

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51749-2 - The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature: Volume I

Edited by Ato Quayson

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## 1

Introduction: postcolonial literature  
in a changing historical frame

ATO QUAYSON

When in 1961 Alan McLeod expressed his confidence that the new Commonwealth writing would be ‘the particular interest of English scholars in the next fifty years’, he was expressing a view shared by only a handful of people, among them Norman Jeffares at Leeds University and Bruce Sutherland at Pennsylvania State College (later University) where, with their respective colleagues, they set up the first courses in Commonwealth literature on either side of the Atlantic (Bahri and Raja, *The Cambridge History*). Even though McLeod’s sentiment has been more than confirmed in the decades since his introduction to *The Commonwealth Pen*, there is much that has changed in the field of the then Commonwealth literature, not least of which has been the shift of nomenclature from that to the now more widely used postcolonial literature.<sup>1</sup> Yet to view the undoubted ascendancy of postcolonial literature as merely the evolutionary consolidation of an ecumenical literary sensibility that dates from the era of the attainment of independence of formerly colonized countries is to ignore the fact that many of the tendencies and concerns central to the field today can be traced back to at least the mid nineteenth century, if not much earlier. With the consolidation of the field of postcolonial literary studies in the past forty years and its continuing interdisciplinary intersections with other interests, the need to establish the terms by which we might understand the sources of postcolonial literary history is more urgent now than ever before.

Thus we might note, for example, Hartley Dewart’s introduction to *Selections from Canadian Poets* in 1864 and George Stewart’s brief discussion in 1870 of Canadian literature in his *Literary Quarterly Magazine*.<sup>2</sup> Despite writing in the context of Canada, Dewart’s opening words to *Selections from Canadian Poets* had a peculiar resonance for many parts of the colonial world:

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51749-2 - The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature: Volume I

Edited by Ato Quayson

Excerpt

[More information](#)

ATO QUAYSON

Only the illiterate and unreflecting adopt the sentiment, that, because more books have been already produced than can possibly be read in the compass of the longest life, to increase the number of books or the quantity of literature, is undesirable and unnecessary. The literature of the world is the foot-prints of human progress, and unless all progress should cease, and mental paralysis arrest all human activity, these way-marks shall continue to be erected along the pathway of the vanishing years. Whatever is discovered as new in the records of creation, in the capacities and relations of things, in the history of the mind's operations, or in the forms of thought and imagery by which in its higher moods soul speaks to soul, will always demand some suitable embodiment in literature.<sup>3</sup>

Both Stewart and Dewart take account of the emergence on the literary scene for the first time of poems, stories and novels written and often published not in metropolitan England but in the colony itself. As various commentators posed questions about the literary value and national significance of such new forms of writing, the directions of later postcolonial enquiries began to take shape (Siemerling, *The Cambridge History*). And it was not only in Canada that such discussion took place. Srinivasa Iyengar introduced the term 'Indo-Anglian literature' to account for the literary texts on the subcontinent that drew upon the dual traditions of Britain and India, whose roots lay in colonial contact and cohabitation from the early eighteenth century, and that were in their turn to feed into postcolonial writing in India (Kabir, *The Cambridge History*).<sup>4</sup> By 1955 Aimé Césaire was to outline the earliest form of colonial discourse analysis in his monumental *Discours sur le colonialisme*. He was followed in rapid succession by Albert Memmi and Frantz Fanon in setting out a mode of analysis that was literary and poetic as well as refracting revolutionary, political and cultural ideals.<sup>5</sup> From the Caribbean we might also note the works of C. L. R. James, George Lamming and V. S. Naipaul, each of whom raised key questions about nation and narration, the struggle between universalism and localism in the literature of the newly independent nations, and the fraught intersections of the aesthetic, the ethical and the political dimensions of these new forms of writing.<sup>6</sup> With the exception of Fanon, these thinkers were also well-known writers and in their literary works explored the ideas they gave voice to in their more critical-theoretical offerings (Savory, Murdoch, *The Cambridge History*). Even with Fanon, it may be argued that he wrote in such a highly charged poeticized idiom that works such as *Black Skin, White Masks* should be productively read under the rubric of literature (Prabhu, *The Cambridge History*).<sup>7</sup> If we add to these early strands of debate the material provided for postcolonial literary studies in slave narratives, travel writing, auto/biographies, missionary journals, photography, in the long tradition of

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51749-2 - The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature: Volume I

Edited by Ato Quayson

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## Introduction: postcolonial literature in a changing historical frame

Asian and Black writing in Europe that dates from as early as the 1700s, and the resource matrices of orality and indigenous languages, we find that the field of Postcolonial Literature is fed by many discursive histories (Carpio, Griffiths, Holden, Mudimbe-Boyi, Esonwanne, Prasad, *The Cambridge History*).<sup>8</sup>

Postcolonial literature has also had a growing presence in the popular imagination outside the academy. Theatres on both sides of the Atlantic have seen musical renditions of Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (directed by Tim Supple, 2003) and Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (adapted by Biyi Bandele-Thomas, 1997). Rushdie's novel is being adapted for the big screen and will be directed by the renowned Indian filmmaker Deepa Mehta.<sup>9</sup> There has also been an international audience for the politically oriented plays of Ariel Dorfman and Athol Fugard since the 1970s; Anthony Minghella's Oscar-winning film of Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient* and various postcolonial interpretations of Shakespeare and of Greek tragedies place postcolonial literary ideas on popular screen and classical stage alike.<sup>10</sup> These, along with a string of Nobel, Man Booker, Commonwealth, Neustadt and Pulitzer prizes to writers as varied as Octavio Paz, Pablo Neruda, Gabriel García Márquez, Naguib Mahfouz, J.M. Coetzee, Arundhati Roy, Kamau Brathwaite, Keri Hulme, Peter Carey, Jhumpa Lahiri, Ben Okri, Nadine Gordimer, V.S. Naipaul, Kiran Desai, Wole Soyinka, Doris Lessing, Derek Walcott and others have ensured that what is normally studied under the institutional rubric of postcolonial literature has had a wide and growing readership well beyond the academy. Within the academy itself the study of postcolonial literature is marked by the publication of numerous monographs and books on the area, with publishers as diverse as Routledge, Blackwell, Rodopi and the university presses of SUNY, Minnesota, California, Manchester, Oxford, Duke, Indiana and Columbia producing a steady stream of postcolonial titles. The area is now part of the curriculum of all major universities not just in the UK, the US, Germany and France, but also growing in popularity in Italy, Spain and even in Japan and South Korea. In 2005 literary scholars from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Iceland formed a Nordic Network for Postcolonial Studies with generous government funding for conferences, seminars, and other forums of discussion. Apart from this there are now major scholarly journals such as *Wasafiri*, *Kunapipi*, *Interventions*, *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, *Callaloo*, the *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* (formerly *World Literature Written in English*) and *ARIEL* (*A Review of International English Literature*) that are exclusively devoted to the discussion of postcolonial literature and literary theory (Raja and Bahri, *The Cambridge History*). This is not to speak of the many articles on postcolonial literature and the special issues on postcolonial topics to be found in the most important journals in the

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51749-2 - The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature: Volume I

Edited by Ato Quayson

Excerpt

[More information](#)

ATO QUAYSON

humanities and social sciences. To highlight just one example from a non-literary field, by the end of the twentieth century *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* ran regular essays on postcolonial topics. The late 1990s saw articles in the journal by Barnett, Schech and Haggis, and Best that liberally referenced the work of writers such as South African J. M. Coetzee and Australian Christopher Koch, as well as postcolonial critics Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha and Arjun Appadurai, among various others.<sup>11</sup> This trend continues with several journals that do not originally address a literary constituency.

This somewhat celebratory list of institutions, writers, publishers, journals and popular productions must not obscure the controversies that have also made themselves evident periodically in postcolonial literary studies. In a 1982 *New York Review of Books* piece, the astute and otherwise flawless Helen Vendler criticized what she termed the ‘ventriloquism’ of Derek Walcott, future Nobel Prize laureate, whom she found ‘peculiarly at the mercy of influence’.<sup>12</sup> The issue is not so much whether Vendler’s criteria of evaluation were accurate or not, as that Walcott presented a difficult case for anyone intent on unearthing the authenticity of his poetic voice. Is Walcott best understood via a model derived from T. S. Eliot’s ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’, in which the contribution of a writer fits into the temple of established literary monuments by means of their subtle reconfiguration of the already established aesthetic standards? Or is he best assessed through the model of the agonistic or even adversarial ‘writing back’ that Bill Ashcroft and his colleagues made famous in *The Empire Writes Back* in 1989?<sup>13</sup> And if that is the case, what is the usefulness of cognate terms such as adaptation, appropriation and intertextuality? (Mukherjee, Dovey, *The Cambridge History*). How do we account for the fluid and ongoing relationship between orality, popular culture and the more highbrow postcolonial literature of Africa, India, and Latin America that has been the assumed and thus far unchallenged focus of pedagogical interest in schools and universities everywhere? (Esonwanne, Newell, Gupta, *The Cambridge History*). Add to all these Amitav Ghosh’s voluble dismissal of the label ‘postcolonial’ writer, and the field shows itself to have as much controversy as it has points for celebration.<sup>14</sup> It is impossible to think coherently and creatively, much less with any sense of authority, about these and other questions without a proper literary historical context in which to read and study postcolonial literature.

### What, when and how is the postcolonial?

Though it is now conventional to ascribe the birth of the field of postcolonial studies to the publication of Edward Said’s landmark *Orientalism* in 1978, with

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51749-2 - The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature: Volume I

Edited by Ato Quayson

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## Introduction: postcolonial literature in a changing historical frame

further insights being extrapolated from Ashcroft *et al.*'s already mentioned and now classic *The Empire Writes Back*, the prehistory of the term 'postcolonial' itself proves slightly more colourful than generally supposed.<sup>15</sup> The earliest instance of the word, used in a largely temporal sense and with a hyphen, appeared in academic writing in a 1910 essay by T. W. Allen in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* with reference to some minor poets of the pre-Homeric era. In various scattered instances up to 1950 it was used in historical journals mainly with reference to early American and Latin American republics. The term's first unhyphenated application was in language studies and appears to have been in a 1952 issue of the journal *American Speech*. That essay, by A. R. Dunlap and E. J. Moyne, dwelt on traces of the Finnish language along the Delaware River. Its first use in literary studies, again unhyphenated, appeared in 1958 in the journal *Comparative Literature* in an article by Justus M. Van der Kroef on the colonial novel in Indonesia translated from Dutch.<sup>16</sup> By the 1960s and 1970s the term had shifted to the field of African and Pacific area studies where the two variant uses (hyphenated and unhyphenated) were deployed interchangeably. The term entered the comprehensive MLA Bibliography in 1967, with the *PMLA*'s list of Forthcoming Meetings and Conferences in 1981 publicizing the South Pacific Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies held at the University of Canterbury in New Zealand under the topic 'Nationalism, Regionalism, and Internationalism in Postcolonial Literature'; it appeared in *PMLA* articles only in 1990. Apart from the 1990 *PMLA* pieces – an introduction to the special issue on African and African American Literature by Henry Louis Gates Jr and an essay by Debra A. Castillo on Coetzee's *Dusklands* respectively<sup>17</sup> – in each of the early published usages of the term it was deployed as a temporal marker to indicate the period after colonialism, whether this was in colonial antiquity with reference to the pre-Homeric era, or with respect to the cultural realities of post-independence America, or in relation to the end of empire in the mid twentieth century. After *The Empire Writes Back*, and vastly expanding the significance of the *PMLA* pieces by Gates and Castillo, the 1990s saw a decisive shift of usage from the merely temporal to the more discursive and theoretical, with Robert Young, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, Aijaz Ahmad, Bart Moore-Gilbert, Ania Loomba, Elleke Boehmer, Ato Quayson and Achille Mbembe among others providing key parameters for debating the field.<sup>18</sup> Williams and Chrisman's *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* was the first to gather diverse essays that collectively provided a genealogy of orientations in the field, with Ashcroft *et al.*'s *Post-Colonial Studies Reader* following a similar format and rapidly becoming a standard text.<sup>19</sup> Even though none of the early anthologies had a specifically literary historical bent, texts like them now abound in the

ATO QUAYSON

field and provide a plethora of viewpoints for students and scholars. Despite the 1990s marking the expansion and consolidation of the field, it is nevertheless 1983 that we must take as the totemic date for the use of the term in an exclusively non-temporal sense in public academic debate, with the MLA panel chaired by Gayatri Spivak, then of the University of Texas at Austin, entitled *Colonialist and Postcolonialist Discourse* being the landmark event. Her copanellists were Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha, then at the University of Sussex, and William Pietz, who has since left academia to work in green politics and neurocognitive training.<sup>20</sup> Spivak, Said and Bhabha have long been hailed as providing the most significant early theoretical ideas for the field of postcolonial studies, so that the 1983 panel, coming half-way as it did between the publications of the late 1970s and what was to later become a veritable flood from the 1990s, acquires special significance in this regard.

When we outline the meanings of the term through current usage rather than from the etymology of first appearance, the unhyphenated version is taken to denote the field as an area of recognizable interests, debates and controversies. Understood not as limited to the implicit temporal marking of the ‘post-’, but as the sign of a critical orientation towards colonialism and its legacies, postcolonial literature then designates the representation of experiences of various kinds including those of slavery, migration, oppression and resistance, difference, race, gender, space and place, and the responses to the discourses of imperial Europe. It is conventionally assumed that postcolonial literature is as much a reflection on conditions under imperialism and colonialism proper as about conditions coming after the historical end of empires.

### European expansion and the colonial world

Despite the designation of postcolonialism as a field of discursive practices as opposed to the temporal supersession of colonialism, the collective attempt to outline a literary history of postcolonial writing foregrounds certain conceptual and methodological difficulties for the elaboration of such a history. The *time* and *inception* of the colonial and how they are understood as processes as opposed to singular ruptures is decisive for both determining the literary writing that is taken to fall under the rubric of postcolonialism and the criticism that sees itself as doing justice to such writing. The process of imperial and colonial expansion from Europe proceeded in two main phases, both of which overlapped and were tied to the formation of the global political economy. The first expansion of modernity (1492–1650) was set in motion primarily by the Spanish and Portuguese crowns in the long sixteenth century, while the second

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51749-2 - The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature: Volume I

Edited by Ato Quayson

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## Introduction: postcolonial literature in a changing historical frame

modernity (1650–1945) saw a decisive shift away from the multiple repercussions of Iberian ambition towards the interests of England, France, the Netherlands and Germany. Each historical phase of modernity also generated its own internal and external imaginative borders, such that whereas in the first modernity the expansion of Spain into the Americas coincided with the expulsion of Arabs and Jews from Spanish lands in the name of ‘blood purity’, a concomitant assumption of the heathen status of the natives the Spaniards encountered in what later became Latin America was also maintained. The second modernity, on the other hand, saw the progressive construction of the uncivilized Other (Chinese, African, Caribbean, Southeast Asian) that needed to be reformed through the light of reason and colonial governmentality.<sup>21</sup> The imaginative connection between the two modernities of expansion is provided in the relentless stream of letters, reports, chronicles and travel narratives by Europeans from the earliest period of contact which typified the non-Europeans they encountered as pagan and strange (Griffiths, *The Cambridge History*).<sup>22</sup> An example of these was to be wryly noted by Gabriel García Márquez in his 1982 Nobel acceptance speech:

Antonio Pigafetta, a Florentine navigator who went with Magellan on the first voyage around the world, wrote, upon his passage through our southern lands of America, a strictly accurate account that nonetheless resembles a venture into fantasy. In it he recorded that he had seen hogs with navels on their haunches, clawless birds whose hens laid eggs on the backs of their mates, and others still, resembling tongueless pelicans, with beaks like spoons. He wrote of having seen a misbegotten creature with the head and ears of a mule, a camel’s body, the legs of a deer and the whinny of a horse. He described how the first native encountered in Patagonia was confronted with a mirror, whereupon that impassioned giant lost his senses to the terror of his own image.<sup>23</sup>

The deadpan inflection of the ‘strictly accurate’ in Márquez’s account coupled with his nonchalant listing of what are evidently fantastical elements from Pigafetta’s journal are stylistic devices that will by now be familiar to vast numbers of readers of his novels all over the world.

As Edward Said and others were to show, what started out as chronicles, histories and travel narratives was by the eighteenth century to be transformed into Orientalism proper, possessing an internal logic and ultimately tied to issues of colonial governmentality. But the two periods are also connected through the complex forms of resistance *and* complicity that proliferated everywhere Europeans found themselves. Despite the significance of the early fifteenth-century intercultural encounters to the forms of postcolonialism some literary writers were to represent, it is the inception of the second

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51749-2 - The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature: Volume I

Edited by Ato Quayson

Excerpt

[More information](#)

ATO QUAYSON

modernity, with the elaboration of variant mechanisms for the governance of different peoples under the impress of empire, that currently provides the bulk of interest for postcolonial studies. Complicated factors affected the acquisition of territories, dependencies and protectorates throughout the period of formal colonial expansion, consolidation, and demise from the mid seventeenth century to the 1960s, when the bulk of colonized countries gained their independence. Several interrelated themes animate this period.<sup>24</sup>

As Patke adroitly shows in his chapter on 'Postcolonial literature in Southeast Asia', the pattern of trade-offs among European countries was central to the demographic and political constitution of that region; yet the pattern can be shown to have been endemic to the constitution of empire and colonialism in general. The British, in strong rivalry with the Dutch, established the Straits of Settlement (Penang, Singapore and Malacca) between 1786 and 1824, while also gaining increasing control over the princely states of Malaya between 1874 and 1914. The Opium Wars with China ended with the Treaty of Nanjing that effectively ceded Hong Kong to Britain. On the other hand, whereas 1783 saw Britain formally recognize the impossibility of holding on to the thirteen colonies that came to form the nucleus of the United States of America, the contours of empire were already being redrawn in that part of the world some twenty years earlier at the close of the Seven Years' War (1756–63) that concluded in the Treaties of Paris and Hubertusburg. With these treaties Britain acquired Quebec, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and India from France, with Florida also being ceded to them by Spain. In the Caribbean, Britain took control of Dominica, Grenada, St Vincent and the Grenadines, and Tobago. Perhaps more significantly, the loss of the thirteen colonies of the eastern coast of the United States made them unavailable for convict deportation. This recognition ultimately led to the establishment of a penal colony in Australia's Botany Bay in 1788.

Significantly, the period from the seventeenth century was to be characterized by vast movements of populations from Europe to different parts of the world. The instigations for these movements were many, and included dire demographic transitions in Europe, acute living and social conditions due to the population explosion, and last but not least, the rabid religious persecutions and zeal for renewal that marked the Reformation and Counter-Reformation of the seventeenth century in particular. The plagues that afflicted London at various times during the 1600s (1603, 1625 and finally 1664–6) were estimated to have killed at least 100,000 people, with the Great Fire of 1666 gutting a large section of central London. The plagues and natural disasters exacerbated the religious persecutions that raged in the period, and in combination they led to a stream of migrations to the Americas and other parts of the world. While

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51749-2 - The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature: Volume I

Edited by Ato Quayson

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## Introduction: postcolonial literature in a changing historical frame

merchants and other adventurers had been encouraging people to relocate to the Americas to settle new lands as early as the 1530s, by the 1650s the trend had shifted to embrace ordinary people desperate to escape the vagaries of Europe. As A. N. Porter points out, 'as many as 400,000 people may have crossed the Atlantic from the British Isles during the seventeenth century, half of them between 1630 and 1660. In these decades of religious and political upheaval, harvests were poor and wages low; there was much unemployment and underemployment.'<sup>25</sup>

Sometimes such dispersals also became handy instruments of demographic control, especially with regard to race, poverty, and crime. Thus whereas West Africa had long been considered unsuitable for a penal colony in favour of Australia, a settlement was still established in Sierra Leone for London's 'black poor' from 1786 to 1791; these were subsequently joined by black settlers from Nova Scotia. The term Nova Scotians at the time did not refer to persons originally from what is now a Canadian province; rather, a large majority of those that migrated to what was subsequently to become a West African colony in 1808 were ex-slaves from Virginia and South Carolina, who had moved as Black Loyalists to British Nova Scotia in 1783, before leaving again in 1787 and then in 1792 because of broken promises of free land.<sup>26</sup> The resolution of issues of poverty in Britain through the movement of segments of its own population was not limited exclusively to the plight of the black poor. As early as 1618 a hundred 'vagrant' children in London were rounded up and transported to the colony of Virginia. The policy of enforced child migration continued piecemeal throughout the colonial period, with orphaned children being sent off to the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa and the Swan River Colony in Australia in 1832 and New Brunswick and Toronto in Canada in 1833. An estimated 150,000 poor children were transferred in this way until the outbreak of World War II, with at least 80,000 of these being sent to Canada alone. Many of the children ended up in dastardly slave-like conditions of labour servitude.<sup>27</sup> The child exploitation that William Blake was to rail against in his *Songs of Innocence and Experience* in the 1790s clearly had its counterparts in the situation of the many children that were scattered across empire. It is a profound irony that despite the moral panic often expressed in many parts of Europe and North America today at the prospect of immigrants and asylum seekers on their borders, the period of extensive migrations from Europe itself in the seventeenth century and after was marked by the same forces that have underpinned the desperate movement of populations from the global South to the global North from the latter part of the twentieth: spasmodic nation states, famine and natural disasters, inter-ethnic conflicts and

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51749-2 - The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature: Volume I

Edited by Ato Quayson

Excerpt

[More information](#)

ATO QUAYSON

religious persecutions. These later population movements, as we shall come to see presently, have also left their imprint on postcolonial writing.

Another underlying factor to imperial expansion and colonial administration comes from the conditions that were generated for the sometimes voluntary and often forced movement of colonized peoples across states and regions all over the world. This overlapped with the European dispersals we have noted yet bore implications for the postcolonial world that were ultimately quite different from those earlier population movements. Examples can be multiplied several-fold that might serve to illustrate the effects of demographic criss-crossings and the intersections, controversies and hybrid identities that were produced by these colonial population movements. North and West African *tirailleur* (light infantry) regiments were to fight alongside the French in their various campaigns from as early as the Napoleonic period, with many of them progressively ending up in Paris and its suburbs to impact upon the racial character of France itself well before the wave of migrants from its former colonies were to arrive from World War II onwards. The *Tirailleurs Sénégalais* conscription supplied an estimated 170,000 troops for France in World War I alone, with many of them fighting and dying in Europe.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, in East Africa the British indentured labour policy that operated from the 1880s until the 1920s was to have a major impact on the demographic constitution of the region. The indentured labour policy was itself designed as a response to the abolition of slavery in 1833 to take account of the needs of plantation owners who now felt their plantations were under threat of collapse due to the loss of slave labour. When the policy was extended to East Africa it was mainly to provide non-African labour for building the East African railway. Of the roughly 32,000 Indian men brought in, roughly 6,700 stayed behind to work in the commercial and business sectors. After the official termination of the indentured labour flows colonial policy encouraged family reunion along with more voluntary migration from South Asia. By the end of World War II the Indians in East Africa were an estimated 360,000, with many of them firmly in control of the commercial trade in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. After the independence of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania in the 1960s the Indians had not only become a central part of the civil service administration but also considered themselves African.<sup>29</sup> The ill-advised policy of Africanization in the region and the racially based economic policies aimed at wealth redistribution were later to lead to the migration of this population to other parts of the world, with the ascension to power of Idi Amin, the Ugandan dictator, in 1971 entrenching their violent diasporization. The conditions in East Africa speak to hybridity as much as to nationalist aspirations, which both impact upon the