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Actes du 3eme Colloque Scientifique International des  
Laboratoires LAReLSo et LaRMA - (FLSL- UYOB)

tenue les 30 et 31 Mars 2026 à Kabala



Thème : Résolution des crises en Afrique et reconstruction  
nationale par les sciences et la recherche scientifique à l'ère  
de l'Alliance des États du Sahel (AES)



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LAReLSo et LaRMA de l'Université Yambo Ouologuem de Bamako,  
sise à Kabala sur le thème : " RESOLUTION DES CRISES EN  
AFRIQUE ET RECONSTRUCTION NATIONALE PAR LES  
SCIENCES ET LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE A L'ERE DE  
L'ALLIANCE DES ÉTATS DU SAHEL (AES) " tenue les 30 & 31  
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*The African Journal Kurukan Fuga is an online scientific journal of the Department of Education and Research in English (DER English) of the University of Letters and Human Sciences of Bamako. It is a quarterly Journal which appears in March, June, September and December. The African Journal Kurukan Fuga was set up from the desire of the English Department professors to enrich their university landscape, which is quite poor in scientific journals (three journals for the whole university). Indeed, more and more young teacher-researchers arrive in our universities, and higher education institutions and institutes with very limited publication opportunities. The English Department is a case in point, with more than forty young doctors and doctoral students producing scientific articles which almost always have to be published elsewhere. The African Journal Kurukan Fuga intends to boost scientific research by offering larger publication spaces with its four annual publications. The creation of this journal is therefore intended as a response to the many requests made by many teacher-researchers in Mali and elsewhere who often do not have free access to quality online documentation for teaching and research. The journal favors texts in English; however, texts in other languages are also accepted.*

*The journal publishes only quality articles that have not been published or submitted for publication in any other journals. Each article is subjected to a double blind reading. The quality and originality of the articles are the only criteria for publication.*

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## **Argumentaire de l'appel à communication du 3eme Colloque Scientifique International des Laboratoires LAReLSo et LaRMA (UYOB-FLSL)**

### **I-CONTEXTE ET JUSTIFICATION**

L'Afrique, depuis son accession à la souveraineté politique dans les années soixante, demeure en proie à des crises multidimensionnelles, mêlant insécurité armée, fractures sociales, fragilité étatique, corruption, *Africaphobie*<sup>1</sup> et chocs économiques, qui compromettent durablement ses trajectoires de développement et entravent l'affirmation d'une véritable indépendance sur tous les plans. C'est dans ce contexte que des leaders patriotes et visionnaires, notamment au sein de l'Alliance des États du Sahel, s'attachent à rompre les chaînes de l'impérialisme, du néocolonialisme, du sous-développement et de la dépendance à l'Occident. Cependant, il convient de noter que les premiers leaders africains révolutionnaires tels que Modibo KEITA, Julius NYERERE, Kwame KRUMMAH, Thomas SANKARA, Mohammad GADAFI et d'autres ont vu leurs luttes avortées en mi-chemin car elles n'étaient pas assez adossées à la science et à la recherche scientifique. De même plusieurs crises assaillent l'Afrique de nos jours, surtout sur le plan sécuritaire, mais la réponse semble être toujours soit militaire, soit faire recours à des personnes non universitaires, voire des non experts dans le domaine de la recherche scientifique. Le Mali, le Burkina Faso et le Niger ne font malheureusement pas exception. Pour pallier cette situation, une place de choix devrait être accordée aux sciences et la recherche scientifique d'où l'impérieuse nécessité de l'implication du monde universitaire.

En effet, les sciences, qu'elles soient africaines ou importées, constituent sans nul doute le véritable creuset de connaissances, de savoir-faire et de technicité permettant de poser des diagnostics fins, des outils de prévention et des évaluations d'impact indispensables pour concevoir des politiques publiques ou stratégies adaptées aux spécificités locales sahéliennes et africaines. Les approches scientifiques permettent également de dépasser les réponses purement militaires en intégrant prévention, résilience sociale, relance économique et réconciliation, et en rendant les interventions plus légitimes et efficaces. Pour corroborer ce qui précède, Aristote dans le *Traité d'Organon* écrit : « La connaissance scientifique se définit comme la connaissance des causes, son approche formelle vise à distinguer le démontrable (théorèmes) et l'indémontrable (axiomes), ce qui relève de l'enchaînement causal et ce qui relève des principes premiers. » (Vrin, 1979, p.89). En termes explicites, la recherche scientifique favorise l'appréhension objective et la découverte réelle des causes d'un problème ou d'une problématique tout en évitant de s'agripper à des causes qui ne découlent pas d'une connaissance scientifique véritablement avérée. Il est également saillant de faire remarquer que la recherche est un effort pour trouver quelque chose ou un effort de l'esprit vers la connaissance (Le Grain, M., 1994, p. 945). De même, D. Bruno (1994, p. 85), soulignera que la recherche est un exercice systématique et méthodique portant sur l'étude d'un problème ou d'une question et mettant en cause des faits qui doivent être vérifiables en vue d'atteindre une fin : la résolution d'un problème ou la réponse à une question ou d'une hypothèse préalable, la recherche exige

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<sup>1</sup> Terme utilisé par l'écrivain malien Aboubacar Sidiki COULIBALY (2024, p.95) dans son roman socio-historique, *Le monde Africain doit se réveiller*, Bamako : Alqalam, pour signifier le rejet et le dégoût pour tout ce qui est africain ou renvoie à l'Homme africain ou à l'Afrique



ipso facto un travail d'interprétation. La science, quant à elle, renvoie à l'ensemble des connaissances humaines acquises par la spécialisation (études) ou par l'expérience (pratiques). Son fondement est la raison et l'objectivité.

En sus, l'émergence de l'Alliance des États du Sahel (AES) crée un nouvel espoir pour toute l'Afrique et constitue un espace stratégique sous régional requérant des réponses harmonisées mais devraient être fondées sur des savoirs locaux et scientifiques pour ménager la sécurité, la gouvernance et la reconstruction nationale. C'est pour cette raison que COULIBALY (2024, p.94) écrit : « La seule science qui libère l'Homme véritablement quel que soit le degré de l'aliénation est la science de soi-même. » Nous comprenons ainsi la prééminence des connaissances, des valeurs et savoir-faire endogènes dans la résolution des conflits et la reconstruction nationale à l'ère de la reconfiguration de l'Afrique et de la multipolarisation du monde.

Ce troisième colloque international offrira une tribune idéale pour interroger, analyser et préconiser, dans toute leur étendue, les outils pertinents de décolonisation, les mécanismes de résolution des crises et les dynamiques de reconstruction des États africains par la science et la recherche scientifique, dans un contexte marqué par les enjeux du néocolonialisme et de la menace terroriste. Il convient d'ores et déjà d'affirmer que science et recherche scientifique sont indissociables et qu'elles doivent exercer pleinement leur vocation pour résoudre les grandes problématiques de la cité et favoriser son développement.

Comme Objectif, ce colloque scientifique international vise à créer un cadre de rencontres et d'échanges entre chercheurs nationaux et internationaux sur la problématique de la décolonisation véritable, la résolution des crises par la science et la recherche scientifique au Sahel et en Afrique de façon générale. Il ambitionne également de proposer, à partir des résultats scientifiques issus des travaux menés par les chercheurs et enseignants-chercheurs du Sahel, de l'Afrique et, plus largement, de la communauté scientifique internationale, des pistes de solutions endogènes aux défis sécuritaires et de développement qui fragilisent ces régions sur tous les plans. A cet effet, les axes suivants sont retenus pour les propositions de communication :

## II-AXES DE COMMUNICATION

- **Axe 1 : Diagnostic scientifique des crises africaines et reconstruction nationale**

Mettre en lumière la capacité des disciplines scientifiques à analyser finement les causes multidimensionnelles des crises (insécurité armée, fragilité étatique, ruptures sociales, *Africaphobie*, chocs économiques), en mobilisant tant les méthodologies quantitatives que qualitatives pour établir un état des lieux rigoureux.

- **Axe 2 : Littérature, Langue et valorisation des valeurs et savoirs endogènes**

Promouvoir les recherches conduites en terre africaine et la redécouverte des savoir-faire traditionnels comme fondements d'une science authentiquement africaine, apte à proposer des solutions adaptées aux réalités culturelles, sociales et environnementales du Sahel et du continent.

- **Axe 3 : Gouvernance, sécurité et développement fondés sur la recherche**  
Souligner l'importance d'intégrer systématiquement les résultats scientifiques dans l'élaboration et l'évaluation des politiques publiques, afin de dépasser les réponses purement militaires et d'instaurer des dispositifs de prévention, de résilience civile et de relance économique légitimes et durablement efficaces.
- **Axe 4 – Libre**  
Cet axe est libre et prend en compte tous les autres volets connexes.

### III-Calendrier

- Lancement de l'appel : **22 Novembre 2025**
- Date limite de soumissions **des abstracts/résumés : 10 Mars 2026**,
- Les Notifications d'acceptation : **15 mars 2025**
- Date de déroulement du 2<sup>ème</sup> Colloque Scientifique International : **30 et 31 mars 2026 à l'Université Yambo OUOLOGUEM de Bamako-Kabala-Mali.**

### IV-Informations générales sur le colloque

- Les propositions de communication (**New Times Roman, police 12,interligne simple**), assorties d'un résumé de **300 mots** et de **5 mots clés** maximum en **français ou en anglais ou en arabe** sont recevables aux adresses électroniques suivantes : [Labolarelso010@gmail.com](mailto:Labolarelso010@gmail.com) ou [larmaulshbmali@gmail.com](mailto:larmaulshbmali@gmail.com) jusqu'au **10 Mars 2026**.  
Date de notification des résumés acceptés : 15 Mars 2026.Le colloque se déroulera du **30 au 31 mars 2026** à la cité universitaire de Kabala – à l'Université Yambo OUOLOGUEM de Bamako.
- Les auteurs y indiqueront les noms et prénoms du ou des contributeurs, l'institution/laboratoire d'attache, le grade ou la qualité, l'axe d'étude choisi, l'adresse électronique et les mots-clés au-dessous du résumé. Les langues d'écriture des communications ou articles sont le français, l'anglais et l'arabe. **Les auteurs des propositions des résumés retenus seront invités à payer 25.000FCFA comme frais de participation par communicant.** Les meilleurs textes après évaluation seront publiés dans un numéro spécial de la *Revue Kuru kan Fuga* ou la *Revue LaRMA*.

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## **The Architecture of Betrayal: Disillusionment in Kourouma's *Les Soleils des Indépendances* and Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time***

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### **Abstract:**

This article explores how promised emancipation instead of producing liberation, produces betrayal in Ahmadou Kourouma's (1968) *Les Soleils des Indépendances* and James Baldwin's (1963) *The Fire Next Time*. African independence and American civil rights reforms have failed to grant the freedom so strongly advocated. Both corpora recount the sad story of the marginalization, exclusion, and suffering of the people. The study opts for a comparative textual analysis accompanied by close reading, calling upon postcolonial theory and critical race studies to shed light on how both authors process disillusionment. The findings of this paper are threefold. First, both novels reveal that political institutions reproduce structural marginalization instead of abolishing it. This situation leaves individuals caught between obsolete traditions and pseudo-modernity. Second, disillusionment takes on both a social and psychological form. Third, both authors use literary resistance to denounce this betrayal through different strategies. They transform betrayal into literary resistance through distinctive strategies. Kourouma's satire and linguistic creativity to challenge postcolonial rhetoric, while Baldwin's (1963) prophetic tone demands moral accountability. The article demonstrates that postcolonial and racial critiques intertwine to lay bare different strategies but common struggle.

**Keywords:** Postcolonial disillusionment, Structural Marginalization, American Civil Rights Reforms, African independence, Political betrayal.

### **Résumé:**

Cet article se propose d'explorer comment la promesse de liberté, au lieu de conduire à l'émancipation, engendre la trahison dans *Les Soleils des Indépendances* (1968) d'Ahmadou Kourouma et *The Fire Next time* (1963) de James Baldwin. L'indépendance africaine et les réformes des droits civiques américains n'ont pas permis d'obtenir la liberté ardemment revendiquée. Les deux œuvres retracent l'histoire douloureuse de la marginalisation, de l'exclusion et de la souffrance des peuples. L'étude s'appuie sur une analyse textuelle et comparative couplée à une lecture ferme, mobilisant la théorie postcoloniale et les études critiques sur la race pour éclairer la manière dont les deux auteurs traitent la désillusion. Les résultats de ce travail s'articulent en trois points : premièrement, les deux romans révèlent que les institutions politiques reproduisent la marginalisation structurelle au lieu de l'abolir, laissant ainsi les individus pris au piège entre des traditions obsolètes et une pseudo-modernité. Deuxièmement, la désillusion prend une dimension à la fois sociale et

psychologique. Troisièmement, les deux auteurs transforment la trahison en résistance littéraire à travers des stratégies distinctes : la satire et la manipulation linguistique de Kourouma (1968) défie la rhétorique postcoloniale, tandis que le ton prophétique de Baldwin (1963) exige une responsabilité morale. L'article montre que les critiques postcoloniale et raciale s'entrelacent pour mettre à nu des stratégies différentes mais un combat commun.

**Mots-clés:** Emancipation, Désillusion Postcoloniale, Indépendance Africaine, Réformes des Droits Civiques Américains, Critique Raciale et Postcoloniale.

## Introduction

The postcolonial and post-emancipation have sparked powerful and heated narratives of liberation, progress, and renewal. Political independence in Africa and civil rights reforms in the United States were both brandished as decisive and definitive breaks with histories of oppression and subjugation. These landmarks announced new eras of dignity, equality, and collective prosperity. Yet, for many writers and scholars, these promises were hollow, fallacious, and fragile. As Frantz Fanon (1963) observes, “the national bourgeoisie of underdeveloped countries is not engaged in production, nor in invention, nor building, nor labor” (p. 152), but instead perpetuate structures of domination inherited from colonial rule. Fanon (1963), with prophetic vision, warned about the widespread sense of betrayal, disillusionment, and false promises associated with many post-independence societies.

In the same vein, W. E. B. Du Bois (1903) famously describes the condition of Black Americans as one of “double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others” (p. 3), arguing the psychological consequences of incomplete emancipation. Despite the claim of human rights activists and the struggles of the democracy advocates, racial inequality still lingers, fueling a profound tension between promise and reality. In this sense, both postcolonial Africa and Black America remain suspended between what Paul Gilroy (1993) calls “the unfinished project of emancipation” (p. 2), where freedom is devoid of its true meaning serving as a political instrument.

It is this context of betrayal and false promise of emancipation that enables Kourouma’s (1968) *Les Soleils des Indépendances* and Baldwin’s (1963) *The Fire Next Time* to arise as critical works challenging the established order. Kourouma (1968) rings the alarm bell, warning that the disillusioned African independence cannot recover its genuine liberation unless it gets rid of its corrupt and greedy political leaders. He portrays, through the complex and ambivalent figure of Fama, a social structure in which traditional and ancestral authority are trampled upon and modernity goes hand in hand with corruption, exploitation, and arbitrariness. In his writing, Baldwin examines the context of the American civil rights reforms where he claims for racial integration and strongly questions the sincerity of American democracy. In *The Fire Next Time* (1963), he raises two major

issues: the nation's refusal to face its historic and structural racial violence and its ongoing ostracization of Black citizens. Although geographically, linguistically, and politically different, both authors engaged in a compelling critique of societies deeply plagued by corruption, demagoguery and hypocrisy, failing to keep its promise of emancipation.

This article pairs Kourouma (1968) and Baldwin (1963) in order to dissect how postcolonial Africa and Black America endure parallel experiences of disillusionment. Both authors rise up and commit themselves to wrest back authentic freedom in the wake of formal emancipation. This bold stance on the part of the authors justifies this comparative study. In both setting, liberation appears as a genuine historical achievement, yet the lives of the individuals are marked by economic hardships, political exclusion, and moral corruption. African independence and African-American emancipation, at first, were perceived as victories, but they quickly turned out to be a profound disillusionment failing to transform citizens' everyday conditions. By bringing these two corpora into dialogue, this paper foregrounds the transnational perspectives of Black and postcolonial critique and indicates how different histories are inextricably woven into similar structures of disillusionment and resistance.

Critics have extensively examined the works of both authors. Kourouma's (1968) post-colonial perspectives were at the center of research by scholars. His works namely draw on satire, linguistic creativity, and political metaphors. The denunciation of authoritarianism, neo-colonial dependency, and the crisis of post-independence leadership were his main claims.

Said (1994) legitimizes Kourouma and Baldwin as "disturbers of the status quo" whose writing is an ethical mission to reveal human wreckage. This frames Baldwin's (1963) refusal to "forgive willful innocence" as the quintessential act of an intellectual rejecting convenient silence.

Scholars, within the scope of African American studies have also examined Baldwin's works (1963) whose main claims are race, religion, masculinity, and moral philosophy. Baldwin (1963) has the tendency to sound prophetic when criticizing American hypocrisy and racial injustice. However, almost no studies have systematically brought Kourouma (1968) and Baldwin (1963) in dialogue focusing on the shared concept of betrayal and disillusionment. This gap does not allow a full understanding of how postcolonial and racial experience intersect to yield betrayal and disillusionment rather than genuine liberation.

The problem this article attempts to tackle is to figure out how formal emancipation in the form African independence or American civil rights claims produces betrayal rather than liberation. It seeks to foreground how political freedom keeps on perpetuating marginalization and ostracization while operating as symbolic promise. It also highlights the way Kourouma (1968) and Baldwin (1963) discuss the disillusionment that emerges from the make-believe liberation.

This study aims to interrogate how both authors portray the mechanisms of betrayal and how they respond to them through literary and rhetorical techniques. It also demonstrates that their works do not only go beyond denunciation but they also come up with ethical forms of resistance drawing on critical consciousness and moral accountability. In this article, we attempt to demonstrate that writing can serve as a tool of reclaiming one's dignity.

As for the methodology, this research mobilizes a comparative textual analysis relying on close reading. It is grounded on postcolonial theory, critical race studies, and cultural criticism to interpret and dissect the historical and ideological contexts of both works informed by concepts from Fanon (1963), Du Bois (1903), and Gilroy (1993) who respectively analyze power, identity, and structural inequality.

The article is split into three main sections. The first examines how national myths of independence and integration operate as failed political projects. The second looks at the impact of disillusionment and social marginality in both texts. The third highlights how Kourouma (1968) and Baldwin (1963) use literature to express resistance against betrayal.

## 1. Broken Promises: Independence and Integration as Failed Projects

This section anchors the historical and ideological background of this paper. Both Kourouma (1968) and Baldwin (1963) deconstruct the so-called triumphant national discourses that welcome independence and civil rights as victorious achievement. They refuse to interpret these landmarks as progress, but rather reveal the disenchantment and disillusionment beneath this semblance of progress. Political emancipation, as they say, appears as a new era full of bright promises but turn out to be hollow.

In *Les Soleils des Indépendances* (1968), political independence initially promises change and progress for every citizen. For figures like Fama Doumbouya, it could be equated with the restored dignity that will connect him to dispossessed lineages. Yet Kourouma (1968) wasted no time in unveiling the betrayal. The new regimes do not keep its promises of granting the citizens real emancipation and progress. Instead, they reproduce disorder, corruption, and arbitrary power. Kourouma (1968) highlights the abandoned legitimacy through the figure of Fama who is a descendant of a once-revered dynasty, now he is reduced to a relic in a state that tramples upon traditional authority. His decline, far from being personal, reflects the structural betrayal of an entire historical order. Kourouma (1968) writes:

Fama Doumbouya ! Vrai Doumbouya, père Doumbouya, mère Doumbouya, dernier et légitime descendant des princes Doumbouya du Horodougou, totem panthère, était un « vautour ». Un prince Doumbouya ! Totem panthère faisait bande avec les hyènes. Ah ! les soleils des Indépendances ! (p. 11).

Fama Doumbouya! True Doumbouya, father Doumbouya, mother Doumbouya, the last and legitimate descendant of the Doumbouya princes of Horodougou, panther totem, was a "vulture." A Doumbouya prince! Panther totem running with the hyenas. Ah! The suns of Independence!

In this passage, Fama, who once belonged to a venerated dynasty, is presented as a despicable vulture – symbol of degradation. The Suns of independence have reduced him to an abject creature. The exclamation “Ah! Les soleils des Indépendances!” (Ah! The Suns of Independence!) directly connects the debasement to the Independence itself, stressing how the new regime has miserably failed to safeguard ethical leadership and cultural identity.

Both colonialism and independence carry broken promises, but through different processes. Where Baldwin (1963) denounces the false rhetoric of integration in America, Kourouma (1968) lays bare how independence in Africa caused a catastrophic void - dismantling the economic systems that sustained cultural values once valuable to Malinké society. Kourouma (1968) declares : « La colonisation a banni et tué la guerre mais favorisé le négoce, les Indépendances ont cassé le négoce et la guerre ne venait pas. Et l'espèce malinké, les tribus, la terre, la civilisation se meurent, percluses, sourdes et aveugles... et stériles » (p. 20). (Colonization banned and killed war but fostered trade; Independence broke trade, and war did not come. And the Malinke species, the tribes, the land, civilization itself are dying—crippled, deaf, blind... and sterile.)

Here, Kourouma (1968) explicitly demonstrates how independence has “broken commerce” (cassé le négoce) the economic foundation of Malinké prosperity - while failing to restore traditional warfare. This ends up in civilizational death: the Malinké people are dying along with the tribes, the land and the civilization.

The issue of opportunism and clientelism is also discussed in the novel. In a sarcastic passage, Kourouma (1968) exposes how politicians use ethnic loyalties and religious rhetoric as a tool to reinforce their power and ignore the martyrdom of ordinary citizens. The promise of collective progress turns out to be a system designed to serve their personal enrichment. They keep the citizens under surveillance, intimidate them, imprison dissenters and silence the revolutionary voices. Kourouma (1968) describes:

Quand l'Afrique découvrit d'abord le parti unique (le parti unique, le savez-vous ? ressemble à une société de sorcières, les grandes initiées dévorent les enfants des autres), puis les coopératives qui cassèrent le commerce... Les deux plus viandés et gras morceaux des Indépendances sont sûrement le secrétariat général et la direction d'une coopérative... Le secrétaire général et le directeur, tant qu'ils savent dire les louanges du président, du chef unique et de son parti, le parti unique, peuvent bien engouffrer tout l'argent du monde sans qu'un seul œil ose ciller dans toute l'Afrique (p. 21).

When Africa first discovered the single party (the single party—do you know?—resembles a society of witches: the high initiates devour the children of others), then the cooperatives

that shattered trade... The two meatiest and fattest pieces of Independence are surely the general secretaryship and the management of a cooperative... As long as the general secretary and the director know how to sing the praises of the president, the sole leader and his party, the single party, they can swallow up all the money in the world without a single eye daring to blink in all of Africa.

In this passage, the new elite is described as being predator. The single party system is compared to a “society of witches that devours the children of other”. This sarcastic metaphor highlights Kourouma’s (1968) condemnation of clientelism. The passage also exposes how political leaders are only preoccupied by personal enrichment rather than public service. Those in command can “swallow all the world's money without a single eye daring to blink” as long as they sing the praises of the president and his party - a system that operates through fear and elimination of dissent voices rather than accountability.

Fanon (1963) evoked this dynamic long before when he argues that “the national bourgeoisie... discovers its historic mission: that of intermediary” rather than builder (p. 152). Fanon’s (1963) saying captures Kourouma’s (1968) portrayal of post-independence leadership as doomed to failure and betrayal. Mbembe (2001) later draws on this dynamic of postcolonial power, positing that authority often operates through “the entanglement of coercion and conviviality” (p. 24), this echoes with the blend of spectacle and repression in Kourouma’s fictional universe.

In this context, independence emerges as a myth sustained by solemn language but contradicted by the harsh reality experienced by the people. These people were continuously subjected to structural domination and cruel oppression by those in power. The same system of subjugation still prevails but under a new name. So, definitely nothing has changed.

Baldwin (1963) undertakes a parallel dismantling of American triumphalism in *The Fire Next Time*. As one of the critical authors under the civil rights era, he rejects the narratives that legal reforms signal moral transformation. Baldwin’s (1963) critique is direct and unflinching. He declares:

Malcolm's statement is not answered by references to the triumphs of the N.A.A.C.P., the more particularly since very few liberals have any notion of how long, how costly, and how heartbreaking a task it is to gather the evidence that one can carry into court, or how long such court battles take (p. 36) .

These lines above deconstruct the liberal narratives that NAACP<sup>2</sup> victories embody true and sustainable progress. Baldwin (1963) goes on affirming that legal victories do not tackle the fundamental moral and existential problem that Black Americans are confronted to.

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<sup>2</sup> NAACP: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Baldwin (1963) maintains that there is a contraction in white consciousness: the American's hopeless need to elude judgement from Black Americans is grounded in a profound refusal to acknowledge their actual identity, while at the time, yearning for genuine recognition.

This psychological mechanism of self-deception and denial fundamentally sustains the systemic racism Baldwin (1963) indicts:

White Americans have thought of it as their shame, and have envied those more civilized and elegant European nations that were untroubled by the presence of black men on their shores. This is because white Americans have supposed 'Europe' and 'civilization' to be synonyms—which they are not—and have been distrustful of other standards and other sources of vitality, especially those produced in America itself (pp. 53-54).

In this above passage, Baldwin (1963) describes the mechanisms by which white Americans fabricate false narratives of innocence to mask the reality and distort the facts. Thus, comparing themselves to an imagined European purity, thereby rejecting their actual complicity and refusing to own up their actions of creating the American context.

Du Bois (1903), a visionary, had anticipated this contradiction decades earlier in his work *The Souls of Black Folks* arguing “double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others” (p. 3). Baldwin's (1963) work perfectly aligns with this insight. The promise of integration does not erase racialized perception; it intensifies it.

Baldwin (1963) argues that African independence and American integration are “almost equally meaningless” because both systems mask persistent systems of alienation and structural domination. Neither represents authentic freedom when Europe still controls Africa and Black Americans remain enslaved by systemic exploitation. He says: “The word “independence” in Africa and the word “integration” here are almost equally meaningless; that is, Europe has not yet left Africa, and black men here are not yet free” (p. 51).

Americans have not achieved genuine freedom despite rhetorical commitments to integration.

Independence in Kourouma (1968) functions as an intermediary rather than a builder (p. 152). Fanon's (1963) saying captures Kourouma's (1968) and integration in Baldwin (1963) function as parallel myths.

For both Kourouma and Baldwin, independence and integration function as parallel myths-celebrated as breakthroughs yet revealed as illusions. Political independence in postcolonial Africa failed in eradicating corruption and structural inequality and parallelly civil rights reforms in America proved incapable of suppressing systemic racism for good.

## **2. Living Disillusionment: Social and Moral Marginality**

The concept of “Living Disillusionment” functions as a link between Baldwin's (1963) civil Rights America and Kourouma's (1968) post-colonial Africa. In both *The Fire Next Time* (1963), and *Les*



*Soleils des Indépendances* (1968) disillusionment is not only a central theme restructuring the characters' lives, but also a structural reality - a "social and moral marginality" that dictates the destiny of the oppressed. Kourouma (1968) and Baldwin (1963) boldly shake the big myths of their respective time period – the "American dream" for Baldwin (1963) and the "Suns of Independence" for Kourouma (1968). They unveil the mechanisms by which the citizens are suspended between a past devoid of its essence and an already compromised future.

Baldwin (1963) unflinchingly deconstructs the economic principle that hard work and moral virtue lead to social inclusion. He demonstrates that for the Black American, the "social contract" is a false promise because the rewards of citizenship are withheld regardless of individual merit. He argues:

One would never defeat one's circumstances by working and saving one's pennies; one would never, by working, acquire that many pennies, and, besides, the social treatment accorded even the most successful Negroes proved that one needed, in order to be free, something more than a bank account. One needed a handle, a lever, a means of inspiring fear (p. 17).

Baldwin (1963) identifies a profound social marginality where the traditional levers of progress - frugality and labor - are rendered useless. The disillusionment lies in the realization that "pennies" cannot buy humanity. In a society where even the "successful" are treated with contempt, the marginalized person realizes that the only language the center understands is "fear." This shift from seeking "acceptance" to seeking a "lever" marks the transition from naive hope to a hard-edged, disillusioned reality.

Alexander's (2010) concept validates Baldwin's critique of "technical emancipation" by showing how racial caste is redesigned rather than ended. It provides a structural parallel to Fama's experience, where legal victories merely replace old barriers with new architectures of exclusion.

In the same vein as Baldwin's (1963) economic critique, Kourouma (1968) demonstrates how the post-independence states in Africa promote marginality by criminalizing the citizens they were supposed to protect and liberate. Fama, the last legitimate prince of the Doumbouya dynasty, finds that his "truth-telling" is no longer a virtue but a death sentence in the new political order. Kourouma (1968) recounts:

Fama présenté comme le dernier Doumbouya, un courageux, un diseur de vérité que les Toubabs avaient spolié de la chefferie. Il venait du Sud, rentrait définitivement au village pour être le président du comité... Leur maître s'entraînait à tordre le cou aux Indépendances, au parti unique et à tous les comités. 'Il y avait de la contre-révolution, de l'authentique réaction à Togobala !' estimèrent le comité et son président, et ils le crièrent (p. 100).

Fama presented as the last Doumbouya, a courageous man, a teller of truth whom the Toubabs had robbed of the chieftaincy. He came from the South, returning permanently to the village to become the committee president... Their master was practicing wringing the neck of Independence, the single party, and all the committees. 'There was counter-

revolution, genuine reaction in Togobala!' assessed the committee and its president, and they shouted it out.

Kourouma (1968) reveals the machinery of disillusionment. Fama's traditional authority is weaponized against him as "counter-revolution." This mirrors the warning of Frantz Fanon (1963) in *The Wretched of the Earth*, who argued that the post-colonial "national bourgeoisie" often creates a "Manichaean" world that simply replaces the old oppressor with new, local forms of exclusion. Fama is not just a victim of politics; he is a victim of a system that, as Fanon predicted, uses the language of "independence" to entomb the masses.

Both authors argue that the systems of power - whether colonial, post-colonial, or segregationist - operate without a moral compass. Baldwin (1963) specifically addresses the lack of "moral ground" held by the white majority, who rely on force rather than justice. He writes:

In any case, white people, who had robbed black people of their liberty and who profited by this theft every hour that they lived, had no moral ground on which to stand. They had the judges, the juries, the shotguns, the law—in a word, power (p. 18).

Baldwin's (1963) disillusionment is rooted in the observation that "the law" and "the moral" have been completely severed. When justice is administered via "shotguns" and biased "juries," the marginalized person is forced into a state of moral marginality. They are forced to live outside a law that is itself lawless. This creates a psychological chasm: how can one respect a system that is built on "theft"?

The disillusionment did not only corrupt the state but also affected the spiritual realm. For Baldwin (1963), the church, which is supposed to be a sanctuary, appeared to be a hollow institution that reproduces the very hierarchies it should challenge saying:

I don't refer merely to the glaring fact that the minister eventually acquires houses and Cadillacs while the faithful continue to scrub floors and drop their dimes and quarters and dollars into the plate. I really mean that there was no love in the church. It was a mask for hatred and self-hatred and despair (p. 27).

This represents the "apex of marginality." When even the church becomes a "mask for hatred," the individual is left in a state of total spiritual isolation. The disillusionment here is intimate; it is a betrayal by the "home" of the soul. The mention of "self-hatred" suggests that this marginality has been internalized, turning the victim's rage inward.

Baldwin (1963) and Kourouma (1968) both converge on the idea that the ultimate form of marginality is the denial of one's basic humanity and historical belonging. Baldwin (1963) highlights, "It is only "the so-called American Negro" who remains trapped, disinherited, and despised, in a nation that has kept him in bondage for nearly four hundred years and is still unable to recognize him as a human being" (p. 44).

The term “disinherited” is crucial. It implies a legal and ancestral theft. To be “trapped” in a nation that refuses to recognize your humanity is to live in a permanent state of social death. This is the “living” part of the disillusionment: the daily requirement to exist in a space that systematically denies your existence. Kourouma (1968) mirrors this “trapped” state through a devastating metaphor of Fama’s decline, as he is reduced from a prince to a desperate animal. He describes : « Il ne ressemblait maintenant qu'à une hyène tombée dans un puits; il ne lui restait à attendre que de la volonté d'Allah; que de la volonté de la mort » (p. 126). (He now looked like nothing more than a hyena fallen into a well; nothing was left for him to wait for except the will of Allah, except the will of death.)

The metaphor of the “hyena in a well” is the visceral equivalent of Baldwin’s “disinherited” man. The “well” is the social and moral marginality created by the post-independence state. Fama is no longer a political actor; he is a biological entity waiting for death. The “Independence” has not provided a ladder out of the well; it has served as the lid that closed over him. Finally, the disillusionment culminates in the realization that there is no return to a “homeland” - the margin has become the only permanent home. Kourouma (1968) continues:

Fama était condamné à vingt ans de réclusion criminelle... Vingt ans de réclusion pour un Fama équivalait à une condamnation à perpétuité. Fama avait ce qu'il avait cherché. Il allait mourir à Mayako, il serait enterré à Mayako sans revoir le Horodougou, sans revoir Salimata (p. 126).

Fama was sentenced to twenty years of rigorous imprisonment... Twenty years of imprisonment for a Fama was equivalent to a life sentence. Fama had gotten what he had looked for. He was going to die in Mayako; he would be buried in Mayako without seeing Horodougou again, without seeing Salimata again.

Fama’s sentence is the “ultimate expression” of social and moral marginality. To die in Mayako, away from his ancestral Horodougou, is the final severance of his identity. His disillusionment is “made absolute” because the state has succeeded in erasing his past and his future.

In synthesizing Baldwin (1963) and Kourouma (1968), a grim logic emerges. Baldwin (1963) exposes how “integration” is a mask for moral bankruptcy, while Kourouma (1968) reveals how “independence” is a mask for new forms of bureaucratic bondage. Both authors suggest that social and moral marginality is a “total” condition. It is a trap formed by the failure of external institutions (police, judges, committees) and the internal collapse of hope (the church, the dynasty). For both the “American Negro” and the “last Doumbouya,” living disillusionment is the heavy price of seeing the world as it truly is, rather than as the powerful claim it to be.

### **3. Writing Against Betrayal: Ethics, Voice, and Resistance**

In the long shadow of profound disillusionment, Baldwin (1963) and Kourouma (1968) decided to engage their narratives in the ethics of resistance. In this section, we will examine how both authors

use voice as a critical tool to not only denounce the political injustice and corruption but also to counters systemic betrayal. By paralleling the American racial hierarchy with the post-independence African state, we see a shared philosophical struggle: the effort to maintain human authority in a world that uses the law, religion, and “technical” progress as weapons of exclusion.

Baldwin (1963) begins his resistance by grounding his identity in the very soil that seeks to reject him. He rejects the status of a passive victim or a “ward,” asserting a primary right to the nation. He writes, “I am. It is entirely unacceptable that I should have no voice in the political affairs of my own country, for I am not a ward of America; I am one of the first Americans to arrive on these shores” (p. 56).

This is an act of ontological resistance. When Baldwin (1963) says “I am,” he adopts a Cartesian stance certainty that challenges political recognition. He confesses the “betrayal” of the American democratic promise by conveying the message that America has not kept his promise of making the American dream a reality to everybody regardless of the race, gender and class. He strongly rejects the “marginality” that the state tries to impose on Black people, demanding to be acknowledged as a stakeholder rather than a passive subject. For Baldwin (1963), resistance should take the form “Ethics of Truth-telling.” He accuses his countrymen of a “crime” that is both active and passive - the destruction of lives through a refusal to see. He explains:

And I know, which is much worse, and this is the crime of which I accuse my country and my countrymen, and for which neither I nor time nor history will ever forgive them, that they have destroyed and are destroying hundreds of thousands of lives and do not know it and do not want to know it (pp. 10-11).

The betrayal here is the “willful innocence” of the oppressor. Baldwin’s (1963) resistance is found in his refusal to forgive this ignorance. He went a step further by naming this a “crime”, so shifting the moral burden from the marginalized to the center. This stance resonates with Du Bois (1903) concept of the “veil,” where the resistance resides in piercing the blindness of the dominant culture to unveil the human wreckage behind.

The same dynamic is addressed by Kourouma (1968) in the African context, where the promise of Independence is revealed to be a fraudulent exchange of power devoid of its essence and failing to protect the dignity if the citizens. He depicts: «La politique n'a ni yeux, ni oreilles, ni cœur ; en politique le vrai et le mensonge portent le même pagne, le juste et l'injuste marchent de pair, le bien et le mal s'achètent ou se vendent au même prix» (p. 118). (Politics has neither eyes, nor ears, nor a heart; in politics, truth and lies wear the same loincloth, the just and the unjust walk hand in hand, good and evil are bought or sold at the same price.)

Kourouma's (1968) resistance is literary and satirical. By personifying "Politics" as a blind, heartless entity where "truth and lies wear the same cloth," he exposes the ethical betrayal of the new African elite. This moral marginality is absolute; when justice is a commodity for sale, the only resistance is to name the corruption. Ngũgĩ's (1986) framework frames Kourouma's (1968) "malinkéization" of French as a reclamation of cultural agency against postcolonial betrayal. It demonstrates that Fama's resistance is semiotic, fracturing the colonizer's tongue to reflect his own reality. As Fanon (1963) argued, the betrayal of the national bourgeoisie lies in their imitation of the colonial master's greed, a cycle Kourouma (1968) breaks by stripping the regime of its "liberatory" mask.

Both authors resist the "technical" definitions of freedom that serve as distractions from structural change. Baldwin (1963) highlights the failure of a century of "emancipation" that has not moved the needle on human value arguing:

And today, a hundred years after his technical emancipation, he remains—with the possible exception of the American Indian—the most despised creature in his country. Now, there is simply no possibility of a real change in the Negro's situation without the most radical and far-reaching changes in the American political and social structure. (1963, p. 49)

Baldwin (1963) argues that "technical" progress is a form of betrayal because it creates the illusion of movement while the "social structure" remains static. His resistance takes the form of "radical" change - a root-level transformation of the American ethic. For him, a freedom that leaves some "despised" is neither a full nor a true freedom. Balfour (2010) clarifies that without a moral revolution, "technical emancipation" remains a tragic farce rather than true progress. She supports the argument that demanding moral accountability is the only ethical response to systemic racial betrayal. Baldwin (1963) decides to examine the ethics of "nonviolence," arguing that the state brandish this notion as a cunning method aimed to protect property rather than enact justice. He writes:

The real reason that nonviolence is considered to be a virtue in Negroes... is that white men do not want their lives, their self-image, or their property threatened.... Malcolm was stopped by a white member of the audience who said, "I have a thousand dollars and an acre of land. What's going to happen to me?" (p. 37)

Baldwin (1963) deconstructs the "virtue" of nonviolence by opposing to it a fierce intellectual resistance. He lays bare the selfish interest of the dominant class by demonstrating that the moral requirements for the marginalized are in fact a stratagem seeking to guarantee their own safety. This overwhelms the ethical ground, revealing that true resistance lies "threatening" the self-image of the oppressor.

When the external world becomes a site of total betrayal, both authors locate the ultimate site of resistance within the "self" and the "dream." Kourouma (1968) uses an ancient proverb to define the final line of defense for the human spirit saying, "Écoutez ce proverbe bien connu : l'esclave

appartient à son maître ; mais le maître des rêves de l'esclave est l'esclave seul.” (1968, p. 125). (Listen to this well-known proverb: the slave belongs to his master; but the master of the slave's dreams is the slave alone.)

In the face of Fama's absolute marginality, Kourouma (1968) asserts the sovereignty of the internal life. This is the “Mastery of Dreams.” It is a form of resistance that the state - with all its “complots” and “prisons” - cannot touch. It parallels Baldwin's (1963) description of the “something very beautiful” found within the struggle: “This past... this endless struggle to achieve and reveal and confirm a human identity, human authority, yet contains, for all its horror, something very beautiful” (p. 56).

Resistance here is the “confirmation of human authority.” Despite the “rope, fire, and torture,” the act of surviving and maintaining a human identity becomes a transcendent victory. This is the beauty born of the fire. The final movement of resistance for both Baldwin (1963) and Kourouma (1968) is a reckoning with the end. Baldwin (1963) warns of the power of the disinherited to “precipitate chaos,” while Fama chooses a final, ancestral exile. Baldwin (1963) observes, “The Negroes of this country may never be able to rise to power, but they are very well placed indeed to precipitate chaos and ring down the curtain on the American dream.” (p. 51)

This is the resistance of the “un-bought.” Because the marginalized have no stake in the “American Dream” that betrayed them, they possess the power to end it. It is a prophetic voice, warning that a nation that destroys its people will ultimately destroy itself. In a parallel gesture of finality, Fama rejects the “Suns of Independence” to die among his ancestors, Kourouma (1968) depicts: “Fama partait dans le Horodougou pour y mourir le plus tôt possible. Il était prédit depuis des siècles... que c'était près des tombes des aïeux que Fama devait mourir” (p. 139). (Fama was leaving for Horodougou to die there as soon as possible. It had been predicted for centuries... that it was near the tombs of his ancestors that Fama was to die.)

Fama's return to Horodougou is his final “Writing Against Betrayal.” He refuses to be a “son of slaves” in the new republic. By choosing his place of death, he reclaims his “human authority” from a political system that sought to reduce him to a “complot”.

Baldwin (1963) and Kourouma (1968) prove that to “write against betrayal” is to perform an act of ethical rescue. By naming the “disillusionment” and the “marginality,” they create a “voice” that refuses to be silenced by the “blind and heartless” machinery of politics. Whether through Baldwin's (1963) searing indictments of America or Kourouma's (1968) tragic-comic portrayal of Fama's exile, both authors argue that resistance is found in the “endless struggle” to confirm one's humanity when the world has decided it does not exist.

## Conclusion

This study addressed the central paradox of formal emancipation in both the postcolonial African and African-American contexts. The core problem investigated is how landmark political shifts - specifically African independence and the American civil rights reforms - failed to deliver their promised liberation. Instead of shattering the joke of oppression, these reforms which claim to deliver liberation and progress turn out to reproduce same systems of exploitation, injustice, clientelism and demagoguery. This study claims that political freedom, while pretending to transform the lives of the citizen for best, keeps on marginalizing, exploiting and oppressing the very citizens they promise to liberate. Putting Kourouma's (1968) *Les Soleils des Indépendances* and Baldwin's (1963) *The Fire next Time* in dialog via a comparative analysis have produced three main findings:

Information from both novels indicates that political systems, instead of eradicating structural marginalization, contributes in strengthening it. In Kourouma's (1968) work, the postcolonial state usurps power and subsequently strips Fama, born into a royal lineage, of his humanity and respectability. This means that the new regime has no respect or consideration for the African traditions and values. In Baldwin's (1963) prose, despite the blatant victories and achievements of the NAACP, it stills fails to guarantee or deliver real liberation or emancipation to Black citizens.

The careful analysis of both novels sustains the claim that disillusionment has social and psychological impact. The data vividly demonstrates that material dispossession and political intimidation intertwine to produce a generalized fear "a collective psychosis" resulting in the alienation of the citizens. This can be perceived in Fama's dehumanization as a "vulture" and Baldwin's (1963) interrogation of the psychological strain of "double consciousness".

Both authors are strongly committed to denounce betrayal using ethical resistance through a politically charged literature. Kourouma (1968) puts forwards satire and linguistic innovation to attack the hollow rhetoric of the new elite, while Baldwin (1963) uses a prophetic voice to require moral accountability from a nation that refuses to tackle its structural violence.

This study hugely contributes to existing scholarship by its novelty. It proudly bridges a gap in comparative analytical research between francophone western Africa and African-American literary practices. It is undeniable that both authors have been subject to extensive studies and research, but the originality of this article lies in the fact that it brings these two famous authors from very different background into dialog through the lenses of disillusionment and betrayal. It clearly reveals that postcolonial and racial studies, though set in different geographical background, still share similar structures of disappointment and strategies of oppression. Lazarus (1990) theorizes the shift from "messianic hope" to "radical lucidity," justifying the comparative dialogue between Francophone

Africa and Black America. This framework validates literary resistance as the birth of a decolonized consciousness rather than simple bitterness. It allows the text to move beyond nationalistic myths toward a radical, transnational critique of power. This transnational and cross-cultural approach particularly enriches the understanding of both cultures and histories by centering their common commitment in reclaiming dignity in the face of political shortcomings.

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