ship merely to one of the descendants is, frankly, a form of intellectual cheating. I myself would argue, indeed, that the contemporary English-speaking West Indian societies can be far more meaningfully understood as offshoots of nineteenth century England rather than of nineteenth century Europe. Their common inherited pattern is that of English Victorian middle class society, not the salons of Jefferson’s Paris. A Trinidadian poet-writer, Derek Walcott, has noted this recently in a mordant comment upon his own society as it stands after a decade of rule by the new modernizing elite the Bell volume so ardently admires. “The anthropologists”, he writes, “like the gossip columns, assure us of assimilation, but most of our new solemnity is a subject for farce. We have included, in our imitations, such dated prejudices as anti-semitism. We confront each other with race-jokes to display our tolerance. The last excuse we offer, of course, is that there is no longer race prejudice, there is class prejudice. We imply by this that we are making progress, for if our concern is making money, then we have become crass and commercial, yes, but that makes us an urban and not a peasant culture. There is no wish to cure this, because we have also borrowed a terror of socialism. Or, to be fair, we would like everyone to share in our progress, but not yet, not until we have learned, properly, how to be snobs.”

It is possible that Professor Bell and his colleagues, being Americans, miss much of this because American society, although it has its own forms of snobbery, does not prepare one to perceive and understand the peculiar British forms that have become Creolized in their West Indian reincarnations. Even Mr. Vernon Arnett, the Jamaican parliamentary leader who writes a painfully abject introduction to the book, manages to see something of this when the suggests that the picture presented in the book might perhaps be over-optimistic. It is, indeed, dangerously over-optimistic. It manages, altogether, to suggest that the West Indies are on the verge of their 1787. To those who know the repressed violence of the West Indian class-color struggle, however, it seems more true to say that they are on the verge of their 1848.

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Nyerere’s most recent work is a welcome addition to the literature on African political thought. Since the decline of Nkrumah and the waning of Sekou-Toure’s influence on African intellectuals, the president of Tanzania has emerged as Africa’s most influential political thinker. Quiet and unobtrusive, sincere and modest, moderate and responsible, deep-searching and philosophical, gentle and sensitive, he has emerged today as Africa’s leading statesman. Freedom and Unity is a concise collection of the ideology and views expressed by Nyerere during the struggle for independence and during the critical post-independence period. The book is a reflection of his African environment, his Catholicism, his background in economics and history (attained at Makerere and Edinburgh) and the multi-racial basis of his society. It also demonstrates
the influence of Hobbes, Bentham, Mill, Rousseau, Marx and the utopian socialists in the shaping of his political thoughts. In addition, the book is a good index to the subjects which have most preoccupied him: 15 sections are on African unity; 13 on economic development and socialism; 12 on methods of gaining independence; 6 on education; 9 on national purpose and ethics; and 5 on the rule of law and on stability.

In his introductory essay, Nyerere notes that he published *Freedom and Unity* with the hope that it would contribute towards synthesizing the conflicting individual and societal needs of man, towards a new harmonious world society, and towards the development of equality and democracy. But while there is much here that marks Nyerere’s sense of universalism, the dominant theme is always Africa, its uniqueness and its need for unity.

The particularities of Africa are continuously stressed so that the reader will appreciate that African political, social and economic developments will have to proceed along lines quite different from those in Western and Eastern Europe. Nyerere sees democracy in Africa as best represented in a one party system that expresses the national will. To him the two party system found in Anglo-Saxon countries reinforces conflicting interests, a fact which he views as contravening the “general will.” The one party system is seen as consistent with the solidarity of indigenous African communal life where relationships are always highly personalized and decisions are always drawn on a consensual basis.

Just as African democracy must differ from European democracy so must African socialism follow a road different from that followed in Europe. The peculiar features of African communalism reject the dialectics of Marx’s “class struggle.” Further the absence of capitalism and the profit system, the rejection of individual land ownership, the security provided by tribal life, and the “fair share” principle are all elements of African culture, elements which stamp African socialism with a uniqueness. It is within this foundation of African communalism that Nyerere has sought to introduce the modern forms of co-operativism and self-help that have evolved in Tanzania since independence.

Nyerere gained world attention in 1958 when he rejected racism as an issue in the politics of independence. The pervading sense of egalitarianism that has marked his philosophy is also found in his views and politics towards South Africa, the United Nations, and the current problems of Africanization and political representation in Tanzania. There is no doubt that his attempts to implement his principles in the social, economic, and political spheres have won him the admiration of students of African affairs. It may also be suggested that it is precisely these principles which have persuaded Nyerere to resist embracing Leopold Senghor’s “negritude” and Nkrumah’s “African personality” as they are expressed in their extreme form. For Nyerere “African” applies equally to all who reside in Africa; black, white or brown.

One another phase of the book is of major interest – Nyerere’s fervent quest for the unity of Africa. It is a layer-cake pattern that he prescribes and has tried to establish: from the communal unity of the tribe to the unity of the nation-state (including both Tanganyika and Zanzibar), to the larger unity of African regional associations (more than anyone he has pushed the Federation of East Africa), to the unity of Africa and finally to the unity of a harmonious world society (to be strengthened, he believes, by increasing the authority of the