

NATIVISTIC MOVEMENTS IN THREE CULTURE AREAS:
A TEST OF SLOTKIN'S THEORY OF NATIONALISM.

by

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ABSTRACT

Nationalism among subject peoples in territories which are or have been at one time colonized by Europeans has generally been associated with political activity and the formation of parties. Slotkin, however has advanced a theory in 1956 which postulates nativistic movements as being the media of nationalism among non-literate peoples, consequently a form of nationalism may be present among a people who possess no formal political power over their affairs. Further, in the light of Slotkin's theory, the absence of formal political activity among subject peoples does not presuppose the absence of nationalism.

Slotkin's theory postulates the existence of a dominance-subordination relation between Europeans and Natives in colonial and other contexts of acculturation where two ethnic groups live in face-to-face contact with each other and where one of these groups is the dominant group. The dominance-subordination relation is believed to generate nationalism in the subordinate group, which exercising no effective political power over its affairs, expresses its feelings through nativistic movements which heretofore had been considered as purely "religious" phenomena.

The data required to test the theory are drawn from the three culture areas of Africa, North America and Oceania in each of which nativistic movements have occurred. The findings from the three areas are incorporated into a general

theory of movement-based nationalism. The limits of Slotkin's theory are established within the general theory above. Subject to qualifications concerning scale, Slotkin's theory was found to be valid as regards the North American culture area and inadequate to cope with the data when extended further. This is due to the fact that the nationalism of North American Indians was based solely on nativistic movements and that of Africans and Oceanians had other bases besides nativism.

Steps towards a modification of Slotkin's theory, as well as the problems attendant to the formulation of an adequate theory of nationalism, are pointed out.

IV

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PREFACE

This thesis is a test of Slotkin's Theory of nationalism. The test consists of a cross-cultural survey of nativistic movements, which, Slotkin says, are responsible for the rise of nationalism in contexts of culture contact. The theories in existence on the political implications of nativistic movements are analyzed and compared with those advanced by Slotkin. Theories developed by the writer are, where applicable, incorporated into the body of the thesis. Contrasts and similarities between diverse theories advanced are duly accounted for, and the limits, within which Slotkin's theory is valid and relevant to the phenomena under study, are prescribed inasmuch as the data consulted permit it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1. The Problem	1
Introduction.....	1
Slotkin's theory and its background...	3
Nationalistic elements in nativistic movements.....	5
2. The Role of Marginal Persons.....	7
3. Syncretism.....	21
4. The Interaction between Movement and Government.....	41
5. The Relationship between Accommodation and Militancy.....	51
6. Processes of Fission and Fusion and their Outcome.....	57
7. Communication Factors affecting Slotkin's theory in a Cross-cultural Perspective....	73
8. Conclusion.....	83
Footnotes of Chapters and Appendices	
1.	I
2.	II
3.	IV
4.	VIII
5.	X
6.	XI
7.	XIV
8.	XVI
Appendix 1.	XVII
Appendix 2.	XVIII
BIBLIOGRAPHY	XX
APPENDIX 1.	a.
APPENDIX 2.	A.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	A Comparison of the Leader, Nucleus and Mass Structure in Zionist and Ethiopian Churches	65
2.	A Schema of Fission in Separatist Churches	66

Chapter 1.

The Problem

Introduction:

In his study of the Peyote Religion, Slotkin developed a theory to explain the way in which Nativistic Movements become the nuclei of nationalistic movements. Slotkin says:

This theory is in the main, based upon the work of two sociologists: Park's race relations theory and Wirth's nationalism theory.¹

In this thesis an attempt is made to test the cross-cultural validity of Slotkin's theory by the investigation and analysis of nationalistic elements which are to be foundⁱⁿ Nativism. This Nativism is a mass movement and is said to flourish in acculturation situations undergoing rapid social change. Nativism occurs as a result of a dominance-subordination relation between two ethnic groups who interact in the acculturation context. The subordinated group gives the impetus to a movement once it has been founded by a leader or prophet who has a nucleus of followers.

The movements studied here under study originate as religious ones and take on political overtones sometime after coming into existence.^{2(a)} The movements can thus be considered as being "cults" originally, while the following is still small. They become "movements" when the following becomes larger and there is a corresponding growth in influence which the movement can exert. It would be difficult to be any more precise on the distinction between "cult" and "movement". The transformation of a "cult" from a religious to a political movement is a process which has as yet received little attention from students of Nativistic movements and is therefore

considered to be a problem which is well suited as a thesis project.

Slotkin says:

Specifically, my thesis is that Peyotism socially is an example of accommodation rather than militancy; culturally that it is a case of Pan-Indian nativism.²

Slotkin's thesis lends itself to a test of validity, and the limits of such validity may be set, wherever these may be found. The test consists of a comparison of data, on Nativistic movements and their presumed nationalistic elements, from the three culture areas of North America, Oceania and Africa.

A thorough study of the metamorphosis of a movement from cult to political organization may provide a key to some of the more vexing problems of culture change and to the rise of nationalism in formerly colonial contexts. The cross-cultural analysis of the movements as they occur in the three areas suggested may be a way to the understanding of at least one type of nationalism. This is particularistic nationalism, isolated as a type by Wirth and used by Slotkin for the theory being tested here. Briefly, Wirth says:

This form of nationalism is based upon the secessionist demand of national autonomy. Such movements (those known by this type) characteristically begin with a striving for cultural autonomy or toleration, which, when the movement makes headway, takes on political significance and finally develops into the demand for political sovereignty. This has been the case in Norway where the movement was successful, and in Ireland where it was unsuccessful. In an incipient and utopian form it is to be found among the Jews and Negroes.³

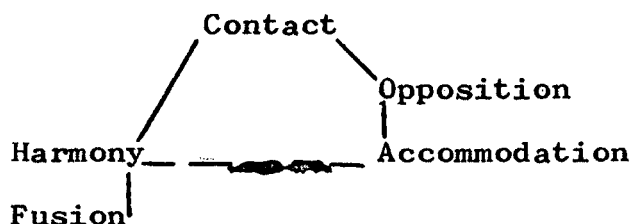
Wirth's examples of particularistic nationalism are from Europe but it is not proposed to use European material for the test of Slotkin's thesis. Since the latter has used an acculturation context in order to develop his theory of nationalism, the same context is used in this work to test the theory.

Slotkin's Theory and its Background:

If nationalism is considered to be the product of a dominance-subordination relation, several concepts used by Slotkin are vital to the theory. The first is that of the "ethnic group". Slotkin says:

An "ethnic group" is a population categorized as being racially and/or culturally distinct. It is so categorized by other people, by itself, or by both. Ethnic groups have their origin in social and cultural differences, and this leads us to a consideration of some phenomena resulting from the interaction between different societies and cultures.⁴

Another concept is that of the phases through which intersocialization and acculturation go. These are:



And therewith Slotkin proceeds with his theory. He says:

.....this succession of phases is not irreversible. Characteristically it is reversed by a subordinate group midway between the phases of accommodation and harmony. The reason for this may be enumerated in terms of the following effects of intersocialization and acculturation.

(a) As a result of increasing intersocialization, the previously distinct societies are no longer independent, and become sub-societies within a complex society. The previously subordinate society is now a subordinate group. In this process the subordinate group becomes disorganized, for its traditional social organization is inadequate under the new conditions....Social disorganization is particularly severe when the subordinate sub-society consists of many previously small simple societies, either tribal or regional in character, which are now part of a large complex society. This is because the social organization necessary for a large complex society is different from that of a small and simple society.

(b) As a result of increasing acculturation, the previously distinct cultures are no longer so different, and become sub-cultures within a heterogeneous culture. The previously subordinate culture is now a subordinate subculture. In this process the subordinate sub-culture becomes disorganized on two counts. First its traditional cultural organization is inadequate under the new conditions. Second the disorganization is aggravated by the forced culture change incident to accommodation...

(c) ...the dominant sub-society uses the domination-subordination relation in order to achieve its own goals at the expense of subordinate sub-societies, and usurps for itself those activities having high social value. In these ways the dominant group discriminates against subordinate groups. For example in Africa, Whites employ Natives in low status occupations for which they receive small wages. Now customary social interaction of any sort depends upon categorized social roles. Therefore, insofar as the dominant group discriminates in similar ways against various subordinate groups on racial and/or cultural grounds, it categorizes these subordinate groups as belonging to the same "ethnic group", even if previously these were many small societies, either tribal or regional. Again South Africa provides a good example; all natives irrespective of tribe, are categorized as Native and subjected to the same colour bar.

In response to such discrimination from the dominant group, the subordinate group develops group unity and solidarity. First, solidarity within a group is a function of the degree of opposition between it and other groups; since discrimination is a form of opposition, discrimination tends to increase the solidarity of subordinate groups. Second, insofar as the subordinate groups adopt the ethnic categorizations of the dominant group, they now categorize themselves as belonging to the same ethnic group. For these reasons, then, the subordinate ethnic group develops group identity and solidarity, which are manifested in esprit de corps and morale. To continue the example of the previous paragraph, in response to White discrimination against Natives in South Africa, the natives are dropping their traditional intertribal opposition and are joining together as Natives in common opposition against the dominant Whites.⁵

This is then Slotkin's view of the alignment of group against group and it is at the point of opposition that Wirth's "particularistic nationalism" becomes important. The nationalistic fervour is presumed to be initiated in the subordinate group through the leadership of "marginal persons", who are, according to Slotkin:

cosmopolites and acculturated persons from the subordinate group, who try to become members of the dominant group, are rejected by it and become 'marginal persons' incompletely assimilated socially and unified culturally. The significance of marginal persons to our analysis lies in the following consideration: In the accommodation phase, the members of the subordinate group become resigned to, or accept the subordinate status. But marginal persons reject the subordinate status given them. Depending upon the circumstances, they respond in various ways; one of these is the attempt to overthrow the domination-subordination relation. It is such people who are the proponents of nationalism.

So finally we come to 'nationalism', an action group whose program is to have its ethnic group achieve higher status in opposition to other ethnic groups. In effect, then, nationalism represents a reversal of the phases---from a point midway between the phases of accommodation and harmony, back to the phase of opposition.⁶

Nationalistic elements in nativistic movements:

Once the subordinate ethnic group has been defined as "nationalistic" there arises the question as to how this nationalism expresses itself in the various situations where nativistic movements have arisen. Nationalism is a program in which the religious and political elements of nativistic movements are combined. A nationalistic program is initiated into nativistic movements by marginal persons. It consists of a mixture of religious and political doctrine which is adhered to by the followers of the movement and becomes the basis for action leading to the hoped-for overthrow of the dominant group by the subordinate group. So much has been said by Slotkin. The success or failure of a movement, a condition which is difficult to evaluate depends upon the subtlety with which syncretism takes place, the stage of acculturation reached by a people and the capabilities of the leadership in directing and organizing the movement. Many other factors are also influential in determining the outcome of a protest by a subordinate ethnic

group against the dominant ethnic group in the context of culture contact. Notable factors receiving detailed treatment in separate chapters are: (a) the influence of the administration; (b) matters of political and social structure allowing or hindering movement formation; and (c) the physical nature of the territory in which a movement takes place.

Nationalism in the movements has to be seen in terms of syncretized elements. These become the basis of doctrines advocating the overthrow of a dominance-subordination relation^{and} can be (a) naturalistic, (b) supernaturalistic or (c) a combination of both.

Doctrines of type (a) are military, political, or economic, and doctrines of type (b) are religious or magical.⁷ Slotkin further says:

The subordinate ethnic group attempts to overthrow the domination-subordination relation culturally by means of nativistic nationalism and socially by means of militant nationalism.⁸

He does not say in what order, if any, these two forms of nationalism occur, but he does say:

....that militant and nativistic nationalism have been considered separately for analytic purposes. Sometimes one or the other does occur alone....Usually, however, the two kinds of nationalism appear in conjunction.⁹

Thus the forms of nationalism which Slotkin postulates in his theory must be isolated and identified according to the politico-nationalistic elements which form the totality of a movement's doctrines and the actions of its members. The extent to which the identification of elements of doctrines and actions is possible will determine the extent to which Slotkin's theory can be further elaborated.

Chapter 2.

The Role of Marginal Persons

This chapter is a discussion of movement leadership and its ramifications. Slotkin has given considerable attention to the concept of "marginal persons" and it has been elaborated upon at length in the previous chapter.¹ This chapter answers the question as to whether these persons are or are not the "proponents of nationalism".²

The key to the problem appears to lie in the statement to the effect that:

cosmopolites and acculturated persons from the subordinated group who try to become members of the dominant group, are rejected by it and become 'marginal persons'.³

It would appear that the attempt to become such members of the dominant group is made when marginal persons seek to enter the strata of minor officialdom or seek other positions where they can wield a minimal amount of power and authority over their fellows in the group from which they stem. At a certain point these marginal persons are prevented by the dominant group from advancing any further. This creates a frustration, the outlet for which becomes cult activity in which they can wield power over, a part of, or, the whole group from which they originally came. Thus prophets, cult leaders and Messiahs are people who have generally had a greater amount of contact with the dominant group than their ethnic fellows, who are thus comparatively well-versed in the ways of the dominant group but who have not been able to rise above the level of subordination to the dominant group. The above consideration is important because marginal persons may be functioning in an official

capacity similar to that in which dominant group members are functioning, but they are nevertheless held within the bounds of ethnic group subordination in social and cultural respects. Once they have renounced this subordination as individuals, marginal persons use the techniques and forms of organization which they picked up during their work for the dominant group and organize a movement with them. A movement is usually organized in their home area or wherever their allegiance to a particular group is positively recognized and appreciated.

In many instances former soldiers and policemen in the colonial administration became leaders of movements. Thus the leader of the Paliau movement on Manus was a former sergeant in the New Guinea police force named Paliau, who, as Muhlmann says:

....during the war .. had been in Rabaul. There he was put in charge of all the village officials of the district of Rabaul by the Japanese. At the end of the war he returned to his homeland and began organizing a religious and political movement, whose aim was the establishment of a Native community independent of the Whites.⁴

Similarly, another Cargo leader on the Rai Coast in New Guinea, named Yali:

had been a sergeant-major during the war, had served with distinction, and on his discharge had returned home with enormous prestige. His influence over the Rai Coast people became so strong that when Japanese soldiers were discovered hiding in the bush, it was to Yali that the matter was reported and not to the administration.⁵

Others did not enjoy such positions of distinction, and yet were nevertheless involved in impressive outbreaks of cargo activity, notably the well-known Mambu:

Mambu was a baptized Roman Catholic. He had been a migrant labourer in Rabaul.....and the Mission had contemplated using him as a Mission helper.⁶

Others again were frustrated in their attempts to meet the requirements of the dominant group, when these requirements took the form of an examination. One such case was Simon Kimbangu the Leader of Kimbanguism in the Belgian Congo who:

was educated by an English Mission but failed the examinations which were set, this being an accident, which no doubt, was influential from a personal point of view.⁷

The leaders of the four movements here referred to were all extremely active, and one of them, Paliu, was successful in his cult-leading and organizing activity.

As it appears that Slotkin has gleaned the essence of his concept of the 'marginal person' from Stonequist, who made a detailed study of various kinds of 'marginal men', it would be worthwhile to present some of the significant points made by the latter. Particularly important, in the concept, is the idea of the "stages" of development that are required for a marginal man to come into existence. Stonequist sees marginality partly as a form of maladjustment which seeks its rectification through various means, one of which is the expression of religious and political fervour. Edwards, whom he quotes, says:

One form of adjustment, or at least of partial adjustment, for the marginal man is found through identification with the subordinate group, or "oppressed" group, and perhaps the assumption of a role of leadership in that group. Such leadership frequently takes the form of nationalism, or of a "racial" movement. The Garvey "Back to Africa" movement, the nationalisms of Europe and Asia, Jewish Zionism, and the New Negro renaissance in the United States, are examples of such responses. When the tendency toward identification with the dominant group or culture is rebuffed, such a reaction seems to be a natural one.⁸

And Slotkin adds:

By leading the minority group, the individual acquires status and self-respect. He secures a role through which he can organize and integrate his attitudes and aspirations. As his group advances in organization, its power increases and it gains greater dignity and esprit de corps.⁹

Stonequist sums these propositions up by saying that:

Nationalism from this point of view, is a second stage following an initial identification with the over-group.¹⁰

From this analysis it appears that the more complete the identification with the dominant culture, the greater the succeeding disillusionment and emotional reaction, when the individual is denied the status to which he aspires. The mechanism seems to be the same as that which sometimes causes quarrels between close friends to turn the friendship into the most bitter of hatreds. The individual's pride and self-esteem suffer from the humiliation involved. He has shared too much with the other -- he has given too much of himself -- and the emotional rebound is proportionately greater.¹¹

It might be presumed that the emotional rebound becomes the basis in part for the militancy of a leader, quite distinct from the shape that the movement takes some time after coming into existence. The role of a militant leader is thus considerable and Stonequist says:

The aggressive and militant nationalist or radical has an important part in the interracial or international situation. He acts as a leader in organizing the subordinate group, and often helps to revive the traditional culture and to modernize it -- for the dominant group must be met with its own ideas and techniques before it will give way.¹²

The importance of the last sentence cannot be underestimated, since a good part of the success of a movement lies in its capacity to "meet the dominant group with its own ideas and techniques". That is the point also where the military training and experience of such men as Yali and Paliau is most useful, since some of the most significant movements to date have usually been organized along quasi-military lines, the Mau-Mau movement to which we shall refer later, being one example, and Masinga Rule another. The situations

that the people leading these movements are involved in are precisely situations of culture conflict, and the responses of leaders and followers are in keeping with the level of acculturation reached by each of these two classes respectively.

Thus if we can conceive of the interaction between subordinate and dominant group, as though it were a struggle -- to the death if necessary, according to the doctrines of highly militant movements, faced by equally militant reprisals,-- then we will understand the significance of Stonequist's statement. Further it would seem that all militant movements which fail to appropriate the techniques of the dominant ethnic group, in order to counter dominant ethnic group rule, are doomed to some sort of failure. One index of a movement's relative success in achieving its aims is the degree to which it has appropriated and used these techniques for the emancipation of the subordinate group which it claims to represent. Much of this success can therefore be attributed to the leadership because it is responsible for formulating doctrines and actions.

In that marginal men are the product of a complex situation, each one differing from most others in existence, it is not surprising that their reconstruction of an acculturation condition can be exceedingly complex and correspondingly unintelligible to the dominant ethnic group concerned in each case. This is because the reconstruction has a logic of its own and the doctrines and practices which are a part of this reconstruction are esoteric knowledge known only to the initiated and perhaps to fellow travellers.

of the movement. The syncretism performed by a leader to establish his movement is vital for his purpose. The elements syncretized are included in the rationalization system within which the leader operates. Therefore it would be fallacious to assume that if the ideas and techniques syncretized are advanced dominant group techniques, that communication with the dominant group will thereby be facilitated. The problem of communication between groups will receive detailed consideration in chapter 7. It is important to bear in mind that the problem is a considerable one. Further, the relative instability inherent in a very dynamic movement is usually reflected in its leadership, and Stonequist shows how this happens:

As an agitator, the nationalist acts as a ferment, constantly keeping old issues alive and pointing out new ones. He prevents accommodation on any particular level from becoming too fixed or crystallized, thereby helping to raise the ultimate status of his group. His "extreme" and "destructive" views promote concessions to the moderates, who appear mild in comparison. By losing himself in a cause larger than himself, the marginal nationalist overrides, if he does not solve his own personal conflicts.¹³

Thus the condition of marginality is not only complex as a social condition but also as a personal one. This is due to the fact that:

the marginal individual has an uncertain status in two or more groups (so) that he becomes a distinct type of person-¹⁴ ality irrespective of the particular content of the culture.

This statement is elaborated upon further in that:

He, (the marginal man) cannot rid himself of his earlier sentiments and aspirations; and even when he adopts the role of intermediary, or becomes a flaming nationalist, the mental tensions persist as an underlying motive colouring his moods and driving his thoughts. Such personalities, when superior in intelligence and will, may become outstanding leaders.¹⁵

It can thus be seen that the culture conflict which is part of the dominance-subordination relation:

....is simply a form of group conflict where the source of the conflict lies in the cultural difference. This difference is interpreted in moral terms. Two systems of mores are struggling, each commanding the loyalty of its members. Fundamentally it is a struggle for existence: which group shall control the situation? Each group -- particularly the one in control -- seeks to protect itself by keeping the other in its place. This is a matter of keeping social distance; when the position of the controlling group is threatened by the advance of the subordinate group, it responds with fear and antipathy -i.e., race prejudice.¹⁶

These are by no means all the components of the condition of marginality as these are related to the marginal man as a social unit and as an individual. Some marginal men become the leaders of highly militant movements and others of less militant movements. The former types of movements have generally been known as "active" and the latter as "passive". This active-passive distinction between movements is difficult to use because the contexts in which the movements occur vary so much and each of the two types represents a different kind of nationalism. The active movements represent social nationalism and the passive movements represent cultural nationalism.

Thus the leader of a noteworthy passive movement, who was also skilled in the arts of syncretism by blending traits from other movements during his time into his own movement, was John Wilson, the "Revealer of Peyote". La Barre says of him that:

he was involved in the several traditions of the Ghost Dance, mescalism, old Algonquian shamanistic "shooting" ceremonies and finally Peyotism.¹⁷

Wilson's marginality did not seem to be such a condition of conflict, as Stonequist has postulated it to be for other "outstanding leaders".¹⁸ Wilson first appears as a leader of the Ghost Dance movement of the 1890's and Mooney writes of him then:

Although considered a Caddo, and speaking only that language, he is very much of a mixture,¹⁹ being half Delaware, one-fourth Caddo, and one-fourth French.

and La Barre says:

He embodied in his person, many of the messianic characteristics of his several native predecessors.²⁰

As a messiah of a multi-ethnic background, John Wilson may have eased the transition of the Plains Indians from their native beliefs to a syncretistic and accommodative doctrine. He is significant for this discussion in displaying the capacity which certain marginal persons have for encompassing several formerly distinct tribes (or groups), and teaching them successfully under the stress of acculturation that there are essential similarities among them and that these similarities merit recognition by bonds of inter-tribal solidarity. As a spokesman for several Indian groups John Wilson appears to have been not so much concerned with representing them to the Whites as with representing them to each other. He seems to have succeeded in this mission and others of his kind did well too. It can be assumed therefore that the times were ripe for movement formation on the Plains and that this helped him considerably.

Subsequently, the Native American Church emerged from the Peyote Cult and its derivatives and became a recognized religious body in Oklahoma on October the 19th, 1918.²¹ The successors of John Wilson have followed his teachings of inter-tribal solidarity to the extent that:

The chief function of the state organization (the Native American Church) so far, has been the mobilizing of political power and the application of pressure on legislative groups, in the preservation of what the Indians regard as their constitutionally guaranteed rights of religious freedom.²²

Thus passivity is important to us here because it fits most closely the accommodation phase postulated by Slotkin as being one through which a movement goes. Passivity can further be identified with the wish to preserve the rights of one's group. But this wish can become militant in the face of overwhelming repressive measures against a movement by the dominant ethnic group. At that point the leadership redefines the position of the dominant group and the goals of the movement. This is significant because even the preservation of a condition of accommodation, which we have hitherto termed "passive" requires a minimum of militancy and it is significant that this militancy, as displayed by the Native American Church, takes the form of:

....an actively evangelistic group (in Montana) which sends "missionaries" into new regions, ambitious of making Peyote the Universal Indian Religion.²³

Thus we see not only considerable adaptability, in a movement at earlier times faced by extreme opposition, but also growth which might lead it into the "active" category. This is because "growth" requires some militancy. A disciplined leadership provides for this "growth" by directing the militancy of the movement primarily towards, other members of the subordinate ethnic group and only as much towards the dominant ethnic group as the necessity for survival dictates. Peyotism and its leadership did this to a considerable extent through the use of the laws of the White man and through the organization of missionary activity. Thus it has remained a viable movement to the present day.

In assessing the capacities of the leaders of movements, we have dwelt to some extent on the social situation in which they find

themselves and on the psychological factors which are influential in forging the leaders' decisions. We have, however, not looked into the social class background from which the leaders stem. If such a thing were done we might even speak of a leader class. One researcher who has done work in this regard is Balandier who gives a statistical breakdown of the origins and roles of 70 leaders and functionaries in the "Amicale Balali". His findings are that:

- 24 were chiefs of villages, territories or tribes, or older chiefs.
- 19 were functionaries or agents of the administration.
- 17 were merchants and artisans.
- 10 were peasants and those without specific profession.²⁴

He says:

From this, one can immediately observe, that it is the social categories most closely tied to the established colonial powers (chiefs and clerks), who dominate; this brings attention to a report of 1933 which refers to "the importance of the role" played in a movement by indigenous administrative personnel. Apart from this there appears a nearly equal importance of modernist categories (slightly dominant) and of traditional categories: which shows that the distinction made, in certain official reports, between "evolved" aspect and "primitive" aspect of the 'Amicaliste' movement remains a superficial one; there appears rather a reciprocity of influence, than predominance of one category over the other.

Many conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the information given by Balandier -- but none of them are definite. It could be argued that leaders of the traditional society would feel and resent subordination to the dominant group most acutely and are thus more likely to lead movements of protest. In being a part of the administrative machine, they fit well into the conditions required for marginality. On the other hand it could also be argued that inasmuch as the chiefly powers are backed by the administration, especially where Indirect Rule is practised, a popular protest movement, which might undermine their already precarious position,

would not receive their support. However, where chiefs are subject to replacement, when they do not carry out the wishes of the administration, they realize that their delegated power is unreal and they could then be considered as being potential leadership material for a movement in which leadership is based upon traditional forms of organization and prestige with which they are familiar. Thus in connection with the Paliau movement on Manus, in the Admiralty Islands Schwartz tells us that:

Paliau's position as leader still related in some respects to the older pattern of leadership by "big men" which had prevailed throughout much of Melanesia...Like the "big man" of legend he was depended on as the initiator of major activities. ...Like the leaders of the past Paliau was involved in a system that demanded continual further validation of his leadership.²⁵

It is thus understandable that people with some familiarity with the political structure in which they find themselves, have greater chances of using that structure for the purposes of movement formation and leadership. Chiefs with recognized authority would be most likely to gain acceptance by their people as movement leaders. However, if other individuals were available, especially those who had seen service with a colonial power, they could also become potential leaders. This was the case with Paliau and with André Matswa, the founder of the "Amicale Balali". The latter movement has such tremendous implications for the future of Natives of French Equatorial Africa and under the impact of Pan-Africanism for the whole of Africa eventually, that it is worthwhile to understand it. Balandier claims that:

....it is the first organized political reaction in a colonial society.

and he adds that:

It was in 1926 that a Ba-sundi, a native of Brazzaville, André Matswa, organized in Paris with the moral and material help of official personalities an association called the: Société amicale des originaires de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française, the (Friendship Society of Natives of French Equatorial Africa) of which he assures himself the presidency with the collaboration of four Congolese. The society essentially claimed as its goal a mutual aid activity, even though its founder recognizes therein that the determining element of his project was the desire to remedy "the state of inferiority of his fellow countrymen vis-a-vis the Whites". 26

It may be asked: "How can a member of the subordinate group organize with the help of members of the dominant group an association that can be a potential threat to the hegemony of the dominant group?" This is a question which would be difficult to answer were it not for the fact that Matswa was an "évolué" and as such enjoyed citizenship in the dominant group. "Évolués" thus constituted another class of people in the French acculturation setting. This class was mid-way between the subordinate ethnic group and the dominant ethnic group and admission to it was based on individual qualifications. Matswa, as a former service man in the French Colonial Infantry, was able to fulfill the admission requirements. How many of Balandier's 70 leaders and functionaries of the "Amicale Balali" were "évolués" is not said. In all likelihood not all of them were because admission to movement leadership positions is not based on the same objective criteria as admission to "évolué" status. Balandier describes very well how the creation of the "évolué" class was instrumental in creating a class of marginal men. He says:

The role played by elements called "évolués" (and notably by the 'lettrés') in movements of opposition to colonial society, has revealed the mastery of this social category over the typical villagers until then underestimated by the administration. The tendency was to consider these individuals

as being atypical, like "déracinés", (the rootless) who gave the impression of being renegades vis-a-vis their native groupings; (27) ...and it was not until 1930 for the first time, that the problem of "indigenous élites" was precisely phrased; at a moment when their expansion affirmed itself, without a policy having been formulated which would take them into account.²⁸

Thus it can be seen that the creation of a special class had considerable significance for the eruption of a powerful movement in French Equatorial Africa. "Évolués" were selectively accepted as members of the dominant group 'pro forma' but were rejected from socializing with the dominant group. It can be said that as an "évolué" Matswa had sufficient insight into the workings of European society, that as a member of the "indigenous elite" as mentioned above, he worded his goal in such a way as to show no apparent conflict with the interests of his overlords. Once he was to proceed on a course of action, the essential conflict with the White administration came to the surface, -- if for no other reason than that a society for the benefit of the subordinated group existed -- and at that exclusively for the latter's benefit. From the point at which the movement was founded to the point where it became a religious organization, the recruitment of members and the elaboration of internal organization could be considered as logical self-perpetuating mechanisms.

For the purposes of this chapter it is important to realize how the definition of clearly realistic goals by the leaders, subject to the capacity of fulfillment by the followers, had the effect of starting certain movements at more sophisticated levels than was the case in cargo movements for example where such a highly trained leadership was lacking. The "Amicale Balali" and the Paliau

movement have their similarities in spite of radically different circumstances of origin, but in these, as in other movements such as Peyotism, the leadership had a keen perception of the overall acculturation situation, knew the weaknesses and the strengths of the dominant group, and devised sufficiently dynamic policies which took account of a continuously changing situation.

Chapter 3.

Syncretism.

As has been said in the previous chapter, a leader who is skilled in the arts of syncretism has a better chance of leading a successful movement than one who does not possess such a skill¹. and in chapter 1 the conclusion was reached that a nationalistic programme, which combines religious and political elements into one systematic whole, is a syncretistic programme.² Thus the concept of syncretism is vital to the understanding of nationalism in nativistic movements. Syncretism of native and foreign culture traits is present in all movements here under study and it has been recognized by researchers on nativistic movements as a process of culture change of fundamental importance. The desire for the acquisition of foreign culture by a native population through the medium of movement activity had not been duly recognized by those who considered "nativism" as a sort of return to the ancestors' ways. An example of this kind of view was Linton's which defined a nativistic movement as:

any conscious organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture.³

Such a definition rules out syncretism in nativistic movements, and it has been challenged by Mühlmann who says:

With the 'selected aspects of its culture' Linton appears to attach particular significance to the affectation of difference. He even insists that a higher value is attached to 'own' culture elements, the stronger these dissociate themselves from the dominating contact culture.⁴

and with this he gives a penetrating description of the dynamics of selection:

However, the 'town' lies in the wishes and will, to differentiate oneself from the impression of overpowering foreign culture, it lies in the manifestation of the feeling: "We are also something" but--it does not necessarily lie in the retention of traditional culture elements; it might even lie in the assertion, that the accepted innovations are in truth the 'town'. And likewise where nativism ties itself to a clear rejection of foreign culture elements, the latter are usually not just rejected for their own sake but only as symbols of foreign dominance.⁵

Thus we can observe that Slotkin's theory of nationalism is clearly reinforced by Mühlmann's rebuttal of Linton's once-famous definition of nativistic movements. That the culture elements syncretized have something akin to a nationalistic basis also appears to be borne out by Mühlmann's theoretical position. He says:

The decisive issue in nativistic movements is....not the preservation or revival of 'town' cultural characteristics, but much rather it is the impetus to enter the fray with one's own contribution, whereby this contribution is defined in terms of 'town' as also in terms of 'adopted' and can be expressed accordingly. Thus we may define nativism as: a collective course of action which is supported by the urge to restore a group identity which has been shattered by overpowering foreign culture through massive demonstration of "one's own contribution".⁶

The concept of syncretism herewith merits closer scrutiny.

Winick's Dictionary of Anthropology gives us the following definitions for syncretism:

1. In religion a merger of two analogous elements in two different cultures. Each of the elements retains its being, e.g. the identification of African deities and Catholic saints among some cult devotees in Haiti.
2. In language, the use of a particular grammatical form to perform the functions of another form or other forms in addition to its own.⁷

According to the criteria postulated by Mühlmann we could therefore assume that syncretism is a manifestation in all movements of a nativistic nature and that the roots of nationalism are likely to be found in these movements.

As phenomena of syncretism have for a long time been observed in activity which has erroneously been called "religious"⁸, it will be interesting to see to what extent syncretism occurs in political behaviour and further to see to what extent nativistic movements syncretize their "own" political elements with those of a donor culture in order to achieve the goals which the leadership sets itself.

It will be seen that we are not so much concerned here with supposed universals about syncretism as with how particular movements syncretize culture elements of varying origins, for nationalistic purposes. Mühlmann claims that:

nationalism as an ideology is amenable to export from Europe to Asia and Africa and that it could build superstructures above the populations there of whose national integration could not even be dreamed.¹⁰

Clearly although nationalism is at the outset a purely European concept in the context of culture contact, the concept is soon appropriated by the subordinate peoples and used by them against the overlordship of the dominant group.^{10(a)} So much is clear, and if we speak of syncretism, we must speak of the particular components of nationalism as a militant philosophy which are fused with elements from the philosophy of the subordinate group into a general manifesto for action. We can further say that nationalism is in force among a people regardless of whether it is in a syncretized form or not, when: "the dominant group has been met with its^{own} ideas and techniques".¹¹

The effectiveness with which a subordinate group will be able to meet the dominant group "with its own ideas and techniques" will, in part, determine whether the latter will give way or not.

The success of the subordinate group in achieving syncretism depends, again in part, upon the stage of acculturation which the subordinate group has reached. Thus we find that the Melanesian cargo cults, which were highly syncretistic, failed to achieve their purposes as nationalistic movements when these cults first appeared, because acculturation was not sufficiently advanced to instruct the natives in the correct use of organizational and political techniques with which they could meet the European on his own level. This idea has been elaborated by Dr. Belshaw in the following question:

Why should such diverse historical facts, (the history of acculturation in various isolated islands) give rise to such unified movements?

He says:

If we describe the position of these Melanesian communities in the modern world, (the communities in which cult activity has been recorded) we can see indeed that there is a common element. None of these communities is untouched by European influence and none of them has been able to take full advantage of living under that influence.

The people, then (those affected by cult activity) have all been in contact with thriving European communities, but none of them have been able to participate in vigorous activity leading to a higher standard of life. I think that it is most significant that the two extremes of Melanesian life do not appear so far to have succumbed to these cults, though they have problems of their own. On the one hand, we have thriving native settlements in or near such towns as Port Moresby, Rabaul, (though here there was a formidable general strike,--I am assuming that it was not a cult) Vila, and in New Caledonia and areas of intense missionary industrial work. Here the people are in the grip of modern life and have little time or inclination to organize into cults. On the other hand, we have areas such as the interior of New Guinea and Malekula, where cults continue in their native form, unmodified by European intrusion.

If we accept this thesis, it is easy to understand that the similarities in the cults are due to the position of the communities half way between the old and the new way of living; and that the differences are due almost solely to particular historical circumstances.¹²

From the above, Dr. Belshaw draws the following conclusions:

The universals seem to be these: the half-way Melanesian sees other people who possess a way of living that he tends to envy....he must strive to attain a similar power... His intellectual problem is, first, to explain European success, and, second, to achieve a method of parallel success. This problem must be solved in terms of Melanesian experience.¹³

Thus we see that the native and foreign culture elements are reintegrated in terms of native patterns of thought and action, and that the point where this reintegration takes place lies where half-way acculturation has been reached.

The problem of explaining the origins of a movement is complicated by material which does not fit into the scheme. An example is the general strike in Rabaul, which according to the criteria advanced by Dr. Belshaw is not treated as a cult. But still the strike occurred in the general area of cargo cults. If the strike is not a cult, could it be called a movement? The difficulty of distinction between the two terms has been hinted at in chapter 1¹⁴ and it is proposed here that for the purposes of this analysis the notion of "cult" has greater limitations than the notion of "movement" and that consequently the latter term will be the more useful. The dilemma of terms will not disturb the half-way acculturation thesis unduly, so it is here proposed that the strike be called a form of "terminal acculturation". At the stage of "terminal acculturation" the subordinate group uses precisely those techniques which are commonly used by members of the dominant group against other members of their group in a non-acculturation setting. Here then: "the dominant group" has been "met with its own ideas and techniques" by the subordinate group. In fact Worsley has

included a description of the Rabaul strike in his study of Melanesian Cargo-cults and from the description which he gives of it, there is little difference between this strike and the standard industrial version of it. At the risk of blowing up a small incident into an exaggerated version, it will be included here. Worsley says:

The 3000 strikers were apparently influenced by foreign seamen (variously described as 'West Indians', 'White', Samoan, Samarai, and 'American Negroes') who jeered at them for accepting such low wages; 5/- a month for a labourer, with an average earning of 6/-. Led by the native master of a schooner and a Sergeant-Major of Police, the entire operation was conducted in complete and disciplined order. Partly through lack of food, but also because expectations of concessions of one pound per month were not forthcoming, the strike ended without violence apart from some turbulence among the 'Catholic' group....This was in 1929....in 1937 another strike occurred in which a doubling of existing wage-levels was demanded.¹⁵

A noteworthy thing about the strike is that it occurred twice within an eight-year span. Thus it would appear that there is some evidence to the effect that where acculturation has proceeded sufficiently for the natives to grasp efficient techniques of protest, they will do so, and use them with considerable sophistication. The question as to whether the ends desired have been achieved or not is irrelevant to the procedure of protest. Alternatively, where acculturation has not proceeded sufficiently for the natives to be familiar with such sophisticated means of protest as strikes, the resort to magic and to the "supernatural"¹⁶ is the only way out for them. Or to quote Dr. Belshaw again:

The problem must be solved in terms of Melanesian experience.¹⁷
How the knowledge leading to protest action has been acquired is in the final analysis a question quite incidental to the form that

the outbreak of protest takes. It is sufficient that the natives know or feel that something is discordant in their relationship with the dominant group in order for them to register their feelings in a form intelligible to members of it.

In appraising the degree of syncretism characteristic of a movement, attention must be given not only to the acquired culture elements but also to the socio-economic and political framework within which the combination of elements, people and circumstances works. As the total acculturation situation is usually ill-defined it is difficult to determine with any great accuracy what impact each of the constituent syncretistic components has on others. When foreign culture elements are fused with native ones and the process of syncretism is highly elaborated, the new culture elements which emerge may be most difficult to categorize or to deal with in any other disciplined fashion. It thus becomes difficult to say with any claim to certainty whether a movement is impeded or aided by the elements which it adopts and which are thrust upon it. An analysis of the nature suggested here, however, is necessary for appropriate deductions to be made from the mass of descriptive material available.

Historic events and actions upon completion lend themselves more easily to analysis than action during its actual occurrence.¹⁸ Similarly, the doctrine, eschatology, if there be one, and visible paraphernalia of a movement can be more easily noted than the train of thought of leaders and followers and the communication between them. Also analysis is aided if the observer is to some extent involved in a movement, be it as an administrator, leader, follower

or simply fellow-traveller. A trained observer can determine whether the movement in question has the capacity to impress its followers with its goals in order to secure their loyalty and support.

A movement may be carefully directed, or it may proceed with a minimum of organization. Each kind provides new insights. The Paliau movement is noteworthy for its high level of organization and its elaborate forms of syncretism, two conditions, which, incidentally go hand in hand. The leader, Paliau, designed a myth called the "Long Story of God" in which:

He provided a beginning, placing the Manus past in the context of all that he or his followers knew of world history and myth. This past construct served several ends. It placed Manus in the world. It accounted for the condition of the Manus in a way that effectively challenged its inevitability. It drew heavily upon Christianity, showing Manus as the result of accident and conspiracy, left in the state of man after the fall from Paradise, long after the Redemption had brought a mitigation of this misery to the white man. This construct of the past was a denunciation of the old culture as political atomism and economic futility. It was a denunciation of the contact culture as a betrayal of the native, a withholding of the truth, a failure of the white men, nation after nation, to fulfill the mission of Jesus, to "get up" the native, to make him "all right". And finally, as a myth, the "Long Story of God" led history logically and inevitably to the Paliau movement.

The careful organization of movement doctrine is all the more remarkable for the fact that:

The "Long Story of God", the founding myth of the initial Paliau Movement, did not contain all the orienting constructs of the Movement. It was separate from the main body of movement program. The "Long Story of God" included Jesus' selection of Paliau as the man to bring his Word to the "black men". It could be allowed to become myth, since it represented neither ideology nor program. It was a beginning--the thing that each new member of the Movement learned first. It was accepted as being the first truth, a revealed substitute for the deliberate obscurity of mission teaching.¹⁹

Thus in movement doctrine, myth and program can be two different

things, and there need be no conflict between the two. A carefully designed myth gives an adequate background to the operations of a movement, and the myth moreover makes non-participants in the movement area familiar with it. Syncretism, and the extent of its compartmentalization need not necessarily be related to the level of acculturation reached. The teachings, which are purely the work of the leader and his aides, will be more easily understood if the experience of the people is synchronized with them. In Manus such a situation was in effect and the Paliau Movement prospered.

Syncretism usually involves major figures of the Christian religion. The question may then be raised as to how this process takes its course since the identification of the people with a great leader in myth and in fact is one of the prerequisites for the emergence of nationalism in nativistic movements.

The most notable theme made use of is that of the Black Christ. This phenomenon and variations of it have been reported by Worsley, Sundkler, Balandier and others. It would seem that it is the natural outcome of acculturation where active missionizing goes hand in hand with the colour bar which figures prominently in Slotkin's theory of nationalism.²⁰ Sundkler, relating the theme to magic mythology and Biblical interpretation and showing that the Black Christ is more than a mythical appendage to movement activity, says:

The problem of the nativistic interpretation of the Bible can be seen in a wider and more important perspective namely that of the life of myth and rite. In another connection we have shown that, with the acceptance of Christianity, the pagan myths were readily abandoned, but the rites have persisted tenaciously and in the nativistic Zionist movement have provided the main outlines of the ritual pattern

followed in the new groups. Instead of the myth handed down through generations by oral tradition, the Book was given to them by the Mission. The important thing is that in the Zionist Church the African myth has been revitalized, and modernized as we have seen, it even penetrates its new opponent, the Book. It is also evident that when the Book is interpreted in this way, the main responsibility for its interpretation will come to lie with the prophet, that is, with the Black Christ.²¹

Thus Bible teachings are readily adapted to ancient patterns of ritual and interpretation of myths with the result that a Black Christ emerges who becomes the living leader of a church.

One such Black Christ spoken of as a prophet was Isaiah Shembe, the founder of the Nazarite Church. According to Sundkler, a native preacher referred to Shembe in the following fashion:

You my people, were once told of a God who has neither arms nor legs, who cannot see, who has neither love nor pity. But Isaiah Shembe showed you a God who walks on feet and who heals with his hands, and who can be known by men, a God who loves and who has compassion.²²

A complex theology can thus readily be fashioned to suit the understanding and needs of the people. Sundkler goes into careful detail in describing the processes involved in the personification of a Black Christ. He says:

The Black Christ dogma, as applied to Shembe, is the outcome of an interplay of two factors; on the one hand the self testimony of the leader as to his being the prophet, the Servant, the Promised One; on the other, the vision inspired declarations by media and the need of the mass to worship and to believe in a Man of Miracles.²³

The historical background of the Black Christ is treated in a similar fashion:

.....What once happened through Jesus, among the Jews and for their salvation, is now being re-enacted through Shembe, among the Zulus and for their salvation. Through this repeated revelation--which is the secret of all syncretism--Shembe is represented as the Christ of the Zulus.²⁴

Further:

When describing Shembe as Christ, some of his followers qualify their statement: "Jesus came first as a White man. But now he has come as a Black man, in the flesh, through Shembe".²⁵

The African material is especially rich in the forms and ramifications of syncretism. The animism of the Africans permeates the religious teachings and in contradistinction to the Melanesian material, there is no clear distinction between myth and program of action in a movement, which moreover calls itself a "church". The distinction is not a necessity for a movement's success in overthrowing the dominance-subordination relation but it does help, depending on the circumstances if myth and program can be clearly distinguished from each other, that is, if the stage of acculturation allows a program to be implemented. The problem of programming of action by a subordinate group receives more consideration in the next chapter.

Sundkler believes that the deification of the prophet among the Zulus stems from the deification of their former king Shaka, who, he says, was well on the way of becoming a Zulu deity, "the god of the Zulus":

just as in Central Africa deceased Kings were incorporated in the Bantu pantheon (so for instance, in the Hima area round the African lakes).²⁶

To which observation Sundkler adds the significant comment:

But this trend was cut short by the conquest of Shaka's kingdom through the Whites. The young Zulu myth was violently destroyed by them. The deepest root of Zulu aversion from the White man is possibly to be found in this cold fact; in crushing their political hegemony, the Whites also snatched away from this people their proudest aspiration and their most cherished myth.²⁷

The above would appear to be fairly clear evidence that the religious feelings of the Zulus and of the Bantu people in general are a sublimation of their political yearnings and aspirations. In a climate of severe political repression, such as is the case in South Africa, it is well-nigh impossible for syncretism to be of a militant flavour, so it remains within the range of what is tolerated by the dominant ethnic group. This "range of toleration" is defined by the colour bar. This again does not mean that syncretism is not suitable for readjustment to changing conditions. On the contrary, syncretism is quite flexible as is evidenced by the constant splitting of the Separatist Churches into new sects.²⁸

Sundkler says:

on the part of the African, the Separatist Church, is his logical reply to the Whites' policy of segregation and separation.²⁹

This is further evidence that the policy of a dominant group government is intimately related to leadership struggles, since no single leader can assume greater powers over his people than another. The consequent rivalries, which ensue in such a struggle, in each particular case of church fission find their outlet in a new form of syncretism. This is a problem which will be clarified in the next chapter. In turn, the resultant syncretism can carry the seed for new fission if such syncretism stems from, or incorporates, significant parts of Christian doctrine, since Christianity itself is a conglomeration of schismatic and heretical groups. Further the nature of Bantu social structure and patterns of leadership are also significant for a study of syncretism among this people. Sundkler says in this regard that:

Perhaps more than any other comparable institution, the Independent Bantu Church offers an opportunity of studying Bantu leadership emerging under modern conditions. In a segregated society, this church leadership is characteristically copied on the Bantu system of rank, of authority and leadership, namely, the kingship tradition and that of the Zulu diviner.^{29(a)}

As can be seen, the interrelatedness of institutional factors with religio-political aspirations, and the Shaka episode referred to earlier would make the case for nationalism among Zulus quite evident. So much is conceded by Sundkler, but he gives little credence to the possible political implications of the Separatist Churches. In fact he says:

Claims that "political" reasons are behind the Separatist Church Movement miss the mark. The few instances of radical party affiliations of certain Ethiopian or Zionist groups do not offer a sufficient proof of any definite political trend; even admitting the existence of much outspoken anti-White propaganda in most Independent Churches, one should not forget that the attitude of the leaders and masses of these Ethiopians and Zionists has on the whole been loyal, not least during the trying experiences of war. A different question altogether is that the Separatist Church movement--both in its Ethiopian and Zionist forms--is often nationalistic. The term "Ethiopian" has definite nationalistic connotations.³⁰

It would appear from the above that the Separatist Churches are evidence of a cultural nationalism, and thus fit one category of nationalism allowed for in Slotkin's theory, namely that of nativistic nationalism, as opposed to militant nationalism.³¹ The case against militant nationalism, as stated by Sundkler, is probably correct in the sense that political party cells which can escape detection usually operate independently of church influence. This does not mean that co-operation between cell and church is not in effect or is not likely to place, if and when a showdown between the White people and the Bantu people takes place in South Africa.

In the event of such a happening, some Separatist Churches could be presumed to seize the opportunity of political activity, even if only to act as cover organizations for cells such as occurred between two Kikuyu "Separatist" churches and the Mau Mau organization.³²

Before turning to other African materials, in view of the fact that South Africa represents an extreme situation, the question may be raised as to what extent the religious behaviour of the subordinate ethnic group represents a syncretism between ancient animism and tribal authority patterns and modern mission teachings and finally what course such syncretism takes. Sundkler sees the course of syncretism in terms of a cycle and says:

The behaviour and activities of the Zionist prophet and his church reveal that in certain cases, the deepest cause of the emergence of Independent Churches, is a nativistic syncretistic interpretation of the Christian religion. The more a particular separatist organization in the process of secession loses its effective contact with the Christian traditions and the teaching of the Church, the more marked does this Zulu nativistic trend become....as an outcome of the Zulu Congregational Church there appeared among other organizations a "Zulu Shaka Church". It is significant that here the pagan Zulu king turns into a Bantu Church father.... It can be shown how individuals and groups have passed step by step from a Mission Church to an Ethiopian Church, and from the Ethiopians to the Zionists, and how at last via the bridge of nativistic Zionism they have returned to the African animism from where they once started.³³

From the above it might be gathered that the political aspirations of the Bantu people are through syncretism couched in religious terms and that the religious authorities are the outgrowth of tribal authorities. The political and religious elements of the whole behaviour complex are so well fused that religious and political explanations of the complex must be complementary to each other if a satisfactory analysis of the phenomena of Separatist Churches is to

be made.

Movements where the fusion of politics and religion is not as complete as in the Separatist Churches have been recorded for other parts of Africa.³⁴ The movement led by André Matswa, which was originally politically inspired, but, which, upon meeting with repression, became a religion, when the leader died, might be a further instance of animism in Sundkler's terms. It is here noteworthy to describe what actually happened, and that the transformation of a movement into a routinized form does not reduce its nationalistic and political potential. Routinization merely encysts this potential so that it may erupt at a later date. Balandier says:

The followers refuse to believe that he (Matswa) has died or otherwise only admit it in a provisional sense while awaiting the return of the one that some call "Jesus Matswa". L'Amicalisme becomes a religion, having its temples and its priests, imposing real pilgrimages and even a particular literature.³⁵

The art forms are novel items, a few lines here given, being contained in a hymn which has a similarity to Mau Mau hymns, a comparison of the two styles of literature being made here:

"Matswa, Almighty father, stand on guard for us,"
"Matswa, Almighty father, send us a defender."³⁶

and:

I will never abandon Jomo, he has promised that our land will be returned to us.³⁷

Who is he who will weep when Kenyatta is proclaimed King?³⁸

Kenyatta will come with a sword for the harvest, and with a seat for our people when we receive self-government.³⁹

Today the Mau Mau yearnings are political realities and "L'Amicalisme" is a routinized religion. From Balandier's description it moreover appears to have institutionalized itself very well into

the French Congo setting. He says:

The religious ceremony Mes, (Mass?) essentially consists of hymns, prayers and the sermon of the priest; it takes place on Thursdays the day which has become sacred because it commemorates the death of Matswa, and in a very certain way by contamination with the Holy Thursday of the Catholic ritual -- and Sunday the day of rest reserved for the worship of "Nzambi Pungu".

These two days impose upon the believers clothing marked by the symbolism of colours; an overall black (a sign of mourning) Thursdays and White for the cult of the Sunday. The solemn ceremonies take place not only on the mornings of the two sacred days, but also on the occasion of 'sacred' dates which are borrowed from the Christian calendar. Only the date of the 15th of January which corresponds to the anniversary of the death of André Matswa represents a specifically "ba-kongo" feast; the other feasts recognized are Christian with summary justification for some of them. Easter exalts the belief in the resurrection of the 'Saviour' and announces the "victory". Ascension Day glorifies the election of Kimbangou and Matswa who are called to stand beside "Nzambi".⁴⁰

It would be interesting to follow up what the positions of the 70 Leaders are who were described as leaders and functionaries of the religion, in the previous chapter,⁴¹ but Balandier does not elaborate on this aspect of the movement. Here it is noteworthy that Kimbangism, the leader of which was Simon Kimbangu to whom we have referred in the previous chapter⁴², has allied itself with the "Amicale Balali". The latest development in the syncretism of the two movements, a development which was anticipated by Balandier⁴³, is that they have fused. Lanternari says to this effect that the syncretism is rationalized by the natives in the following manner:

"Christ is a French God", say the natives, and thereupon proceed to place in his stead the Kimbangu-Matswa combination.⁴⁴

It might be added that the latest version of the Black-Christ theme is expressed in the Kimbangu-Matswa combination and the rejection of Christ as being a "French God" lends weight to Lanternari's statement that:

In sum, Christianity is implicated in the politics of the colonial government.⁴⁵

As can be seen from the material presented so far, the leader of a movement is identified with Christ if such an identification is compatible with the situation in which the native cult adherents find themselves. To attempt to account for the syncretism of several movements within the confines of one chapter must make the net result somewhat superficial. However, if the few insights which may be gathered here are well borne in mind, the heuristic value of the comparative approach will not be lost altogether. Since syncretism is a sine qua non of virtually all acculturation situations, and particularly of the movements under study here, the reader will not fail to be impressed with the significance of the material. The Black Christ theme which is one of the fundamental aspects of syncretism, has been observed to occur in the North American as well the Oceanian culture areas with varying degrees of elaboration. The theme, of course, is in part responsible for the term "Messianic" being applied to the movements. In a sense it is unimportant whether the substitution of a native prophet or deity for a Christ or Messiah of the Christian tradition is made explicitly or in veiled terms. It is even unimportant whether the native prophet calls himself Christ or his followers do this. What is important is that the similarities between what is known of the real Christ, of Isaiah Shembe, of Wovoka, of Kenyatta, Matswa, Kimbangu, Paliau, Yali and Mambu, -- are similarities which override the cultural boundaries within which these men arose and acted. In essence they all acted alike, all were prototypes of subordinate group nationalists. Even Christ was a Jewish nationalist under the hegemony

of the Romans who owed his death to the political consequences of his activities, and his time of history was full of people like him. These things are well known but they bear reconsideration in the light of Slotkin's theory since Slotkin himself alludes to the similarities between the Jesus Cult and the Mithra Cult of early Christian times,⁴⁶ and another scholar actually shows the basis of Christian ritual to lie in the Mithra Cult.⁴⁷

Syncretism takes a novel form on the Melanesian scene, so novel in fact, that a lengthy exposition of it is necessary. Thus Worsley speaks of a 'Black King Cult'⁴⁸ and also of a movement in the Markham valley of New Guinea:

led by a man named Marafi who announced that Satan had visited him and had taken him into the bowels of the earth, where he had seen the spirits of the dead who dwelt there....

and he goes on to say that:

Marafi had spoken to these dead people...and not until Marafi had converted the villagers to belief in Satan as the Supreme Being would the dead return to earth.....

There seems to be a combination of ancestor worship (or communion with ancestors) and Manichean dualism in the hands of Marafi of whom Worsley says, that he:

was a capable organizer. He soon convinced some villages that he was in contact with Satan, and that he had been given miraculous powers by the Prince of Darkness.⁴⁹

Worsley's theoretical position on the above belief is that it is:

A thoroughgoing ideological inversion of orthodox Christianity. As in many other movements, the cataclysm was to mark the millenium for the natives and the coming of disaster to the Whites, but few movements took the more rigorously logical step of adopting the White man's devil as the native's God. The movement thus did more than merely reproduce the Black-White situation in ideological form; it condemned the existing social order by creating a heaven which represented the overthrow and inversion of the existing society in fantasy.⁵⁰

Mircea Eliade supports Worsley's view to the extent that he says:

There is no doubt that we have here a symbolic expression of Black-White antagonism....⁵¹

Similar phenomena have been reported for the Mansren movement, and the peculiarity of Melanesian syncretism is that the whole Cosmos is involved in it.⁵² This makes the isolation of particular strands of syncretism from Melanesia to be compared with strands from Africa and North America, slightly hazardous, since the Cosmos is not so clearly demarcated in North America.⁵³ Sectionalism, moreover, is rife in Africa, and is only becoming somewhat noticeable in the Paliau Movement as of 1954.⁵⁴ However the above problems are factors of movement growth which are to some extent dependent on stages of acculturation and on geographical factors and are discussed under those sections.⁵⁵

In spite of the peculiarities of the Melanesian material, the nationalistic and political implications of what Eliade calls "cosmic regeneration"⁵⁶ are readily evident, and the symbolism which surrounds these implications can probably be interpreted with a fair claim to accuracy. Mühlmann's statement to the effect that:

the foreign culture elements are in truth the natives' own⁵⁷

is well borne out here and there is a noteworthy emphasis on the appropriation of innovations from the dominant group. Thus Worsley says:

This religious inversion of the cosmos was given the seal of religious authority by identifying the natives and their villages with figures and places mentioned in the Bible. Villages were renamed Galilee, Jericho, and similar names, and one leader who called himself "Mozes" retired for divine inspiration to a mountain which was renamed "Mount Karmel".

The rationale of the inversion is that:

By these actions, the enthusiasts symbolically resumed their long denied rights; the special connection of the Papuans with Christianity and the Bible, which the Europeans had for so long usurped, was reasserted. The Whites had hidden the fact that Jesus Christ was a Papuan by tearing out the Bible's first page.⁵⁸

The above ideas bring us to the topic of Bible symbolism which is a theme somewhat more amenable to cross-cultural comparison than some of the materials presented so far. However since the problems of symbolism, which are essential to the testing of Slotkin's theory, have already been presented here, some of the more generalized ideas on this subject will follow in an appendix.⁵⁹

In retrospect it can be seen that syncretism is an essential element in Slotkin's theory. It is a subject which has an important influence on the conclusions which may be drawn when the case for the theory of nationalism has been fully stated. It is in this chapter, more than anywhere else, that the empirical approach to an explanation of the phenomena of nativistic movements is most valuable.

Chapter 4.

The Interaction between Movement and Government.

Much can be said about the measures taken by government when faced with popular outbreaks of the kind described in the previous chapters. In certain instances the leaders were arrested and then given instruction in native administration. In other cases they were jailed or otherwise disposed of. An instance of the former is that of Paliau¹, of whom Mühlmann says:

Because of the boycott of the church and resistance to the government, -- deed certificates had been burned for example -- Paliau with several of his assistants was arrested at the beginning of 1947 and taken to Port Moresby for a forced education course. Here it was attempted to explain the workings of the administration to the natives and to instruct them about the government's plans for the further development of native society.²

Comparatively enlightened treatment, such as that received by Paliau and his associates, has been quite rare. In the majority of cases, the measures taken were similar to those taken by governments against social movements in Europe. In the European setting the effects of suppression were also somewhat similar to the same effects in situations of culture contact. In neither case has suppression prevented the spawning of new movements.

The origin of nativistic movements, as will be seen by now, lies in the total acculturation situation, and one or two aspects in a movement which may be outstanding cannot act as the sole causal factors of movement-origination. Exceptional aspects may be only peripheral in importance while commonplace aspects may be more significant. The above are issues which have not generally been recognized by governments, and the reasons for misinterpretation are not difficult to uncover. Since actions could not be taken against

the "root" of the "problem" without undermining the rationale on which a government exists, actions have usually been taken against the overt manifestations displayed by a movement. Burrridge tells us in connection with the Mambu movement, things which are applicable to most other movements which are here under study:

Because men of European descent are involved in cargo-movements, events such as those which have been described in the Prologue belong to a complex far greater than might be implied simply by "Tangu" or "Manam Island". In both localities the situation is to a large extent determined by political and economic decisions taken in Port Moresby, the administrative capital of Australian New Guinea, which itself looks for directives from Canberra. In turn Canberra must react to what is happening at Lake Success or in other world capitals. The decisions taken, inevitably guide or limit to a greater or lesser degree the activities of individuals, especially of Europeans -- in Tangu or Manam Island. The Europeans responsible for executing the policies thought out in faraway capitals are at the bottom of a long chain of delegated responsibility. They have little say in the policies they are expected to implement, and the New Guinea situation itself not only imposes restraints of its own, but it often provides individuals with considerable scope for personal initiative. Nevertheless, if Europeans are forced to put themselves into an equation balancing general directives against particular circumstances, the native peoples concerned have little choice but to try to manipulate the situation as they find it. That is, there exists a basic situation of conflict.³

Thus as Burrridge sees it, the conflict is basic, and it must resolve itself by manipulation, at the bottom of a long chain of delegated responsibility. It is therefore natural that both the movement and the government will devise safe-guards to protect themselves. The struggle between a movement and a government is the focus of the conflict between the dominant ethnic group and the subordinate ethnic group. How this conflict resolves itself, and it need not necessarily be by a struggle, will in large measure determine the extent to which nationalism in the subordinate group becomes manifest.

The conflict can be resolved through co-operation, as has been done in the case of Paliau's movement or by less friendly means. A government can even channel the religious fervour and emotional involvement of movement adherents to suit its own purposes or to advance national policies. However this is not in evidence in the three culture areas under study here, but the possibility remains, perhaps for a later stage of acculturation or when a nation-state comes into being under the control of the subordinate ethnic group. These are problems beyond the scope of Slotkin's theory. It is possible however, that an administration lacking popular support, or wishing to increase the support it already has, may connive with the movement leadership in order to reach mutually agreeable objectives. An example of this would be where a rival faction in government is blamed for possible distress and skilfully ousted by a government sponsored mass movement. The reverse is also possible, where a power-aspiring faction joins forces with a movement to oust a government. This may be what Balandier would describe as:

le rapport inégal des forces.⁴

Thus the character of a mass movement, which, when it reaches massive proportions, must be recognized as such, is a significant influential factor determining the policies of a government. This may be more significant in nation states than in situations of culture contact, as has already been mentioned above. Though the groups giving rise to movements may be subordinate ones in both instances, the ethnic differences distinguish movements in acculturation situations profoundly from movements in situations where ethnic differences

are not an object of embattlement. Thus comparisons between movements arising from a dominance-subordination relation between classes in non-acculturation situations and between ethnic groups in acculturation situations, must necessarily be limited. For our purposes here, it is necessary to note that where a government has co-operated with a movement, it has also in all likelihood passed on techniques of organization to the leadership. Such co-operation can recoil upon a government should relations between it and the movement deteriorate. Even in case of outright suppression, the movement in question becomes more aware of better organization, a possibility alluded to earlier in the case of South Africa.⁵

The interaction patterns of which we are speaking here, can be mutually compensating for some time, assuming a movement has stabilized itself to some extent. A few concessions might be made now and then. If the movement becomes passive and is no longer a threat it loses some of its importance in the eyes of the government. In the event of such stabilization, non-interference in each others affairs may become the rule between movement and government. We can then speak of an equilibrium between two power structures. Such an equilibrium can of course be lost should the government be displaced through war or other emergency conditions. Otherwise the equilibrium might never come to fruition and war must be considered as an external factor to the movement-administration interaction. When a new government takes over, the changes in the interaction pattern are likely to be drastic, especially if it is a military administration. Thus van der Veur in speaking of West New Guinea, the home of the famous Mansren movements, says:

The Pacific War forms a watershed between two periods in the development of Papuan consciousness but it had a major impact in itself. The Japanese onslaught ripped along the shores of New Guinea like a tidal wave only to be swept aside by an even mightier American surge in 1944. The successful American invasion of Hollandia in April 1944 brought hundreds of thousands of American troops (including Negro units) to the Sentani district;...As one keen Papuan observer put it: "It wasn't just the goods of the Americans which seemed important to us. We also noticed something else. This army had men with dark skin who lived in the same way as the whites. We even saw black officers. Then we were sure that our people too could live differently then they had been living."⁶

Thus the mere example of life in a military encampment was drastic enough to cause a change of orientation among the native population.

Van der Veur adds:

It is not surprising that the postwar return to normal life and civilian administration with its meager financial resources created a letdown and unrest especially in the Sentani and Biak areas where fresh messianic movements found considerable support.⁷

Could it be that the strength of the Masinga Rule movement was in part founded upon similar native observations? The military nature of its organization has aroused interest in it ever since it first appeared and the political aims of the movement were noticed immediately. Dr. Belshaw having witnessed activity connected with Masinga Rule, said at the time that:

police measures are often necessary, but always inadequate,⁸ thereby implying that the movement was beyond administrative control. It could therefore possibly be argued that mutual compensation between a government and a movement is lost once the latter takes on military overtones, since at that point the movement itself becomes a form of government. The successful Paliau Movement achieved control to a degree hitherto unprecedented, and this control over

the population enabled the leadership to assume to a large degree the responsibilities of rule. Mühlmann tells us how Paliau went about to become leader of the administration:

He successfully implemented social and economic innovations in spite of several sojourns in gaol, by skilfully delegating his authority to an underling during his absences and otherwise systematically copying White techniques of organization such as the establishment of a village council on the island of Baluan near Manus and becoming the legally recognized head of it with the approval of the administration.⁹

The fact that Paliau's innovations were a sound working proposition is vouched for by a U.N. Mission, which in 1953 declared:

that the fears displayed by the administration in connection with the Paliau movement were unwarranted and that in the authority-structure of the 'council' significant results have been recorded.¹⁰

Paliau was jailed twice by the White authorities for terms of six months each time, once at the beginning of 1947 and again in April 1950. Each time he was schooled in methods of organization and economic development. These methods he was to apply according to administrative directives on Manus upon his release. The fact that he altered somewhat what he had learned can be understood, but that he managed to hold his own power over the people during several years and succeeded in maintaining the allegiance of his followers through an underling appointed by himself, is unique in cargo-movements so far recorded and therefore is worthy of detailed explanation. Possibly the examples of military organization, witnessed by the natives of Biak, created the same profound impression on Manus and this made the people willing to submit themselves to delegated authority when such authority was appointed by a leader who also had a military service record.

So far we have been concerned mainly with the power struggle between movements and governments. The bone of contention in such a struggle ultimately is the question as to which of the two is to have powers of discipline over the population. Though such a struggle may resolve itself in the fashion that all hostilities resolve themselves, either by mediation or by war, a movement with limited objectives may avoid this conflict and achieve the goals it has set itself, without overstepping the decrees and laws set by the dominant ethnic group.

An example of a movement with limited aims, and operating under the authority of the dominant group are the Native Brotherhoods at the North-West Coast. These are the Native Brotherhood of Alaska and the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. In these movements an accommodation has been reached with the authorities, and it is worthwhile for our purposes here to quote the statement of purpose of the Native Brotherhood of Alaska, showing how docile a movement can actually become:

The purpose of this organization shall be to assist and encourage the Native in his advancement from his Native state to his place among the cultivated races of the world, to oppose, to discourage, and to overcome the narrow injustice of race prejudice, to commemorate the fine qualities of the Native races of North America, to preserve their lore, history, art and virtues, to cultivate the morality, education, commerce, and civil government of Alaska, to improve municipal health and labouring conditions, and to create a true respect in Natives and in other persons with whom they deal, for the letter and spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and laws of the United States.¹¹

A somewhat less lofty, but nevertheless significant statement has also been prepared by the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. It will be noticed that the emphasis on accommodation

and co-operation is similar to that displayed by the above statement:

Whereas we the Natives of British Columbia, owing to the keen competition in our efforts for an existence, the time has come when we must organize for the betterment of our conditions, socially, mentally, and physically. To keep in closer communication with one another, to co-operate with each other and with all the authorities, to further the interests of the Natives.

Hence we organize as the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia whose objective will be, to stimulate and increase learning among our Natives, to place them on an equal footing to meet the ever-increasing competition of our times.

To co-operate with all who have at heart the welfare of the Natives and to co-operate with the Government and its officials for the betterment of all conditions surrounding the life of the native.¹²

The Native Brotherhoods of both British Columbia and Alaska have been relatively successful in meeting their aims and have been aided in this by the authorities concerned. They owe their existence in part to legislation established under the Societies Act and/or other legislation which allows ethnic minorities and trade unions to organize for the safe-guard of the interests of members which they represent. In both declarations, the subordinate position of the Indians is implied, though carefully worded.

As can be seen, the relationships of passive movements,¹³ such as the Native Brotherhoods, to their respective governments may be a workable proposition as long as the subordination in such a relationship is not felt as a burden to the members. Whether the movements are viable to meet the changing trends of "competition" with the White society is an unanswered question. Such a problem, of course, also imposes strains on the relationship between the movement and the government of the given territory.

A special problem in the movement government relationship are the "marginal persons"¹⁴ inasmuch as these form a class with relatively homogeneous objectives. If such a class of individuals has been produced through the policies of the dominant group, and these individuals then find their way into positions of movement leadership, the misunderstanding generated between this class of people and the government may be exceedingly acute. The concern is here with the "évolué",¹⁵ who is admitted as an individual to citizenship in the dominant group if he can fulfil the qualifications asked for by that group. This was an aspect of French policy in its colonial territories. The presence of an "évolué" class changes the views of the dominant group towards the subordinate group, and depending on the pursuit a particular "évolué" leader is trained for, or inclined to, the class can give rise to trade unions, political parties, mutual aid societies, as well as Separatist Churches and religious movements. At the point of diverse developments, a movement is not only faced with competition from the government but also from other movements. On the whole, however, a government will determine the extent to which a movement may usurp its functions and the extent to which competition between movements is tolerated. Balandier says, in connection with administrative reactions to "évolué" leadership that these have been remarkably naive...and usually too late, implying that the government is powerless to deal with "évolué"-led movements. He says:

The first organized reactions with regard to the colonial situation must manifest themselves before the authorities would recognize the prestige of the "lettrés des centres", the seduction which their "démagogie" exercises on "primitive intelligences and embryonic consciences."¹⁶

When one considers that the "évolué" has been initiated into the 'inner mysteries' of White society, and when one considers that with such initiation there follows a disenchantment,¹⁷ it becomes especially evident that alone, and in combination with others, the "évolué" can become a threat to his overlords. At least the latter can easily consider him as a threat to their overlordship and treat him accordingly.

These, then, are some of the larger issues of acculturation, not necessarily concerned with movement-origination and nationalistic aspirations but with the total situation which we call culture contact. If the total situation is properly perceived, the movement-government interaction pattern will be seen in proportion to its importance in the total situation.

Chapter 5

The Relationship between Accommodation and Militancy.

This chapter is essentially an elaboration of problems raised in the previous chapter, by an application of these problems to the criteria set by Slotkin's theory. As we have seen, there exist two responses to the actions of a government by a subordinate group.

These are: Accommodation and Militancy. It is our aim to see what relationship exists between the two types of response.

Slotkin makes a distinction between two forms of nationalism which manifest themselves in social and cultural movements.¹ Further he says that "nativistic and militant nationalism" which characterize each of these movements respectively:

have been considered separately for analytic purposes. Sometimes one or the other does occur alone...Usually, however, the two kinds of nationalism appear in conjunction.²

The following cannot be more than a theoretical exercise.

So far we have been mainly concerned with the processes whereby nativistic nationalism becomes militant nationalism, and vice-versa. This is one aspect of Slotkin's thesis. In this proposition, the assumption is made that the process of movement-transformation is a uniform and deterministic one. Such is not necessarily the case.³ The growth of nationalism is a matter of stages. How, then, do we account for varieties of nationalistic expression, and are these varieties necessarily the end products of movement evolution? Some of the issues raised by this question will be considered in the following chapter. We will in this chapter attempt to elucidate the differences which exist between nativistic and militant nationalism, and whether nationalism is a concept which allows itself to be

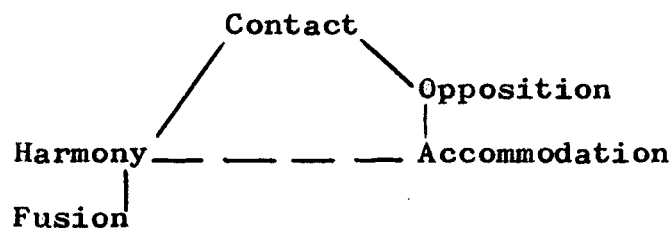
applied to movements that are accommodative in contrast to those that are militant. Good examples of accommodative movements are the Native Brotherhoods of British Columbia and Alaska, and of militant movements the Paliau Movement, Marching Rule, and Mau Mau.

We have shown that militant movements tie in well with the criteria with which nationalism has generally been associated, and from which criteria the meaning of the term has evolved. For accommodative movements the criteria are not so well, if at all, defined. The question is, can they be, and if so, how?

The essence of Slotkin's theory is based on the Peyote Cult. Slotkin says:

Specifically, my thesis is that Peyotism socially is an example of accommodation rather than militancy; culturally that it is a case of Pan-Indian Nativism.⁴

We see the limits within which the theory has been formulated. Is it applicable within these limits? Using Slotkin's criteria, we see that 'intersocialization and acculturation' go through the phases of:



(5)

As Slotkin says:

This process may be reversed between the phases of Accommodation and Harmony by the subordinate group.⁶

Could we therefore say, if as Slotkin's suggestion indicates, that assuming the ideal end of the acculturation and intersocialization

process is fusion, there exists a critical point in the developmental process? At this point a movement having reached the Accommodation phase and proceeding on the way to Harmony, experiences a reversal, and returns to the Opposition phase. This phase is considered to be the one in which a militant movement finds itself. Thus phase 1. is Contact, phase 2 is Opposition, phase 3 is Accommodation. The fact that phase 3 is the outcome of phase 2, and must go through the latter from phase 1, makes Accommodation so difficult to assess for its nationalistic implications.

If nationalism were absent, the acculturation and socialization process, devoid of movements, would follow from phase 1, (Contact) directly to phase 4, (Harmony) to, phase 5, (Fusion) which is a supplementary phase appended onto this scheme. There exist acculturation situations, possibly of small scale, where the latter process actually took place, one of these being the Seychelles in the Indian Ocean. However, noteworthy physical factors were involved to make this possible.⁷ Our main concern are here the phases of Contact, Opposition, and Accommodation. Rephrased the proposition is as follows: Opposition is nationalism and Accommodation springs from nationalism. Opposition is aggressive and Accommodation is non-aggressive.

Thus, with militancy fairly well defined in terms of nationalism, and with the origins of nationalism somewhat unveiled, we are left with a nationalistic offshoot using non-aggressive techniques in order to promote and protect values which would have a nationalistic basis if they were defended aggressively. The kind of defense which a subordinate ethnic group therefore puts

up to protect itself against an overwhelming dominant ethnic group, determines the type of nationalism which the subordinate group displays. We can thus be fairly certain that nationalism is a part of each of the two responses of Opposition and Accommodation. If the techniques in use here were more refined, the claim could further be made that nationalism is the essential part of both Accommodative and militant movements.

The evidence is as follows: In a very general sense it can be asserted that the aggressive opposition of the Plains Indians displayed in the Ghost Dance, culminated in the Sioux Outbreak of 1890 with the Battle of Wounded Knee.⁸ After this defeat, the Ghost Dance lost its importance as an aggressive movement, and the Accommodative Peyote Cult replaced the Ghost Dance among the Plains Indians.

It has been generally conceded that the Plains Indians were some of the best fighters against the Whites on the North American continent, because, in part, they had horses and were thus closest among Indians in being able to "meet the dominant group with its own techniques".⁹ Nationalism was thus made acceptable to the Plains Indians through the medium of the Ghost Dance; the Ghost Dance and previous movements of Ghost Dance type were further the immediate result of contact, therefore material for phase 2. An accommodative movement, among the Plains Indians did not follow upon contact, only upon defeat after phase 2. The criteria for accommodative nationalism are on the basis of the evidence given by the Ghost Dance, defeat after opposition for the subordinate

group. We can further say, that if phase 2 and phase 3 are considered as alternatives, they may be applied to the same dominance-subordination relation. Phase 2 follows a logical course of conflict until one side triumphs over the other. Present-day Kenya is a rough example of the above. Here, accommodation is the lot of the formerly dominant group. In the case of accommodation by the subordinate group, when the latter nevertheless is a viable entity, the nationalism is limited and dormant to some extent. Accommodation, as has been suggested earlier, does not imply that hostilities will not break out anew when population ratios become favorable to the subordinate group or other physical factors once more make overt opposition favorable. These are possibilities that lend themselves somewhat to measurement and will be better discussed elsewhere.¹⁰

Slotkin expresses the problem of the relationship between accommodation and militancy well, when he says:

The Ghost Dance was not only nativistic but also militant, providing a supernatural means for overthrowing the domination-subordination relation between Whites and Indians....

The Peyote Religion was nativistic but not militant. Culturally, it permitted the Indians to achieve a cultural organization in which they took pride. Socially it provided a supernatural means of accommodation to the existing domination-subordination relation.¹¹

Some confusion may be avoided if undue attention is not attached to such descriptive terms as social, cultural and supernatural.¹²

Nationalism may be defined with reference to specific relations existing between peoples, who differentiate themselves from others. A nationalism defined in terms of relations would come closer to meeting the criteria laid down in chapter 1, than any other so far defined. It has already been implied that the distinction between

nativism and nationalism is too vague and therefore useless for specific analytic purposes. In order to define the concept of nationalism for the purposes at issue here, we therefore speak of nativistic nationalism as representing cultural overthrow and militant nationalism as representing social overthrow.¹³

If accommodation is characteristic of cultural overthrow and militancy of social overthrow, the appearance of the two in conjunction, shows how intricately accommodation and militancy are inter-related. However if it is only rarely the case that "one or the other does occur alone"¹⁵, we can gather that the distinction between the two concepts of nationalism is not only a theoretical difficulty, but also a practical one.

Chapter 6.

Processes of Fission and Fusion and their Outcome.

As may be gathered from the material presented so far, any movement which is to develop the characteristics of nationalism must be viable. So far we have been concerned with whole movements and the features which distinguish these. We have been concerned with types of movements which are responsible for the rise of nationalism, and with the processes which enable these types to emerge.

Since it is natural, however, that during the growth of many movements cleavages develop among the leadership and that these cleavages often reflect themselves among the followers, it is necessary to account for these. It may be argued that it is a characteristic of growing movements for cleavages to occur in them. Schism can to a limited degree even be a source of strength in that the solidarity of the membership of the parent movement is reinforced. Too many cleavages, however, are a source of weakness.

There are many factors in movement fission to account for if the processes are to be properly understood.¹ Further, there are also factors inhibiting fission in the same way that there are factors precipitating fission. Three forms of fission have been isolated. The first two are from Bateson, the third is from Mühlmann:

1. Doctrinal differences resulting in a rupture of the movement into two or more factions, generally, but not always irreconcilable. The new faction is considered by the old to hold heretical views.²

2. Political differences resulting in a split into two factions, upsetting the power structure of the movement. This is called schism.³

3. The formation of cells.⁴

Conditions one and two of the above arise as a result of growth and its attendant effects on the organization of the membership. Condition 1 may be beneficial, ridding the movement of dissidents and reaffirming the tenets of the old adherents. This is especially the case when those who leave hold little or no power. Little nationalism is involved in doctrinal splits. Condition 2 may be disastrous, since here a power group leaves the movement and this group may be stronger than the parent group. In most cases fission in a movement is due to a combination of doctrinal and political differences and rarely is this not the case. As can be understood, doctrinal differences may be important in the early stages of a movement's history and rarely in the later stages when increasing secularization has set in. The above generalization does not hold altogether though, since in the cases of stable movements, where religion holds a continuing importance over and above politics, such as among the Shakers described by Barnett, doctrinal differences may fester for long periods and even then not result in a split. Thus a hotly contested issue which raged for years among the Shakers, was as to whether the Bible ought or ought not to be used in Shaker ceremonial. Two factions disagreed over the issue. A third was undecided.⁵ Problems of leadership were also involved, and now there are three very loosely organized factions: Conservatives, Moderates and Progressives.⁶

Condition 3 has little resemblance or relation to conditions

1 and 2. The formation of cells is a condition occurring under severe repression by the dominant group, and this process is moreover difficult to detect.⁷ When the organization built up by the subordinate group, is considered by the dominant group to be a threat to the latter's security, possibly due to the political activities that the subordinate movement engages in, the subordinate group activities are then defined as subversive and outlawed by the dominant group. Severe repression leading to cell formation, is especially significant in historical perspective for areas of Africa where a settler minority held absolute power and denied an outlet for political grievances to its native subjects. Wallerstein shows how settler repression was further linked with the colonial policies of the European powers concerned. He says:

There were many colonies where these demands were not considered legitimate, either because the colonial ideology stressed assimilation (French, Portuguese) or because settler control led to the development of an anti-democratic ideology (white supremacy in the Union of South Africa). Sometimes when nationalism was proscribed as an ideology by the colonial administration, alternate political outlets were provided because the ideology of assimilation was to some extent taken seriously. (French North Africa, Senegal). But there were some cases where no political outlets, or almost none, were permitted to any group of Africans, particularly before the end of the Second World War. This was true for example for the Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa, Angola and Mozambique. This was also true in varying degrees, of different parts of English-speaking southern Africa from the Union of South Africa to Kenya. It is no accident that these areas saw the greatest flourishing of nativistic, revivalistic and syncretistic movements, quite often clothed in religious garb. (Kittawala, Kimbanguism, Alice Cult, and Mau Mau). Where no political outlets for grievances were permitted, at least to the small elite, they or their followers often turned to pseudo-traditional patterns which were, on the one hand, more familiar and easy to handle, and on the other hand, could appeal to a legitimation which even colonial rulers accepted to some extent: religious freedom. In short political protest did not always or necessarily take a political form.⁸

As can be seen, Wallerstein's observations not only illuminate the processes under discussion here, but also secure a few loose ends left in the previous chapters. Cell formation is not a simple process of fission, per se. It might not even properly fall under fission. It is rather the secret and planned reconstitution of an outlawed organization into highly specialized bodies operating underground under the aegis of a "harmless" cover organization. This cover organization, in order to be allowed to exist in an official capacity, openly indulges in activities allowed by the dominant group, while at the same time it co-ordinates the activities of its affiliated cells. The classic example of cell formation is that of the Mau Mau secret societies under the cover of the "Kenya African Union", the successor to the outlawed "Kikuyu Central Association". Muhlmann has significant information to give. He says:

Acculturated Kikuyus founded the "Kikuyu Central Association" in 1922 or 1923, whose declared goal was at the beginning, only to represent the Native land rights at the Colonial Office and its Commission. This movement however soon became radical, and its president Harry Thuku was arrested. Thereupon, the "Kikuyu Central Association" went underground and its leaders became Jomo Kenyatta, Jesse Kariuku, and Joseph Kangatta. During the Second World War, the "Kikuyu Central Association" was banned. There followed a new party, the "Kenya African Union", whose president was Jomo Kenyatta in 1946.⁹ This "Union" then became the cover organization for the preparation of the Mau Mau uprising.¹⁰

Thus cell formation does not necessarily start when a movement is outlawed, which act, by the dominant group, may only be the final stage of a series of repressive moves against a subordinate organization or movement. In the case of cell formation, the movement or organization in anticipation of being outlawed, moved underground before the act it anticipated could be carried out. For the

Mau Mau leaders the anticipation proved correct.

As cell formation is essentially a very secret and guarded process, requiring considerable skills of co-ordination on the part of its leaders, it can be assumed that the indigenous elite and the "évolués" play an important part. Movements which organize cells are consequently highly secularized and this was in fact the case with the "Kenya African Union". Schisms which could arise in an open movement or organization are deftly offset by cell formation. Thus cell formation can be considered as being a counter process to fission resulting from doctrinal and political differences. Or more precisely, cell formation is planned fission.

Fissions of type 1 and type 2, are unplanned. The distinction between heresy, typical of doctrinal differences, and schism, typical of political differences, is a European one and it therefore requires careful appraisal when used in a cross-cultural perspective. As has been indicated, there is some overlapping of the conditions under which heresy and schism arise and the doctrinal and political differences between members of opposing factions in a movement will here be treated as one set of differences as a matter of convenient approximation.

It could be said that there is a relationship between the rate of fission in a movement and its offshoots and the restriction of political activity placed on the subordinate group. Thus there is likely to be a higher rate of fission where the political orientation of the native population has only religious activity as its outlet. At the same time, cell formation may take place, as has been said earlier.

It must be noted here that all three forms of fission cited are internal fissions. Cell formation as well as being internal fission designed to counteract unplanned fissions of types 1 and 2, is a process of separatism from the dominant group. It must further be emphasized that all processes of fission and processes designed to counteract fission, regardless of whether these processes stem from the dominant group or from the subordinate group can occur simultaneously or in stages. Some of the activities of the subordinate group will be known to the dominant group; others will be unknown, especially activities involving cell formation. The dominant group for the purposes of self-preservation must seek to reconcile the disaffected members of the subordinate group. This it does through various loyalty-producing processes. The admittance of natives to "évolué" status is one such process. Ironically enough, loyalty-producing processes such as the above recoil upon the dominant group unless they are followed up by increasingly liberal measures. Thus disaffection of the subordinate group continues when such a group is led by "évolués" who seek group rather than individual admittance for their members to "évolué" status.

Further, depending upon the particular colonial situation, the creation of an "évolué" class may provide a buffer which seals the dominant group from actions of disaffection by the subordinate group because the "évolués" in order to maintain their privileged position, will frustrate all efforts on the part of the subordinate group to upset the existing group structure.

All loyalty-producing processes devised by the dominant group

cannot be mentioned here. Neither can all types of fission be fully covered. The kind of disaffection voiced by a subordinate group against the dominant group is likely to differ significantly from context to context and so will the loyalty-producing processes. Further, the loyalty-producing processes cannot be isolated as such from the colonial context but must be seen as part of the total framework of acculturation. Moreover, since the coercive force of the dominant group can override, up to a point, all open efforts of movement-formation on the part of the subordinate group, the concessions made by the dominant group, cannot be considered to act as effective checks against subordinate group disaffection. The latter idea has to some extent been explored in chapter 4, and it is not necessary to elaborate upon it further here.

Wallerstein sees a direct relationship between the rise of movements and the lack of a political framework within which the native population can express itself towards the dominant group.¹¹ Thus doctrinal differences have a greater chance to occur where a movement is virtually wholly other-oriented^{11(a)} than where this is not the case. Moreover a religious movement lacks those cadres of authority which are so necessary to offset fission from the parent movement. The maintenance of discipline among the membership is more difficult where the only sanctions to be invoked are religious or other-directed sanctions. At least this is the impression given by Sundkler in his study of the Separatist Churches of South Africa. Sundkler has allied the concept of fission to that of the integration of the main group. He says:

I shall now proceed to describe in some detail the interplay of the forces which make for fission or integration.¹² This can be done by analyzing the effects of the secession, forwards and backwards in three stages.

Stage 1. The initial secession, breaking away from a Mission Church, or from some Ethiopian or Zionist Church. This is the crucial point where all the forces shaping the following development, are overtly or covertly present.

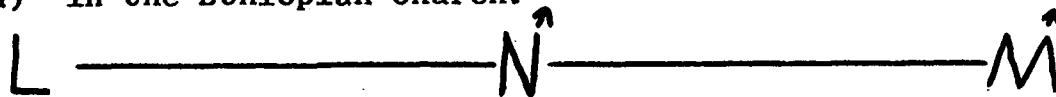
Stage 2. Integration of the New Church, characterized by a trend to centripetal rigidity and occasional social separation in order to increase the integration of the main group.

Stage 3. New crisis and new secession. This is of course an oversimplification of the actual and it should be used with two qualifications: (a) None of these 'stages' is in itself a complete whole, and there is no necessity for Stage 1, for instance to be followed by Stage 2. There are other possible developments from Stage 1 than Stages 2 and 3. (b) Stage 3 is of course not a "terminus ad quem", but a transition point for development towards further possibilities.¹³

Sundkler believes that the numerous secessions reflect "the strong leadership qualities of the Bantu".¹⁴ It is consequently important to realize that attendant with the processes of fission, there are also processes of fusion, which may or may not be due to combinations of seceding groups. Fusion thus has to be seen in conjunction with fission if the interrelatedness of the two processes is to be properly understood. Fission and fusion are mutually compensating processes which might somehow be considered to be the outcome of self-equilibrating forces within the society. The problems which stem from the processes are moreover, intimately related to problems of the relations between leader, nucleus and followers. Sundkler says in this connection:

In Stage 3, the relation of the leader to the nucleus and to the mass of church people becomes an ever-increasing problem. The dynamics of the situation could perhaps best be studied in a series of diagrams. Simplifying a complex of an infinite number of variables into a comparison between leadership problems in the Ethiopian and Zionist groups, one could express the relation between leader (L), and nucleus (N), and mass or Church (M), thus:

(a) In the Ethiopian Church:



(b) In the Zionist Church:

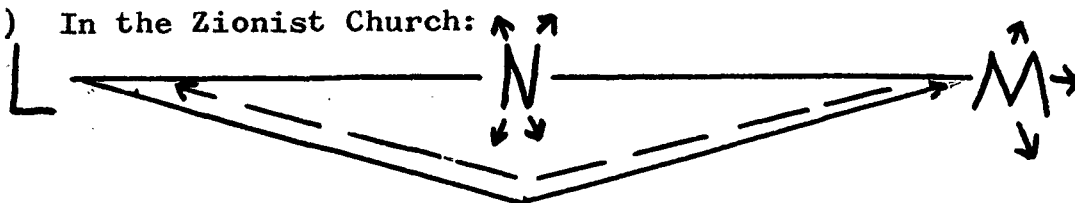


Fig. 1.

In (a) the relationship is fairly simple, as the influence of the leader over the Church passes mainly through the intermediary of the nucleus. For various reasons, however, members of the nucleus may revolt and start their own churches.

In (b) the situation is much more complex, as the influence of the leader is transmitted not only through the nucleus or staff, but also directly to the individual members of the mass in the "Bethesda" church through healing and other means of fairly personal contact. Here also the mutual influence, between leader and church and between nucleus and church is much more intense. This makes the organization gradually more difficult to control and eventually a number of new secessions will follow.

But the full extent of the dynamics of the situation is only realized when this diagram, (Fig. 1) is combined with the following picture of the situation. (See Fig. 2)

A.B.C. and D. are Mission Churches.

E.F.G. and H. are Independent Churches.

X: New Independent Church, formed by fragments of E.F.G. and H.

A.B.C. and D. are Mission Churches with a sliding scale of inner cohesion and integration, dependent on varying Western traditions of church authority. E.F.G. and H. are Independent Bantu Churches in different degrees of integration and threatening fission. The arrows indicate opposition either from Bantu subleaders, for personal, tribal, nationalistic or religious reasons or by the process here described as floating membership.¹⁵ X is still another independent church of Ethiopian or Zionist type which functions as the reception group for malcontents from the other four independent churches.¹⁰

This then is the way in which Sundkler sees fission and fusion operating in a segregated society. It will be interesting to see what similarities and differences exist in dominance-subordination

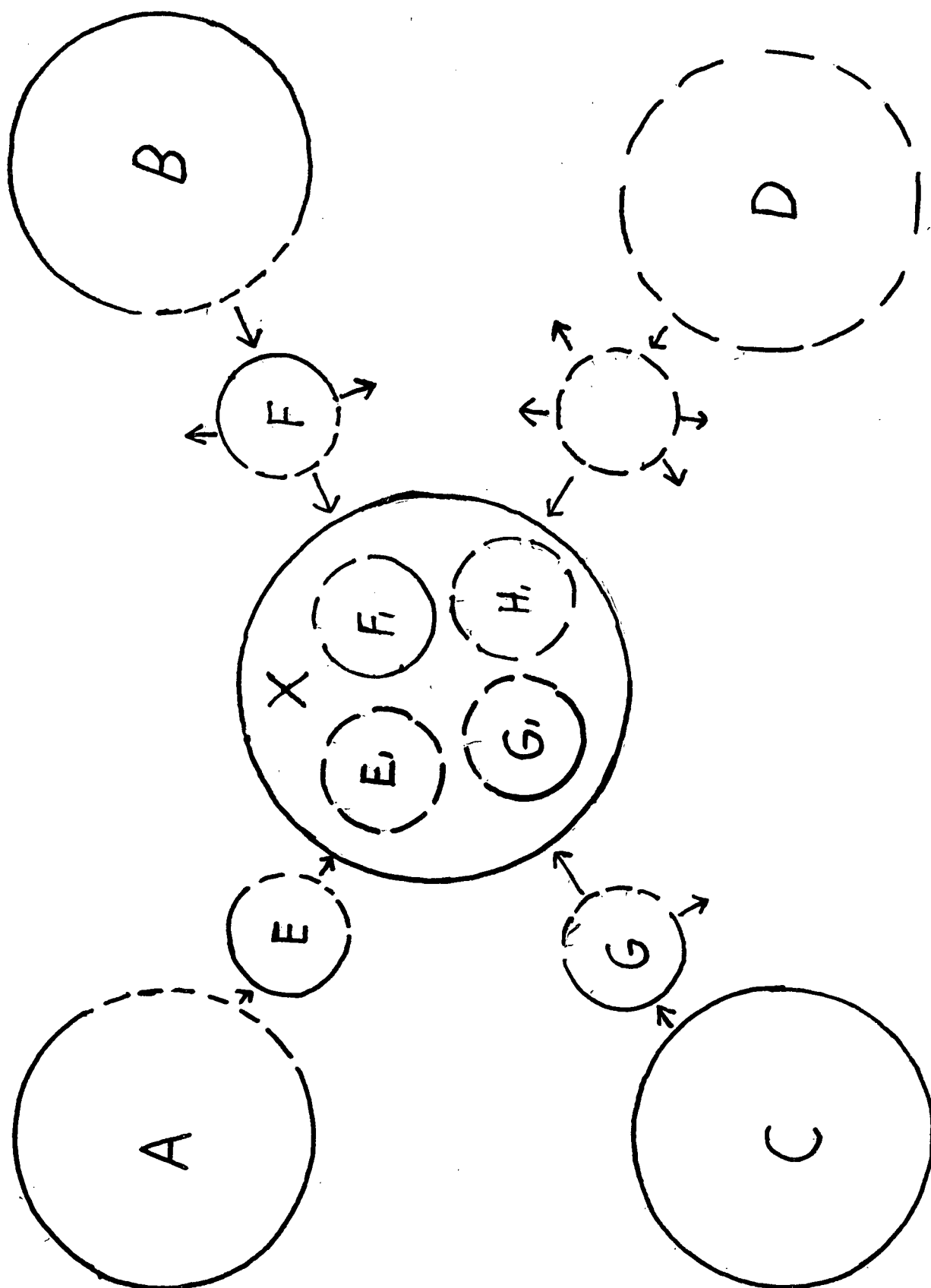


Fig. 2.

to follow page 65.

relations where political repression is not as marked as in South Africa. Why constant fission and fusion comes to be expected by the people, is also a problem requiring explanation.^{16(a)} Possibly the concept of schismogenesis as used by Bateson,¹⁷ and by Mühlmann,¹⁸ could be of use, as it takes such a good account of the progression that group antipathy undergoes in situations of culture contact. This antipathy ranges from 'mild' to 'severe' until open hostility or a break occurs between two groups in conflict with each other. Schismogenesis as defined by Bateson, is:

a process of differentiation in the norms of individual behaviour resulting from cumulative interaction between individuals.¹⁹

Bateson says:

If we see schismogenesis as a process in which each party reacts to the reactions of the other, then it follows that the differentiation must, other things being equal, proceed according to some simple mathematical law; even that the specialization of each party in its particular patterns of behaviour should follow an exponential curve if plotted against time.²⁰

Mühlmann more or less incorporates the idea of schismogenesis in his definition of a nativistic movement.²¹ He is pondering the problem of why a group with nativistic tendencies will exaggerate even to itself its doctrine and position within the larger society to the point where it is obvious to the membership that highly unrealistic issues are being advocated and if possible, fought for; This insight on the part of Mühlmann is significant for the nationalistic implications of nativistic movements; He says:

The origins of all this (schismogenesis) do not lie in the area of a dogmatic sense determination, but exclusively in the dynamics of antithetically embattled groups. We call this process "schismogenesis", that is as being an inherently dialectical process of the antagonistic creation of group spirit, whose peculiarity it is, that the determination of its

contents is almost wholly the result of a formal "growing apart". In particular cases for example, a group must insist dogmatically on, and fight for the contrary to what its opponents insist on, even when it "actually" or "logically" would have to share the opponent's view: the situation of embattledness dictates the content of dogmas! At the same time the whole schismogenetic position.....can if the opposing group reverses its former antagonistic position, cause the other side to reverse its position also, so that the antagonistic dynamics of the situation may be perpetuated.²¹

Thus schismogenesis, though it is descriptive of the process of movement fission, can also be applied to the antagonism generated in the dominance-subordination relation and that is where Mühlmann has used it. A good example of such a schismogenetic process may be the case of Mau Mau propaganda against soil conservation waged in Kenya before and during the Mau Mau uprising. Leakey tells us that the campaign was designed primarily to gain the support of the women for the Mau Mau cause.²² The women did most of the work in this programme and apparently were not in favour of it. The Mau Mau leadership realized the value of the programme in the same fashion that they realized the value of education and technology. Nevertheless with political freedom at stake, the campaign against soil conservation would prove to be a good issue for schismogenesis. The programme was wholly government advocated and it could easily be argued that only the white settlers benefitted from it. Conversely, if education and technology were also stressed by the Mau Mau, it was because these issues received little consideration from the government. Thus any opposition which effectively demarcated Mau Mau goals from those of the settler minority would reinforce group solidarity on both sides and foster more militant opposition of one group against the other. In the same fashion if erosion threatened Kikuyu lands and soil conservation received little

or no attention from the government it would have been possible for the Mau Mau to use it positively. It is not intended to carry the concept of schismogenesis too far, nor to let it account wholly for any of the phenomena given as examples. Especially in the case of the Kikuyu lands it is unwise to make a clear-cut-all-accounting statement on the issue, however, if we use schismogenesis as an analytical tool, with careful recognition of its limited value, it is doubtful that the margin of error will be overly large. Though Slotkin does not use the term, it certainly fits the all-important dominance-subordination relation and the dynamics of group embattlement that goes with it. With this in view we shall elaborate upon the concept as it has been advanced by Bateson and determine what further applicability we may find in it for an understanding of movement fissions and fusions and incipient nationalism in acculturation situations.

Bateson says:

In my opinion we should see the phenomena of contact as a series of steps starting from a point at which two groups of individuals, with entirely different cultures in each group, come into contact. The process may end in various ways, and the theoretically possible end-results of the process may be enumerated: 1. The complete fusion of the two groups, 2. The elimination of one or both groups, 3. The persistence of both groups in dynamic equilibrium as differentiated groups in a single major community.²³

It is at this point that we go beyond the fission-fusion continuum existing in continually changing movements, to look at aspects of schismogenesis between the dominant and the subordinate society, and find what generates the conditions in which movements arise. In a sense we are now looking at fission in a total sense, namely in the sense in which it generates subordinate group nationalism, and incidentally also dominant group nationalism. Fission

sets in at a specific point during the acculturation process and the nativistic response of the subordinate group is the outcome. Mühlmann describes the process in this fashion, in speaking of the cargo-cults. He says:

For an ethnological appraisal of the processes of culture change under European influence, these sects are particularly important. The order of events is as follows--and the Mamaia (movements) form the earliest proof of this -- that the culture of the natives does not inevitably react productively to the foreign influences. Under the impact of the new and the unprecedented, it (the culture) falls in psychological terms into a certain stupor, which gives the appearance of a will-less and indifferent acceptance of all things foreign. If the ethnologist describes culture change at this phase of stupor, he may easily gather the false impression, that the traditional culture is breaking down totally. It is only after a definite "incubation period" has elapsed, that the foreign influences are assimilated productively in the minds of the natives, and the result of this is among other things the religio-political sects. Naturally, these do not reach the stage of full flowering, and do not crystallize themselves into permanent institutions, because the intervention of the Europeans is much too strong, too relentless, and too violent and also because the political situation changes too fast and above all; because every prophecy soon becomes sceptically disintegrated by modern rationalism.²⁴

The above statement becomes all the more significant when it can be shown that at a point in acculturation even the embattlement between two different ethnic groups, one representing the dominant group and the other the subordinate group, becomes meaningless. It now becomes a fight between groups using rational techniques and those not using these. This is what Mühlmann is hinting at in the last sentence of the above statement and what Schwartz has found evidence for in the Paliau Movement. It must be remembered that rationality is only an objective criterion which may not be applied as a tool with which to dichotomize actions as being "rational" and "irrational" depending on which group performs them. That would be an oversimplification of the problem. However if we define as

24(a)
 being rational, that action which effectively competes with the action of an opposing group we may be able to come closer to an understanding of the problems of fission. Thus Schwartz found that alongside the presumably rational Paliau Movement there also existed a Cult. The Cult followed the tradition of cargo-cults as they existed during half-way acculturation, and scorned the mundane techniques of the Paliau Movement. The differences between the Cult and the Movement are significant when one considers that the Cult actually emerged later than the Movement did and that prestige factors were involved to some extent. Thus:

...those villages or hamlets that did join the Second Cult were those that would have been considered relatively lacking in prestige within the Movement. This holds true of most individuals who were in Cult minorities in other villages.²⁵

The relations between Cult and Movement in a situation of fission are described by Schwartz:

...the Second Cult, unlike the first, brought about not only a contrast between the concepts and orientations of the Cult and those of the Movement, but a distinction that was made clear not only to the anthropologist but to the natives as well. The Second Cult also produced a separation between Cult villages and non-Cult villages and most clearly in those villages that were split by the Cult, a separation between Cult personnel and Movement personnel. At the same time that the Cult members remained formally a part of the Movement, the Cult appeared to produce a split within the Movement. Although the Cult villages and hamlets employed the threat of withdrawal, and although at the height of their confidence they felt they could challenge Paliau and make statements denouncing the Movement and the Council, they continued to remain inside what they knew would continue to be the boundaries of the Movement. They burned no bridges behind them. Both the Cultists and the opposition conspired implicitly to keep the news of the Cult inside what they knew would continue to be the boundaries of the Movement, once the Cult had been brought into line.²⁶

It does not appear from Schwartz' description that the power of the Paliau Movement, in the face of the government, was appreciably lessened as a result of the inroads of the Cultists, though

no doubt these did not help the Movement either. Here again doctrinal and political differences were operative in the way these have been discussed at the beginning of this chapter so we need not elaborate. Schwartz, however, has a further contribution to make, which to some extent contradicts the findings of the present study. This is that fission was least when government opposition was strongest to the Movement. This is a condition rather contrary to that operating among Sundkler's Separatist Churches. However, other factors are involved in the comparison which cannot be elaborated upon here. Conditions favouring fission are loss of morale and morale seems to be highest when government opposition is strongest.²⁷ Morale itself can not be sustained indefinitely.

As can be seen it is difficult to generalize overly on processes of fission and fusion between groups in a dominance-subordination relation, and between movements, and within any single movement in relation to factionalism. Needless to say, there is an overlapping between the kinds of groups mentioned above, and the factors influencing group alignment and determining the distinctions which can be made between embattled groups and allied groups, are discussed elsewhere.

Chapter 7.

Communication Factors Affecting Slotkin's Theory in a Cross-cultural Perspective.

The movements with which we are concerned have been described with a minimum of information about the context in which they occur and how the communication factors influence the outcome of any one particular movement. In this chapter these factors will be explored and an attempt will be made to ascertain their relevance and importance to the formation of nationalism through nativistic movements among subordinated ethnic groups.

As the communication factors do not change nearly as fast as those discussed earlier, it will be much easier to have some claim to precision in this chapter than in any of the previous ones. Nevertheless what is advanced here, in the way of theory and fact, is only tentative as it is not in the power of the present writer to give the final word on the matter.

It would seem that in many instances the success of a movement in one place and the failure of a similar movement in another place, are outcomes which can be traced not so much to the level of acculturation, severity of repression, logic of organization, and form of syncretism,¹ as to the fact that the successful movement had a strategic advantage over the one that failed. It is difficult to relate a certain factor to other major events in flux and then to say that Movement A managed to survive because Event B occurred in sufficient time to distract unfavorable attention from Movement A. The outbreak of Event B, though it might have distracted unfavorable

attention from Movement A, could in the same way have taken potential followers from Movement A and thus have done away with the latter. As can be seen, speculation of this kind is futile and misleading.

However, if we systematically account for similarities and differences in movement contexts, we may achieve a useful purpose. An example of headings under which communication factors could be accounted for, would be the following:

1. Ease and difficulty of access to an area in which movement activity occurs.
2. The nature of the terrain.
3. Type of transportation used by movement followers and by their opponents.
4. The size of the area.
5. Population density and size of village groupings.
6. Isolation from, and contiguity with other groups.
7. Changes in population ratios between the dominant and the subordinate group.
8. The existence of a population ratio favorable or unfavorable to movement-origination.

The implications of the above headings are explored further. Concerned as we are with three culture areas, the conditions which have been described under the eight headings above are significantly different for each area. Thus in a consideration of communication we find that the Europeans were at an advantage among the small islands of Melanesia but were sorely inconvenienced when dealing with movements in the Highlands of New Guinea where the skill of

the natives in bush-lore gave the latter the upper hand in founding and protecting their movements. The native advantage in bush-lore was lost to some extent when telegraphic and wireless communication was employed by the Europeans. But suppression cannot be carried out by radio and wires alone and at this point the nature of the terrain, the climate, the rainfall and the presence and absence of malaria are important.² The knowledge which a population has of the area in which it lives can thus be an asset unavailable to the intruder. Thus when the Mau Mau members retreated to the Aberdares mountains, tracking them down became exceedingly difficult, even for experienced bush-rangers and game scouts.

A movement arising in an urban area does not have the natural environment as a protecting cloak for its activities, and even though the members who comprise it, may be jungle natives, the tactics learned in the jungle do not help them in the city.^{2(a)} The cloak of conformity that an urban movement thus puts on as a form of protection may make the movement look different and "harmless" in the eyes of law-enforcement officers, but the rural branch of the same movement would not require such protection and here one would be faced with a "different" movement just for this reason alone. Cover names used to suit the different surroundings in which branches of a movement find themselves would ensure an appreciation of the movement's lack of significance in the eyes of the dominant group.

The foregoing then are some of the problems which arise in movement-analysis where situational factors are not properly taken into account and where, in consequence, undue weight may be attached

to traits which exist only for purposes of camouflage to hide the true activities of a movement. Again, the degree of camouflage present in a movement was said to be a function of the degree of suppression that the movement faces from the dominant group, or expects to face. It might be said here that underground methods of communication such as were used by the Mau Mau, degree of camouflage and other defensive tactics are partly demanded by topographical conditions and partly by the above-mentioned suppression. Each situation prescribes the nature of the concealment required.³ It must be understood though that militancy is operative either on the part of the subordinate group, on the part of the dominant group, or on the part of both, for defensive and protective measures to be highly elaborated. At this point it is easy to get away from the study of nativistic movements to embark on the study of subversive organization, which though related to nativistic movements, nevertheless require exceptional conditions in order to be spawned. It is not intended to study these conditions here.

Thus before parallels are drawn between Pan-Indian, Pan-African and Pan-Oceanian nationalism, the geographical and physical conditions under which such large-scale outgrowths of nativistic movements operate, must be extended beyond the local situation. It is too easy to take these factors for granted when striking similarities of religious and political behaviour are discovered continents apart.

Thus communication between natives in Africa may be somewhat more difficult than between natives in North America. The same thing applies to Whites living in both areas. The existing population ratios are different though. In Africa, the native

population constitutes a large numerical majority. In North America it is only a minority. This gives corresponding strength to movements in each area. But if the fact is then considered that some North American Indians had access to horses and used these to spread their movement,⁴ the picture is again changed. However, in view of the population ratios described above we may find that a larger number of movements exist per given number of people in Africa than in North America. Consequently there is also a greater competition for adherents in Africa. Correspondingly, in the area of the more numerous movements there are also a greater number of native organizations of a non-movement nature which affect the strength of the movements in existence either adversely through loss of members or advantageously by co-operation. This makes any movement which arises in such a setting a part of all movements in existence at the same time....at least in the eyes of the dominant group.^{4(a)}

In view of the above, movements which arise in Africa will receive correspondingly more attention from the dominant group than movements arising in North America. Here the comparison of physical and geographical factors has been between two continental areas. For Oceania a different set of criteria becomes necessary but an extension of the same argument can be made in the case of Oceania as well.

Movements become a more immediate threat to the dominant group when they arise on small islands than when they arise in large continental areas. At least the attention given to cargo-cults in proportion to the attention given to other movements would warrant a

statement of this nature. Though communication between isolated islands may be restricted for cult-adherents, and not so for Europeans, this restriction is only a matter of degree and a cargo-cult can develop political overtones provided only the leaders are so oriented. The leaders receive their training and indoctrination before they start the cult which means that outside contacts are not required if the leaders have a sufficient grounding in organizational techniques and in the effective phrasing of demands from the dominant group. A White island administrator in his lone outpost may thus be faced with a tumult of major proportions, which if the same tumult occurred in Johannesburg, would only be considered as a minor riot not worthy of mention beyond a lethargic comment in the local press. This is where problems of proportion and scale require assessment and this assessment must be related to the territorial unit concerned, as a totality, in relation to "the outside world". A consideration of frequency of occurrence also enters here. Frequency of occurrence is probably related to the intensity of acculturation and of dominance.

The concept of "terminal acculturation" has been advanced earlier as a tentative label for the Rabaul strike.⁵ The strike raises the problem as to what relationship sub-cultures have to movements in carrying ideas which may be incorporated into movement-doctrine and practice. Thus seamen form a diffuse sub-culture which is at home in every sea-port of the world. If the strike was partially fomented through their influence how does such influence affect the syncretism of cargo-cults where ships play such an important role? Could it be said for instance, that this sub-culture has found a peculiar "resting-place" in Melanesia, and that

the cargo notions are so overriding because it is the role of this sub-culture to maintain the supply lines of the world? This is a tentative suggestion of the psychological effects on man of transportation and other communication roles, as these effects manifest themselves in the sub-culture which a transportation occupation spawns. Since the effects of roles on men are predictable to some extent, they are here treated as physical factors.

The above was in part a tentative suggestion about the influence of a water-borne culture on cargo-cults and the effects that such a culture may have as a carrier of nationalistic ideas. As regards movements which spread by land, a significant one in a real coverage is the Peyote Cult. The various Ghost Dance movements also have considerable records in spreading capacity. The importance of the horse as the medium of transport in the above two instances has been alluded to earlier.⁶ Sub-cultures are not represented in the land-borne movements. A conjecture raised here is that there may be a connection between rate of spreading of a movement and strength of nationalistic objectives. The rate of movement formation might also tie in with the above speculation. Once such possibilities are considered, the relative presence and absence of natural boundaries must be taken into account. As regards Pan-Nativistic movements, novel observations have been made. Thus the distance between North America and Africa was not a deterrent against the growth of Pan-Africanism through American Negro stimuli. According to Bishop Alexander Walters:

The United States provided a stimulating training school for (these) foreign black students; not only did they get formal education, but they were constantly rubbing up against racial discrimination which made them more receptive to the ideas of the Negro intellectuals and the independent religious movements.⁷

African students in America are thus considered to be the carriers of, or media for nationalism in Africa in a vaguely similar way as the sailor sub-culture was this for Melanesia. The influence of lone individuals upon movements and their formation, has of course, been amply demonstrated in chapter 2. Whether our material here is suitable for prediction is questionable but there is a strong likelihood that the presence of intermediaries in an acculturation situation, who do not identify themselves with the subordinate group from which they stem and who are prevented from identifying themselves with the dominant group which rejects them, this sheer presence is bound to create "unrest" and a movement or riot or some sort of revolutionary activity is bound to occur. A limited prediction can thus be based upon sheer data about the numbers of persons in each particular group, and the physical distance between the groups concerned. It may be a limited prediction but may prevent much unfounded speculation.

In view of the points raised about the influence of a water-borne sub-culture upon nationalistic aspirations the question may be asked as to what effect a static body of water has upon nationalistic aspirations. At this point symbolism becomes important and Balandier has made the following observation:

The Congo (river) is a symbol of Congolese unity, and all sentiments relating to this unity and to the ancient kingdom of the Congo are nourished by this symbol.⁸

A symbol of this nature can be an important factor for reassurance and unity of purpose when a movement faces divisive crises. Since a river is a static factor in a dynamic situation it can be more easily reckoned with.

A speculation which fits in with the above material is the question as to whether there are differences in growth of nationalism between coastal and inland peoples. Dr. Read speaks of a "growing political awareness in coastal groups".⁹ Does it follow from this that the inland peoples are less politically aware and if so can a relationship between strength of political awareness and distance from the sea, be established or is such a correlation absurd?

A final problem remains, and that is the one upon which Muhlmann's definition of nationalism hinges.¹⁰ Is, for instance:

.....a stratum of a people in the European sense.....¹¹

required so that a "nation" can come into existence? This is a problem not directly concerned with the principal one of this work and it is elaborated upon elsewhere,¹² but it is a physical problem in the sense that material and technological prerequisites must be satisfied for movement-fomented nationalism to be routinized in terms of a nation-state. The examples of Ghana Kenya and other African states would seem to deny this necessity and the Congolese turmoil of the past few years would tend to confirm it. In other words the proposition may be advanced that nationalism does not exist outside of the nation-state, since only a nation-state is presumed to have the resources to back its nationalistic aspirations. A reminder to this effect is necessary in order to prevent nationalism as a working concept from being overused.

Further it would seem that a minimal amount of interaction and communication between isolated groups of peoples is necessary

for any Pan-Nativistic movement to develop among them. The above was suggested by Dr. Dunning in speaking of the Northern Ojibwa Indians among whom no movements have been reported and none are likely to develop because of the paucity of contact between bands. Thus a common identity between bands joined as Indians who are faced with a contrasting group, the White men, does not exist at least not in a form amenable to movement-origination. The above argument might be extended to other hunting and gathering groups of North American Indians with subsidized economies, who in their dependence on the White man are highly accommodated to him, and any revolt on the Indians' part would only serve to cut off White support and not improve on conditions which in the Indians' view are adequate.

The above are some of the conditions which must be borne in mind in any study of Nativistic movements and their bearing on nationalism. In view of the fact that Slotkin bases his theory on North American data only, it is necessarily limited in an application to data from the Oceanian and African culture areas.

Chapter 8

Conclusion.

In concluding the test of Slotkin's theory, three questions still require precise formulation: namely, (a) how are the politico-nationalistic elements in Nativistic movements constituted, (b) how do they function in themselves, and (c) how do they relate to other elements in the movements.

For (a) it may be said that politico-nationalistic elements emphasize the dominance-subordination relation in such a way that cultural and/or social subordination is clearly demarcated. The demarcation of subordination is brought about by a judicious use of syncretistic constructs derived from elements of the donor culture and of the recipient culture in acculturation. The elements which emerge from the processes of syncretism are merged with subordinate group practices, mythology and ritual. A doctrine is the result and this doctrine becomes the framework for movement action.

(b) The politico-nationalistic elements function in themselves in such a way that each element, be it a syncretistic construct or other, must be in harmony with the sum of the other elements. Each element must reinforce the other if all elements are to function at all in a way conducive to an achievement of the movement's goals. Adjustments are made to promote the smooth interaction of elements. These adjustments are to some extent conscious, in as much as they are

the work of movement leaders, and unconscious inasmuch as they are automatic through the coming into importance of compatible elements and the falling away of incompatible ones. A movement may retain, for political reasons,^{1(a)} elements which are incompatible with its aims, and these may be the cause for possible future failure of the movement. How precisely the politico-nationalistic elements function in themselves is not altogether clear, since the interaction of the elements is a dynamic process where too many variables enter the scene, and further study is required to isolate and account for them.

(c) The politico-nationalistic elements relate to other elements in the movements through the medium of marginal persons.¹ In (a) and (b) above, the constitution and function of politico-nationalistic elements are conditions and processes, respectively, which more or less follow a logic of internal development,² which logic however may be guided to some extent through the selectivity of the leadership. By contrast, in (c) the control and directive force of the leadership is more readily apparent. The clever leader, a master of expediency and innovation, will seize upon the existing politico-nationalistic elements in a movement and raise these to the forefront of all other elements so that a hierarchy is established in the set of all movement elements, which hierarchy accentuates the merit of politico-nationalistic values and aspirations. All other values become to some extent dependent on political values and this, moreover, in such a fashion that the realization

of all aspirations is dependent upon the realization of political aspirations. In the relation of politico-nationalistic elements to other elements in the movements, the manipulative skills of the leadership are of prime importance. It could be possible for instance that only one faction in a movement is politically oriented in the sense of Slotkin's theory and that this particular faction may be hamstrung in its attempts to foster militant nationalism when the rest of the membership are bent only on nativistic nationalism³ with a minimum of political implications. The militant faction may attempt to discard the non-militant elements so that the politico-nationalistic leanings of the movement become more pronounced. A counter-process from the nativistic faction may also take place and usually the two processes operate simultaneously in a fashion which is as involved as the function of politico-nationalistic processes in themselves.

In retrospect, can it be said that Slotkin's theory has been tested? It is proposed that it has, but that a revision of the theory is necessary if it is to be effective for purposes of cross-cultural analysis.

Slotkin's theory of nationalism is based on the Peyote Cult and limited by the characteristics postulated for that movement. These have been found to be applicable within the conditions prescribed for them,⁴ and have proved the theory to be correct within them. The theory has not been found to be applicable, except within well-defined limits, to the cross-

cultural perspective. These limits will be outlined here and what in essence they hinge upon, are concepts of scale, and problems of communication.

Inasmuch as the Peyote Cult is a small-scale movement, and this analysis has found it to be so, the theory is correct. Inasmuch as the Peyote Cult is a large-scale movement, the theory is incorrect. Towards a clarification of the criteria of comparison we can say that: viewed as Pan-Indianism in relation to other North American Indian Cults and Movements, the Peyote Cult is a large-scale movement; viewed as Pan-Indianism in relation to Pan-Africanism, the Peyote Cult is a small scale movement. Thus North American data indicate Slotkin's theory to be correct if the theory is confined to North American data and cross-cultural data indicate the theory correct within the limits of certain scale relationships. The proof of the theory lies in the possibility that Pan-Nativistic movements which recognize only ethnic criteria, can be equated within the criteria allowed by the dominance-subordination relation. If such an equation cannot be made, the theory does not allow itself to be tested under the terms postulated by Slotkin.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1.

Footnotes

1. Slotkin, J.S., The Peyote Religion, 1956, p.1.
- 2a. Exceptions would be movements which arise as mutual-aid societies, trade-unions and other secular organizations whose activities are frustrated by a government. The "Amicale Balali" of French Equatorial Africa is an example of such movement transformation.
2. *ibid*, p.7.
3. Wirth, Louis, "Types of Nationalism" AJS Vol. XLI. 1935-6, pp. 729-30.
4. Slotkin, *op. cit.* p. 1.
5. Slotkin, *op. cit.* pp. 3-4.
6. Slotkin, *op. cit.* p. 5.
7. *ibid*.
8. Slotkin, *op. cit.* pp. 5-6.
9. Slotkin, *op. cit.* p. 5.

Chapter 2.

Footnotes.

1. Slotkin, J.S., The Peyote Religion, 1956, p.5, vide pp. 4 - 5 (vide chapter 1).
2. Vide, chapter 1, p.5.
3. ibid.
4. Mühlmann, W.E., Chiliasmus und Nativismus 1961, p. 181 trans.
5. Worsley, P., The Trumpet Shall Sound, 1957., p. 216.
6. ibid, p. 105.
7. Balandier, G., 'Messianismes et nationalismes en Afrique noire', CIS, Vol. XIV, 1953, p. 50 trans.
8. Edwards, L.P., The Natural History of Revolution, Chicago 1927, cited by E.V. Stonequist in The Marginal Man, 2nd ed. 1961, p. 160.
9. Slotkin, op. cit. p.4.
10. Stonequist, E.V., op. cit. p. 160.
11. ibid, pp. 160-1.
12. ibid, p. 174.
13. ibid, p. 174.
14. ibid, p. 214.
15. ibid, p. 201.
16. ibid, p. 214.
- 16a. This is an extension of Slotkin's distinction between accommodation and militancy, cf. chapter 1, page. 2. Cultural nationalism is representative of accommodation and social nationalism of militancy. cf. chapter 5.
17. La Barre, Weston, The Peyote Cult, 1959, p. 151.

III.

18. Stonequist, op. cit. p. 201, vide footnote 21, loc. cit.
19. La Barre, op. cit. p. 151.
20. ibid, p. 159.
21. ibid, p. 170.
22. ibid, p. 171.
23. ibid, p. 171.
24. Balandier, G., Sociologie Actuelle de L'Afrique Noire, 'Dynamique des changements sociaux en Afrique Centrale', 1955, pp. 401 - 402, trans.
25. Schwartz, Theodore, 'The Paliu Movement in the Admiralty Islands', 1946-54. APAMNH, Vol. XLIX, Pt. II, p. 398.
26. Balandier, op. cit. 1955, p. 397.
27. Rapport Annuaire, Moyen-Congo, 1928, cited by Balandier, op. cit. 1955, p. 393. Footnote 2. trans.
28. Balandier, ibid, p. 394.

Chapter 3.

Footnotes.

1. Vide, chapter 2, p. 13.
2. Vide, chapter 1, p. 5.
3. Linton, Ralph, 'Nativistic Movements' in AA vol. 45, 1943, pp. 230 - 240, passage quoted by Mühlmann in Chiliasmus und Nativismus p. 12.
4. Mühlmann, W.E., loc. cit.
5. ibid.
6. ibid.
7. Winick, Charles, Dictionary of Anthropology, 1958 ed. p. 520.
8. Cohn, Werner, The term "religion" is^{by} no means clearly defined. It is a western concept which has often little bearing on, or similarity with native forms of animism, magic, sorcery, etc. It implies a distinction between the "natural" and the "supernatural" which only became current with the advent of Christianity, and which is not made by the people under study here. Thus it must be borne in mind that the terms 'religion' and 'religious' are used only because phenomena falling under those headings have not yet been isolated from behaviour peripheral to the concept of religion.
10. Mühlmann, op. cit., p. 382.
- 10a. Whether nationalism in the European sense is understood by colonial peoples is debatable but something akin to a national feeling seems to be emerging among subordinated people. This emergence lends credence to the possibility that they actually know how to use the concept of nationalism.
11. Stonequist, E.V. The Marginal Man, p. 174 (see also chapter 2, p. 10, no. 12.)
12. Belshaw, C.S., "The Significance of Modern Cults in Melanesian Development", Vol. IV, 1950, pp. 116-125. A0
13. ibid., p. 124.
14. vide, chapter 1, p. 1.

15. Worsley, Peter, The Trumpet Shall Sound, pp. 47-48.
16. Cohn, Werner, The term "supernatural" in contradistinction to the idea of the "natural" is not altogether clear. The distinction between the two conditions is not made by all peoples who are under study here. (cf. note 8, supra).
17. Belshaw, C.S., op cit. (vide, chapter 3, p. 24, No. 13), vide I.C. Jarvie "Theories of Cargo-Cults: A Critical Analysis", Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, Sept. 1963, pp. 1 to 31, for an appraisal of Belshaw's approach to cargo cults. Oceania
18. See Unamuno, Miguel de, Tragic Sense of Life. "The mind seeks what is dead, for what is living escapes it; it seeks to congeal the flowing stream in blocks of ice. In order to understand anything, it is necessary to kill it.", as cited by Time, Jan. 17th, 1964. p. 80. Unamuno's words fit the phenomena of syncretism in a most striking fashion. They bear some reflection upon, by all those engaged in the analysis of living culture.
19. Schwartz, Theodore, 'The Paliau Movement in the Admiralty Islands', 1946-54. APAMNH Vol. XLIV, Pt. II, 1962., pp. 364-- 365.
20. Slotkin, J.S., The Peyote Religion 1956, pp. 3 - 4 (vide chapter 1, p.4, no. 5).
21. Sunderkler, B.G.M., Bantu Prophets in South Africa, 1961, p. 278.
22. *ibid*, vide footnote on p. 23 of Sundkler; "Willoughby mentions that a prophet was known as a modimo (god) in Bechuanaland before the Europeans came. The Soul of the Bantu, 1928 p. 11, a fact which is of importance for an understanding of the Black-Christ-theology in the Zionist Churches.
23. *ibid*, p. 282.
24. *ibid*, p. 284.
25. *ibid*, p. 285.
26. *ibid*, p. 287.
27. *ibid*, p. 287,
28. vide, chapter 6.

29. *ibid*, p. 295.
- 29a. Sundkler, *op. cit.* p. 297.
30. *ibid*, p. 295.
31. Slotkin, *op. cit.* pp. 5 & 6. (vide chapter 1, p.6, no. 8.)
32. Mühlmann, *op. cit.* p.121. (The Kikuyu Independent Pentecostal Church, and the Kikuyu Karinga Schools Association were said to have been involved.)
33. Sundkler, *op. cit.* p. 295.
34. Balandier, G., Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire, 1955, p.397 (vide chapter 2, p.17, No. 26) trans.
35. Balandier, G., 'Messianismes et nationalismes en Afrique noire', CIS, Vol. XIV, 1953 p.55 (cf. Appendix 2) trans.
36. Pepper, H., Enregistrement, Brazzaville, janvier 1951, cited by Balandier, *op. cit.* CIS p. 55 trans.
37. Leakey, L.S.B., Defeating Mau Mau 1954, p.59.
38. *ibid*, p. 68.
39. *ibid*, p.69.
40. Balandier, 1955, p.468.
41. *ibid*, 1955 pp.401-2 (vide Chapter 2, p.16, No. 24).
42. Balandier, *op. cit.* 1953 p. 50 (vide chapter 2, p.9, No. 7)
43. *ibid*, p. 55., The author makes the observation that:
L'Amicalisme is ready to recuperate or to fuse with the churches organized by the followers of Simon Kimbangu.
44. Lanternari, V., Movimenti religiosi di liberta e di salvezza dei popoli oppressi, 1960, p.25 trans.
45. *ibid*.
46. Slotkin, *op. cit.* pp.20 - 25.
47. Berry, G.L. Religions of the World, pp.54-58.
48. Worsley, P., *op. cit.* p.100.
49. Worsley, *op. cit.* pp.101-3.

50. Worsley, op. cit. p.103.
51. Eliade, Mircea, "Cargo-Cults and Cosmic Regeneration"
in S. Thrupp Millennial Dreams in Action op. cit. p.140.
52. Eliade & Worsley, Their findings appear to be mutually reinforcing.
53. cf. ante., This supposition is made on the assumption that we know what is meant by the notion of the "Cosmos" and that our assumptions on the Native notions connected with the term, are correct.
54. Schwartz, Theodore: There appears to be some conflict between cult adherents and movement adherents in the area in which the Paliau Movement is operating. This is one form of sectionalism. That referred to on p.39 is sectionalism between identical parts of movements or cults, (vide chapter 6 for further enlightenment on sectionalism and fissive processes in movements).
55. vide, chapter 7.
56. Eliade, op. cit. p.139.
57. Mühlmann, op. cit. p.12.
58. Worsley, op. cit. pp.137-8.
59. vide Appendix 2.

Chapter 4.

Footnotes.

1. vide, chapter 3, p.28, No. 19.
2. Mühlmann, Chiliasmus und Nativismus p.183.
3. Burridge, Mambu: A Melanesian Millennium p.14.
4. Balandier, Sociologie Actuelle de L'Afrique Noire, 1955, Pt. III, Chapter 2.
5. vide, chapter 3, p.33.
6. Kaisiepo, Markus W., quoted in K. de Boer, "De Christen-Papoea en het Geseculariseerde Westen" Zendingsblad, XXXIX, Jan-Feb. 1955, p.24 cited by Paul W. van der Veur, "Political Awakening in West New Guinea" pp.54-73 in PA Vol. XXXVI No. 1, Spring 1963, p.57.
7. van der Veur, *ibid.*
8. Belshaw, "The Significance of Modern Cults in Melanesian Development", AO Vol. IV, June 1950, p.125.
9. Mühlmann, *op. cit.* p.184.
10. Worsley, cited by Mühlmann *op. cit.* p.185.
11. Drucker, P., Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the North-West Coast, p.169.
12. *ibid.*
13. vide Appendix 2.
14. vide Chapter 2.
15. This term, developed by the French, is used to describe natives in colonies, who have met the standards of the Whites, individually, by education and other training and who thereby share some of the privileges of White society without however being integrated into it. Generally, French citizenship is required for "évolué" status. Military service will provide such status.
16. Balandier, citing "Rapport Annuel, Moyen-Congo, 1929, in Sociologie Actuelle, p.393.
17. Max Weber noticed a similar "disenchantment of the world"

17. cont.

occurring in Western European Society as a result of the relentless bureaucratization of all aspects of daily life with which man is faced. Weber's concept of disenchantment has been borrowed here.

Chapter 5.

Footnotes.

1. vide, chapter 1, p.6, no. 8.
2. vide, chapter 1, p.6, no. 9, vide Appendix 1.
3. vide, chapter 1, p.3.
4. vide, chapter 1, p.2, no. 2.
5. vide, chapter 1, p.3.
6. ibid.
7. vide, chapter 8.
8. Mooney, James, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890", Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1892-93. Mooney gives an Appendix of the Causes of the Outbreak on pp. 829-42, and a description of the Battle of Wounded Knee in Chapter 13 of the Report. He says: "The whole number killed on the field or who later died from wounds and exposure, was probably very nearly 300. These included women and children of the dead Indians. About 31 soldiers were killed in the battle, about as many more were wounded"......p.871
9. vide, chapter 3, p.25.
10. vide, chapter 7.
11. Slotkin, The Peyote Religion, 1956, p.20.
12. vide, chapter 3, p.25, No. 16.
13. vide, chapter 1, p.6, No. 8 (In the European sense militant nationalism is ordinary dominant group nationalism).
14. vide, chapter 1, p.6, No. 9.
15. ibid.

Chapter 6.

Footnotes.

1. Fission is used here in the same sense as cleavage. The latter term is used by Bateson.
2. Bateson, Gregory, Naven, 2nd ed. 1958, p.177.
3. *ibid.*
4. Mühlmann, W.E., Chiliasmus und Nativismus 1961, p.128.
5. Barnett, H.G., Indian Shakers, 1957, p. 134.
6. Barnett, *op. cit.* p.147.
7. *vide*, chapter 3, p.33, chapter 4, p.44, No. 5.
8. Wallerstein, I., Africa: The Politics of Independence, 1961, p.51.
9. Cagnolo, C., The Akikuyu: Their Customs, Traditions and Folklore, 1933, p.265, cited by Mühlmann *op. cit.* p.121.
10. Mühlmann, *op. cit.* p.121.
11. Wallerstein, *op. cit.*
- 11a. A movement which is other-oriented is a movement we refer to as being concerned with the super-natural only and not with the actual acculturation situation in spite of the fact that it is the situation in which the members find themselves, which spawns the movement.
12. By integration Sundkler here appears to make reference to the solidarity of the movement which split from a parent Church.
13. Sundkler, B.G.M., Bantu Prophets in South Africa, 1961, pp.169-170.
14. Sundkler, *op. cit.* p.179.
15. Sundkler, "Floating membership" is an apt description of the church relationships of a considerable outer fringe of Zionist organizations. They may join one particular group when staying in the Reserve, but find their way into some other Zionist fold when

15. cont'd.

moving to the Rand. Upon their return to Zululand they may discover that their first Zionist group has been dissolved and they may become more or less fervent crusaders for the new light they have seen in Johannesburg.[†], p.167.

16. Sundkler, op. cit. p.177-8.

16a. Dr. Belshaw suggests that fission and fusion in lineages may be a model along whose lines the Bantus construct their churches. In the light of Sundkler's findings this suggestion appears to be fitting.

17. Bateson, op. cit. p.175.

18. Mühlmann, op. cit. p.405, quoted from his Methodik der Völkerkunde 1938, p.183.

19. Bateson, op. cit. p.175.

20. Bateson, op. cit. p.189.

21. Mühlmann, citing Mühlmann 1938 in Chiliasmus und Nativismus p.405

22. Leakey, L.S.B. Defeating Mau Mau 1954, p.30.

23. Bateson, op. cit. p.184.

24. Mühlmann, Chiliasmus und Nativismus op. cit. p.185, citing Arioi und Mamaia 1955, p.242.

25. Schwartz, T., "The Paliau Movement in the Admiralty Islands, 1946-1954" APAMNH Vol. XLIX Pt. II, p.383. (vide chapter 1, p.1. on the distinction between a Cult and a Movement. The distinction made there seems to fit Schwartz's findings very well. Sundkler has noted the importance of prestige factors in Church Separatism as well. Vide Sundkler pp. 296-7.

26. ibid.

27. Schwartz, T., "Some natives speaking about the "slacking off" in the Movement, attributed it to their retraining in the face of continual opposition and persecutions by the Administration. My reconstruction contradicts this claim. It seems that the period of greatest Administration opposition to the Movement corresponded to the period of highest internal tonus, of relatively high morale. In fact the elicitation of martyrdom and its exaggeration in fantasy (the defiance of the authorities to beat them or kill them) seemed to have

27. Cont'd.

the function of maintaining internal cohesion and morale. The period of sharp decline in morale (particularly on the South Coast) coincides with the establishment of the Baluan Council and the relaxation of the Administration's active opposition to the Movement and to the period of contact with friendlier government officers. (p.377)

As might be gathered from the above, Administrative opposition is to some extent beneficial to Movement militancy and the resultant emergence of nationalism.

- 24a. What is defined as being "rational" could also be considered as being "operational" in the present context as Dr. Belshaw suggests. This distinction between the two terms is crucial since we are speaking of competing groups who must have operable methods in order to gain their ends.

Chapter 7.

Footnotes.

1. These are all ideas which have been advanced in the course of the foregoing work, in order to account for the relative successes and failures of movements in all three culture areas.
2. Robinson, W.A., Deep Water and Shoal, 1957 p.153. In speaking of the effects of malaria a voyager of the South Seas says of parts of Melanesia: "Life here is a continual battle with fever.....As it is, the New Hebrides mark the eastern and southern limit of the malaria belt in the South Pacific.
- 2a. An exception to this statement is the Rabaul strike which as Dr. Belshaw says, took the Europeans by surprise. (vide, chapt. 3, p.25 No. 15). The whole area of clandestine forms of communication requires special scrutiny.
3. vide, chapter 3, p.33, No. 32.
4. cf. ante, The Ghost Dance owes much of its spread to Indians on horseback.
- 4a. Other factors such as language differences may of course obstruct co-operation and defection. Such differences may isolate a movement from other movements. Colonial boundaries may yet further isolate population groupings from their neighbours. In the end however, the colour bar forms the common identity for diverse groups and secures native co-operation among them. Slotkin postulates this trend of events. (vide, chapter 1, p.4, No. 5).
5. vide, chapter 3, p.25, No. 15.
6. vide, No. 4 supra.
7. Walters, Bishop Alexander, in My Life and my Work cited by Colin Legum in Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide p.27, 1962.
8. Balandier, G., Sociologie Actuelle de L'Afrique Noire, 1955, p.416.
9. Read, K.E., "Notes on some Problems of Political Confederation" Pt. II, SP Vol. 4, No. 1, p.7, cited by Berndt, R.M. in "A Cargo Movement in New Guinea", Oceania Vol. XXIII, 1952, p.157-8.

10. Mühlmann, W.E., Chiliasmus und Nativismus p.382.
citing Wittram, R. Das Nationale als Europäisches Problem, Göttingen 1954.
11. *ibid.*
12. *vide*, Appendix 1.

Chapter 8.

Footnotes

1. The politico-nationalistic elements may relate to other elements in movements without the medium of marginal persons. It is because Slotkin emphasizes the importance of these persons that they receive such heavy consideration here.
- 1a. The Mau Mau retained among their aims the abolition of soil conservation. (See chapt. 6, p.66, No. 22).
2. Too little is known of inter-element functions to allow for a more precise formulation of them, and what theories may be based on these functions in a way towards an explanation are too tentative to be advanced at this stage of the test.
3. See chapter 1, p.6, No. 8.
4. The notion of what is "correct" must be taken with reservations.

Appendix 1.

Footnotes.

1. Voget, F.W., "The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Accommodation" AA, Vol. LVIII, 1956, p.260, No. 9.
2. Voget, op. cit., p.249.
3. The label is not being argued with here.
4. Voget, op. cit., p.249.
5. La Barre, W., "The Peyote Cult", Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 19, New Haven 1938, p.166, as quoted by Newcomb, W.W. Jr. in "A Note on Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism" Brief Communications, AA, Vol. LVII, 1955, p.1042.
6. Brant, C.S. "Peyotism among the Kiowa-Apache and neighbouring tribes", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology Vol. VI pp.212-222. Albuquerque, cited in Newcomb op. cit. p.1042.
7. Wallace, A.F.C. "Revitalization Movements" in AA Vol. LVIII, 1956, pp.264-280.
8. vide, chapter 5.
9. Voget, F.W., op. cit. p.259.
10. vide, p.90, No. 4.
11. Newcomb, W.W. Jr. "A Note on Cherokee-Delaware Peyotism" Brief Communications. AA Vol. LVII, 1955. p.1043.
12. ibid.
13. vide, chapter 8.
14. vide, chapter 3, p.25, No. 15.
15. vide, Appendix 2.

Appendix 2.

Footnotes.

1. vide, chapter 1, pp.3 & 4.
2. vide, chapter 1, p.1.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Bibliography

Abbreviations of Journals.

AA	American Anthropologist
AJS	American Journal of Sociology
AO	Australian Outlook
APAMNH	Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History.
ASR	American Sociological Review
CIS	Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History
Oceania	Oceania
PA	Pacific Affairs
SP	South Pacific
YUPA	Yale University Publications in Anthropology

- Balandier, G. "Messianismes et nationalismes en Afrique noire" CIS Vol. XIV. 1953, pp.41-65
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ASR Vol. VI, 1941, p.41.
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 (vide Veur P.W. van der)
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A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX 1.

Pan-Nativism and large-scale Nationalism.

As has been demonstrated so far, nationalism among subordinated peoples can present itself in a host of different fashions when it is expressed in an acculturation situation. From Mau Mau to Peyote is a long and debatable way, and whereas few will argue, now that Kenya is independent, that Mau Mau may not have somewhat helped to bring Kenyan independence about, there are still some who will doubt that Peyotism is an expression of Pan-Indianism.¹ Thus there is Voget,² who on the basis of his paper on "Accommodative Processes among American Indians in Transition", classes Peyotism among Reformatory movements,³ and then proceeds to say that:

Revivalistic movements like the Ghost Dance initiate inter-tribal sympathy, just as they deepen the sensitivity of followers to matters of character and morality. Reformatory movements continue the trends, enlarge upon them and develop them. It is doubtful, however, that Peyotism and the other Reformatory movements can be counted as special aspects of Pan-Indianism as Newcomb (1955:1042-1044) seems to imply. Pan-Indianism as it is now emerging, seems too secular to find a vital place for the ethico-religious solution that movements of reform offer.⁴

Newcomb, however, on the basis of his own observations among the Cherokee-Delaware of Oklahoma, invokes La Barre, who, he says:

has summed up (1938:166) the Pan-Indian aspects of Peyotism, and his remarks are also applicable to the Cherokee-Delaware:

of whom he says:

The Indians feel, perhaps rightly, that Peyotism is their last strong link with the aboriginal past, which

others are trying to destroy. Hence it has contributed greatly to the sense of community and morale of the Indian groups in Oklahoma.⁵

and Brant puts the issue more bluntly. He says:

(It can be) said of the Peyote Cult in Southwestern Oklahoma, (that) it "constitutes the religious symbol of what might be called a 'Pan-Indian movement'"(1950:222)⁶

Needless to say, the above statements require close examination. There are, first of all, a plethora of ways and means of classifying the phenomena under study here. The classification in use in the foregoing work, was designed to bear out the nationalistic component of nativistic movements. Other components may have been borne out as well, but the emphasis was not on these. Because of this, the study may be slightly biased in the direction of militancy. Voget's classification, like that of Wallace, appears to be biased in the direction of accommodation. To avoid working at cross-purposes with the findings of two of the most lucid analysts of movement phenomena, the attempt has been made to show what the relationship is between Accommodation and Militancy.⁸ This has been done, moreover, with specific reference to the Ghost Dance and Peyote, according to the criteria postulated by Slotkin. The evidence for nationalism was positive, though on different levels respectively, both for nationalism in militancy and nationalism in accommodation.

Now, describing them as reformatory, Voget in speaking of the movements known as Gaiwiiio, Peyote, and Shakerism, says that:

the nationalistic Pan-Indianism (which) now seems to be emerging is founded upon an affect-base.⁹

The foundation claimed by Voget would appear to make the nationalism of North American Indians comparatively uninfluen-
tial, and in spite of being a Pan-Indian development, this
nationalism would further be a static phenomenon. However, if
as Voget says, that:

Pan-Indianism is too secular to find a vital place for
the ethico-religious solutions that movements of reform
offer;¹⁰

what then does he mean by a "too secular Pan-Indianism"?

Voget gives no clue to elucidate the statement and consequently
it does not stand up. Newcomb, however, describes one form
of secular Pan-Indianism in the form of the "National Congress
of American Indians" and as an agency for nationalistic fer-
ment it appears to be in no vital place at all with the Indians.
Newcomb says:

Not one person was ever found who belonged to any
national Indian organization, such as the National Con-
gress of American Indians. Most professed complete
ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these
Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobby-
ing for Indianism, have here been disregarded.....In
passing we might note that these organizations are
possibly an expression of this trend among other Indian
groups.¹¹

It would appear that a national body such as the above,
has little power as a nationalistic force if tribal animosities
are still strong. Among the American Indians this seems to be
the case, and it is only a movement which will overcome these
animosities, and not an organization. Significantly enough,
Newcomb says:

d.

A number of women at one time belonged to the Indian Women's club, an intertribal extension club of Washington County, which holds monthly meetings, has rummage sales, luncheons and the like. Significantly, proceeds of one rummage sale were sent to the Navaho. Since the war, Cherokee-Delaware membership in this organization has declined, and there never has been a men's club.¹²

That then, is the extent of secular Pan-Indianism. Problems of the nature discussed by Newcomb are alleviated by an intertribal "organization" such as Peyote, because no appreciable economic goods are involved here. The involvement of economic goods at a level of nationalistic aspiration such as that of the North American Indians, who in the present situation, do not effectively compete with the White society on a basis of equal advantage, only weakens whatever common identity there may exist between the Indians as a whole, in common cause against the White man. Secular Pan-Indianism, however, if it is to become a force for the Indians, cannot hope to evade economic issues, but paradoxically enough, by tackling economic issues, this Pan-Indianism also creates divisions among interest groups with sectional aspirations. These interest groups use Pan-Indianism in such a fashion as benefits their section or region. From the above we may gather, that if there is actually such a thing as secular Pan-Indianism, which has no place for Peyote, then this Pan-Indianism needs to be defined, preferably by Voget. The economic example given above, naturally also applies to related secular facets of group activity, which facets, however, need not be elaborated upon. It is only intended to test the validity and relevance of Newcomb's statement. Moreover, Slotkin's theory, already having been found to

be valid within the North American Culture area¹³ is here only being further defended by North American data. It is not necessary to introduce cross-cultural data to back the theory up against Voget's objections.

It might be said with justice, though, that where the economic conditions warrant it, secular Pan-Nativism may displace the importance of the religious component in movement activity. Thus in Africa, where the dominant group is dependent to a considerable extent on the labour of natives for its subsistence, well organized native trade unions may bring about the nationalistic fervour brought about in North America by the Peyote Cult, and though we have treated only predominantly religious material in Africa, the "ethico-religious solution" may be a supplementary nationalistic trend rather than the main one. In Melanesia we have seen that, where it was in the power of the Natives to strike for higher wages, they did strike!¹⁴ There, we had definite secular nativism, and with the data at hand, there is little argument about it, except that the strike of the Melanesian natives may be considered as too minor an issue to merit incorporation into the present work.

It is not intended to inflate, or otherwise to exaggerate the importance of minor objections to Slotkin's thesis, and it must be borne in mind that Voget arrived at his conclusions through a different set of arguments than those made use of here. Moreover, Voget's procedure is not necessarily invalid. As a result of the differences between Voget and Slotkin, some

serious afterthoughts have nevertheless been aroused. The first of these is that nationalism describes a state of being, that a group is in, at a given time. Nationalism does not describe the state of being that the particular group in question, will occupy in future, even though the indices be that "revolution" by, and "emancipation" of the subordinate group are on the way. That is, as used cross-culturally, the term does not lend itself for purposes of prediction. Predictions in terms of nationalism, may, however, be made in limited terms and have successfully been done so. The second afterthought is that the concepts of "movement" and "organization" must not be used interchangeably, lest utter confusion be the result.¹⁵ The third afterthought is that the strength of a movement as against an organization, must never be underestimated. In a consideration of large-scale nationalism, the organizationally-biased observer will tend to belittle the significance of "movements" and of "spontaneity" and exaggerate the importance of "organization" and "planning". Such a bias in favour of "organization" is probably even reflected somewhat in this thesis, and inasmuch as it is, must be ascribed, *faute de mieux*, to subconscious processes. However, in a world where flux is the norm, and order the exception, a changing situation can never be fully accounted for, by no matter how refined, a form of planning. Event after event follows a course which the original plan never anticipated. The plan follows a logic which is not usually synonymous with

the course of events the plan attempts to account for.

Spontaneity does not recognize such restrictions. Since it is the overriding characteristic of a movement in contrast to an organization, the former is one step ahead of the latter in anticipating change. In a consideration of large-scale nationalism, it is the group which anticipates an event, which adapts itself to the event and acts as the situation thereby created, demands. It is not the group which planned an event ...and had another coming in its stead, that recognizes the latter one with due immediacy, and acts accordingly. The group which "moves", anticipates. The group which "organizes" plans. One cannot fail to see, from this exercise, that both groups being in the same situation are differently oriented in their expectations of the outcome of a contest...and nationalism is a contest inasmuch as it expresses the aspirations of a subordinated people.

Now, in a recapitulation of the foregoing, it may be said that the objections of Voget, voiced at the beginning of this appendix, were objections of an organizational bias. It was assumed by Voget, that nationalistic aspirations of the Pan-Indian scale are planned aspirations instead of spontaneous aspirations. Inasmuch as he did not see planning in Peyote he did not see nationalism....only ethico-religious solutions?

It is not the aim of this appendix to expose all the weaknesses inherent in the kind of analysis pursued by anthropologists, but it does occur that neither movements nor organizations can be effectively analyzed unless the characteristics

of these two types of group affiliation are properly recognized. A movement characterized by spontaneity may lead one into undue prediction when one subjects it to analysis. An organization characterized by planning may lead one into as much uncertainty when all the possible alternatives of the outcome of a situation are assessed. What must be realized is that confusion becomes reality when movements and organizations combine in large-scale nationalistic groupings. It is at this point that the tools of the analysis become inadequate for the purpose envisioned, and we can only indicate where the problem is beyond us and where other techniques of analysis must be invoked. It is proposed that the point of inadequacy comes in at the Pan-continental levels.

The concept of nationalism, as used in this thesis, becomes inadequate for international comparative purposes. The "nationalism" of a continent is necessarily different from that of a nation within its borders, but Pan-Africanism represents "continental" nationalism. The same thing can be said for the other two culture areas, and that is where the comparison between African, Oceanian, and North American nationalism is no longer possible.

The analysis of the dominance-subordination relation was possible as long as there was a recognition that a dominance-subordination relation existed. Though large-scale nationalistic groups may evolve because of this relation, there comes a point where these groups cannot be identified in terms of it, as they themselves by the sheer weight of their size and

number of followers, exercise a subtle form of dominance. More precisely, a dominance position is accorded the subordinated group, which position may not coincide with the actual position. Thus in sociological terms, a subordinate group may possess ascribed dominance in spite of its actual subordination. The dominant group may possess ascribed subordination in spite of its actual dominance. Thus even the status of the protagonists and antagonists in large-scale nationalistic aspirations can only be vaguely defined with the tools which have been used in the present work.

APPENDIX 2.

Routinization and the Death of a Movement.

The concept of routinization as a description of the state of development reached by a movement, is a debatable one. That routinization occurs in movements is likely, and this state of being has been touched upon to some extent in chapter 4, in connection with the Native Brotherhoods of the North-West Coast. Routinization can be spoken of when a movement has been institutionalized within the dominant society and has reached the phase of harmony, otherwise known as phase 4.¹ Whether a movement at the point of harmony may still be called a movement is the critical question as the dynamics, which gave the movement its start may be disintegrating by that time. According to the criteria laid down in chapter 5, the state of harmony does not allow for movements, if such a state has been achieved directly from contact on, and is a transitional state on the way of fusion between the dominant and the subordinate group. However, if harmony has been achieved via phases 2 and 3, (opposition and accommodation respectively) it is possible that the movement momentum from phase 3, has not yet been lost, and that we may speak of a movement in the state of harmony as being a routinized movement. Here we must enter further organization theory, to supplement the distinction made between the concepts of "organization" and "movement" in the previous appendix.

Organizations like movements, which are consciously and selectively formed and directed, have it in themselves

that they are more adaptable to origination than to disbandment. Thus in a situation which is conducive to movement-genesis, movements may, once they have achieved their aims, encyst themselves in the social structure, or otherwise continue to proclaim a rationalization for their existence which is phrased in terms of the existing situation. If such a rationalization is not phrased in terms of the existing situation, the movement or organization in question loses followers and becomes a cult within the subordinate group.²

As long as a movement exists, it may be assumed that it has some adherents. But inasmuch as a movement does not exert any appreciable influence upon the subordinate group whom it represents, or at least upon a sizable part of its membership, the movement can be said to have "died". The cultish aspects of the movement however live on in the handful of adherents.

As has been said, acculturation from phase 1, directly to phases 4 and 5 does not make provision for movement-origination. Acculturation, however, does allow for cult-formation, since cults can be routinized movements over considerable periods of time, both before and after a phase of opposition against the dominant group. It is here that the distinction between a cult and a movement has to be made, since in terms of the influence criteria, nationalistic activism is not likely to be associated with routinization, though routinization in turn, does not necessarily imply loss of influence.

Possibly the example of the Native Brotherhoods of the North-West Coast can be invoked. In these cases we have

routinized movements with limited influence among a selected membership. It might be said that the actions of a limited-membership movement can be planned and consequently these actions are influential when their outcome is correctly anticipated.

In the light of the foregoing, a routinized movement can thus either become a cult or a service organization. The movement may even have been routinized since inception but the term "movement" is still more valid than that of "organization" inasmuch as a movement owes its origin to the drive and ambition of marginal persons. The origin distinguishes a routinized movement from an organization.

In summary we may say that a movement is a continuum between the poles of cult and organization. The cult pole, may, but does not necessarily represent routinization, the organization pole represents routinization. "Death" is synonymous with loss of influence.