where black people may be found in significant numbers, but also on how they got to these places in the first place, and finally the conditions under which they live. More than where they live and how they got there, it is the circumstances of their life
Moosa Chapter One

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W.E.B. DuBois's works also subscribe to Afrocentricism and in *The World and Africa* (1946), he assigns to newly-independent Ghana the leading role in "a movement of black men for pan-Africanism from the Sahara to the Indian Ocean" (296). In the same work, DuBois stresses the advanced stage of African civilizations compared to those of Europe in the fifteenth century. DuBois's pan-Africanism draws a link between African and Asian civilizations, emphasizing their shared status as suppressed traditions. DuBois's Egyptian origin of human civilization (later developed by Martin Bernal in *Black Athena*) erases the distance between Africa and Asia and presents the East (Africa and Asia) as the parts of the world which outstripped Europe in the fifteenth century. *The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois* (1968) also furthers that analysis and Bill V. Mullen (2004) deepens the Asian implication in pan-Africanism, while Brent H. Edwards (2002) examines the European dimension of pan-Africanism. Molefi K. Asante's *Afrocentricity* (1980) re-examines traditional scholarship from the perspectives of continental Africans and diasporan Africans and also examines the interconnectedness of these people with all people of the world. *Afrocentricity* clearly shows that Molefi K. Asante continues the task initiated by Cheikh Anta Diop, the Senegalese historian and anthropologist who established the theory of the African (Egyptian precisely) origin of Western civilization, a thesis that he defends in his work *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality*
Moussa Chapter One

(1974). Diop claims that archaeological and anthropological evidence supports his Afrocentric view that the Pharaohs were of black (Negroid) origin. Diop’s work and that of Dubois share a lot of parallels and at the 1966 First World Festival of Negro Arts held in Dakar, both of them were honored as the “the two writers who had exerted the greatest influence on Negro thought in the 20th century” (The Pan African Ideal 19). Some scholars continue to draw heavily from Cheikh Anta Diop’s work like (among others) Moïse Kazadi Musau, John Henrik Clarke, Ivan Van Sertima and Maulana Karenga in the US, George Padmore, Frantz Fanon, C. L.R. James, Walter Rodney and Kamau Brathwaite from the Caribbean, Abdias do Nascimento from South America and Ayi Kwei Armah and Ngugi wa Thiong’o from Africa. However, in the Western academic world some scholars are still reluctant to accept his theories but nonetheless, Cheikh Anta Diop’s work has raised some important questions about the bias which surrounds certain Western racial and scientific arguments. I will say more on Cheikh Anta Diop’s work later in the dissertation. Joseph E. Harris’s Global Dimension of the African Diaspora (1982) provides historical and anthropological data that explains why some black diasporans consider Guinea (in West Africa) as the symbol of freedom and the horse to which they need to return. I will use Harris’s argument to explain the reason behind Veronica’s and the nègre marron’s consideration of Guinea in Heremakhonon and Nègre marron as their destination in their search for a cure to their disorientation and alienation.

Cultural pan-Africanism, which is also referred to as “liberal pan-Africanism” by Jerry Gafio Watts (2001) emphasizes the cultural and political ramifications of pan-Africanism and relies on the ways in which black artists like Amiri Baraka “explicitly valorized the cultural motifs and practices of indigenous African cultures” (Watts 378).
Cultral pan-Africanism views Africans and the black diapora as constituting a “shared cultural core” (Watts 378) as shown in the works of Cheikh Anta Diop and the Negritude writers like Leopold Sedar Senghor, Leon Gontran Damas and Aimé Césaire and it also encompasses the works of contemporary Afrocentric movements in the United States. The difference between cultural pan-Africanism and political pan-Africanism can be perceived in Jerry Gafio Watts’s definition of political pan-Africanism:

Political pan-Africanism views Africans and the diaspora as constituting a shared political struggle against a common enemy (i.e. European colonialism and white racism). Less emphasis is placed on international black cultural similarities than on the various struggles against European racist colonialization and white racist practices throughout Africa and the African diaspora. This is the pan-Africanism of George Padmore, the lasser Du Bois and C L R. James. (Watts 378)

In The Black Atlantic (1993), Gilroy uncovers the material foundations of the existence of the Diaspora. He demonstrates how the slave ship functioned to sustain the continuity of the diasporan experience between continental Africa, America, Europe, and the West Indies. Gilroy’s main criticism is that although the works of certain diasporan figures like Olaudah Equiano, Ignatius Sancho and Phillis Wheatley are initially associated with “antemor purities,” they also contain signs and features of hybridity, or the “syncretic complexities of language, culture, and everyday modern life in the torrid areas where racial slavery was practiced, but also the purity-defying metamorphoses of individual identity in the contact zones of an imperial metropole” (117). His analysis of pan-Africanism moves from the Afrocentric or Africanist perspective onto the diasporan perspective which uplifts the compound, complex and multidimensional character of pan-
Africanism. Maryse Condé's *Herero* and Raphael Confiant's *Notre macon* exhibit significant features of Gilroy's pan-Africanism.

C.L.R. James contributes to the diasporic analysis of pan-Africanism by establishing the links between the conditions of slaves in the diaspora and the political and intellectual movements of the world in the 18th century. In *The Black Jacobins* (1980), he presents the relation through the scenes capturing the "uprooting" of Africans from the continent and the influence of the French revolution of 1789 on the slave rebellion of Santo Domingo. Kwame Anthony Appiah's *In My Father's House* (1992) emphasizes the impact of the colonial and the postcolonial experience on pan-Africanism.

He contends that the examination of pan-Africanism in the literary works of African authors is but a Eurocentric examination because pan-Africanism is based on the fact of being a Negro which in itself is based on the Western concept of the Negro in Greek texts and the Bible. He stresses the emergence of an African continental identity which is materializing through African regional and sub-regional organizations. In *The Invention of Africa* (1988), Valentin Y. Mudimbe raises some questions which are fundamental to all discussions related to Africa. Following Foucault's "archaeological" method, Valentin Mudimbe examines the implicit knowledge/power relation inherent to evangelical paradigms, colonial sciences, anthropological taxonomies, black nationalist discourses and African philosophical debates. His major thesis identifies African philosophy as *gnosis* which signifies methods of inquiry and knowing which emphasize a "higher and esoteric knowledge...under specific procedures for its use as well as knowledge" (ix).

The Anglophone diaspora also engages the conflicting relations between the continental African and the diasporic African. Lorraine Hansberry (1959) and Alice
Walker (1982) present the material or physical reunion between African Americans and the African continent. Countee Cullen’s poem “Heritage” which begins and ends with the expression “what is Africa to me” is one of the most cogent illustrations of the existence of Africa in the world of the African American.

Langston Hughes’s *The Big Sea* (1986) allocates much room to Africa in author’s life, and it also exposes the author’s opinion on Africa and Africans. In *The Big Sea*, Langston Hughes portrays Africa as an exotic land of famous empires like Benin, Sudan and the Congo (186); of people beautiful and black as the night (102). Hughes’s Africa is also the Africa of Joseph Conrad in *Heart of Darkness*. Hughes writes: “When we passed Gibraltar, all I could see was lights, because it was dark and moonless. Being so close to Africa, I made up a poem about the face of England looking into the face of the Dark Continent” (201). A scene from Hughes’s biography, in which an African girl is abused by a crew of seamen (Hughes 108), is also reminiscent of Conrad’s portrayal of a benighted and defenseless Africa which is to be “gluttonously” consumed by Westerners. In this respect, Hughes confirms Kwame Anthony Appiah’s observation that African Americans’ vision of Africa is Eurocentric. In *The Big Sea*, Langston Hughes describes how hurt he was when the continental Africans did not believe that he was a Negro (11).

He later elucidates the different meanings assigned to the term “Negro” in Africa and in America: “here in the United States the word “Negro” is used to mean anyone who has any Negro blood at all in his veins. In Africa the word is more pure. It means all Negro therefore black” (*The Big Sea* 11).
Claude McKay’s *Banjo: A Story without a Plot* (1957) does an incisive analysis of the *rapports* between the continental Africans and the diasporan Africans. First, the author describes the stratification or hierarchy which exists among the Negro population in Marseilles, with the Martiniquans and Guadeloupans at the top, the Madagascans in the middle, and the West Africans (referred to as the Senegalese) at the bottom of the ladder. Then, he presents the continental Africans as people who own an "invaluable worth of their own and who are naturally defended by the richness of their fundamental racial values" (*Banjo* 320), whereas the African Americans are presented as "long – deracinated" people who lack the confidence of continental Africans (320) and as people who are still "rootless among phantoms and pale shadows and enfeebled by self-effacement before condescending patronage, social negativism, and misegenation" (320). In *Home to Harlem* (1928) McKay portrays the romanticized and trivialized associations which African Americans attach to the image of Africa, through The Congo, a cabaret in New York. In the same work, McKay reveals the condescension that some of the assimilated French West Indians (represented by Ray) exhibit towards Africa which he calls "land of savage culture and jungles" (*Banjo* 274). In *A Long Way from Home* (1973), Claude McKay associates Africa with the exotic culture and food of Morocco, a country which is fit for an "African honeymoon in Africa" (*A Long Way from Home* 329).

Wayne F. Cooper’s *The Passion of Claude McKay: Selected Poetry and Prose* (1973) discusses McKay’s admiration for Africa in his poem “Africa” (Cooper:120) which recalls Africa’s glorious days of pyramids, science, cradle of power and also Africa’s downfall which relegated her to the rank of “harlot of the mighty nations” (“Africa”).
Richard Wright's *Black Power* (1954) presents Africa as the continent where traditional beliefs and attitudes hinder the way to modern life. Wright shows that his ties with Africa do not lie in race or blood or descent, but in the similarity between the material condition of the African populations, and those of African Americans, as he points out clearly in his letter to Kwame Nkrumah:

While roaming at random through the compounds, market places, villages and cities in your country, I felt an odd kind of at-homeness, a solidarity, that stemmed not from ties of blood or race, or from my being of African descent, but from the quality of deep hope and suffering embedded in the lives of your people, from the hard facts of oppression that cut across time, space, and culture. (342)

His call for the "militarization" of Africa in the same letter means the eradication of retrograde traditional African values and the embrace of mechanization and firm social discipline (347).

The only instance of diasporan Anglophone resistance to pan-Africanism (from my readings) lies in Manthia Diawara’s *In Search of Africa* (1998), where the diasporan black is "afraid of the African simply because he represented Africa—the unknown, in the imagination of the West, and the symbol of darkness, fear, and ignorance" (61).

### Continental Africa and Pan-Africanism: Main Trends

This section examines some seminal continental African Francophone and Anglophone works, and their position on pan-Africanism. Cheikh Anta Diop’s *African Origins of Civilization* (1974) presents the African continent as the cradle of civilization and by doing that, the work shows that the Western world was edified on a scientific
knowledge which was initiated and developed by Africans. Ayi Kwei Armah’s *Oxiris Rising* (1966) contributes to the Afrocentric study of pan-Africanism and reveals the importance of the study of “classical Africa” or the Africa in Egyptology which he presents as the pre-requisite to the understanding of modern Africa.

P. Olisanwuche Esedebe (1982) recalls the pan-African congresses which represent important stages in the life of the Organization of African Unity. His analysis stresses the conferences which took place in Ghana (which is a good parallel in my study since the Ghanaian authors provide an important number of primary sources) and he shows the ambitious goals that were lying at the core of the Charter of the OAU which was founded in 1963. The author also points out the hindrances that the organization encountered, leading several observers to talk about “the impotence of OAU” (Esedebe: 228-230). *Pan-Africanism Reconsidered* (1962) provides a clear picture of the conferences and political interactions which built the foundation of pan-Africanism.

Ezekiel Mphahlele (1973) examines the relations between “African America” and “continental Africa” and concludes that although the African American intellectuals have tried to reach out to Africa, continental Africans on their side “cherish an ancient cultural heritage on their own soil” (51). Ama Ata Aidoo (1962), Kofi Awoonor (1992) and Ayi Kwei Armah (1996) ultimately surpass the initial distance between continental Africans and the diaspora, on the Anglophone side, through the *brasage* or encounter between the continental African and the diasporan African. Ayi Kwei Armah’s *Two Thousand Seasons* (1973) offers a romanticized tribute to the resistance that the continental *Africana* opposed to the Middle Passage. The novel imagines an instance of Africans
rebelling on the slave ship and finding their way back to Africa where they organize a resistance against Europeans' physical and mental enslavement of Africans.

The Francophone diaspora has also been engaged by Francophone African writers, and most of that representation or engagement came out of the historical consciousness of “Ngritude,” the period when continental Africans began to interact with their Caribbean counterparts from Haiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe, etc. The main feature of this representation is that some Francophone African writers portray the Caribbean Francophone Black as a more assimilated “Negro,” and as a Negro who manifests a lot of suspicion and hatred for the continental Francophone African. Abiola Irele (1990) points out the severe assimilation that the Antilleans underwent and the debilitating effect it had on them: “it indicated clearly to the Antillean his morale dependence upon the French and consequently his incompleteness, so to speak, as a human being” (128). Belinda Elizabeth Jack (1996) raises the debate between Leopold Sedar Senghor and the Haitian poet René Depestre. The latter contends that black literature should privilege class over race, and the political rather than the cultural. Senghor perceives in Depestre’s attitude the West Indian artist’s inclination towards Western aesthetics and his refusal to use the available resources of “le réalism negro-Africain”:

Depestre’s weakness to speak frankly is to have chosen as his point of departure realism invented by, and made for, the West. Does he have to be told that there is a Negro-African realism...Does he have to be told that there is a Negro-American imagery, that is to say a style, and that the tradition to assimilate-I use an active verb- is not French? (88)
I devote a special section to the interaction between Antillean writers and African Francophone writers and in that section I examine the works of Senghor and Depestre in more depth. The organized opposition to pan-Africanism comes from the Francophone diaspora, with the Antillanité and Créolité movements.

C. Modern Europe and Its Representation of Africa

This section addresses the main features of Western Modernity's representation of Africa. The importance of this section to my dissertation lies in the fact that it helps understand the attitude that Francophone Caribbeans have towards continental Africa. It is necessary to recognize the tremendous influence that Eurocentricism had on the Francophone Caribbeans. Western Modernity reduces Africa to a certain number of stereotypes which occur—although sometimes in disguised forms—in most of the Caribbean Francophone writings: savage Africans, the constant immaturity of the African man who is represented as a boy, the African woman as a servant to the white woman, the exotic African woman who is also a sex object, the hypersexual African man who is always in high pursuit of the white woman’s body, and the African continent itself portrayed as a defenseless feminine entity full of natural resources which have to be appropriated by the white European man.

Eurocentricism eroticized and feminized the areas that Europe subjugated and exploited in order to tap the raw materials which were necessary for Modern Europe’s economic takeoff. In *Empire* (2002), Negri and Hardt explain how the annexation of
colonial areas was the sine qua non for the economic survival of modern Europe, with the theory of capital's dependence on the outside:

Capitalism is "the first mode of economy which is unable to exist by itself, which needs other economic systems as a medium and a soil". Capital is an organism that cannot sustain itself without constantly looking beyond its boundaries, feeding off its external environment. Its outside is essential. (224)

Although the appropriation and exploitation of colonial areas by modern Europe was necessary for the survival of Europe, it was also a risky one, due to the fact that these areas were unknown to Europeans. Europe was very anxious in its conquest of the "wild" areas, and as a solution, Europe had to "produce the non-European world" through a discourse which exposed a lot of questions, answers and assumptions which could erase the European anxiety and belittle, infantilize and eroticize the colonized lands, as Peter Hulme observes in his reference to the colonization of the Caribbean in Colonial Encounters (1986):

Discursively, the Caribbean is a special place, partly because of its primacy in the encounter between Europe and America, civilization and savagery, and partly because it has been seen as the location, physically and etymologically, of the practice that, more than any other, is the mark of unregenerate savagery — cannibalism. (3)

Beyond the depiction of colonized areas as primitive and cannibal lands, Modern Europe also had to create some myths asserting the superiority of Western culture, and the colonized females' total admiration for the culture and language of the male European colonizer. The myth of Pocahontas’s love for John Smith described by Hulme in Colonial
Encounters, belongs to those discursive creations and justifications of the colonial enterprise. The colonizers' manipulation of Pocahontas's protection of John Smith and her relationship with him appears clearly in both John Smith's version of the events and the version presented by colonial America, which is also referred to as "the myth of Pocahontas." John Smith explains the fact that Pocahontas was smitten by him and as a consequence she "got his head in her arms, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death"(3) and the myth of Pocahontas presents her behavior as the result of an instant love which can be compared to the kind of feelings that Mirana had for Ferdinand in Shakespeare's The Tempest: "I might call him / A thing divine; for nothing natural I ever saw to noble"(I ii). The myth of Pocahontas therefore translates the princess's behavior as her recognition of the superiority of English culture which she will work to defend by assisting the colonial English as a mediator between the native Americans and the settlers, and by accepting English language and Christianity. Smith's Pocahontas story is difficult to believe since he is also the author of another story in which he was saved by Charatza Tragagizanda, a Turkish damsel living in Constantinople. In The Life of Captain John Smith, W. Gilmore Simms recalls some of the salient points of that story:

The personal appearance of Smith was in his favor; and his address soon awakened in the fair Charatza a degree of interest which was not allowed to escape his notice. To what extent he availed himself of the discovery, his own modesty forbids us to know. That he won her affection was unquestionable. (74)

Clearly, in his early seventeenth-century accounts of his travels, Smith was already establishing an ideological pattern, or perhaps invoking a pattern that already existed. The
admiration of the colonial woman for the colonizer can therefore be classified as part of the subjugating efforts of the colonizer, and that subjugation often leads to the feminization of the colonized land itself. In other words, both the colonized woman and the land where she lives are turned into female figures whose bodies the male colonizer can access at anytime, without any remorse. The illustration of the “feminization” of the colonial land appears in the “virgin land” image which the English settlers associate with the New World, and also in the name of that new land. In Colonial Encounters, Peter Hulme writes that America is simply the feminized version of the name of the first person who attempted to give a name to the area, a European man named Amerigo Vespucci (8-9).

The feminization of Africa is also one of the main features of Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness. It presents Africa as a land of savages, as a land full of untapped resources, and also as a virgin land which has to be possessed by the Westerner for it to be useful. Conrad portrays Africa as a female who is engaged in an intercourse with the Western colonizers: “The reaches opened before us and closed behind, as if the forest had stepped leisurely across the water to bar the way for our return. We penetrated deeper and deeper into the heat of darkness. It was very quiet.” (Heart of Darkness, 51-62).

Aphra Behn’s Oroonoko or The Royal Slave (1688) also reinforces the stereotypes which Modern Europe associated with Africa and Africans. The work posess the following features among others as characteristics of Africans: an ugly nose, a large mouth with brown and rusty complexion which makes the black race a gloomy one. Aphra Behn writes that Oroonoko was like a miraculous being because he did not have any of those black features except his skin color. Oroonoko was therefore an exception
because he was black, but had all the features that made a man handsome, features associated with white men: "The whole Proportion and Air of his Face was so noble, and form'd, that, being his Colour, there cou'd be nothing in Nature more beautiful, agreeable and handsome" (44). Western modernity also assumes that knowledge comes from Europe only and as a consequence, Africans do not possess the slightest intelligence. Here Oromono the royal slave is also an exception; he is an admirer of the Romans and has heard of the civil wars in England. The author writes that Oromono’s intelligence can only be possessed by someone who has been educated in European courts.

On the other hand, European Modernity also associates female beauty with the European or the Caucasian woman, which in other words implies that the African woman is the embodiment of ugliness, and if an African woman in such a context happened to be beautiful, she was automatically baptized with a Western appellation. The general’s daughter in Oromono is so pretty that she is referred to as the “Black Venus” of her handsome black lover who is also called “Mars”.

The “Hottentot Venus” scandal provides a strong illustration of the exploitation of the black female body by Modern Europe. In 1810, a twenty year old South African slave woman named Saartje Baartman was taken by an English ship surgeon from Cape Town in South Africa to London and then to Paris to be displayed naked in the streets and the circuses to European audiences. She was nicknamed "The Hottentot Venus" because of her oversized private parts. Her body was dissected and exhibited at the Musée de l’Homme after her death and used as the proof of the African woman’s primitive sexual
appetite. In "Displaying Sara Baartman, the 'Hottentot Venus'", Sadia Qureshi writes that she arrived on England's shores within this traffic of animals, plants and people destined for display as objects representing colonial expansion and as means of economic gain; she served as both an imperial success and a prized specimen of the 'Hottentot'. (History of Science vol. 42: 235).

Western Europe's representations and treatments of Africa were therefore designed with only one purpose in mind: to justify the enslavement and subjugation of Africa and Africans, and that explains the fact that one of the racist stereotypes on Africa emerged during the Berlin conference in 1884, when all available reasons had to be used to explain the inferiority of the Africans, an argument which in its turn was used to justify the need for Europe to take over the continent and "civilize" it. Europe developed an important interest in Africa because European countries needed raw materials and new markets for their industrial production. As Marx and Engels write in The German Ideology, the class which has the means of material production at its disposal also has control over the means of mental production so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it, this helps to account for the predominance of negative stereotypes associated with Africa in Western modernity's writings.

In agreement with Thomas Richard's description of advertising in The Commodity Culture of Victorian England (1990) as "the capitalist form of representation" or as the "culture of capitalism" (Ramamurthy 11), some European experts in imperial expansion like Henry Morton Stanley pointed out clearly that the empire could only be won through
the expansion of commodity culture (Ramanurthy 45). In other words, advertising is presented as the cultural representation of imperialism. Once the link between advertising and imperialism has been established, we can therefore understand why Africans and Asians became associated with derogatory stereotypes in the commercial advertisements of 19th century Europe: the stereotypical representations of those populations were the core belief of European imperialism, and the most adequate communication tool that imperialism possesses is advertising. Black men were therefore represented as children in order to show that they never attain maturity and are incapable of independent decisions and enterprises like managing one’s life or ruling one’s country. Black men were therefore said to deserve only to live under Western rule. Anandi Ramanurthy’s Imperial Persuaders examines some of the African stereotypes in the European commercial advertisements. Some of the salient features of the representation of the African woman are that she is an exotic sexual creature, or a shabbily dressed servant who raises no sexual desire. She is portrayed as the opposite of the Western white woman who possesses the opposite of all the traits of the black woman whose job is to serve the white woman. 

Here is a close examination of an advertisement from 1903 of Plantol Soap, a product of Lever Brothers. The advertisement defines or represents the black woman against the refinement of qualities of the white woman. Visually, the advertisement poses the black woman in the position of a servant offering the commodity to the viewer. Her beauty and sexuality are also mocked with her hair disheveled and her clothes falling off her shoulders, not to suggest her body as one to evoke desire but rather to suggest her savagery. The
bathing. Although she also offers the soap up for the viewers to use, it is positioned to suggest her own consumption too. Her stereotypical image signifying purity, femininity and availability is a format mocked in the image of the black woman, not to question the codes with which women are represented but in order to degrade the black woman. (Imperial Persuaders 54)

Conrad’s Heart of Darkness also exposes salient representations of the African woman as the anti-thesis of the Western woman. All feminine, human, admirable and attractive traits are attributed to the European woman, and the African woman is stripped of all the qualities embodied by her European counterpart. In Heart of Darkness, Kurtz’s African mistress is simply portrayed as a sexual or sexualized ghost, “a wild and gorgeous apparition of a woman” (Heart of Darkness 99) whose exotic nature appears through the numerous necklaces, beads and charms that adorn her body and the main contrast between this anonymous woman and Kurtz’s European “intended” lies in the fact that the latter has a voice, which enables her to communicate with Marlow and inquire about the last moments of her fiancé in the Congo. The dominating impression here is that Kurtz’s black goddess, who is completely passive, unknown and never utters a word, is nonetheless more desirable sexually than his European “intended”, who looks more like a fading old girl:

She came forward, all in black, with a pale head, floating towards me in the dusk.

She was mourning. It was more than a year since his death, more than a year since the news came; she seemed as though she would remember and mourn for ever.

She took both my hands in hers and murmured, “I had heard you were coming.”
noticed she was not very young- I mean not girlish. She had a mature capacity for fidelity, for belief, for suffering. (118-19)

Although representations of Africa are my main concern in this study I would like to point out that I am aware of the fact that Asians were also victims of Western Modernity's construction of the "other", or the non-Westerners or Orientals, the category in which Africans and Asians were classified. Daniel Defoe's *Roxana: The Fortunate Mistress* (1724) shows the reduction of Asian women (represented in the book by a Turkish slave) to exotic sexual people, and the imperialistic intentions of Modern Europe are revealed in the *Roxana*. Defoe's protagonist Roxana, a European prostitute becomes very famous by buying and wearing the clothes which belonged to Turkish girls who have been forced into slavery. Roxana recounts her acquisition of these quasi-magical garments:

> The *Malthese* man of war had, it seems, taken a *Turkish* Vessel going from Constantinople to Alexandria, in which were some Ladies bound for Grand Cairo in Egypt; and as the ladies were made Slaves, so their fine Cloaths were thus exposed; and with this Turkish Slave, I bought the rich Cloaths too: The Dress was extraordinary fine indeed, I had bought it as a Curiosity, having never seen the like. (*Roxana*, 173-74)

By wearing the cloths of the enslaved Turkish women and performing Turkish dances, Roxana the Western woman will always be chosen as the most beautiful of all the women dancers. This shows both the exotic and the erotic values that European Modernity associates with Asian culture and the Asian woman; the same associations are also projected onto the African woman. This phenomenon, seen in an early Modern text like
John Smith's or Defoe's, persists through the era of high modernity (as in Conrad's text) and into postmodernity. Although it is set in a postmodern context, Jean-Jacques Beineix's *Diva* (1981) contains the sexualization or eroticization of the black woman and the Asian woman by Western societies. The movie presents a black woman, Cynthia and an Asian woman, Alba, who are the center of all the love and attention of two French white men: Jules and Gorodish.

*Heart of Darkness* combines all the stereotypes related to African men, African women, and the continent itself. First of all, only insane Westerners venture on the continent as the old doctor implies by measuring Marlow's head:

The old doctor felt my pulse, evidently thinking of something else the while.

Good, good for there, 'twas mumble, and then with a certain eagerness asked me whether I would let him measure my head. Rather surprised, I said Yes, when he produced a thing like clippers and got the dimensions back and front and every way, taking notes carefully. (27)

Marlow's old doctor measures the crania of those who go to Africa, before they leave for the "heart of darkness" and when they come back if they have the chance to survive the adventure, in the interest of science, and that exposes clearly the status of Africa as a dangerous and quasi-infectious area where abnormal beings live, and where the normal ones catch the disease of the inferior beings when they go to Africa. Further in the *Heart of Darkness* the reader discovers the lugubrious gloomy atmosphere around Africa. The continent is simply the antithesis of the liveliness and brightness which characterizes the West:
There it is before you—smiling, frowning, inviting, grand, mean, insipid, or savage, and always mute with an air of whispering. Come and find out. This one was almost featureless, as if still in the making, with an aspect of monotonous grimness. The edge of the colossal jungle, so dark-green as to be almost black, fringed with white surf, ran straight, like a ruled line, far, far away along a blue sea whose glitter was blunted by a creeping mist. (29)

The stereotypical representations of Africa, Africans and Europeans in Western Modernity led to the creation of other important stereotypes: the white woman being the embodiment of beauty, desire, preciousness and purity, there had to be an opposite to those values which were dear to the West and a feeling of insecurity and danger had to be created around the traits of the Western woman in order to justify her qualities, and the black man was the exact character that could play that role. Previously portrayed as a docile and innocent child, the black man is finally stereotyped in modern writings as the dangerous one who was always longing for the virginity of the white woman. The black man therefore becomes a phallic symbol as Frantz Fanon writes in Black Skin White Masks.

Several movies have captured that transformation of the black man into a constant danger for Western civilization in general and the white woman in particular. Spike Lee’s Jungle Fever (1991) and Marlon Riggs’s Ethnic Notions (1986) engage the complexities associated with the relationships between the black man and the white woman. The first movie dwells on the taboo around a biracial relationship, between a successful black married architect, Flipper and his Italian secretary Angie. The second one traces the deeply rooted stereotypes which have fuelled anti-black prejudice in Jim Crow America.
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At any rate, she is the one who cannot control her desire. When she makes a pass, he accepts it immediately, and it allocates a special room to the representation of the black man as a potential rapist of the white woman. Claire Denis’s Chocolat (1988) deserves a special place in this research because it captures almost all the complexities around the relations between Africa and 19th century Europe, blacks and whites and tensions around sex and race. In the movie, a French young lady named France returns to Cameroon, the country where she lived as a child with her parents in the 1950s, when her father was a colonial administrator. Chocolat is the recollection or narration of France’s experience growing up in Cameroon and it emphasizes the sexual tension between Protée, the black male servant of the family, and Aimée, France’s mother. The attraction between them constitutes a real "push and pull" with a lot of attraction and suppression from both of them, since such a relationship would have been an abomination. The movie also illustrates the frustration of an African American, William J. Fark, who returns to Africa and finds it impossible to integrate because he is considered as an American. The stereotype of the black man as a boy is also one of the striking features of the movie; France the little girl is the only white person who interacts (beyond giving orders) with Protée the servant. "Claire Denis ponders the incongruity of that alliance:

I had the feeling that a boy, a guy who works for a French family in my memory would only have contact with the children. He was treated himself, being a man who is not called a man, but a boy - the only normal relationship is with the children. I thought of that as something important in that perverse relationship."

(Interview in The Guardian, June 206)

One of my main arguments in this dissertation is that the Caribbean Francophone novels that I am examining often conform to these stereotypical representations of Africa
There is a general consensus which is widely recognized phenomenon between continental Africans and Caribbeans. For instance, in his memoir "Le Prince Noir", Bugea Dogo describes how he, as a continental African, would never associate with Francophone Caribbeans when he was a student in Paris because, in his opinion, all Francophone Caribbeans were non-Europeanized.

D. Representations of Africa and Africans in Francophone Caribbean Writings

This therefore circles or confirms the argument that, much earlier, that colonial encounters between modern Europe and its territorial possessions in Africa, the Americas, and Asia were founded on the conviction of the colonizers and their inhabitants. The colonial peoples' reaction to that colonization and subjugation is what generated some works like "Hermaphrodite" and "Negro Murmur. Some protest writings, which strengthen and unite the experience of the colonized and displaced people on both sides of the Atlantic, as Paul Gilroy recommends in "The Black Atlantic." In the next section, I demonstrate that except for "Hermaphrodite" and "Negro Murmur," most of the Caribbean Francophone works view Africa through the lenses of Eurocentric Europe, and that causes a general mismatch between Africans and Francophone Caribbeans.

I think you can find a lot of quotes that would expand on this and provide more context.
Another example of that mistrust appears in Michel Hauser and Martine Mathieu (1998) where the antipathy which exists between continental Africans and West Indians in black Paris is blatantly exposed:

Les nègres de Paris ne s'entendent pas entre eux, singulièrement Africains et Antillais. Des uns aux autres non pas sans doute agressivité, mais méfiance ou mépris. Les Antillais, chez qui le préjugé de couleur est de tradition, sont d'autant plus enclins à prendre les Africains pour des "sauvages" qu'ils risquent, en France, d'être confondus avec eux. (34)

The Negroes in Paris do not get along well, especially the Africans and the West Indians, and that is due to aggressivity and also lack of trust. The West Indians whose traditions grant importance to the skin color are more likely to consider Africans as savages and therefore the West Indians do not want to be mistaken as Africans.

In "Returning to the Caribbean by Way of Africa," Alan Cobley also addresses that mistrust between continental African Francophones and the Caribbean Francophones by examining some of its main manifestations or consequences: the underdevelopment of African Studies in the Francophone Caribbean, the fact that no African history courses
are taught at the Université des Antilles et de la Guyane in Martinique, and the predominance of French cultural discourses reinforced by the 'départements d'outre mer' status of the French Caribbean territories.

The roots of this mistrust can be found in the French colonist policy which was the medium through which Eurocentricism found its way into the writings of the Caribbean Francophone authors. In *Black Skin White Masks*, Fanon shows that the French colonial policy in the Antilles made the Antilleans believe that they were superior to the black Africans who were simply considered as barbaric beings living in the African jungle. Fanon shows that Antillean children were taught to be afraid of the black Africans who were the last of beings, while they as Antilleans were descendents of Gauls and therefore could identify with the civilized Europeans:

The black schoolboy in the Antilles, who in his lessons is forever talking about "our ancestors the Gauls," identifies himself with the explorer, the bringer of civilization, the white man who carries truth to the savage, in all white truth. There is identification, that is, the young Negro subjectively adopts a white man's attitude. He invests the hero, who is white, with all his own aggression at that age closely linked to sacrificial dedication permeated with sadism. (147)

In his examination of the identity crisis of the Antillean or Francophone Caribbean, Fanon uses the example of the different reactions which the Antillean will have to a projection of Tarzan in a movie theater in the Antilles and in France. He shows that the Antillean who watches a movie on Tarzan projected in the Antilles will identity with Tarzan and laugh at the natives whom he identifies with Africans. Meanwhile, the same movie projected in France, with an Antillean in the audience will make the French...
public identity the Antillean with the African natives: "In the Antilles, the young negro identifies himself de facto with Tarzan against the Negroes. This is much more difficult for him in a European theater, for the rest of the audience, which is white, automatically identifies him with the savages on the screen" (152-53). Although the last part of the quotation raises the issue of the disillusion of the Antillean once he gets to France (an issue that I will develop further), the first part of the quotation nonetheless shows how the Antilleans or Francophone Caribbeans identify with French culture and by doing that, they distance themselves from Africa which to them is the land of savages.

Fanon captures the seriousness of the alienation of the Antillean by analyzing the role of the colonial education system in that task of alienation. In *Black Skin White Mask*, Antillean black children refer to themselves and their environment using qualifiers that could only apply to white French people and the French country side. The children express their love for holidays in these terms: "I like vacation because then I can run through the fields, breathe fresh air, and come home with rosy cheeks" (162). In *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1965), Albert Memmi's analysis of the situation of Tunisian children under French colonization tallies perfectly with the situation of the Antilltan children who are convinced that everything took place outside their country, or that everything worthy of respect took place in the country of the colonizer only. In other words, the colonized school children, regardless of their country, define themselves with reference to what or who they are not:

However, the great majority of colonized children are in the streets. And he who has the wonderful good luck to be accepted in a school will not be saved nationally. The memory which is assigned him is certainly not that of his people.
The history which is taught him is not his own. He knows who Colbert or Cromwell was, but he learns nothing from Khaznadar. He knows about Joan of Arc, but not about El Kahena. Everything seems to have taken place out of his country. He and his land are nonentities or exist only with reference to the Gauls, the Franks, or the Marne. In other words, with reference to what he is not. (105)

In _Identité Antillaise_ (1979), Julie Lirus refers to the alienation at the core of the French colonial education system in the Caribbean as “la pédagogie stérilisée de la péninsule coloniale” (24). The Western modern world view is therefore inculcated in the Antillean at an early age and as a consequence, the Antilleans, both males and females, grow up assimilating with white French culture. As a result, the Francophone Caribbean portrays Africa with the features that Western Modernity associated with Africa: savages and backward people who needed the benevolence of Europe to enlighten them into “civilized ways,” as the imperialist representations of Africa, the Americas and Asia that I have mentioned at the beginning of this chapter show it. Those representations account for the primitive, wild, resourceful or barbaric representations of Africa which are recurrent in some of the Francophone Caribbean novels that I am examining.

_Africa as a Primitive and Distant Ancestral Land: The Consequences of Eurocentricism and the Créolité Movement._

The representation of Africa as a primitive land in the works of the Caribbean Francophone writers is the consequence of the education system that the French brought to their Caribbean territories and it also the result of the fact that the French colonial
administration needed some colonial administrators whom the métropole could not provide. That led the French government to use the service of the Francophone Caribbean overseas for the administration of the colonial territories. As a result, the Francophone Caribbeans found themselves ruling over African populations, on behalf of the French colonial master. In René Marrua’s *Un homme pareil aux autres*, Jean Veneuse, a Martinican, is urged to reach his administrative post in colonial Africa as soon as possible, because there is a lack of administrators, and he portrays the ship on which he travels to Africa as a “un cercueil”/a coffin (16) and its destination is “un sale pays où l’on s’ennuie a mort”/a dirty country where one gets bored to death (33), and the contrast that the book poses between life in Africa and life in Europe is as Eurocentric as Conrad’s representation of Africa in *Heart of Darkness*. *Un homme pareil aux autres* associates Europe with books, sport, and healthy life, and associates Africa with fierce animals and coconut trees: “les livres et le sport --escrime et rugby-- parmi les cockières, le sable, les bêtes féroces, les chameaux, les fonctionnaires coloniaux et un tas de bestiaux de même farine”/books and sport-escrime and rugby,—among coconut trees, the sand, wild animals, camels, colonial civil servants, and a whole bunch of beasts of the same kind (32).

The European education and the elevation of the Francophone Caribbean to the level of colonial administrator contributed to the negative representations of Africa in the works of Caribbean Francophone writers, and it also contributed to create the mistrust between Africans and the Caribbeans. The Africans saw in the Caribbean an ally to the French colonizer.
The other factor which contributes to the Antillean or Francophone Caribbeans adopting a Eurocentric attitude toward Africa is the result of the rude awakening that the Antilleans who had always been associated with French culture receive once they get to France. Frantz Fanon points out that the only situation which makes the Antilleans realize that they are not white French is when they find themselves among white French people in the metropole:

But if he goes to Europe, he will have to re-appraise his lot. For the Negro in France, which is his country, will feel different from other people. One can hear the glib remark: The Negro makes himself inferior. But the truth is that he is made inferior. The young Antillean called upon constantly to live with white compatriots. Now, the Antillean family has for all practical purposes no connection with the national—that is, the French or European structure. (149)

The only alternative therefore available to the Antillean in this situation is to aspire to the values of the “Other” who is the white French. That tendency in itself explains the attraction of the black Francophone Caribbean to the French white woman, and it also explains the attraction of the Antillean woman to white males or lighter-skinned males. Fanon renders that phenomenon in these terms: “the animus of the Antillean Negro is almost always a white woman. In the same way, the animus of the Antillean is always a white man” (191), and the biracial relationship between the Francophone Caribbean and the white French which is one of the recurrent themes in the Francophone Caribbean novel falls within the stereotypes which Western Modernity associated with Africa.

Those relationships constitute an important pattern in the identity crisis of the Antillean because some Antillean men rely on it as a cure to their alienation as I demonstrate
Further in this chapter, I will show that those relationships constitute a romantic disalienation.

In Identité Antillaise, Julie Lirus analyses the Francophone Caribbean’s identity crisis by conducting a clinical study among some Antillean students living in Paris. Her study contributes in a significant way to the clarification and understanding of the distance and hostility which exists between continental Africans and Antilleans or Francophone Caribbeans. Some of the conclusions that Julie Lirus arrived at were the aggressivity with which Caribbeans were trying to escape “blackness” in general and Africa in particular. She points out that in his effort to run a way from “blackness”, the Antillean man develops a “negrophobia”:

En associant tout ce qui est pouvoir, richesse, puissance, à ce qui est blanc (échelle de valeur imposée), elle l’a rendu “nérophobe, à force de lui montrer qu’il est important socialement d’être blanc, elle lui a appris à avoir en horreur son épiderme foncé et à apprécier un individu en fonction de sa paie épidermique. (31)

By associating everything that is power and wealth to whiteness (the yard stick requires it), he (the Antillean) developed “negrophobia”. He has been taught over and over again that it is socially important to be white and that led the Antillean to see horror in his dark skin, and to judge individuals, based on the lightness of their skin.

In Identité Antillaise, the distance between the African and the Antillean is illustrated by the use of the term “étranger” that the Antilleans use to refer to the Africans: “Qualitativement, les Antillais étudiants rejettent aussi l’Africain, surtout les
Ce rejet est illustré par l’usage du mot étranger”/ “Qualitatively, the Antillean students, especially the women also reject Africa. That rejection is illustrated by the use of the word foreigner” (95). The author recalls a conversation with two students who categorically reject all connections with Africa: “Nous sommes différents en tout, c’est pour moi un étranger avec lequel je ne cherche même pas à voir ce qui nous rapproche” dit l’un des deux. / we are different at all levels, I see them as foreigners with whom I do not try to see what we have in common (95). Negrophobia leads the Francophone Caribbean to reject himself in self-denial and his compatriots. Those with pronounced black features are called “nèg kongo” (Identité Antillaise 24) which means someone who is a complete black without a drop of white blood, and that term also refers to African slaves whom they consider as the image of the servitude they were subjected to. Furthermore, Julie Linus provides the following statistics which point out clearly the distance between Africans and Antilleans: 86% of the respondents openly state that they do not have any connection with Africa, 66% of them state that there is a cultural difference between the Antillean and the African, 13% of them stress the difference that exists between the personality of the African and that of the Antillean, and 10% of the respondents (all women) state that they cannot get along with African men because they are too possessive and too authoritarian (Identité Antillaise 94).

One of the main conclusions of her research is that Caribbean Francophone men and women distance themselves from Africans and that the percentage of that rejection is higher among women. The fact that women distance themselves from Africa more than men does not go against the point I raised earlier when I said that Caribbean women are more involved in the quest for Africa. The novels under study show that all the women
who go to Africa in search for their roots and psychological balance have lived in France
where they did not feel that they belong. Veronica had a love relationship with Jean
Michel, a French man: "At least I made love. Every night. Jean-Michel was a bit anxious
at first. He had heard so much about our sexual appetites. He was reassured. I was
satisfied" (Heremakikonon 21). When that love affair ended, she decided to move to
Africa and find a healing or cure to her alienation. Veronica’s alienation transpires in the
way in which she perceives herself, and refers to her family. Eurocentrism had such an
influence on her that subconsciously, Veronica sees her relations with her sisters as the
kind of relations which Cinderella had with her sisters. She could not think of any better
comparison to render her family relations than Cinderella’s symbolism, one of the classic
features of family tensions between girls in the Western world: “As I’ve said, I and my
sisters were like Cinderella and her sisters. We never liked each other” (Heremakkonon,
75). The self-hatred which is deeply rooted in Veronica emerges clearly when she recalls
that the French education system made her recite that she was from a race of brutes
whose nose had to be permanently kept on the grinding mill: "Quant neg pas ka travail, I
ka fe quimbois. When the nigger doesn’t work, he casts spells” (77). I examine those
Eurocentric traces that slip in Heremakkonon in more detail in chapter three. They do not
alter in any way the Prometheus quality that the novel possesses, as one of the few works
concerned with the expression of a Caribbean Francophone and also pan-African identity.
Veronica acts like Prometheus—who stole fire from Zeus in Greek mythology and gave
it to mortals—because she is very bold and courageous and travels all the way to Africa
with the intention of finding the remedy to the alienation of the Caribbean Francophone
woman. Her promethean side stands out clearly in the sense that she is the first to attempt
such a mission, and the result of her search can be viewed as a praise-worthy achievement since it contributes to neutralize or eliminate the illusions that Caribbean Francophone women had developed around Africa.

In "Developing Diaspora Literature," Vévé A. Clark analyses the relationship between the Caribbean girl and the French white male as an almost inevitable stage before she realizes that she is confused and begins her quest for self-discovery. The fact that most of the Caribbean women in Julie Liras's study distanced themselves from Africans can therefore be interpreted as the stage where the Francophone Caribbean is still alienated and longs for relations with whites. Vévé A. Clark ponders the sentimental itinerary of the Antillean girl:

The theme of a black Antillean who confirms identity by loving a non-black pervades the writing by Antillean women and some men. The first love may well be a mulatto from the islands with whom marriage is taboo or risky given the norms of the society's class and color barriers. In a second stage of development on this theme, the heroine flies to Paris transferring to a Frenchman her previous attractions. (Out of the Kumbla 394)

Negrophobia, which is the product of Western Modernity's portrayal of the African as a savage, is also what explains the Francophone Caribbean man's love relation with the French white woman. In his autobiographical novel Un homme pareil aux autres, René Maran (Jean Veneusc in the novel) who was born in the Antilles and grew up in Bordeaux confesses that he is attracted to French white women, to such an extent that all the white women whom he sees on the boat "l'Europe" which takes him to his new post in the colonies in Africa, confuse him and remind him of the French girl whom
he loves, Andréé Marielle. His attraction to the girl is based on her Caucasian French features. She is the daughter of the French poet Louis Marielle and she epitomizes French white beauty. Jean Veneuse loses his breath when he describes her to his friends: “Si Andréé Marielle est jolie? Mon Dieu, oui. Plutôt jolie. Cheveux acajou sombre coupés à la Nimon. De beaux yeux bleus, une petite bouche aux lèvres rouges comme une blessure fraîche” /whether Andréé Marielle is pretty? My God, yes, she is rather pretty. She has dark nicely cut hair, pretty blue eyes, and a little mouth with red lips that look like a fresh wound (37). He later reflects on his relationship with Andréé Marielle, and his decision to get married to her. Jean Veneuse is not convinced that his decision is based on love. He rather believes or suspects himself to be getting married to Andréé Marielle out of “proud revenge” for the treatment which has been / and is still being misted out to his race. He also wonders if he is not one of those who try to run away from their race by marrying European women:

Alors je me demande s’il n’en est pas de moi comme de tous, et si, en me mariant avec vous, qui êtes une Européenne, je n’aurais pas l’air de proclamer que non seulement je dédaigne les femmes de ma race, mais encore qu’attiré par le desir de la chaire Blanche qui nous est défendue, à nous autres nègres,depuis que les hommes blancs règnent sur le monde, je m’éforce obscurement de me venger sur une Européenne de tout ce que ses ancêtres ont fait subir aux miens au long des siècles. (185)

And so I wonder whether in my case there is any difference from theirs, whether, by marrying you, who are European, I may not appear to be making a show of contempt for the women of my own race, and above all to be drawn en by desire
Although few, Venessa ultimately gets married to Austin Marshall, he is almost convinced that their relationship and marriage is more example of a Black Caribbean man trying to solve his identity crisis (Okai) and is also linked to his anger and frustration at being unjustly treated by white society by securing himself the relationship and marriage with a white woman. In that respect, let's assume several reasons confirm my thesis of the Caribbean Francophone's romantic disaffiliation, with the Caribbean man looking for "diasporisation" in the continental African black man.

Like Fanon's view, the Creole and Antillan movements also contributed to the development of resistance to the colonialism and slavery systems. The Creole movement was initiated by Edward Grassm in The Caribbean Discourse and was pioneered by the Tchami, Timothee, and Jean Baptiste in Eddy de la Creole. Grassm's The Caribbean Discourse sees the term "Antillan" as the development of the distance between continental Africans and Antillans. The Caribbean and the Antilles, considered by Michael Lydon (1995) as the main art of the Caribbean, the former geographically a larger area of the world, is not the same as the latter, which is the area of French Antilles and the Caribbean sea. From this perspective, the Caribbean and the Antilles are two different components in the history and culture of the Francophone Caribbean. Edward Grassm's Antillan colonization is seen as a way to re-establish, although flawed, the importance of the Antillan culture in the French Caribbean.

In conclusion, the Caribbean and Antillan movements have contributed to the development of the distance between continental Africans and Antillans. The Caribbean and Antilles, considered by Michael Lydon (1995) as the main art of the Caribbean, the former geographically a larger area of the world, is not the same as the latter, which is the area of French Antilles and the Caribbean sea. From this perspective, the Caribbean and the Antilles are two different components in the history and culture of the Francophone Caribbean. Edward Grassm's Antillan colonization is seen as a way to re-establish, although flawed, the importance of the Antillan culture in the French Caribbean.
tended to focus on the postcolonial and indigenous dimensions of créolité rather than the anti-African implications. As Beverly Ormerod put it, the Créolité writers see in pan-Africanism: "an African illusion that encouraged, no less than did French colonialism, the West Indian's mistaken tendency to seek his identity outside his island and through a foreign culture" (Moss Pluribus). The naïveté of scholars like Molefi Kete Asante and Veronica in Heremakhonon is the result of their refusal to acknowledge the anti-African conception which resides at the core of certain movements like antillanité créolité (although they are black movements).

Edouard Glissant's opposition to the idea of the ancestral Africa begins with his lack of trust in the négritude movement, which he despises, as Dash points out in his work Edouard Glissant. Dash writes that Glissant was very skeptical when it comes to the anti-colonial struggle, négritude, and "protest works" in general:

Glissant would avoid the protest poem, the 'poème de circonstance', the aesthetics of committed verse, for forms that undermine the dramatic monologue of free verse so characteristic of much négritude poetry. Instead, the poetics of 'durée' and 'accumulation' favors more indeterminate forms—in particular the prose poem which blurs the division not only between poetry and prose but also between the lyrical subject and the collective experience, between expression and investigative analysis. (Edouard Glissant, 37)

Glissant therefore seems to associate the lyrical, individualist emphasis with Africa, pan-Africanism and the "committed" verse.

On the literary scene the Créolite movement invites writers to use only Creole language in their works but due to the limited readership created by that situation, some
writers like Patrick Chamoiseau and Raphaël Confiant blend French and Creole in their writings. Many Caribbean Francophone writers headed the call of the Créolité movement and introduced the denial of African connections into their writing. Françoise Piaff (1993) exposes Maryse Condé’s description of Antillanité and Créolité as the two currents which pre-dominate in the Caribbean and Heremakhonon (2000) and presents Maryse Condé’s partial disillusion with pan-Africanism: the writer’s quest for her native roots led her to Guinea-Coskry where she is unfortunately considered as a “Westerner or white woman” (une blanche), but that novel nonetheless stands as one of the most distinctive writings in Caribbean Francophone Literature: It presents an existentialist quest for the expression of a specific and personal Caribbean identity, and breaks free from the Eurocentric representations of a savage Africa. Raphaël Confiant’s Nègre marron (2005) shares a lot similarities with Maryse Condé’s Heremakhonon because Nègre marron also departs from the huge Eurocentric influence that pervades most of the Caribbean Francophone writings, and presents a revolutionary character, the nègre marron who is bent of destroying the plantation system imposed by the white French wealthy land owners, the exploitation inherent to the neo-colonial French control over the Antilles and he preaches a return to Africa.

The conditions and requirements set by the Créolité movement for the Caribbean writers are faithfully met in some other writings of Maryse Condé and those of Patrick Chamoiseau where the thematic evolves around the history, the geography and daily socio-economic realities of the Caribbean populations. These authors appropriate “standard” French and make it convey the Creole voice. Maryse Condé’s Céline ou cou-coupé (2000) and Parick Chamoiseau’s Texoco (1997) contain thematic and linguistic
requirements of Créolité. Beside the historical and geographical reflections of Créolité, Célanire cou-coupe associates the Caribbean Negro with indeterminate and hybrid identities: they are blacks bearing French names and led Christian pagan lives. In this work, the author’s conversationalist and storytelling styles, neologism and borrowed words succeed in “writing Creole into French language.” Texaco on its side revisits some canons of Western political thought and skillfully relates those thoughts and ideologies to colonization through satire. Chamoiseau seems to write that what rather counts is the aftermath of colonization but not colonization itself. He seems to suggest that colonization deserves to be praised for allowing the displacement of populations which led to the germination of the Créolité grain.

René Depestre’s Bonjour et adieu à la négritude (1980) also brushes aside the connection between Africa and the Caribbean and like Edouard Giassant, Depestre begins by pointing out the irrelevance of the connection which the négritude movement draws between Africa and the Francophone diaspora. Depestre puts that point across in the following lines, although he extrapolates the debate to that of the national culture, and singles out the material concrete living conditions of each people, plus their specific historical development as the primordial factor:

_Il est évident que ce n’est pas le fait d’appartenir à une même “race” ni la couleur de la peau, la forme du nez ou l’épaisseur des lèvres, ni le déracinement brutal, la dispersion consécutive à la traite négrière qui déterminent le caractère national d’une culture, mais les conditions concrètes de vie, les conditions de développement historiques propres à chaque peuple._ (48)
It is obvious that it is neither the fact of belonging to the same "race" nor the color of one’s skin, the shape of one’s nose or the thickness of one’s lips, nor the brutal up-rootedness, the dispersion which followed the slave trade which determine the national character of a culture. It is rather the concrete living conditions, the conditions of the historical development which each people knew that is relevant.

One can therefore argue that René Dépestre supports the position of the Créolite writers against the treatment of Africa as the sanctuary represented by the ancestral land.

Dépestre argues that it is wrong to isolate Africa and present it as the unadulterated origin of the Francophone Caribbean because for him Africa is no more important than Europe and indigenous Indian culture in the constitution of the collective consciousness of the Caribbean people:

Ainsi, ce serait une grave erreur à propos d’Haïti (comme à propos des autres pays) de considérer séparément, isolément, la culture africaine, ou la culture française, ou encore la culture indienne. Et c’est une erreur bien plus grave encore que de parler de culture noire ou de culture blanche, ou d’autres catégories fantasmatiques, insaisissables, mystificatrices, qui apparaissent chez ceux qui, du fait de leur idéalisme philosophique ou de leur égoïsme de classe, séparent l’évolution des idées du développement économique et social propres à chaque people. (49)

Therefore it would be a big mistake in the case of Haiti (and also in the case of other countries) to consider in a separated and isolated manner African culture or French culture or indigenous Indian culture. And it is even a bigger mistake to
speak of black culture and white culture or other phantasmagorical, engravable and mystifying categories that appear among those who, due to their philosophical idealism or class-ego, separate the evolution of ideas from the economic and social development of each people.

Depestre in fact observes that the Martinican society simply denies all connections with African ancestors. He writes that the Martinicans see in Africa barbarism and shame, and several other cohorts of negative values and attributes, and such distance that the Martinicans erect between themselves and Africa, plus their perception of Africa as a land of barbarism is the result of Western Modernist subject formation. Fanon makes the same point in *Black Skin White Masks* when he shows that both the French and the Martinican frequently make such statements as 'he is black but he is very intelligent' (163), which mean that blackness and intelligence are naturally mutually exclusive. In the following lines, Depestre echoes Fanon's critic of the effects of Western Modernity's construction of blackness:

"La "réalité africaine" dans la société martiniquaise est surtout le dénigrement systématique de tout trait culturel, qui, dans sa manifestation, apellerait les origines africaines; l'Afrique, dans une telle société, est synonyme de barbarie, symbole du passé esclavagiste honteux; c'est aussi par l'intermédiaire de la représentation du Noir, l'image du vice, de la faiméantise, de l'ignorance, de la déchéance même. (141)

"African reality" in the Martinican society is above all the systematic denial of all cultural traits which, in their manifestations recall African origins. Africa in such a society is synonymous with barbarism, a symbol of shameful past slave trade; the
representation of the black also means vice, laziness, ignorance and decadence itself.

This perfectly illustrates Frantz Fanon's view in Black Skin White Masks when he writes that for the Antillean, the Negro lives in Africa. So Modern Europe and the Créolité and Antillanité movements contributed to establish a distance between Africa and the Caribbean, in writing. Modern Europe associated Africa with primitive values and inculcated that view into the mind of the Francophone Caribbean, and the Antillanité and Créolité partisans simply put, that Africa does not count so much in the culture of the Caribbean because although the slave trade uprooted Africans and transposed them onto the Caribbean, more cross-fertilization occurred in the Caribbean among the black slaves, Indians, and all the populations who found themselves in the Caribbean. Both Western Modernity and Créolité therefore argue that a lesser position should be granted to Africa in terms of importance.

The Eurocentric representation of Africa in the works of Caribbean Francophone writers is also the result of the "policy of selective memory" which the French used in the Caribbean. A careful reading of the works under study helps the reader realize that although Africa is represented as the ancestral land, there is an amnesia, or forgetfulness which is present and as a consequence, the Francophone Caribbeans remember the past through some lenses or filters which select or magnify certain aspects of the history of the Caribbean, and choose to silence other features of the same history.

Nick Nesbit's Voicing Memory: History and Subjectivity in French Caribbean Literature (2003) addresses the issue of memory which is preponderant in the works of Caribbean Francophone writers. The author examines the violence of the plantation
system and its linguistic consequences, the neocolonialism that characterizes the history of the Caribbean area, and the political and economic realities of the French DOMs (Department d’Outre Mer, or overseas French territories) which are the products of the French departmentalization law of 1946. The author’s analysis of the connection between the Caribbean and Africa is woven within the current global world economy. Nesbitt refers to David Harvey (Nesbitt 199) and Negri and Hardt (Nesbitt 189) in the examination of the Antillean “Ecological Project” (185). The examination of the globalization-side of pan-Africanism can also rely on the examination of certain movements like the “Sankofa Movement” which was initiated in Ghana around the 1990s and encourages Africans in the diaspora to return and reconnect with their roots, and also to invest economically in Africa. The Sankofa Movement accounts for the various business relations which now exist between Africa and the diaspora. Orla Ryan’s article “African Hearts Return to Start Firms” (2007) provides an example of such a cultural and economic reconnection. Saskia Sassen’s Globalization and its Discontents (1998) and Paul Tiyambe Zeleza’s The Study of Africa: Global and Transnational Engagements (Volume II) provide a reliable theoretical background for the analysis of the immigration of skilled African workers to the USA, an issue which will be the focus of the forth chapter of the dissertation. The socio-economic and cultural impact of that immigration will be examined within the context of pan-Africanism.

Françoise Lionnet (1989 and 1995) focuses on the “global mongrelization or métissage of cultural forms” (1995:7) and its consequence, which is creolization. She expatiates on the issue of memory and self-portraiture and the use of language (precisely the development of heteroglossia) in the hands of the Créolités writers Richard Watts’s
article "The Wounds of Locality" (2003) raises the contention which exists within the Créolité movement: Watts points out that some Créolite writers like Patrick Chamoiseau, Jean Bernabé, and Raphaël Confiant, are accused by other writers like Maryse Condé and Edouard Glissant of displaying an "atavistic attachment to pre-departmentalization Créole culture" (111). The main accusation against these authors is to ground their works solely in the Créole culture and the Créole geographical locality.

I intend to point out here that Eurocentrism had not always found its way, unopposed into the Caribbean Francophones’ representations of Africa. The main obstacle which had been opposed to Eurocentrism in the Antillean mentality was the influence and works of the Martinican poet Aimé Césaire. His effort did not yield much result in the sense that despite his collaboration with Senghor in the négritude movement, followed by the creation of his own "négritude césairienne," primitive representations of Africa are still a predominant feature of Antillean writings. Césaire’s writings aimed at teaching the Antilleans that they are as human as Europeans and that they should be proud of their race. He shows no shame for his race. "J’accepte sans réserve ma race! I totally accept my race" (Cohere 77), calls for a collective action of all blacks "la négrâile debout/ all Negroes should stick together" (87), upholds the mighty past of the blacks: "hieroglyphs faïdiques/ omnipresent hieroglyphs" (86), and recalls the Atlantic slave trade. "le fond de la caisse de négrier/the bottom of the slave ship" (62).

Césaire tried to undo the alienation which has been imposed onto the Antillean by turning all Africa-related qualifications and attributes which were associated with shame into words which call for pride: "mon pays est la lance de nuit de mes ancêtres bambara" "my country is the night spear of my Bambara ancestors (84). A Season in
A Season in Congo and A Tempest are therefore part of Aimé Césaire’s attempt to break the Eurocentric views and treatments of Africa which had always dominated writings about Africa, both from Europe and the Caribbean.
The other factor which contributed to liberate the Francophone Caribbean from the myth of the French colonial is the “occupation” of the Antilles by some French civilians and soldiers when the German troops invaded France during the Second World War. The French caused a lot of exactions on the Antilleans during that occupation and the Antilleans had the opportunity to experience what co-habitation with white French citizens means as Fanon explains in his article “Antillais et Africains” (Esprit 22, février 1955). All along, the Antilleans had been made to believe that they were equal to the whites and that they were not savages and that the savages were in Africa. The French living among the Antilleans showed them that they were not the same and that disillusion, coupled with Césaire’s conscience-awakening works led the Antilleans to take some interest in Africa, but that interest remains relatively small and insignificant, since it could not produce any counter-current to the primitive representations of a distant Africa in Caribbean writings. The occupation of France by the German forces also showed to the Antilleans that France was not the all-powerful and invincible country that they thought she was. In “Antillais et Africains”, Franz Fanon writes that the French defeat during the Second World War represented for the Antillean “le meurtre du père” the murder of the father. In “Antillais et Africains” Fanon explains that before 1945 the Antilleans used to believe that they are not “nègres” and the “nègre” live in Africa, and after 1945, the Antillean belief and attitude changed and they started claiming “je suis nègre: I am a Negro” (Antillais et Africains). The Antillean’s claim of “niggerness” after 1945 did not have any impact and it did not change the representation of Africa in Caribbean writing. The Antillean Jean Price-Mars also pays the same tribute to the connection between the Francophone Caribbean and Africa in So Spoke the Uncle.
In that work, the author castigates the “imbecility of French imitation” (xx), stresses the past grandeur of black Africa and traces the spiritual, religious and linguistic values of the Francophone Caribbean to Africa. That resurgence of interest in Africa accounts for the portrayal that one encounters once in a while of Africa as the ancestral laud with a rich past which itself is a source of pride for the Francophone Caribbean as *Heremakónou* and *Nègre marron* show it. It still has to be pointed out that those Afrocentric representations are really insignificant compared to the Eurocentricism-informed representations of Africa which are the predominant features of the majority of Caribbean Francophone novels that I considered in this study.

E. Representation of the Francophone Diaspora in Francophone African Writings

The aim of this section is to examine the representations of the French Caribbean and the Francophone diaspora, in the works of continental African, Francophone writers. The works that I focus on in this section are Birago Diop’s *La plume rabouée*, Léopold Sédar Senghor’s poem “Letter to a Poet /To Aimé Césaire” and Stanislas Spero K. A độtevi’s *Négritude et négoroogues*. The general picture which transpires from the representations of the Francophone Caribbeans by continental African Francophone writers is one of betrayal and also one of forced or fictitious connection. My main argument in this section is that the hostility or negative and primitive Eurocentric representations of Africa which were done by the Caribbean Francophones caused a backlash of negative representation of the Francophone Caribbean among continental Francophone Africans. The feature of betrayal emerges in the works of Senghor and Birago Diop who present Francophone Caribbeans as people who have rejected all
connections with Africa and side with the French colonizer. Considering the Francophone Caribbean as a betrayer therefore very often leads to a misunderstanding between the continental Francophone African and the Francophone Caribbean. The picture which emerges out of this tension is one of two distant people or two camps who do not get along well, despite the forced attempts to draw links or relations of descent between them.

The Caribbean Francophone as a Betrayer

In this section, I emphasize the representation of the Caribbean in the works of the Francophone African. I point out that the continental Francophone African reacts to the distance that the Caribbeans have erected between themselves and Africa, as a result of the Eurocentric influence on the Caribbean. The Francophone African sees in the Caribbean a betrayer who strips himself of "the African" in him and identifies himself with Europe. As a consequence the Francophone African often reminds the Caribbean of his connection with Africa as Senghor does in his poem "Aimé Césaire" or the Francophone African often simply remains apprehensive or hostile to the Antillean.

In his memoir La plume reboutée, Birago Diop recalls his reticence when Senghor invited him to lunch with a group of West Indian students in Paris. In the work, Birago Diop mentions the numerous times he had initially interacted with West Indians as classmates and also as his teachers and bosses in the colonial administration. He mentions the good relationships that he had with famous West Indian poets like Léon-Gontran Damas of whom Birago Diop remembers "la sollicitude, l’amitié sans faille, l’humour solide" (the solicitude, perfect friendship and solid humor) and the author also
mentions Césaire, Paulette and Jeanne Nardal. However, in *La plume raïoutée*, the author stresses the fundamental lack of trust which exists between the Senegalese and the West Indians (78). That lack of trust can be explained by the Eurocentric French education system which produced condescending representations of Africa and made available administrative positions to Antilleans in French territories. In *Black Skin White Masks*, Fanon shows that the Antillean distances himself so much from the continental African that the worst insult that one can address to an Antillean is to mistake him for an African, or a Senegalese, the generic term that Antilleans use for Africans: "I have known and I still know, Antilles Negroes who are annoyed when they are suspected of being Senegalese" (26).

In his attempt to convince Birago to change his mind concerning West Indians, Senghor unearths the deeply rooted hatred and accusation that the West Indians have harbored for centuries against continental Africans: "Devant ma réticence, Senghor m’avait catéchisé de sa voix deuse: "Voyez Birago, ils ont des raisons de nous en vouloir. Ce sont nos ailleurs qui ont vendu les leurs" (78) / In order to overcome my reticence, Senghor preached to me with his soft voice: "They are right to blame us, Birago. Our forefathers sold their forefathers." Michel Haussser and Martine Mathieu (1998) point out clearly the antipathy which exists between continental Africans and West Indians in black Paris:

Les nègres de Paris ne s’entendent pas entre eux, singulièremennt Africains et Antillais. Des uns aux autres non sans doute agressivité, mais méfiance ou mépris. Les Antillais, chez qui le préjugé de couleur est de tradition, sont
d’autant plus enclins à prendre les Africains pour des “sauvages” qu’ils risquent, en France, d’être confondus avec eux. (34)

The Negroes in Paris do not get along well, especially the Africans and the West Indians, and that is due to aggressivity and also lack of trust. The West Indians whose traditions grant importance to the skin color are more likely to consider Africans as savages and therefore the West Indians do not want to be mistaken as Africans.

The dissonance between continental Africans and the Francophone diaspora is also present in Senghor’s works. In his reflections on René Depestre’s attitude towards aesthetics in Présence Africaine (no 5, 1955-1956), Senghor accuses René Depestre for his inclination towards Western aesthetics and his refusal to use the available resources of “le réalisme negro-Africain”:

Depestre’s weakness to speak frankly is to have chosen as his point of departure realism invented by, and made for, the West. Does he have to be told that there is a Negro-African realism?...Does he have to be told that there is a Negro-African imagery, that is to say a style, and that the tradition to assimilate-à use an active verb— is not French? (Jack 1996:88)

In his misunderstanding with the diasporan Francophone writers, Senghor seems to anticipate Paul Gilroy’s concept of the Black Atlantic in his work The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness (1993), which essentially calls for the need to transcend both the structures of the modern nation states and the constraints of ethnicity and national particularity in order to acknowledge and engage the cultural and political experiences and exchanges which have been taking place between Africans and the
diaspora. Like Gilroy, Senghor stresses the need to recognize the common experience that the Caribbeans and the Africans have, and he accuses Aimé Césaire of ignoring that common experience and distancing himself from Africa. In his poem "Letter to a Poet/To Aimé Césaire," Senghor elucidates what he thinks needs to be added to Aimé Césaire's writings in order to make them more Africa-related. In "Letter to a Poet," Senghor uses the imagery of the Atlantic and the traffic that takes place on those waters to stress the bond that naturally exists between him and Césaire. The first part of the poem shows Senghor acknowledging Césaire's talents:

Black sea gulls like sea-faring boatmen have brought me a
Taste
Of your tidings mixed with spices and the noisy fragrance of
Southern Rivers
And Islands. They showed your influence, your distinguished
brow,
The flower of your delicate tips. ("Letter to a Poet/to Aimé Césaire", p.1)

The "business-like" tone of the poem is however set in the first verse where Senghor sends a "bluntly fraternal greeting to his friend Césaire". Senghor proceeds to accuse Césaire of forgetting his African roots.

Have you forgotten your nobility?
Your talent to praise the Ancestors, the Princes,
And the Gods, neither flower nor drops of dew? ("Letter to a Poet," p.1)

Senghor further points out clearly what he thinks should be Césaire's task, and he also recalls from his memory the royal treatment that he and Césaire used to enjoy in Africa:
You were to offer the Spirits the virgin fruits of your garden [...] 
At the bottom of the well of my œmory, I touch your face 
And draw water to refresh my long regret.
You recline royally, elbow on a cushion of clear hillside ("Letter to a Poet," p.1)
The poem ends with Césaire's return to the "rendez-vous" that Senghor invites him to, 
which is the type of writing that recalls, things, and celebrates Africa:
My friend, my friend: Oh, you Hill come back, come back!
I shall await you under the mahogany tree, the message
Already sent to the woodcutter's box. You will come back
For the feast of first fruits when the soft night
In the sloping sun rises steaming from the rooftops
And athletes, befitting your arrival,
Parade their youthfulness, adorned like the beloved. ("Letter to a Poet," pp.1-2)

The Forced Commonality

In Négritudes et négrôloques (1972), the Benin writer Stanislas Adotevi's argument provides a justification for the hostility which appears between continental
Francophone Africans and the Francophone diaspora. His position stands against "the
black Atlantic" which Senghor and Gilroy have tried to establish between Africa and her
Diaspora. In his work, Adotevi uses the 1969 pan-African congress of Alger to attack the
foundations of pan-Africanism and negritude. The author points out that continental
Africans and the black diaspora in America have nothing in common, accept the color of
their skin, and he adds that even among continental Africans it is impossible to talk of total "commonalities":

Qui y a-t-il de commun entre le nègre africain et le nègre américain sinon (et encore!) la couleur de la peau? Il y a sans doute ce fond commun de trois siècles de traite ou d’inconscient collectif. Mais à encore les variations historiques, géographiques et sociologiques leur ont donné des applications différentes. Même en Afrique les problèmes diffèrent pour peu que l’on passe du Dahomey à la Côte d’Ivoire, de la Côte d’Ivoire au Ghana. Et que dire de l’Afrique du Sud, de Kenya, du Rwanda? (45-46)

What do the American Negro and the African Negro have in common except the color of their skin? Of course there is a common bond of three centuries of slave trade or collective unconsciousness. But even at that level, the historical, geographical and sociological variations have generated different applications. Even in Africa, issues take a different form once one travels from Dahomey (current day Benin) to Ivory Coast, from Ivory Coast to Ghana. How much more when one reaches areas like South Africa, Kenya, and Rwanda?

Stassislas Adotéi therefore explains the lack of understanding which exists between continental Africans and the diaspora by the fact that race has never been an important issue to most continental Africans, except South Africans who have lived for years under the horrible racial segregation system of Apartheid: “La conscience de race si aigue chez le noir américain ou chez celui d’Afrique du Sud, victime de l’apartheid, lui est étrangère. La race et la couleur de peau étaient ses dernières préoccupations avant qu’on ne le contrainde à y penser”(48).
“The race consciousness which is so pronounced among black Americans or South Africans who have experienced Apartheid is foreign to him. Race and skin color were his last preoccupations before he was forced to think about them.”

In his view, negritude and pan-Africanism are therefore flawed because they strive to present an abstract commonality between blacks and by doing that, the proponents of pan-Africanism and negritude do not take into consideration the daily concrete historical, geographical and sociological realities of African and diasporan populations. The writer finds the following inadequacies in negritude and pan-Africanism:

La thèse fixiste qui la soutient est non seulement anti-scientifique mais procède de la fantaisie. Elle suppose une essence rigide du nègre que le temps n’atteint pas. À cette permanence s’ajoute une spécificité que ni les déterminations sociologiques, ni les variations historiques, ni les réalités géographiques ne confirment. Elle fait des nègres des êtres semblables partout dans le temps. (45)

The rigid thesis on which it lies is not only anti-scientific; it is also fantasy-related. It supposes a rigid essence of the Negro that time does not reach. To this permanence is added a specificity which neither sociological determinations and historical variations nor geographical realities confirm. It turns Negros into similar beings everywhere in time.

Stanislas Adotevi’s analysis explains the disappointment and failure of the Caribbean women who hoped to end their alienation by traveling to Africa. One of the reasons why
the “unbranded” African men could not be the panacea for their alienation is that the continental Africans do not know the experience of the Caribbean Francophone.

In this chapter, I showed that the Eurocentric construction or representation of Africa was propagated by the European commercial advertising. Most of those stereotypes evolved around the sexualized and beastlike image of the black men and the black women. I showed that the same stereotypes found their way into the Francophone Caribbean consciousness through the colonial French education system in the Antilles, and as a consequence, many Caribbean Francophone works portray Africa and Africans as savages. That leads to frustrations and hostilities between the Francophone diaspora and continental Africa, in writings. There are however some works which are burgeoning in Caribbean Francophone literature, trying to respond to the Eurocentric representation of Africa, and presenting a continent with a stable civilization, a continent which Caribbean Francophones return to in their existentialist quest for their identity. Maryse Condé’s Herero könnon and Raphael Confiant’s Nègre marron are two of such works.

Dissertation Structure

1. Overview of the Problem and Review of Literature

Chapter One of my dissertation presents an analysis of the history of pan-Africanism. It recalls and examines the historical pan-African conferences in general and the ones hosted by Ghana in particular since the Anglophone African writers whose works I focus on are Ghanaian. The chapter also contains the bibliographical review of the dissertation. The bibliographical review examines closely the Eurocentric
representations of Africa by Western Modernity and it poses that the distance between Francophone Caribbeans and continental Africans is the result of the heavy influence that Western Modernity’s Eurocentricism had on Caribbean Francophone writings.

II. The Anglophone Diaspora and Africa: Cross-representation

In this chapter I carry out a two-way representation: I examine the ways in which African American writers portray Africa and how African Americans relate to Africa and Africans in literary works; then I also examine the representations of the African American world in the works of continental African Anglophone writers. The primary works in this chapter are Lorraine Hansberry’s *A Raisin in the Sun*, Alice Walker’s *The Color Purple*, Ama Ata Aidoo’s *The Dilemma of a Ghost* and Kofi Awoonor’s *Comes the Voyager at Last*.

III. The Existentialist Struggle for the Expression of a Caribbean Francophone Identity: Maryse Condé’s *Heremakhonon* and Raphaël Confiant’s *Nègre marron*

This chapter examines the representations of Africa and Africans in two Francophone Caribbean works: Maryse Condé’s *Heremakhonon* and Raphaël Confiant’s *Nègre marron*. The chapter focuses on the distinctive existentialist quest for the emergence and expression of a non-alienated and unassimilated Caribbean identity in those two novels. The chapter also demonstrates that those novels stand out among other Francophone Caribbean works by attempting to undo the Eurocentric representations of Africa.

This chapter addresses the socio-economic and cultural impact of the immigration of skillful African workers to America. It also examines the cultural and economic impact of the voluntary repatriation of some diaspora Africans through certain enterprises like the Ghanaian Santofs Movement.

V. Pedagogical Implications

This chapter presents the pedagogical implications of my dissertation. It examines the students' reactions to the works under study in the dissertation. It also recommends ways in which the comparative approach (Francophone/Anglophone) can be introduced in Diaspora Studies for a wider and richer analysis of diaspora issues. It also stresses the need to teach Heremakhawon and Nègre marron, two novels that escape from the general Eurocentric influence which informs most of Caribbean Francophone writings.

End note: I use the term “Negro” in this research for necessary historical reference because some of the authors that I encountered use the term “Negro” in their works. I would like to point out that I am aware that the term “Negro” has been considered offensive in the U.S. since the 1960s.