BEYOND MARXIST ECONOMISM AND ENTREPRENEURIAL ESSENTIALISM: POST-COLONIAL POLITICS OF EMPIRE IN CHINUA ACHEBE'S AND LINUS ASONG'S WRITINGS

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ABSTRACT

This paper on political economy of entrepreneurship draws insights from creative writings of Chinua Achebe and Linus Asong to argue that, contrary to Marxist optimisms and idealisms, the business of political entrepreneurship is so complicated because it intersects with multiple conflicting narratives. These narratives of empire take new different and often times contradictory directions such as neo-pariarchalism, the popularity of anarchism, limitations of the intelligentsia class. religion as substitution, issues of feminist labour power and social class questions.

Keywords: Business entrepreneurship, Politics, Feminism, Anarchism, Elites, Creative art.

Contribution/ Originality

Business entrepreneurship scholarship divides knowledge into studies on individual attributes of entrepreneurs and events like risk-taking (Kihlstrom and Laffont, 1979) and achievement (McClelland, 1961) and studies on economic environment (Tushman and Anderson, 1986). This study contributes to the field of business entrepreneurship by amalgamating both approaches into one which recognizes its economic base and political events.

1. INTORDUCTION

In his Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, (Marx, 1968) writes that in the social creation of their life, men (such as entrepreneurs) enter into definitive relationships that are crucial and autonomous from their will, relations of production which match with a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The totality of these relations of production make up the economic structure of society on which rises a legal and political super-structure and to which correspond specific forms of social awareness. The mode of production of material life determines the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the awareness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that conditions their consciousness. Out of all of Marx's wide-ranging writings on political economy and philosophy, there is perhaps no other single piece that has provoked as much discussion as this one, namely, that the "legal and political superstructure" rises out of "relations

of production" comprising the base or "economic structure of society." As a result of this Marxian hypothesis, there has been a tendency to concentrate chiefly on economic and material conditions as most fundamental relations determining the nature of politics in (post-)modern African societies (for example, (Gugelberger, 1986); (Afolayan, 2011), (Chennells, 1993)).

This paper in political economy of entrepreneurship studies proposes to stimulate the discussion on embeddedness of political discourse with the economy by drawing insights from writings of two celebrated Nigerian and Cameroonian authors, namely, Chinua Achebe and Linus Asong. It argues that this Marxist assumption is overly reductionistic; i\t is essentialistic to stress economic relations only as relationships establishing the direction and form of all 'political' entrepreneurship traditions in Africa to the detriment of others that are equally as or more critical than the economic such as culture, family, education, gender, religion and so forth. Chinua Achebe and Linus Asong show in rich detail in their writings that by concentrating only on deterministically economic and material relations or on class conflicts as being at the 'base' of the entrepreneurial politics of (neo-)Empire, one may overlook other critical forms of non-economic conflicts or fail to consider other forms of explanation about political conflicts in the neo-imperialistic era that do not ultimately have economic roots. From this hypothetical light, one of the major originators of the political culture of (neo-)Empire in African nation states, is not economics, but the patriarchal system in ancestral Africa which began with polygamous traditions and ancestors like Okonkwo, Ezeulu and Nwaka respectively in Achebe's Things Fall Apart and Arrow of God and Asong's Chopchair.

The writings of Achebe and Asong also evidence the fact that Marxist perspectives on entrepreneurship that lend themselves chiefly to conflict are not very accurate and may sometimes be mistaken. During the colonial era, colonial penetration experienced certain moments of conflict that were unique in themselves as textually represented. The skirmish between the Umuofian notable Okonkwo and the British administration through the messenger of the district officer, who demands an end to the meeting of elders, is just an instance of the political entrepreneurial history designed to exploit the colony for the benefit of Empire. But to focus only on this (Marxist) instance of international discovery of opportunity, venture and conflict is to foreshadow the multiple moments of very fruitful co-operation, the productive instances of inter-cultural understanding leading to restraint, which regulated the relationship between the colonizer and the traditional establishment and induced the apparent or partial collapse of the latter. When Okonkwo slains the messenger, the indigenous people do not heed his call to violence and war against imperialism in the typically Marxist fashion and in fulfillment of Richard Cantillon's or Frank Knight's 'risk' theories as a characteristic of all entrepreneurial activities (Cantillon, 1755/1964; Knight, 2005). This was a moment of historical restraint when the indigenous Igbos realized that belligerency which was very efficient against external aggression in the past, would no longer be productive now; it would be abortive because the external aggressor was of a different, unknown type with superior technology but also, and more importantly, had encroached with a new culture (Christianity, education, migration, hospital medicine, human rights, freedom of speech, etc,) that needs to be mastered, and this need for a

knowledge culture effeminates them into the wisdom of restraint. This attitude of restraint opened up a critical space for colonial penetration and entrepreneurship and indigenous community retreat, which accounted for the novelistic title Things Fall Apart, owing to the collaboration, alliances and partnerships that were actively weaved out between colonizer and colonized. Hence, before this instance of restraint, moments of co-operation, mutuality and empathy had existed with greater power of explanation for the outcomes. In this way, beyond conflict, the indigenous people were already seeing opportunity in the new entrepreneurial order in terms not only of trade, but also of discarding old practices that violated human rights such as the ritual execution of Ikemefuna, the throwing of twins into the 'evil forest', the fear of unpredictable supernatural forces, and so forth.

Within the nation state system of (neo-) patriarchy, the writings show that the economic question of 'communism' is a far-fetched dream than an imminent reality. Achebe's texts such as A Man of the People, and Asong's texts like Osagyefo, the Great Betrayal begin with neo-patriarchal entrepreneurial figures like chief Nanga, His Excellency, general Sam and the Osagyefo and end up not with a 'communistic' optimism but with coups d'État that augur bleak and anarchical futures for the continent. These writings capture the entrepreneurship politics of the post-independence epoch as one of neo-patriarchal control over society: for example, in Achebe's Anthills of the Savannah, Chris Oriko and the attorney-general, declare to His Excellency, general Sam, the "caged tiger," that: "We have no problem worshipping a man like you" (pp. 60-61). This is the kind of neo-patrimonial leadership that replaced the white/black class structure and colonial hierarchical system (in the Schumpeterian sense of 'creative destruction', (Schumpeter, 1934/, 1983; Schumpeter, 1994/1942)) portrayed in Things Fall Apart, Arrow of God and No Longer at Ease with the promise to emancipate the colonized masses. The post-independence epoch was thus a neo-Marxist cultural experience of 'father-figure' worshipping in African nation states. In other texts, like in Asong's The Crown of Thorns, patriarchy translated into a giant 'conspiracy theory' where the neo-patriarchal ruling class of an apparently enlightened group like indigenous D.O.s and religious expatriates such as Rev. father Preston exploit another class in society like chief Nchindia and indigenous community of Nkokonoko Small Monje for their own ends/benefits.

To expand the argumentation further, the writings of Achebe, portraying entrepreneurship history, for example, from pre-colonial to colonial and post-colonial epochs, show that the intersection of economics and politics is not a 'scientific' relationship marked by Marxist predictability, testability and falsifiability. Thus, contra Marxist scientificism, the texts, for example, A Man of the People, Anthills of the Savannah and Osagyefo, the Great Betrayal do not depict a mechanical replacement of neo-patriarchy by communism as 'historically inevitable' but as a question of undecidability, unknowability and unpredictability. As Sir Karl Popper pointed out, this kind of unfalsifiable relationship in artistic production is classifiable as one of "faith" or, one may add, 'lack of faith' rather than as a disciplinary, stage-by-stage prediction of an idealistic trajectory of history from the past. Okonkwo 'losses faith' in the future of his tribe before committing suicide; the location of 'suicide' rather than the economic option of promises of

colonial capitalism become a post-Marxist site of entrepreneurialism where the elderly noble finds emancipation and liberation. So, after five court messengers approach the group of elders, Okonkwo jumps forward to stop them. The chief messenger declares that the 'white man' has ordered the meeting to be stopped. Okonkwo outs his machete and beheads the messenger, but other elders do not stop the rest of the messengers from escaping. Okonkwo soon realizes that his clansmen are afraid when someone asks, "Why did he do it?". Seeing such inaction and fear, Okonkwo cleans his machete on the sand and walks away, disillusioned that Umuofians will never go to war and the encroaching capitalist administration will invade the Umuofian territory. The response of his own fellow clansmen shows a moment in Africa's history when 'things began to fall apart', when change in the Schumpeterian sense of 'creative destruction' really began to take effect; not only capitalism but more critically its various cultural institutions were already assimilating the people. Hence, contra Marxism, Achebe goes on to illustrate in Arrow of God that, although the British capitalist bureaucracy was physically present and imposed material conditions that were intimidating, it lacked the spiritual legitimacy that Ezeulu enjoys. Ezeulu's chieftaincy administration does not have technology nor economic resources to efficiently challenge the capitalist administration beginning to implant its organization in his chiefdom, but it comes off fairly well in the text as a non-profit cultural venture, in the sense that it possesses a very powerful spiritual validity that seriously undermines the profit-driven, material presence of the British district office. Although it does not succeed to stop Igbo subjects from engaging artificially with liberal institutions of entrepreneurial capitalism such as Christianity, education, migration, hospital medicine, etc, it manages to compromise the integrity of the capitalist bureaucracy, but without becoming irrelevant. Okonkwo's son, who is traumatized by the ritual execution of Ikemefuna, joins the new religion in Things Fall Apart, and the religion inoculates him with the profit drive (cf. Max Weber, The protestant ethic). This profit motive is clearly evident by the fact that his grandson migrates to Europe to further his education from where he returns with a B.A. English degree in order to integrate himself into the discriminatory setting (Bowles and Gintis, 1976) of the colonial educational and administration in No Longer at Ease. But already, the grandson shows signs of unease because he cannot meet the exhausting demands of patriarchal values of his ancestors, like community service, in the face of his entrepreneurial culture which requires that he reflects more about his emancipation and self by taking bribes in the modernist, colonialist system of capitalism, hence the title No Longer at Ease,.

As a result of these 'destructive innovations' from the culture of the collective to the culture of the self, poor economic conditions were created for the people, and this, in turn, necessitated and unleashed new political regimes of terror which emerged to check out and control risks of the multitude (Hardt and Negri, 2004) taking their revenge over the profiteering self. Coups d'État replace 'concentration camp' regimes in Achebe's writings whereas in Asong's writings, popular revolts replace unfair local government systems in The Crown of Thorns. In this text, a highly discriminatory neo-patriarchal apparatus comprised of the D.O., the reverend priest, father Preston, etc is overthrown. But there is no evidence in the writings of both authors that the Marxian predictions of a socialist/communist history replacing these capitalist and

entrepreneurial moments, would be fulfilled eventually. On the contrary, under the neo-patriarchal state regimes, whether in Asong's The Crown of Thorns, Stranger in His Homeland, No Way to Die or in The Akromah File, the proletarian/working class is increasingly pauperized. Although the neo-patriarchal state regime in Africa became increasingly capitalist, adopting modernization strategies of entrepreneurship, it did notfail as a system brought down by its own "inherent contradictions" as predicted by Marxism. Even with the economic crisis of the 1980s, which seemed to be a fulfillment of Marxist prophecy, contra Marxist views, entrepreneurial state regimes continued to survive through strategies of creativity, innovation, new technologies, ventures, opportunities, etc. rather than from the industrial production of commodities and the continued creation of new markets. Cultural movements like revivalist evangelism in Asong's Salvation Colony where the disillusioned Denis Nunquam takes refuge, are exploited by the entrepreneurial regime to create the sense of 'false consciousness' among the dispossessed masses. As well, unforeseen conditions arose in the political system that Marxism did not account for; for example, Marx and his proponents did not foresee the rise of the coup d'État culture (in Africa), nor did they anticipate the way new innovations in electronic and cyber technologies, such as the internet, lottery games like football and horse racing would re-structure political power by alienating identities and loyalties of the young generation from the old generation that monopolizes the political system.

Karl Popper wrote in Open society, albeit in a rather exaggerated tone, that Marxism is a false prophecy because it insists upon transforming the whole of society. Popper believed that Marxist approach was wrong, unscientific and untestable. He preferred transforming societies part by part so that each new element introduced could be tested to see if progress had been achieved. But even Popper concluded perhaps essentialistically that democracy is the only viable possibility for a government, because it uses trial and error strategies in its system. For example, small changes spurred by Chinese entrepreneurs are introduced as evidenced in Asong's work like The Crabs of Bangui and Salvation Colony but these spectacular changes announcing the activities of Chinese multinationals and the revival of Christian evangelism are not 'put to popular vote' in order to allow the state to change gradually without the prospect of bloodshed. Although global democracy, human rights and privatization can be considered as political solutions and as scientific solutions, they are always provisional rather than absolute for all times and are always open-ended in their prospect for improvement.

Especially in the post-independence writings of both authors, there is a tendency for 'anarchists' to emerge at the end of each text, to challenge the validity of the entrepreneurial cultural and reject the political economy of the neo-patriarchal regimes. Whether in Asong's The Crown of Thorns, Stranger in His Homeland and The Akromah File, Osagyeifo, the Great Betrayal or in Achebe's A Man of the People and Anthills of the Savannah, popular uprisings, public unrests and coup d'États take readers unawares at the end of the tales because the various characters in the texts perceive nation state entrepreneurship as an evil legacy historically of the combined ancestral and colonial pasts. The anarchy in Things Fall Apart is relatively small but profound and restrained. The ancestral history bequeathed the patriarchal system to the

contemporary generations of Africans and colonial history left behind an exploitative economy and the 'technologies' (Michel Foucault's term, (Foucault, 1984a) that the new ruling elites employed to impose ventures in their own post-independence order. But since there is no developed and reliable 'anarchist economics' proposed by coup plotters, organizers of popular strikes in the writings or by the enraged noble Okonkwo obsessed only with protecting his manhood and integrity, the only alternative in them is bourgeois economics in its liberal-Keynesian and sometimes crudest, versions like state ownership of the means of production and later on privatization as in Asong's The Crabs of Bangui. But this is not merely an economistic argument; it is not simply bourgeois economics that imposed itself; it was the cultural institutions of bourgeois economics that the colonized had assimilated.

Consequently, one may argue that African 'anarchism' in both its primitive and post-modernist forms, at least as illustrated by the writings, was not very effective in paving the way toward a communistic economic order; it only served to justify the continued presence of the capitalist culture of entrepreneurship and dependency. The texts also help us to understand why entrepreneurship and dependency capitalism generated different kinds of social evils like ethnic, civil wars (Achebe, Girls at War and Other Stories) and military dictatorships in Nigeria, inter-subjective conflicts (Asong, No Way to Die), migration and national insecurity (Asong, The Akromah File), the advent of Chinese transnational corporations (Asong, The Crabs of Bangui) that led to huge ecological destructions in the Niger region particularly with critical offshoots like home-grown Islamic fundamentalism. But the capitalistic culture of entrepreneurship and dependency does not necessarily explain why the offshoots took a life of their own: for example, the Ogoni people's resistance movement, initiated by the playwright Ken Saro Wiwa, who was murdered by the dictatorship of General Sani Abacha or the Boko Haram movement which is now threatening to spread its tentacles to all geographical frontiers.

Marxism's emphasis on historical materialism is too narrow a base for understanding the complexity and variety of power structures across time and place in traditional African societies. The idea that all power is rooted ultimately in the ownership and control of the means of production, with the ensuing class struggle providing the driving 'motor' of political history, does not fit the origins of civilization in the pre-modern years as portrayed in Achebe's Things Fall Apart and Arrow of God, when much property was held by chieftaincy rule and there was no major class conflict to threaten empires of domination, nor to subvert ideological networks of chieftaincy rule called "patriarchy" combined with independent armed forces of the nobility to create frameworks within which a class-ridden materialism and a closely intertwined system of patrimonial 'states' began to rise to the fore. Achebe narrates great stretches of history when emerging economic and warfare technological forces like the Aban soldiers, who used to attack the six villages of Umuaro, failed to accommodate the Marxian claim about primacy of "mode of production." These writings show a pre-colonial era when activities of the ruling class were far more important in understanding new developments than any "class struggle" with economic producers of animals, farm crops and fisheries, who were far too localized and lacking in

organizational infrastructure to seriously challenge the dominant class, let alone to be considered as a class in themselves (Federici, 1999; 2004).

For Marxists, the state is a structure of domination that protects private property, even though the way in which this domination takes effect is unclear. Karl Marx's perspective of the state logically followed from the fact of human entrepreneurship and productivity. It was the surplus created by this productivity, which led to inevitable conflict between the forces and relations of production, an increasing division of labor, inevitable class conflict, and then the creation of the political state as the defender of property. But Achebe's writings do not furnish historical evidence to support the claim that the state has its origins in class struggle and the rise of private property. The early 'state' in his works show that it was a mix of religious and political institutions that had functions for small societies as a whole in terms of the need for a common way to ensure security against external aggression. For example, when lizards could be counted in onesand twos, the six villages of Umuaro came together to form a 'state' by burying a 'medicine' near the market place and another medicine in a river (p. 34). From that day, the Aban soldiers never harassed them anymore. Changes in the nature of the state were not a product of changes in society due to conflict between social classes, but were owing to the need for a common defense against belligerent nomadic groups. Hence, what formed the state was a spiritual ritual in Umuaroan anthropology; this then facilitated regulatory functions like the early entrepreneurship of farming, grains and foodstuffs storage, village life and the management of hunting and gathering. The ruling classes were not always involved in subjugating the producing entrepreneurial classes; rather, it was the ordinary classes that did the subjugating of themselves directly to the nobility classes through the observance of rituals. By conceiving of the state so narrowly, and not seeing its political andreligious dimensions, Marxists minimize the potential for patriotic and religious feelings in shaping the ways groups behave and classes act. They therefore underestimate the strong possibility that common social bonds can also exist between social classes in a 'state'.

The Marxist investigation into the state, with its emphasis on its original role of protecting private property, led to a false homology between the state and the economic system that creates a propensity to downplay the import of representative democracy. A system of representative democracy drew its illusion from the mystification of the marketplace. Just as capitalists appropriate surplus value "behind the backs" of workers through the seemingly fair mechanism of the market, in the story of entrepreneurship and control of forces of production, so too does the patriarchal system appropriate the political power of ordinary masses through the seemingly fair mechanism of spiritual distribution of wealth. For example, Nwaka is acknowledged as a noble in Umuaro not just because his family came from a long line of land propertied gentries but also because his materialistic blessings were validated by Eru, the god of riches. The patriarchal state corresponds to distinctive features of the capitalist economy controlled through a series of competitive exchanges in which all members of the society participate voluntarily under conditions of universal freedom and equality. In the patriarchal democratic state, control is exercised through a series of ritual functions and cultural activities, in which all members of the

society participate voluntarily. But beneath the formal freedom and equality of patriarchal democratic rituals, lie the material bondage and oppression of Ezeulu's bureaucratic administration, resulting from his monopoly over the means of coercion exercised by his authority over the regulation of the yam eating festival. This material bondage and oppression appears to emerge into the full visibility of the masses when Ezeulu's administration comes into direct confrontation with the Christian religion.

The views of the "liberal democratic state" in Chinua Achebe's A Man of the People and in Linus Asong's The Crown of Thorns represent the state in Africa as still another entrepreneurship and capitalist weapon in the class struggle. This is so because the democratic form of the state in the form of elections, freedom of speech, freedom of the mass media, freedom of association, rigorous campaigns, etc conceals its undemocratic contents like nepotism, biases in road contracts, incompetence of ministers like chief Nanga, who claims to be the minister of information, organized theft of cultural artifacts like the akeurkeur in The Crown of Thorns. Representative democracy hides its absence in the practices of state bureaucracy whether in A Man of the People, The Akromah File, The Crown of Thorns or Anthills of the Savannah; the hierarchical bureaucracy itself is the counterpart of the capitalist division of labour in the factory. O'Connor (1984). A Man of the People shows that liberal freedoms are really a thin veil for the repression of the new 'working class' where the protagonist belongs, or the indigenous community of Nkokonoko Small Monje in The Crown of Thorns. The text advances the idea that the market, like state politics, is inherently entrepreneurship and exploitative, and it generates a contempt for liberal values and democracy at the end when the D.O., priest and their agents are killed. For Asong, who sees representative democracy as a charade, the solution is "direct democracy," that is, small face-to-face groups in which the people themselves, not elected representatives, make common decisions as in Salvation Colony. This is in fact the meaning of the term "colony" But historical experience shows that such groups come to be controlled by the capitalist state. Problems also develop within direct democracy groups and among women movements in the text. Although they try to foster open participation among equals, they develop informal power structures led by charismatic members. There is a "tyranny of structurelessness" that shapes the group's decisions, often to the growing frustration of the more powerless members. Representative evangelical democracy is one of the few counterpoints to the great potential power of Rev. Shrapnell's autocratic state.

Linus Asong's writing smacks of libertarian, anti-statist and radically democratic aspects of Marx's work. Rather than holding to Marx's economistic theories, Asong advocates an evangelical 'politics' very close to revolutionary anarchism in Salvation Colony where the protagonist, Denis Nunqam takes refuge, after finding nothing good in the entrepreneurial and capitalist order of the state that the likes of Dr Maximillian have created in No Way to Die. Nunqam, whose name etymologically stands for 'nothing', represents a post-capitalist anarchist vision. Marxism as theory is underdeveloped in this area of anarchism perhaps on purpose. Agreeing with Marx, Draper opines that Marx and Engels declared their political aspirations not in the light of a desired transformation into socialism but in terms of a shift in class

221

hegemony..The programme of change is defined in the light of a new class power; the insurrection is not the espousal of a certain social plan (Draper, 1978). But for African anarchists like Nunqam, there is no such fissure between 'means' and 'ends', between art and his high-spiritedness (No Way, p. 123). For Nunquam, the rationale for his dream of a "change in class power," is his desire of "a new class ascendancy", not one of a dictatorial "proletarian rule," but one of the rule of artistic creation as an entrepreneurial way to change the social system, to adopt a particular non-profit social plan, such as evangelical socialism, away from the old capitalist world where in the last moment before leaving it, he is portrayed as "sitting on a mount like a bundle of excrement on a rock". In Salvation Colony, over and beyond what appears to be a dogmatic world of Christian revivalism, is a great deal of discussion which goes on into considering what a future liberated society can be or should look like. This vision based on artistic ascendancy, social organization, consideration of the place of women, etc, is in contradistinction to the Marxian view which commands 'workers' to merely take over power and then wait to see how the communistic miracle would unfold before them. Just as Marx had suggested, the revolutionary anarchists in Salvation Colony also desire that oppressed people should take over power and dismantle the state and capitalism. But what is unMarxian about their agenda is that the colony is out for the oppressed under the leadership of reverend Shrapnel ruling through a non-state association of popular councils. The state is still existing within the precincts of the colony but what they disconverge on is taking over state power, by setting up a new bureaucratic or military and alienated social machinery to rule over workers. Indeed, in Asong's writing about the post-capitalist colony, there is a lot of moral passion expressed: anarchists in Salvation Colony, whatever their failings, such as the weak side of materialism in Sixtus Shrapnell fondly referred to as 'Our Father'., or rev. O'Reuilly, always see their social goals as defensible in terms of moral, spiritualistic values or naturalistic ethics. The various tendencies in the text do not counterpose moral values or naturalistic ethics to social pressures pushing the working class toward evangelical socialism, but they do not also feel that these historical processes are enough by themselves to justify a revolution.

Linus Asong's work No Way to Die attempts to understand how capitalism works in a typical African society of the 1980s marked by 'geographies of exclusion' (Sibley, 1995) where Doctor Maximillian Essemo Aleukwinchaa and (the reluctant) Denis Nunqam live in justaposed and oppositional spaces, in order to explain it to the disillusioned working class and frustrated allies in Salvation Colony, to aid them in making a total revolution. The text demonstrates how workers were patronized by neo-patriarchal capitalists like Doctor Essemo; how capitalism was established through social division, and why the economy went through crises (for example, the extravagance of the elites like Dr Max), with crashes at the end. That capitalism developed an ecological "rift" between the humanity of the oppressed and its "metabolism" with the elite class demonstrates why capitalism/s entrepreneurship 'technology' alienated craftsmen like Nunqam and his artistic skills, created a dangerous and explosive urban/rural imbalance, instead of abolishing class division. This technology took a life of its own and increased oppression and

alienation, created vast pools of poverty throughout Menako, and sharpened class wars beyond all imagining.

Asong shows how this capitalist hegemony that 'desires' and 'loathes' produced agents such as Denis Nunqam, who becomes a member of the international working class opposed to neo-patriarchal statehood in Salvation Colony. It is not clear from Asong's 'anarchist' revivalist evangelism text Salvation Colony whether he thought that proletarian revolution must inevitably happen from the stage of neo-patriarchal statehood, or whether he saw this as something which could happen, if the working class to which Denis Nunqam belongs made such a decision. Salvation Colony could be interpreted either way, namely, as classical social democrats maintain, as saying that evangelical revolution was inevitable or, in the words of Rosa Luxemburg, as stating that it is a historical decision for the working class to make, whether to move into the world of scientific 'socialism' roughly sketched out in the text as evangelical socialism or to remain in the 'cruel' universe (according to Denis Nunqam anyway) of No Way to Die where capitalism, but more especially patronizing patriarchy reigns supreme. But Asong presents his own version of evangelical socialism in Salvation Colony not simply as something which would be nice, not just as a pretty picture of a better society to replace state capitalism and patronizing patriarchy in No Way to Die, but as a necessity, a possibility . Asong presents a socialist revolution, as an evangelical movement that could be, if the world in No Way to Die falls into economic collapse, ecological/ environmental catastrophe, and possible wars. The post-independence "prosperity" that the likes of Dr Maximillian enjoy in No Way to Die, is limited in time and space; it was over since the 1980s and the bourgeoisie society of Dr Maximillian was beginning to experience a new epoch of entrepreneurship and capitalist decay. It was a new epoch of working class consciousness, when the

relationship of a revolutionary minority to the broader majority was changing.

The socialist-anarchist objective of a new evangelical society is portrayed in Salvation Colony as one of co-operation, of production for use by the ordinary people, and of radical democracy (Price, 2007; 2010; Van Der Walt and Schmidt, 2009). While there are delegates and representatives wherever necessary in the larger society, such a democracy would be a "way of life" at the local level, with people taking part in direct, face-to-face self-management of their neighborhoods and their jobs and their voluntary associations. The order in Salvation Colony is an experiential society, with people trying out various ways of organizing themselves to achieve various ends. Different regions, industries communities, try out various ways of entrepreneurship and self-organizing. Asong says little about the Marxist communist goal in his text, but focuses chiefly on workers' seizure of power and how they expect the historical process to take care of evangelical socialism, once the workersare in power. But Asong outlines a possible programme marked by a workers' revolution that replaces the capitalist nation state with a much more democratic state, but still a state. While the people in the colony regard nationalization by a capitalist state as state capitalism, this new institution is not just a "workers' state" but a 'citizenship' state' where it is expected the state would lose its coercive authority, as more people participate in its activities and as the former bourgeoisie die off or are assimilated.

Some of the anarchists in the colony feel that this approach, which may be referred to as "evangelical socialism," would in practice actually create "state capitalism"; others uphold the need to advocate worker and community managed industries to federate from the bottom-up. But a fundamental problem emerges with Asong's anarchist approach to evangelical socialism because he represents it at a time when history has already produced patriarchal state regimes referring to themselves as "socialist" or "communist." These regimes were the product of the historical process; they nationalized property and yet the states like Cuba, Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana, Sekou Toure's Guinea, etc, had their shortcomings like brutal dictatorship. Asong gives us a moral standard by which to judge them but it is uncertain that the standard in the colony would not be overtaken by the neo-patriarchal entrepreneurship and capitalist order still present in its vicinity. The socialist evangelical revolution in Asong's Salvation Colony is qualitatively different from the bourgeois revolution in No Way to Die, the global movement of Chinese corporate capitalism in The Crabs of Bangui, and the predominating neo-patriarchal traditions in A Legend of the Dead, Stranger in his Homeland and Crown of Thorns. In the bourgeois revolution, what is centrally necessary is to clear away the obstacles to the workings of the market, releasing its "invisible hand" from the constraints of the bureaucratic state. It dares not tell the truth to the people, that one ruling class will be replaced by another. The socialist revolution is not automatic. It requires the working class and its allies among the oppressed to be fully conscious of what they are doing. It requires forethought, class consciousness, theoretical and practical awareness, and moral clarity. No one can stand in for the workers. No state, no vanguard, can "represent" them. They must attain freedom by themselves, for themselves. This is the libertarian program of evangelical socialism being debated in Asong's Salvation Colony.

Many defenders of the authority of the Church are bewildered in their attitude toward philosophical and scientific problems. They condemn what they even should endorse. They make recourse to untenable objections, being unable to discover the real flaw in false doctrines. This explains why Asong wrote his Salvation Colony in order to capture the complex tendencies existing in Christian writings to timidly adopt or reject Marxian dialectical materialism. He shows that Christianity can reckon with insights in historical materialism and with Marxist ideas about class-struggle. Dennis Nunqam Ndendemajem, is a social misfit in No Way to Die where all openings for the material welfare of his family and himself are closed; and having failed to die by suicide, he seeks refuge in The Salvation Colony of the Angels of Limbo Church of Africa. The colony is a veritable paradise for all marginalized materially by society. The story of the refuge of Dennis atthe Salvation Colony, is not merely a narration for entertainment; it is a philosophical treatise on the relationship between the material and the spiritual, represented by pastor Sixtus Shrapnell referred to as 'Our Father'. Although Dennis is dehumanized in the colony, he takes on a new self-value in God. Asong suggests that the Church should adopt the essential principles of Marxian politics and thinks that the Church ought to acknowledge Marxism as the essence of a scientific sociology. His text attempts to reconcile with the Nicene Creed doctrine, a teaching that religious ideas are the superstructure of materially productive forces.

A political reading of the (re)production of labour-power in the African economy, from a feminist perspective, is not well developed in the writings of both authors (Dalla Costa and Dalla Costa, 1999; Engels, 18921980), but this paper argues that the absence of the African woman in the emancipative struggle is precisely one of the major reasons why the 'communistic' expectation is a Marxist illusion (Federici, 1999). It argues that Marx's analysis of capitalism does not quite yield expected fruits in the writings of Achebe and Asong, unless one takes 'silence' about the issue as evidence of its crucial importance. These writings conceive of value-producing work chiefly in the form of commodity production (farm work, corporate industry, banditry, etc) and, in this way, they point to the significance of women's unpaid reproductive work in the process of capitalist accumulation. The writings show that Marx's understanding of the true extent of the (neo-) patriarchal and capitalist exploitation of labour is limited. The function of the wage in the creation of divisions in the working class was very important, not to speak of the relationship between women and men in both (neo-) patriarchal and capitalist epochs. If Marx had recognized that patriarchy in the pre-colonial era of Okonkwo in Things Fall Apart and entrepreneurship and capitalism from the colonial and post-colonial epochs of Ezeulu in Arrow of God and Beatrice in Anthills of the Savannah relied on both an immense amount of unpaid domestic labour for the reproduction of the workforce, and the devaluation of these reproductive activities in order to cut down the cost of labour power, he may have been less inclined to consider capitalist development as leading inevitably and progressively into the utopian era, the phase of end-of history called communism. Surprisingly, given his theoretical sophistication, Marx ignored the existence of women's reproductive work. He acknowledged that, no less than every other

commodity, labour power must be produced and, insofar as it has monetary value, it represents a definite amount of average labour incarnated in it Marx (1990). But while meticulously exploring the dynamics of yarn production and capitalist valorization, he was succinct when tackling reproductive work, reducing it to the workers' consumption of the commodities their wages can buy and the work the production of these commodities requires. In other words, as in the neoliberal scheme, in Marx's account too, all that is needed to (re)produce labor-power is commodity production and the market. No other work intervenes to prepare the goods the workers consume or to restore physically and emotionally their capacity to work. No difference is made between commodity production and the production of the work-force. (ibid.)

The subjective interpretations of women are under-emphasized in the writings of Chinua Achebe and Linus Asong when looking at the ways in which they see and act in the social world. For example, the female class is almost absent in their writings as an entrepreneurial and enlightened group with autonomy, respectability and visibility. Consequently, Beatrice in Achebe's Anthills of the Savannah represents a class that serves as décor to the male dominated control of the political apparatus. But the roots of male-female conflict in the political apparatus that prevent that class from being emancipated are not simply economic or social class, but go back to the patriarchal culture in ancestral Africa. The subjective elucidation of women about their class in the writings is quite different from their objective class position. Consequently, patriarchy as a political system has proven its enduring power and its flexibility than Marxists

had predicted. In much of thewritings of Chinua Achebe and Linus Asong, just like in classical Marxist political thought, the role and position of women in society is ignored. Women are marginalized to the periphery in Things Fall Apart and Arrow of God not because the focus is not upon work/farming but also because greater emphasis is placed upon the genderization of productive relationships. For example, although in these texts, men do the 'male job' of clearing and cutting down trees for farming, and women do much of the 'feminine' part of farming work, like hoeing, harvesting, etc (Burkett, 2006), this does not lead to a condition of equality, as Marxists would predict, but rather to totalitarian patriarchal regimes epitomized, for example, by the 'brutalizing' ways Okonkwo and Ezeulu man-handle their households and multiple wives. Emphasis is placed more on genderized relationships of labour than on farm work itself. In conformity with Marxist ideals, the 'executive committee' of Okonkwo and Ezeulu presiding over the patriarchal ruling class would degenerate, constituting the last stages of revolution leading to a classless society after pre/-colonial rule; they would wither away as class distinctions begin to disappear.

This Marxist scenario looked like it would emerge in No Longer at Ease just as British imperialism is about to end thanks to the contributions that women made, for example, to the de-colonization process. But it fails to emerge as neo-patriarchal institutions, values and taboos re-take over and continue to control the relationship between Okonkwo's grandson and his osu lover, Clara, in the text. In the Nigeria of civilian politics and military regimes narrated in A Man of the People and Anthills of the Savannah, and to a lesser degree in the Cameroon and Ghana respectively portrayed in Asong's The Crown of Thorns, Stranger in his Homeland, No Way to Die, Akromah File, and Osagyefo, the Great Betrayal, the ruling class, or state patriarchy actually become more powerful by legitimating patriarchal hierarchies like age, manhood, administrative arbitrariness, ethnic loyalties, and by suppressing all institutional values that could lead to a regime

of democracy, freedom of the press, freedom of association, etc. This then became the Africa of terror command systems similar to post-modernized versions of Auschwitzian concentration camps, far worse than during the time of colonial rule by British district officers like Winterbottom in Arrow of God.

While the original conceptions of Marx and Engels about the relationship between society (schools included) and capitalist production may explain the ecological division between the urbanized habitat of Dr Maximillian, the highly educated elite, and the ruralized zone where Nunqam, the uneducated lad, dwells, Asong's texts like The Crown of Thorns, No Way to Die, and A Legend of the Dead, show Marxist analysis of the relationship between schools and capitalist relations of production as being overly economistic in its formulations. The texts support works of scholars like Althusser and Gramsci, in the sense that they develop a political conception of education that allows for "relative autonomy" and individual agency. This relationship is nonlinear, non-mechanistic, and non-deterministic. Like Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser, the writings place more emphasis on the "superstructure" of society and culture through a focus on theconcept of "hegemony" (Gramsci, 1971) and the contention of "relative

autonomy" of the superstructure from the economic base (Althusser, 1971). The writings show that the (neo-)patriarchal "hegemony" accounts more for the division of society in the texts. The patriarchal tradition in indigenous African societies demands that, like in Okonkwo's household in Things Fall Apart, there should be space for the 'fatherly' figure and space for the 'rest' such as his wives and children. The division of society portrayed in the texts has more to do with this patriarchal dichotomy. The geographies of exclusion, namely, the urban, elitist and rural or urbanized shantytowns depicted in the textual settings clearly point to the desire for survivability of the patriarchal binary in which the 'fatherly' figures of the ruling intelligentsia occupy the former and the latter is inhabited by workers, truck pushers, taxi-drivers and the likes of Nunqam who fell out of the good fortunes of education but engage in 'other' forms of entrepreneurial activity. The latter belong to the 'wifery' zone of the patriarchal order, and must be submissive, complain less, depend on the intellectual guidance of the intelligentsia class and labour very hard to 'fructify' this order. The Gramscian formulation of "political society" and "civil society" and the Althusserian idea of the repressive state apparatus (RSA) and the ideological state apparatus (ISA) respectively fall roughly into the two patriarchal categories of the State. But Denis Nunqam's flight from the space of the 'other' into the space of the elite in No Way to Die and his escape from that space into a post-patriarchal site of evangelical revivalism in Salvation Colony endorses Althusser's conception and analysis of "relative autonomy." Althusser provides for much autonomy of the superstructure, which opens up space for analyses of culture in such a way that the 'agent' like Nunqam is

divorced from the material reality of capitalist production.

Michel Foucault reconstructed a definition of the Marxist intellectual and used it as a basis for a new definition of intellectuals. Foucault argues for 'specific'/'marginal intellectuals' to be the only feasible vanguards of resistance against networks of power as opposed to 'universal intellectuals', i. e. Marxists. Foucault developed this idea in a critical stance to Enlightenment liberalism which had, in part, inspired Marx's materialist conception of history. However, Foucault's re-definition of the new intellectuals, like Okonkwo, Ezeulu, Okonkwo's grandson, the protagonist (in A Man of the People), Denis Nunqam and Anthony Nkoaleck, and their possession of 'marginal' knowledge is not different from the subject of his critique, the Marxist vanguards, and the notion of class consciousness based on locations in opposition to the regime of power. Foucault employs the critical basis prepared byMarx in terms of the making of history as a conscious human action, notions of counter-power in regimes of truth, the thesis and antithesis dialectic, etc. Foucault also draws from the Enlightenment background to Marx's concepts when he utilises the notions of freedom and humanity.

For Marx, there is a two-way relationship between knowledge and material life. For the writers, material life is shaped by knowledge/power discourses which are rules governing knowledge and its articulation through power. Just as Foucault posits, 'local knowledges' play a critical part in determining the course of history portrayed by the writers. Okonkwo activates his 'local knowledge' of ancestral history, patriarchy, personality of greatness from wrestling (p. 4) based on his fear of being thought as weak, his limited idea about what Empire is all about, its

technological might and his belief that people never change, to resist and alter the power of the British imperial discourse. Given that consciousness relates to discourse, all that the 'subject'/Okonkwo can know is what the discourse allows or disallows. Okonkwo's consciousness corresponds to the limits of discourse, and explains why he commits suicide at the end of the text. His limited consciousness removes the possibility of devising alternative strategies to deal with the huge challenges of colonial capitalism. The Umuofia people also become the Foucauldian 'specific intellectuals' whose 'local knowledges' enables them to secure agreement to a dominating British imperial discourse by mobilising a persuasive force entirely disconnected from considerations of ancestral, patriarchal or localizing veracities as Okonkwo desired.

This opens up a dilemma space of method: should physical confrontation or dialogue be employed to deal with the British entrepreneurial and capitalist administration. Foucault argues that historians and Marxists hardly differ (Foucault, 1970; 1973; Foucault, 1980). For Foucault, the 'historian' (like the patriarch Okonkwo) explains the present by the past, asserting the achievement of truth (Cooper, 1994). But for Foucault, history neither necessarily has an ultimate meaning (as in Enlightenment humanism) nor is it a dialectical process apparent in historical materialism (as in Marx). History is intelligible and is susceptible to analysis to the smallest detail but this is in accordance with the intelligibility of struggles, of strategies and tactics, the dialectic, the logic of contradictions cannot account for the intrinsic intelligibility of conflicts (Foucault, 1980; Brown and Cousins, 1986). As a result of struggles, of strategies and tactics, Okonkwo becomes only a 'small detail' in the history ofEmpire in Nigeria when, at the end of the tale, the imperial master takes Okonkwo's body off the hook where he had roped it, symbolizing his power henceforth over what was genuine or the truth in the past. Historical materialism cannot account for all struggles and changes since it is based on the presumption of a contradiction of binary oppositions. For Foucault, opposition is not a dialectical term, given that one discourse cannot have the same truth value as other discourses, the dialectical conception of history cannot be applicable to all ages and struggles within those ages. Foucault adds that there can be no totalizing conception of the world as base of a critique. Indeed, post-structuralism rejects the base/superstructure metaphor for knowledge and considers each "foundational category", such as Igbo ancestral history, to be deconstructible as the causative product of another factor (Grassie, 1997).

But, on the other hand, all the totalising 'writings' of British imperialism evident in Arrow of God and in No Longer at Ease and based on Enlightenment liberalism and Marxism are subsequently shown to be enslaving and dominating, even though they promise salvation. The things that elude the Marxian subject, such as Winterbottom and his administration of the 'civilizing mission' cannot be restored to it; that is, the alienated self cannot be rebuilt, lost freedom cannot be regained. It is in the context of rejection of imperial historians and history as an unfolding process by the Umuofia clan community (that refused to go to war with Okonkwo that they refuse to accept a continuity of 'things'. This is consistent with what Foucault declares, namely, that political history is the history of discourses without agents, and structures without subjects. So, while Marx advocates tearing down the structures for liberation, Foucault suggests

that structures do not limit freedom, they are situations and each situation has its restrictions. Foucault reasons that the positivities he tried to establish are not to be understood as a set of determinations imposed from outside on the thought of the individuals, or inhabiting it from the inside. Rather, they constitute the set of conditions in accordance with which a practice is exercised. This, Foucault claims, means that he does not deny the possibility of changing discourse but he deprives the subject of an instant right over such change (Foucault, 1972). In other words, despite the huge administrative 'structures' (in the Marxian sense) and the technologies of repression of the British administration, namely, the law court, prisons, security officers, etc, the colonized 'subject' escapes 'capture' to the point where the Enlightenment foundations of Empire were threatened and it had to collapse in the 1960s, giving way to new forms of post-Empire discourse. Okonkwo escapes from 'capture' by the forces of imperialism by committing suicide just at the time when the British colonial master arrives (Things Fall Apart, p. 147); Similarly, Ezeulu is imprisoned by Winterbottom but the British district officer fails to subordinate him as 'annexture' to the colonial administration. Ezeulu maintains that he will not become anybody's auxiliary because he knows only Ulu, the god of the six clans united (Arrow of God, p. 67). Despite the 'Enlightened' education Okonkwo's grandson receives from Britain, he fails to represent his 'spokemanship' for Empire, to resist patriarchal values within the bureaucratic apparatus. One of the patriarchal principles requires that once one is at the top of a 'tree', one's brother must receive the ripest plums. Okonkwo's grandson is victimized by this principle at the end of No Longer at Ease.

Bevir argues that Foucault's later work registers reduced hostility to the notion of subject as agent, but still rejects the notion of an autonomous agent (Bevir, 1999). Perhaps, for example, Nunquam, as opposed to Ezeulu is the example of the perfect autonomous agent. On the surface, Foucault's complex representation of power is a more sophisticated concept than Marx's; his major line of attack on Marx focuses on the point of history and who makes it. But Marx argued that a prior commitment to the working class had enabled him to advance the theory of capitalist development. I am not sure that Nunqam has any such class consciousness; perhaps not as strongly as Marx would like to put it. Marx theorised the social formation of classes and the writing up of 'history from below'. But Foucault refers to this kind of thought as a way of capturing 'history'. (Foucault, 1972; Foucault, 1977a; 1977b; Rasmussen, 1988). None of the intellectual agents in the writings of the authors succeedsto 'capture" history; so, the impression one gets is that Marxist intellectual claims to power, strategy and knowledge undermines the promises of liberation for all. Each of the intellectuals 'writes' post-colonial history in ways that are collective and idiosyncratic. All is in the degree to which they combine these elements. To be an intellectual suggests that one has the consciousness of the collective, but this is an idea transposed from an old-fashioned Marxism. The intellectual Okonkwo no longer speaks for all when he summons all for a war against the British colonizer, nor does Ezeulu or even Nunqam. The intellectual through his moral and political stance aspires to bear the universality of his consciousness, under the presumption that his elocution is clear, intransitive and decidable. But

his elocution may be judged as obscure, even when it strives to embody the aspirations of the proletariat. (Foucault, 1980).

According to Foucault, the Marxist 'universal intellectual', such as Ezeulu unlike his alternative 'specific intellectual', such as Okonkwo's grandson, is a totaliser, who speaks for interests beyond current class structures, advocating a universal and even a spiritual interest in his actions. The core of Foucault's argument is that the 'universal intellectual' serves the interest of a totalising theory and totalising theories are all attempts to capture power. Consequently, Ezeulu becomes 'mad' at the end of the tale because he cannot 'capture' history; there are no 'universal interests' since there are no stances in power networks from which interests are designated. Ezeulu only creates his own localizing universality by proposing a 'specific' kind of ancestral 'knowledge' as universal knowledge. Ezeulu succeeds to become the Foucauldian 'specific intellectual' who is a counter-point to the 'power dynamics' of British Empire. He tries to totalize his own genealogical field; by making assumptions about seeing the whole picture from one single ancestral perspective, and yet his position is a 'marginal' location. It is his totalisation of the genealogical field which allows for the construction of a 'margin'. This is different from Marx's totalization of the proletarian perspective of labour, in that the focus here is a spiritual framework. Callinicos raises the idea of the hidden dialectic of Foucault when he asks whether .local knowledge is any more than the oppositional 'other' of the prevailing apparatus of power-knowledge (Callinicos, 1989).

Foucault holds the position that 'specific intellectuals' are the bodies of 'counter-power', which is a similar position Marx imputes to the proletariat, who are part of the forces of production, and are the 'counter-power' of liberal capitalism. One cannot easily grasp the Foucauldian concept of 'resistance', 'micropower' or 'counter-power' in Nunqam, Okonkwo's grandson, Anthony Nkoaleck or in the protagonists in Anthills or A Man of the People, without a totalizing view of the Marxist power structure but at the same time, the cumulative effects of their asymmetrical opposition to the 'languages' of Enlightenment and the values of freedom and equality bonding social change. They turn genealogical historiography upon itself (Habermas, 1987); they subjectify what neo/Empire discourse represents as objective and problematize it as truth (Habermas, 1987). They generate a different Foucauldian genealogy (Bayari, 1998). The intellectuals, like Okonkwo, may sometimes act 'naively' as Dews (1987) suggests in his discussion of the Foucauldian genealogical method in 'The Archaeology of Knowledge' as an empirical and encompassing theory. The scientific practices of Empire and the Enlightenment which are claimed to belong to the régime of truth are countered by local knowledge articulated by specific intellectuals. Local knowledge becomes the alternative science of alternative scientists They succeed to illustrate Foucault's rejection of the prefixed notion of the individual of the Enlightenment. In it, he points out that Enlightenment man is dead and at the same time uses categories of humanism Bayari (1998) to propose the 'specific intellectual' as the agent of change of 'the political, economic, institutional régime of truth' (Foucault, 1980; Foucault, 1984b). The 'specific' intellectuals use the method of 'self-affirmation' critiqued as a shortcoming of Enlightenment thought (Poster, 1982).

In conclusion, the writings of Achebe and Asong challenge the assumption of the necessity and progressivity of entrepreneurship and capitalism for at least three reasons. First, one hundred years after colonial entrepreneurial rule and fifty years after independence, capitalist development depleted the resources of Africa rather than creating the "material conditions" for the transition to "communism" through the expansion of forces of production in the form of large scale industrialization. Capitalist development fabricated "scarcity" in Asong's The Salvation Colony represented by Nunqam and the result is that, contra Marx, the protagonist seeks liberation not in 'material conditions' but in God. The thematic of 'scarcity' which is evident in the national (urban/rural, inter-national) settings of Asong's writings like Stranger in his Homeland and The Akromah File is a direct product of capitalist production. Second, while capitalism enhancesco-operation among workers in the organization of commodity production, in reality it divides workers in many ways: through an unequal division of labour between Dr Max and Nunqam, for example, through the use of the wage, giving the waged like Dr Max power over the wageless, and through the institutionalization of sexism and racism, that naturalize and mystify through the presumption of different personalities the organization of differentiated labour regimes. Third, the most anti-systemic struggles against colonial rule were not fought primarily by waged industrial workers, that is, by the projected revolutionary subjects of Marx, but were fought by rural, indigenous, anti-colonial, anti-apartheid and feminist movements. Today as well, they are fought by subsistence farmers in The Crown of Thorns who lack fertilizers, urban squatters like Nunqam, undocumented migrants like Akromah in The Akromah File, as well as industrial workers. They are also fought by women who, against all odds, are reproducing their families regardless of the value the entrepreneurial market places on their lives, devalorizing their existence, reproducing them for their own sake, even when the capitalists declare their uselessness as a kind of labour power.

The important insight these authors reveal is that the activities that reproduce 'life' whether in the colonial writings of Things Fall Apart, Arrow of God and No Longer at Ease or in the post-independence writings of both authors, are not the automation of production creating the material conditions for a non-exploitative society.

They show that the obstacle to a socialist revolution is not the lack of technological know-how, but the divisions that capitalist development reproduces in countries inducing illegal migrations (cf. The Akromah File) 'geographies of exclusion' between the elite and the working class (cf.A Legend of the Dead). Indeed, the danger today is that besides destroying the human ecology of the African indigenous geography, entrepreneurial capitalism unleashes more wars sparked, for example, by corporate determination to appropriate all of the natural resources of the continent and control its economy as evidenced in Asong's The Crabs of Bangui.

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