

3-1979

Radical Nationalism in Cameroun: Social Origins of the U.P.C. Rebellion by Richard A. Joseph

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Publication Info

Published in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Volume 17, Issue 1, 1979, pages 156-157.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=MOA>

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action to limit party development. As the Boumedienne régime tried to take on civilian and participatory trappings, considerable and so far successful resistance has been encountered from the traditional *fonction publique*, and the newer technocratic strata in the state corporations, who are content with the present situation. The dramatic move against Ben Bella may well have been prompted by the perception that party development was becoming a threat to the army, but even if the coup had not taken place, the F.L.N. would have faced less overt, but equally effective resistance from the civil service.

This observation leads to the reflection that it might have been an advantage if Jackson had studied more carefully the policies and party developments of the Boumedienne period – most of which show a remarkable continuity with the programmes of Ben Bella. That a very different sort of régime, seemingly based on a quite different configuration of social forces, should feel compelled to espouse similar policies, is an event worthy of consideration.

In sum, Jackson offers a workmanlike review of the critical formative phase of the F.L.N., and raises questions of prime importance to the general issue of party development. His answers are incomplete, but it should be noted that the general topic is very complex, and that the Algerian political system is particularly resistant to analytical simplification.

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Radical Nationalism in Cameroun: social origins of the U.P.C. rebellion
by RICHARD A. JOSEPH

Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977. Pp. xiii + 383. £15.00. \$34.50.

Richard Joseph claims to have ‘presented a detailed analysis of one of the most striking examples of anti-colonialism in tropical Africa: the struggle for power of the radical nationalist party, the Union des Populations du Cameroun’ (p. 332). His assertion is well justified, for we have here a well-written, thoroughly researched study that integrates many of the findings of previous scholars, but brings to our attention several new views on the rise of nationalism in Cameroun as well as elsewhere in the continent. His use of the political-economy approach is exceedingly successful, and emphasises the value of this mode of analysis for the study of African politics.

The author utilises documentary sources, published materials, and interviews with numerous participants in the independence struggle to describe the growth of the U.P.C. and its activities until 1956. In so doing, he illuminates not only the uniqueness of Cameroun political history, but also very important similarities to events in other parts of colonial Africa.

It is not widely known that there were several thousand white settlers in Cameroun, and Joseph argues that this large community, encouraged by their almost independent rôle during and immediately after World War II, came to view Cameroun as their land. This attitude was reinforced by the expatriate interpretation of the significance of Charles de Gaulle’s policies and the post-war changes in French constitutional structure. The Europeans

acted to maintain their dominant position and opposed moves to increase African political power. They delayed the promotion of Camerounians in the civil service, blocked their attempts to move into the production of bananas and coffee, hindered the expansion of the rising Bamileke bourgeoisie, and played a monopoly rôle in the buying and exporting of cocoa. As such, they served as a major impetus to the growth of a Cameroun nationalism that was 'radical' in the sense that the U.P.C. demanded real independence from France.

In this respect, Joseph argues, the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* was similar to nationalist movements in much of France's overseas domain, but unlike those in Senegal and the Ivory Coast. In the end, this was not the organisation to win independence for Cameroun; rather it was granted to the much milder, more pro-French nationalism represented by Ahmadu Ahidjo – an important example of the ability of a colonial government to influence to its benefit the outcome of the independence struggle. We are left wondering what has happened to the power of the white settlers since independence. Certainly, their monopoly in the southern cocoa districts, and their rôle in the commerce of Douala, Yaoundé, and other urban areas, remain quite strong.

Joseph presents detailed evidence of the importance of economic factors in the growth of the Cameroun nationalist movement. He notes the differential impact of economic policy on various parts of the Colony, and relates this to regional variations in the strength of nationalist support. Differences in local culture are also used to explain the various degrees of response. Unfortunately, the author gives only cursory attention to the application of these variables to the northern part of the territory, although the failure of the people there to support radical nationalism was a critical factor in the inability of the U.P.C. to win power, and this needs more explanation. Joseph's analysis of economic deprivation and frustration in rural areas is indicative of a new trend in the study of African politics, because previously most scholars have stressed the significance of the urban setting.

One of the benefits of a good book is that it points out areas in which further research should be conducted, and *Radical Nationalism in Cameroun: social origins of the U.P.C. rebellion* is rich with such ideas. Joseph mentions briefly the contacts between members of the U.P.C. and politicians in British Cameroon, and although others have noted the rôle of migrants in the politics of the English sector, there is no thorough analysis of the relationships and interplay between the growth of nationalist sentiment, political parties, and independence movements in the two trust territories. Such a study is required if we are to begin to understand the seeming success of their integration, and Joseph's discussion of the effects of Cameroun's special status on the independence movement suggests the need for a comprehensive analysis of the rôle of trusteeship in the history of Africa. And, the excellence of this study of the U.P.C. leaves us anxious to read an equally knowledgeable account of what has happened since 1956.

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