

CULTURE AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

How Social Inequalities Contradict Concepts of 'Kenyan' or 'African' Culture¹

By Mwandawiro Mghanga

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1. Introduction

¹ These were prison notes for the discussions we used to have while in Kibos Main Prison. They were an attempt of applying historical materialism in the study of culture in Kenya. In the study of Marxism - Leninism, it is important always to apply it to understand and interpret the material and historical conditions of our own society – Mwandawiro Mghanga

Utamaduni wa Kitaifa

Sera ya utamaduni, ni muhimu kutekeleza
Kenya yetu kuthamini, ni tamaduni kukuza
Tutie ada manani, hata Katiba yaeleza
Tulipotoka shinani, tuliopo kutatujua
Na kwenda mbele usoni, ni histori kujifunza
Watu bila tamaduni, ni watumwa wa kupuuza
Taifa bila tamaduni, ni kutojali na kucheza
Tulitilie manani, swala la tamaduni zetu

Kweli tamaduni zetu, ni muhimu kuzingatia
Kuijenga Kenya yetu, kuwa taifa madhubutia
Ni kwa makabila yetu, utamaduni kuchangia
Kila Mkenya ni mwenzetu, tutambue wakiongea
Mchango wa kila watu, uKenya waongezea
Mizizi ya kila watu, zawadi zatuwadia
Kujenga taifa letu, kila watu kufikiria
Tujumushe kila watu, waongezee mambo yao

Wanandi wana kikwao, na Wadawida vilevile
Na Wakamba wana kwao, na mambo yao tangu kale
Wagikuyu wako na yao, kutoka wao waviele
Wajaluo tujuavyo, tamaduni wazalishile
Pia Wasomali nao, chakula cha kwao tukile
Waluhiya msemao, wana desturi tilatile
Wamasai muonao, siyo peke yake mishale
Kila watu wana yao, ya Kenya yetu kuchangia

Tukumbuke lugha pia, ni hifadhi ya tamaduni
Kiborana kukijua, wafaidi Mkalenjini
Kikisii nasikia, kimeyabeba mengi ndani
Hebu mfano sikia, Wakuria wao watani
Kimijikenda nakwambia, ukisikia watamani
Kihindi husisimua, hata Kingereza nchini
Kiswahili mwakijua, nashindwa nieleze nini!
Katiba yatuambia, tuzingatie lugha zetu

Tuyahifadhi mazuri, tushike ya kutusaidia
Elimu tutilie ari, sayansi na tekinolojia
Na pia tuwe tayari, kufaidika kwa dunia
Ela tuchunge hatari, tamaduni mbi kubahia
Sanaa za kila mbari, ni tamaduni shangilia
Makumbusho tuvinjari, hata na maktaba pia
Michezoni tu hodari, pia na vyakula murua
Tamaduni nakariri, ni msingi wa Kenya yetu

Tamaduni za usawa, ni mfumo wa ujamaa
Mandeleo kufufuwa, ni jamii za kijamaa
Kusiwe wa kubaguwa, utu wa mtu unafaa
Ubepari wazuzuwa, ada isiyo manufaa
Maadili ya usawa, haki iwe yatapakaa
Taifa Kenya kukuwa, tamaduni za ujamaa
Kila kabila kukuwa, utamaduni utajaa
Ujima kuzingatiwa, msingi wa utamaduni

Mwandawiro Mghanga, Kahawa Sukari, Januari 22 2014

1.1. Definition

Culture is about human beings. It is about life and society. All human activities and impacts that manifest the presence of people, their works and the changes they make upon nature is culture.

This means that in the process of producing their material needs such as basic requirements food, shelter, clothes; in fashioning tools and creating machines to make work easier, more efficient and more productive in order to improve the quantity and quality of their lives on earth; in the struggle for survival and development, which is in fact the increasing ability to extract a living from nature; human beings are ever in the activities of creating culture.

Education, science and technology, which combine and work together to enable us to produce infrastructures: buildings, roads, industries, agriculture, communication networks, towns and cities, etc. - in short what we call civilisation - is part and parcel of culture.

Then there is that part of culture related but at the same time apart from material culture itself, the spiritual and intellectual aspect, that part of culture that embodies, expresses and manifests human consciousness of nature and society; that which deals with social relations: morals, customs, traditions, beliefs, politics, religion, etc.; that conveys human emotions through live images: art: literature, music, dance, painting, sculpture, etc.; aesthetics, sports etc. etc.

To add on this, as soon as people start working to change nature for themselves, for their welfare; as soon as they begin to comprehend and interpret natural and social phenomenon, people start to create culture, they begin to make history so to speak. At this point, people begin to distinguish themselves from animals, as incidentally, animals do not create culture, for they do not consciously change nature - and the process of consciously changing nature, as we have already observed, is culture.

1.2. All human societies have their culture

In short since culture is about life and society, at all times, culture is a reflection of people's achievements and development over time. It therefore follows that contrary to racist and colonial propaganda, there are no people anywhere in the world who do not possess a culture of their own, and however underdeveloped it may be. For there are no people who are more or less people than others, however exploited, oppressed or marginalised they may be.

Since all human beings have always struggled to increase their knowledge of the laws that govern nature and to use the knowledge thereof to increase their ability to extract a more and better living from nature, it follows that all human beings must have produced a culture of their own, to a lesser or greater degree respectively, depending on the historical and material conditions that exist at a particular place and time.

2. Points to note about culture

2.1. Culture is living

At this point, it is important to note and remember the following points about culture, which will help us to appreciate this particular essay, and thus the meaning of culture: that culture is living: it grows, it develops and changes, it is daily born and reborn just as society itself at all times manifests dialectical development of growth, development and change. Culture is never static. Thus when the so called Kenyan leaders parrot about conserving 'our African culture', they

clearly do not know what they are talking about. For to talk about conserving or preserving culture is to attempt to stop life all together, obviously an impossible task!

We can only talk about conserving the material and spiritual heritage we inherited from our ancestors, and which we shall also pass to generations to come, in museums, archives, etc. for the sake of study and understanding of our past. Otherwise culture is always dynamic; for it is part and parcel of our daily works and struggles in life. We shall, therefore, shortly try to provide illustrations to elaborate about how culture grows, develops and changes in and from one mode of production to the other, from a simple social-economic system to a higher and a more complex one.

2.2. Culture embodies and expresses social relations

In the second place, culture is an embodiment of a definite mode of production at a definite material and historical time and place. Culture is a reflection of a specific society within a specific mode of production. It expresses the material being and the social relations inherent in a particular mode. The study of culture is therefore also the study of the history of the people of the culture concerned. I shall also attempt to illustrate this fact in this essay using concrete examples from Kenya.

2.3. In a class society culture manifests class struggles

Thirdly, since society is divided into classes in all other modes other than communal or communist (which is yet to come), culture manifests the class divisions at all times. Always, it has been the masses that have been the backbone of producing culture - especially material culture - but in a class society, it is always the exploiters and oppressors, the members of the ruling class, who eat and enjoy the best and most of the fruits of culture. The oppressors and the oppressed can never enjoy equal rights to culture at the same time and place.

Therefore, the much talked about 'our African culture' or 'our Kenyan culture' when the continent and country is divided into classes, of the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots, the exploiters and the exploited, is nothing but platitudes that conceal the on going class struggles. The comprador class of neo-colonial puppets and the local capitalists can never have the same culture as the workers, peasants and the masses of exploited and oppressed.

Yes, we are all Kenyans, we may share the same colour of the skin, the same language, the same tribe, the same religion, the same geographical origin, and we may even be blood relations. Yet the poor and the rich do not live in the same places and houses, do not have the same eating habits, do not go to the same schools and hospitals, do not have the same status in society, do not eat the same food, do not have the same values, wishes and aspirations, do not have the same life styles, do not share the same experiences and struggles, etc.

Culture is about life and the lives of the rich Kenyans and the poor Kenyans are clearly very different. In fact, in Kenya and Africa today, culture reflects the class struggles. This is because wherever there are classes culture will also manifest class struggles. We can only come near to the truth about cultures in Kenya when we speak about the cultures of different classes and strata's within Kenyan society which are based on over forty two ethnic groups all of which claim their own cultures.

4. Methodology

In order to comprehend culture and social inequality, therefore, I will consider culture in three historical periods of Kenya, traditional or pre-colonial, colonial and neo-colonial.

5. The Pre-colonial period

Contrary to colonial propaganda, long before our country was invaded by colonialists, we Kenyans were there. We were not called Kenyans and our country was not known as Kenya but that does not mean we were not here as a people living in this very land of ours. We the Swahili, the Mijikenda, the Dawida, the Kamba, the Maasai, the Gikuyu, the Meru, the Luhya, the Kalenjin, the Kisii, the Luo, the Turkana, the Somali, the Orma.... we were all here. We were alive, our societies were dynamic, we were making history, we were developing, were daily creating culture.

Most of our nationalities in the interior of what is now known as Kenya, our nation, were at various stages of human history which I refer to here as *mature - communalism*, if only for simplicity. In the essay I use the term mature communalism to describe the socio-economic relations of traditional Kenyan societies that were at the interior of the country. Nyerere (1974:162-171) defines the same relations as *ujamaa* or familyhood while Amuta (1989:130) describes them as pre-literate communalism in reference to Ibo society which Achebe describes in his famous novels *Things Fall Apart* (1967) and *Arrow of God* (1964). Both societies described by Nyerere, Amuta and Achebe are basically similar to traditional Dawida society. But the social relations of communalism (see Popov-1984:58-62) were of complete equality while those of traditional Dawida society (and those described by Amuta and Nyerere) were beginning to show signs of class divisions, even though the state had not emerged among them. Economically and culturally, mature communalism was hundreds of years, if not thousands, ahead of primitive communalism in which people had hardly developed tools and were living in caves. The mature-communalism mode of production produced its culture which reflected the level of development of the societies then and the social relations thereof.

5.1. Pre-colonial material culture

Many centuries before the colonialists invaded our country, our people were not without shelters. We were not living in caves, under trees or on top of trees. We were not waiting for foreigners or colonialists or God to come to provide us with shelter or to teach us how to build ourselves houses.

(As a matter of fact, the culture of dependency imposed upon us by imperialism and the ruling classes in Africa today, of sitting and mourning and waiting for foreigners to do things for us; the reactionary culture of losing faith in our creativity and ability to solve our own problems; this chronic disease of believing that we can never develop without foreign aid; this was never the culture of our ancestors.)

Our people had developed their own architecture. They were living in well built houses which not only provided sufficient shelter for themselves commensurate with their environment and stage of development, but which were also designed and built with the aesthetics that considered and appreciated their concrete material needs, customs, morality and philosophy of life. From wood, our people were making different kinds of furniture, utensils, tools, work of art, weapons etc. They were skilled in pottery, using clay to make many sorts of pots, household objects, which are still used and commended by science.

Thousands of years before the coming of colonialism in Kenya, our people had an agricultural system which was developing. They had managed to tame all sorts of grain, root, stem, fruit and vegetable crops and they were increasing their quantity and quality to meet their food needs. In the same way, they were already breeding different varieties of animals and birds. Bee keeping was common while fishing was part and parcel of the culture of those communities that lived near the sea, lakes and rivers. All this means that our people had many types of foods

which provided them with plenty to eat and a highly balanced diet, which, besides, was composed of several delicacies.

Incidentally, then agriculture was organised to meet the food and other needs of the family in particular and the society in general. The culture of farming for the market far from our land and to meet the needs of foreigners at the expense of the local requirements was not the culture of our ancestors. Neither was the culture of malnutrition, hunger and eating the same food day and night all the year round. Even now as I write, I remember, with great nostalgia, the number of Dawida foods which are disappearing, or have already disappeared, as the culture of cash crops for foreign markets is imposed upon the Wadawida, like all other Kenyan nationalities. Dawida is the name of my ethnic group whose geographical location is Taita/Taveta District of the Coast province of Kenya.

Long before British colonialism invaded Kenya, our ancestors were progressing in the field of science and technology. Science and was developing to meet the increasing requirements of the societies. Our people, for example, already were identifying and extracting iron, copper and other metals from their ores. At the same time, they had developed the technology of producing high temperatures which enabled them to smelt the metals and to make copper and iron tools and implements. Thus our people were advancing in physics and chemistry and were creatively using the sciences to add to the quantity and quality of their production.

In the field of biology, they were able to classify many living things into plants and animals. In turn, they were also able, to large degree, to classify the animals into mammals, birds, insects, fish, reptiles etc. In the field of botany, they knew and gave names to many different species of plants. They also identified several plants according to their use values. They were also moving forward in the field of medicine and health. They could identify, classify and treat many types of diseases. They were increasing their abilities to combat many types of viruses that were affecting human beings, their animals and crops.

In the field of astronomy they were able to study and to provide names to several heavenly bodies. Through this observation they could recognise the changes of the seasons and predict the weather to enable them to plant and harvest the right crop at the right time. To hunt and to protect themselves from their enemies, they were developing weapons and perfecting the art of war.

In short, as time moved on, our people were increasing their knowledge of the laws of nature and were using them to improve their lives in their environment. This also indicates that they were developing their productive forces; they were increasing their material culture both quantitatively and qualitatively. Yes, we were not static, we were making history, we were moving forward, we were developing and we were doing so depending entirely on ourselves.

5.2. Pre-colonial social culture

In the area of social culture, we all know that long before colonialism, our people were living in organised societies which ensured that they lived in peace and harmony. They were governed by definite codes of conduct, morals, philosophies, customs and beliefs based on the mature-communalism mode of production.

The elders had the responsibility and exercised the authority of leading the society and ensuring there was peace and development. Contrary to colonialist propaganda, we were not a primitive and war like people living a chaotic life. We did not need people to come from Europe to rule us and to teach us how to live like civilised beings.

In the arts: literature, music, dances, theatre, pottery, handicraft, curving, painting etc., we had made a lot of achievements which shine widely to this day.

We had our own education system which had the aim of teaching different skills needed by the family and society and to pass the cultural heritage of the society to the younger generation to ensure continuity. The philosophy of education was based on the mature-communalist system which reflected the morality of the communal ownership of the means of production, a social system under which there was no class oppression. The education taught the people to love and cherish the family and blood relations, to help one another and to avoid the evils of arrogance, laziness, individualism, selfishness, cruelty, lack of respect to elders, immorality etc. The education was also conveyed through oral literature and traditional rituals.

The Kenyan peoples, of all nationalities, had their gods and religions long before the missionaries from Europe came to impose their religion upon them. We had developed our own philosophy which summarised the mature-communalism way of life, morality and social relations. There were psychologists who helped individuals to struggle against different forms of psychological problems. We had a system of making decisions, solving disputes and correcting wrongs in the society which was guided by the mature-communalism morality of the society.

5.3. Critical analysis of the pre-colonial culture

In short, what I am attempting to say is that, long before we were invaded by imperialism, many of our communities were at the historical stage of human history called mature communalism. They had developed a rich and dynamic culture that was growing, changing and becoming more and more complex every day. We were civilised and we were developing our civilisations before we were rudely interrupted by colonialism.

But please note that this culture was based on the mature-communalism mode and it reflected not only the material conditions of the system but also its contradictions and limitations as well. This is a very important point to remember especially because when many people in Kenya talk about 'our culture', 'Kenyan culture', or 'African culture', while in most cases than not they actually mean traditional Kenyan cultures.

There is also a negative tendency of romanticising our traditional cultures. For the reactionaries, this is done deliberately in order to justify dictatorship, backward ideas, opposition to progressive change and one form of oppression or the other. In doing so they fail to point out that just as there are a lot of positive things in our traditional cultural heritage, there are also negative things inherent in it which we must criticise and discard without any nostalgic sentimentalities.

5.3.1. The morality of communalism

Pre-colonial or mature-communalist culture still had the remnants of the morality of communalism. There was no private property. The basic means of production, land, was owned by society as a whole. Thus land was given by the society to tillers, the family unit, to utilise for them and for the society. It was therefore a classless society which had no basis of class exploitation. The economy was organised in such a way that it met the basic needs of the family in particular and the society in general. It was a developing, integrated and self-sustaining economy. The people depended on their labour, creativity, resources and their collective destiny for their freedom and development. The culture of dependency had not reared its ugly head.

The morality of love and togetherness, mercy to those who needed mercy, solidarity, sharing both joys and sorrows, caring for one another etc. is that part of our cultural heritage which we

must struggle to conserve. The same can be said about the culture of strong family and blood relations which Kenyans need very much today. Surely we cannot afford to lose these aspects of our cultural heritage which struggled against social injustice, greed, cruelty, egoism etc. However, mature-communalism is not communalism at its primitive stage. It is communalism at its mature and last stage of development. In fact, as we have already observed, mature-communalism was thousands of years ahead of primitive communalism. I can even claim, with justification, that mature-communalism was the last stage of communalism. It is a transition stage between communalism and the first class society.

5.3.2. Division of labour

5.3.2.1. Division of labour within the family

The development of productive forces produced division of labour. At the family level, there was division of labour between men and women. It is important however, to point out that division of labour differed from one ethnic group and culture to another although there were general similarities based on gender. Read Ahlberg (1991), for example, about Gikuyu traditional society².

Work in traditional Dawida society³, for example, was generally shared according to sex and age. I use the word *generally* because there were no stringent rules or regulation that governed division of labour within the family or society. Men, usually young men and middle-aged men, generally did clearing of virgin land and rough cultivation requiring intensive hard labour. Cutting big trees and splitting large logs of wood were also the work of men. Boys usually did grazing of livestock that was kept in the kraals around the home. Grazing was done communally as boys from the village would spend the day in the grazing fields together with other boys from the village with their own livestock. The girls would take food to their brothers sometime during the day. While grazing, boietyys would engage in various games among themselves. Looking after big herds of livestock, kept in the plains or the lower zones of the district that was a long distance from home in Dawida, was the work of men. Often, boys would accompany their fathers, grandfathers or other older relatives to their one week turn (*ndisha*) of looking after the cattle. It was also the duty of men to hunt while looking after the cattle as in other occasions. Making skin bags (*vikuchu*), large mortars (*vidu*) and pestles (*misi*) for pounding maize and other grain, traditional spoons for making and serving food (*miko*, *chuko*, etc.), bowls (*fuwa*), various types of calabashes (*vishere*), was generally done by men. Slaughtering of livestock was also the work of men. Making beehives and gathering honey were also the work of men in traditional Dawida society. It was generally also the young boys who guarded the crops from birds and other pests such as monkeys, baboons, wild pigs, etc. In the farms, women and girls sowed seeds, weeded, harvested and stored the crop. Fetching water and firewood were also the work of girls and women as was also most of the domestic work including cooking, washing utensils, cleaning the house, looking after young children, etc. It was also mostly women who made traditional baskets, *vikapu* and *vidasi*. The art of making various types of pots from clay, *mbuta*, *nyungu*, etc. was dominated by women.

A graphic example of division of labour is provided in the making of beer (*denge*) for special ceremonies. Young men would enter the sugarcane plantation (*mghunda*) and cut the sugarcane. Young women would carry the sugarcane home while elder women would cut it into pieces and pound it to squeeze out the juice, a process called *kuhua*. From then on the men, especially elder men would take over the work of brewing the beer.

² Ahlberg, B.M. Women, *Sexuality And The Changing Social Order – The Impact of Government Policies On Reproductive Behaviour In Kenya*, Gordon and Beach, Philadelphia, 1991.

³ My ethnic group where I have conducted considerable research.

5.3.2.2. Division of labour within the family - signs of emerging class society

So far, I have attempted to point out that the mature - communalism societies of Kenya such as the Dawida had a rich and dynamic culture long before the invasion of colonialism. However, I have not said that this culture was complete and more developed than it is today. Neither is it my intention to suggest that the traditional African societies were without internal contradictions. After all development itself is a continuous process that does not proceed in a straight line but in zigzags.

It is important also to remember that even before the coming of colonialism, the morals of a class society had already appeared in the traditional mature - communalist African societies, albeit in their infancy. I have described the traditional African societies as mature communalism because it was the highest and last stage of communalism where there were signs that it was in transition to a higher class mode. Engels points out that under the socio-economic mode called communalism, the productive forces had hardly developed and people were living in caves and in primitive shelters while the source of food was simple hunting and gathering. At this stage of human history there was complete equality between all members of societies, women and men, the young and the old. On the other hand, the mature communalist traditional African societies had reached a very high level of cultural development, whose qualitative change was interrupted by colonialism.

Patrilineal culture

The traditional African mature communalism societies, such as traditional Dawida society were patrilineal. This means that men dominated the society and there was no gender equality. Although among the Dawida, like in many similar societies, there were regulations in the land tenure system that ensured women too enjoyed user rights of land and other resources, and even inherited land, still men had more rights to ownership of family land and property than the women. Besides, the women had no *direct* rights to inherit land or other family property. It was men who were the head of families even though it was the women who were mainly responsible for the practical domestic affairs including raising children, cooking food for the family, fetching water and firewood, cleaning, etc.

The patriarchal ideology of the society was embodied in Dawida cultural practises and is reflected in customs and oral literature. It is important to comprehend all this because what is sometimes referred to as Dawida or African culture to justify gender inequality is in fact this patrilineal culture. At the same time, it is important in the struggle of gender equality to refrain from merely stating that in the traditional African societies women were exploited, marginalised and oppressed, as this can be a simplistic way of explaining complex social and cultural relations. Instead, it will be more helpful to investigate and acquire details of how actually the various societies dealt with gender relations. For example, violence against women that is sometimes explained (by offenders) as African culture was not in fact allowed in Dawida traditional culture, even though it was patrilineal.

5.3.3. Social division of labour

The basis of traditional Dawida culture was agricultural production in which the basic unit of labour was the family. The economy was geared towards self-sufficiency to enable each family to meet its basic needs. However, in a society that already was able to produce a surplus, it had reached a stage where it was beginning to support people specialising in certain skills for a living. These skills included healers (*warighiti*), traditional psychologists (*walaghui*), herbalists (*waghanga*), blacksmiths (*wachani*), pot-makers, and various other artisans. The demand for their products meant that they were spending more time in producing these services and goods than in agricultural production. This was possible because they could exchange the goods and

services with the farm produce or other goods from other members of society through barter trade. In fact, barter trade was part of the culture of traditional Dawida society involving goods such as foodstuffs, tobacco (*kumbaku*), castor oil, game-meat, livestock, honey, calabashes, pots, things made of iron, handicraft, etc.

Social division of labour and exchange of products were signs of growing inequality within the society that was still based on communal production relations. Those with skills and talents of rendering certain services required by the society or producing necessary commodities, were using them to gain advantages over others. That is why, traditionally, the knowledge and skills of healing, herbs, psychology, pottery, surgery, working with iron, etc., were a guarded secret and inherited only within families. Names of clans such as *Weni Mghanga* (The clan of medicinemen), *Weni Mchana* (the clan of blacksmiths) originates from this culture of monopolising knowledge. This must have contributed towards slowing down the diffusion of knowledge and the development of the productive forces in the society. The culture existing in Kenya today, in which people are trained to acquire knowledge and skills not for the common good but for self-aggrandisement and exploiting other people, is also partly a product of this negative aspect of traditional cultural heritage that is being utilised by capitalism effectively. Dawida traditional society was therefore not static and without internal contradictions, but dynamic and developing towards a class society.

5.3.4. The culture was not developed but developing

Another important point to remember: Although we have pointed out that we had a rich and developing culture before the invasion of colonialism, we have not said that this culture was complete and more developed than it is today. In the first place, development itself is a continuous process and there can never be limitations to it.

What we are emphasising is, like all human beings in the world, we were creating and developing our own culture in our own way. We were determining and shaping our own destiny long before colonialism. And that this particular culture was mature-communalism with all the achievements and contradictions that are inherent in the mode.

The greatest lesson we could learn from our cultural achievements before the coming of colonialism, is that we were independent and acted accordingly: we were depending on ourselves, our creative work and labour and our resources to solve our own problems, fulfil our needs, and develop ourselves. We believed in ourselves and our collective ability to develop our productive forces, to create our culture and to better our lives.

6.1. Slave/feudalist culture in Kenya

Before we introduce the discussion about the impact of colonialism on our culture, we must first say a few words about the slave/feudalist culture which was the product of the Kenyan nationalities that were living at the coast line of our country, including the islands of Mombasa, Lamu, Pate and Manda. We call it a slave/feudalist culture as it was at the transition stage between slave and feudalist mode. The social relations of the slave-feudalist mode were still present within the dominant feudalist social relations of the Kenyan Coastal people. The feudalist mode is a higher mode historically than that of slave or communalism (or mature-communalism for that matter). It is also a fact that feudalist culture was materially more advanced and complex compared to mature-communalist culture.

Feudalism was a society divided into two main classes: the feudal class and that of the serfs. The feudal class was the ruling class, the class that wielded political, economic and state power. It was the class that owned the means of production and thus it was the class of exploiters. The class of the serfs was the exploited and oppressed class. This class society

produced a very complex and sophisticated culture. This culture had produced its state and for many centuries, the Swahili had their own forms of laws, courts, police, prisons, standing armies, bureaucracies and kingdoms.

The Swahili had developed a highly sophisticated art, they had well celebrated pottery, carpets, furniture and with palm trees they produce many beautiful household goods and works of art. The Islamic religion they borrowed from the Arabs, which they assimilated and Africanised, was more mythical and complex than any other religion under mature-communalism in the interior of the country. The Kenyan coastal people not only had a rich orature, they had also developed a writing tradition and even today we can read Swahili written literature of many centuries ago.

The Swahilis had a highly developed architecture which we still see today at the coast of our country. They had built large stone and storied buildings. The coastal towns such as Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu, Pate, Takaungu etc. are examples of the urban culture of the Swahili which have existed for many centuries. Their furniture, utensils, lamps, dresses, foods etc. were as sophisticated and complex as their mannerisms and eating habits.

They manufactured clothes and made all sorts of implements, weapons etc. from iron, copper and other metals. Their sea environment, the Indian Ocean, made them cosmopolitan, for they traded and interacted with people from the Middle East, India and China. Swahili culture was also a culture of trade within Eastern Africa and with foreign countries. They traded in ivory, gold, spices, clothes, foods, pottery etc. With a well developed science and technology which produced dhows, boats, other sea vessels and navigational skills which enabled them to travel long distances across the Indian Ocean, they were interacting with people of different nationalities and races. In this way their culture grew in both quantity and quality by borrowing and assimilating elements of other cultures.

In fact, it is the highly developed culture of the peoples at the Kenyan coast which enabled them to resist and defeat both the Arabs and the Portuguese invaders for many years. It is this culture that has provided us with Kiswahili language which is the most developed and widely spoken African language, a language that has survived Arabic, Portuguese and English invasion, a language which continues to expand in spite of the imperialist cultural war against African languages. This culture had developed a written tradition so that even today we read Swahili literature written several centuries before the invasion of colonialism.

6.2. Social inequalities in the slave/feudalist culture

Yet this slave/feudalist culture of the Swahili, naturally, reflected the class contradictions in the class society. Feudalism achieved the formation of nation-states, such as Mombasa, Lamu, Malindi, Pate etc. which were nation-states in their own right. Wars and counter wars among the Swahili nations, was part and parcel of this culture. These wars resulted in destruction, waste and the suffering of the masses that had to slave to sponsor the kings, feudal lords, the state and the wars. Plots and counter-plots among the monarchy or the king's families for the succession of the kingships also characterised this culture.

This mode produced the class of feudalists or masters who owned most of the land and means of production and who perfected the culture of exploitation of person by person. It was the class of feudalists that enjoyed and appropriated the best and most fruits of culture produced by the labour and sweat of the serf class. The feudalist class was characterised by the culture of laziness, waste, consumerism, pettiness, vanity and arrogance. They loved mundane pleasures, sexual orgies, and countless numbers of immoralities. This class of religious hypocrites, lazy people, of selfish, greedy and over-eating fat lords, oppressed and exploited the serfs and justified this through religion and charity. Islam was the dominant religion that was used to justify and maintain the oppressive and reactionary slave/feudal system.

The class of serfs and slaves spent all their lives working and producing the material basis of culture. Yet they never enjoyed the fruits of the culture they produced but spent their lives in toiling, suffering, being persecuted and in daily subservience to the kings, their feudal lords and masters. They ate the worst foods, were ill dressed (if dressed at all), they did not enjoy the comforts of the houses they built for the lords or the furniture they made for their exploiters and oppressors. They were forced to create art not for themselves but for entertaining and meeting the needs of the kings, the feudal/master class and God. Religious knowledge and philosophy was controlled and shaped by the ruling class and was used to preserve the culture of exploitation and oppression of person by person.

This feudalist culture abused, exploited and oppressed women to levels that were unknown to the mature-communalist cultures at the interior of Kenya. While under mature -communalism women were oppressed only as women, under slave/feudalism, they were oppressed as slave/serfs and as women at the same time.

6.3. Class struggles in the slave/feudalist mode

It is important not to forget that wherever there are classes, there will also inevitably be class struggles. Class struggles, therefore, were part and parcel of Swahili feudalist culture. Whether in Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu or Pate, the slaves and serfs were always struggling to free themselves from the exploitation and oppression of the feudal and land lords. These struggles took many forms. The slaves and serfs created the culture of struggle and liberation. The most conscious of them produced popular songs, narratives, proverbs, drama, myths and legends which propagated the ideology of struggle for the liberation of their class. They preached the morality of rebellion and defiance among themselves. They even made weapons and devised tactics and strategies of sabotaging and damaging their class enemies. Their language carried the images of protest. Their struggles were both passive and active.

The history of the Swahili, their literature and what research has been made so far manifests the existence of the culture of struggle for liberation from slavery and feudalism. For example, the fact that the state was present among the Swahili nations does show the attempt of the kings and the ruling classes to maintain their rule by force. For the state is about force. It is the machine of oppression of one class by another.

7. The Colonial Period

We have seen that long before Kenya was invaded and colonised by the British, there had been attempts and counter attempts by the Arabs and the Portuguese to colonise it. However, the powerful culture that had been produced by the Swahili feudal states successfully resisted and prevented foreign rule for many years.

Thus, for many centuries, foreigners were unable to penetrate into the interior of Kenya to the mature-communalist cultures that were developing. However, from 1895, British colonialism started its attempts of colonising our country. After many years of resistance from Kenyans, they finally succeeded to colonise our country in 1920.

7.1. Colonialism declared war against Kenyan cultures

A people with a culture of their own and national pride cannot be easily colonised. The colonialists knew this truth better than anybody else. That is why right from the beginning, colonialism organised war against our cultures. This physical and psychological war started by violently destroying our material culture and ways of life. The terrorism and genocide which was organised by Europeans against Africans during the slave trade in the 15th Century was continued in Kenya by British colonialism.

Now, the extermination of a people is the first and most important step towards destroying a people's culture. This is because it is people who make culture and culture itself is about people. The colonial state (the laws, the courts, the police, the army, the prisons, the government, etc.) was introduced and used to perform this task: of organised genocide against our peoples, destroying our cultural achievements and resistance against foreign domination and foreign culture. Kenya's history is full of examples of heroic resistance against the colonial culture of violence and domination. It is also about the brutality and destruction perpetrated by British colonialism against our people and cultures.

7.2. The destruction of the traditional economy

The next step taken by colonialism against our culture was to destroy our economy, rudely and abruptly attack and annihilate our communal system of production and impose the capitalist system upon us. Thus the colonial state and White settlers robbed the Kenyan peasants of their land, created landlessness, pauperism and started the process of underdeveloping us. This means that our cultural achievements in agriculture, medicine, science and technology, political and economic organisation, were targeted for destruction. Our ways of farming and our foods were systematically destroyed, although, as we shall see colonialism never succeeded completely in this.

The colonialist directly and indirectly waged war against our cultural achievements in science and in technology. In fact, the colonialists organised what is known as technological capture which ensured that our technological development was interrupted or captured.

It is a well known fact that our iron and copper smiths, our medicine men and women, our artists and artisans were demonised, threatened, intimidated, tortured and even killed to stop their creative work which challenged colonialism and the racist culture. Colonialist waged a deliberate psychological war upon African people and culture with the objective destroying our historical and cultural achievements in order to pave way for the culture of dependency on colonialism.

7.3. Imposition of a new land-tenure system produced a new culture

Again, our people were robbed of their land and made landless. In this way they were forced to work for the white settlers and colonialists. Thus a culture of working for other people, of exploitation, was forced upon the Kenyan people by the British colonialists. By being robbed of their land, by being forced to pay taxes to the colonial government, by being robbed of their right of controlling their own economy and lives, our people were reduced to a life of struggle and toil for mere subsistence and survival and had hardly time or the material conditions for creative activity which is necessary for the development of culture. Colonisation of our country as far as material culture is concerned, meant the underdevelopment and capture of our science, technology and all the research our ancestors had been doing. It was calculated to stop us developing in our own way and to make us dependent on colonialism.

The colonialist state was established also to violently destroy our people's political and social organisation. The democratic rule of elders and the customs and beliefs based on the mature-communalist morality, was destroyed and replaced by the system of colonial chiefs which was used to serve colonial interests.

Common ownership of land which ensured that there was no class oppression was systematically destroyed and replaced by the class culture of private ownership of land and class exploitation. Lack of land produced poverty and hunger and this gave birth to the culture of dependency, corruption, selfishness, greediness, cruelty and egoism. The lack of honest means of earning a living bred the culture of theft, robbery, trickery and prostitution that had not

existed before. Prostitution, for example, was never known to the mature-communalist societies of Kenya before colonialism. It only existed at the coast where, as we have seen, there were feudal societies and cultures.

7.4. Missionaries and their mission to fight against African cultures

The missionaries and colonialists worked hand and hand to fight our spiritual cultures, religions, orature, dances, songs, medical practises, customs and traditions, family values and the ways of life that our people had created and developed since their existence. The missionaries always justified colonialism, preached terror and destruction against our morals, philosophy and beliefs.

In the name of God, we were told that the White missionaries and the colonialist came for the good of us Black people, to take us away from darkness into light, to help save our souls from eternal damnation. Our cultures were said to be primitive, immoral, sinful and backward. It was said that we Africans are primitive, barbaric, uncivilised and only next to animals. It was preached that we were always lost and had never created anything useful. We were said to be so blind that although we had been living in our indigenous Kenya we had to wait for people to come from Europe to discover Athi River, Tana River, Mt. Kenya, Mt. Kilimanjaro, Lake Turkana, 'Lake Nyanza' etc. Even our names were symbols of sin and we had to adopt European names in order to be baptised to go to heaven. Colonial education taught that the White race was created by God himself to civilise us the Black race and to shine light upon the dark continent of Africa! Missionarism, racism and colonialism were inseparable in their conspiracy against African cultures.

Colonialism was about political, economic, social, psychological and cultural domination, exploitation, oppression and underdevelopment of one people by the other. In our case it was the British. British colonialism imposed capitalist social relations and commodity production upon us. It introduced the strange and despicable culture of some people working for others as house boys, house maids, '*shamba* boys', cowboys etc. Because language manifests and expresses culture, the underdevelopment of our cultures also meant the underdevelopment of our languages which had been growing and flourishing long before the colonialists arrived. Fortunately, the Kenyan people resisted colonialism in this regard and were able to preserve and conserve their indigenous languages to this day.

7.5. Colonial war against traditional education

Colonialism also struggled against our traditional education system which used to meet the practical, intellectual and other needs of our communities. It was replaced by colonial education which was calculated to produce unskilled or semi-skilled brainwashed and whitewashed natives to serve the colonial government, Christian missionaries, White settlers, British capitalists, etc. Right from the start, the British formulated and implemented a policy of producing brain washed elite Africans, sons of loyalists, African Christians, and colonial chiefs who would drink and imbue European colonial values and act as puppets and stooges in the service of her majesties government in our country. In fact, the comprador class now in power which embraces the culture of betraying our country to imperialism for personal greed is the brainchild not only of neo-colonialism but archaic colonialism as well.

7.6. The basic aim of colonialism was to dominate and exploit Africa

Of course, colonialism did introduce some modern science and technology, medicine, schools, roads, health centres, railway, etc. But it denied and destroyed what we had achieved already while doing so. It organised the building of the railway (which has not been expanded by the neo-colonial government in power today!!) and construction of some roads and infrastructure.

But this was done not to develop Kenya and Kenyans but to develop Britain and enrich the British capitalists by exploiting our human and natural resources and transporting them to Europe. Above all, with colonialism also originated the concept of Kenya as a nation. For before colonialism, Kenya was an amalgamation of various nationalities. However, we insist, colonialism as a system was aimed specifically at the exploitation and oppression of our people and cultures and whatever positive results it produced were incidental, accidental and inevitable.

7.7. The culture of resistance against imperialism

From the time colonialism invaded our country and hitherto, our people produced and continue to produce a culture of resistance. The colonial policy of organised violence against the Kenyan people was opposed by the culture of resistance and struggle against colonialism. This resistance and struggle was manifested in many forms. Sometimes it was passive and other times it was active. For example, many Kenyans rejected Christian religion and insisted on following their ancestral religions. My paternal grandfather, Mwandwiro wa Mghanga, whom I am named after, was such a man, for example. He died in 1983 when he was about a hundred years while still rejecting Christianity and worshipping the gods of his ancestors.

During the Mau Mau national liberation war, for example, songs, dances, narratives, fables, myths and legends were created to extol the anti-colonial struggles, praise the heroes and heroines who distinguished themselves in the struggle for uhuru and to satirise and discredit traitors, cowards and collaborators of colonialists. Weapons were made and strategies and tactics of fighting colonialism were devised. The colonial culture of state violence and terrorism against the Kenyan people, threats, intimidation, arrests, detentions, torture, imprisonment and killings of patriots, did not succeed to destroy the popular culture of anti-imperialist resistance and struggle: the struggle against racism and exploitation, the struggle for land and freedom.

The culture of resistance and struggle existed throughout the colonial period. This anti-imperialist culture belongs to the masses of workers and peasants of our country and spearheaded by patriots of our country. It was expressed by popular heroes and heroines such as Shee Mvita, Mwangeka wa Malowa, Mee Kitelili, Waiyaki wa Hinga, Koitalel, Harry Thuku, Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru, Muindi Mbingu and many others throughout our country who died in the struggle against foreign invasion and colonialism. The climax of the culture of the anti-colonial struggle was expressed by the Land and Freedom Army, popularly known as Mau Mau.

Mau Mau was the liberation movement of the workers and peasants of our country. Its leadership concluded that the colonial culture of violence and oppression could only be defeated by an organised counter violence from the oppressed, the Kenyan people. Thus Kimathi wa Waciuri and thousands of Mau Mau heroes and heroines expressed this culture through guerrilla warfare which ultimately defeated British colonialism. Mau Mau was a popular national movement because it was based on millions of the Kenyan people whom it led in the liberation war for national liberation and freedom.

7.8. The culture of betrayal and collaboration with imperialism

But throughout the period of colonialism, there was also the culture of betrayal, opportunism and collaboration side by side with the popular culture of resistance and struggle. This culture of *traitorism* was the culture embraced by those Kenyans who decided to collaborate with colonialism for personal gains. It was the culture of those who chose to betray their people, their culture and nation to the colonial oppressors in order to receive rewards as colonial chiefs, civil servants, soldiers, Christian priests, etc.

The traitors were used to fight against the freedom of their own country by being brainwashed or being bribed with land and money. This culture of collaboration with the colonial oppressors preached that Africans are backward and primitive and that colonialism came to civilise us! It was the culture of sycophancy and cowardice which taught that it was sinful to fight against colonialism and that the British were invincible and to struggle against them was in vain.

During the Mau Mau war of liberation, this culture was best expressed by the home-guards that did not stop at anything to show their loyalty to British colonialism and their hatred to the struggle for uhuru. The home-guards took up arms to fight against the freedom of their own country. They arrested, detained, tortured, murdered and committed all acts of betrayal against freedom fighters and the masses. They were fanatical in their hatred of the patriotic culture epitomised by Mau Mau.

Unfortunately, it was the collaborators or home-guards who took over political, economic and state power when British archaic colonialism was finally defeated.

8. The Neo-colonial Period:

8.1. Colonialism was replaced by neo-colonialism

We have said it a number of times that the so called independence of 1963, was never genuine independence. For colonialism was immediately replaced by neo-colonialism. During colonialism, it was only the British who had 'the right' to exploit and oppress our country. But now during neo-colonialism all capitalist powers have given themselves 'the right' to exploit and oppress Kenyans.

Neo-colonialism means that the economy of our country is controlled by imperialism. It means the presence of imperialist military bases in our country. It means the economy of Kenya being dominated and controlled by foreign imperialist powers. It means being governed by the brutal economic policies of structural adjustment programmes of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that dominate the planning of 'African national economies'. This consolidates the culture of working as slaves of foreign countries in our own motherland.

The culture of poverty, begging, dependency and underdevelopment created by the exploitation of our country by imperialism, has in turn produced the culture which makes Kenyans subjects of pity, charity, and contempt by being beggars of aid and loans from the same nations that exploit them.

8.2. How neo-colonialism works

Neo-colonialism survives and works by making sure that state power is in the hands of their puppets. We have said that the colonialists ensured that they left political, economic and state power to those who served colonialism, the collaborators or home-guards. Imperialism creates a class of local traitors which collaborates with it to exploit and oppress the rest of society.

This is the comprador class, the class of local millionaires, of bureaucratic capitalists, of the landlords, of those with shares, chairmanships and directorships in the capitalists and imperialist companies and industries in Kenya. This is the ruling class which has the state machine at its disposal.

8.3. Neo-colonialism and cultural inequalities

We have said that we cannot talk about Kenyan or African culture at this particular historical time when our country is basically divided into two nations, the nation of the few rich comprador

class and the nation of the majority of Kenyans, the workers, peasants, the majority poor, exploited and oppressed.

The nation of the rich Kenyans enjoys the best culture in our country. They live in beautiful, large and modern houses with the best furniture and decorations that money can buy. In all Kenyan towns there are exclusive suburbs where the rich people live. These areas are served with all the best that the cities, municipal councils and government can provide. Large clean compounds, clean water, electricity, televisions, radiograms, videos, expensive utensils, cookers, refrigerators and fridges, expensive cars, servants, security guards, dogs etc. are part and parcel of the culture of the rich nation in Kenya. This is the class that eats and drinks all that is best in Kenya. It is the class that receives the best education, health, recreation and security services in the country. The toys their children play with are very different from those of the children of the working and peasant class. Their games of golf, cricket, swimming, rugby, tennis and chase are hardly accessible to the class of the majority of Kenyans who live in the slums or in the poor country-side.

The life styles of those who wallow in the richness is different from those who live a life of toil and struggle for survival. Their morals and philosophy are different from that of the poor. The wishes and aspiration of the rich Kenyans are at variance with the wishes and aspirations of the poor and exploited Kenyans. For example, the majority of Kenyan people wish to be liberated from the capitalist system which has given birth to the culture of wild competition and exploitation of person by person and of our country by foreigners. The comprador minority class in power organises and fights to maintain the capitalist's relations which allow them to appropriate the fruits of culture produced by the Kenyan masses.

This class of neo-colonial puppets, the *wanyapara* (overseers) class of imperialist's interests in our country, the class of colonial dogs, is a eunuch class castrated by European capitalist values. It is a class which consumes foreign culture without producing that of its own. It is a robot class which apes foreign capitalist culture without shame. It is this class which prides in English, French, and German, etc. and despises Kiswahili and other Kenyan languages. They struggle to ape the mannerisms, dressing and eating habits, customs and traditions of the rich Americans and Europeans. They read and pride themselves with useless European literature while despising progressive African, European and world literature. They are brainwashed to despise the positive traditions and customs of their peoples while adopting the reactionary alien ones. They yearn for American and European cinema, music, dance, drama, painting, life styles, etc. while they hardly make effort to promote or create African popular culture. This class has lost its African cultural roots and this enables the imperialists to manipulate it and use it against the vast majority of Kenyans.

Unfortunately, at all times, the ideas of the ruling class are also, inevitably, the ideas that assume the position of the ideas of the whole society. For this reason, the comprador ruling class has imposed the neo-colonial capitalist culture upon Kenyans. The masses are driven to worship and to strive for European values in order to be employed or to be considered moral and civilised. The English language, for example, continues to be imposed upon our people just as Christianity, and European music, theatre, cinema, customs, beliefs, mannerisms and morals are. The education system is used to impose neo-colonial culture and to create a people capable of producing loyal service to capitalism and imperialism and the comprador oppressive regime in power. The music, dances, theatre, art and creativity of the Kenyan people has been turned into tools of reactionary propaganda and sycophantisms, of praising traitors, dictators and exploiters, of propagating the culture of fear and silence among the masses.

The capitalist morality of exploitation, egoism, greed, corruption, wild competition, land and plot grabbing, cruelty, 'eating one another', looting public property and the worship of money and wealth, has become part and parcel of the Kenyan society.

The culture of nepotism and tribalism has also been imposed upon the Kenyan people, by a regime which relies on the tactics of divide and rule it inherited from its colonial masters.

8.4. The culture of violence

Violence is part and parcel of the culture of capitalist system. Capitalism uses all forms of violence to exploit and subjugate the workers, peasants and all the exploited. The capitalist state is a machine of organized violence against those who oppose capitalist exploitation. The neo-colonial state is the extension of the capitalist state in the neo-colonial country. This is best illustrated by the Moi/Kanu regime. The dictatorial Moi/Kanu regime is the violence of the primitive comprador class against the vast majority of the Kenyan people who are poor, exploited and oppressed. The dictatorship acts on behalf of imperialism which cannot survive without state terrorism against popular resistance. The inhuman and neo-colonial structural adjustment programmes of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund can only be implemented through state violence against the general population.

Kenyan laws, courts, police and prisons are used to violently suppress workers strikes, peasant protests, student and teachers demonstrations, political meetings and organisations, popular cultural activities, etc. The Kenyan army and police has been fighting a brutal war against the Kenyan people, especially the Pokot, the Somali and other ethnic groups in North Eastern Province since colonial times. The PCs, the DCs, the DOs, the Chiefs and the Sub-chiefs are all public administration organs of extending this culture of fear, threats, intimidation and force to the grassroots. Even the language of the president, his ministers and government officials is always the language of abuse, threats and violence against the citizens. Police violence in the streets and cells, fascism in Kenyan prisons, brutality of the landlords against the tenants, robbery with violence, rape, political assassinations, corruption, domestic violence, road accidents, violence in the churches and religious institutions, students riots, etc. has become a way of life in our country, a culture imposed by capitalism and neo-colonialism to the whole society.

8.5. The culture of poverty and underdevelopment

The Kenyatta/Moi/Kanu comprador regime has imposed upon us the culture of dependency, frustrates the creative efforts of Kenyans, prevents Kenyans from controlling their own economy and to organise the culture of science and technology. This regime has driven and is driving us into the culture of poverty, ignorance, backwardness and dictatorship during the time of the wonders of scientific and technological revolution in the world.

To the majority of Kenyans, the workers, peasants, the poor and marginalised, poverty, ignorance, and disease is a way of life manifested everywhere. It is a starving culture, a culture of hunger and disease for the majority as the culture of producing coffee, tea, pyrethrum, sisal, flowers, sugar, etc. for capitalist markets, is destroying our traditional progressive agriculture, foods and eating habits and has reduced our peoples' diet to simply *ugali* (maize meal) and *sukumawiki* (a type of cabbage), when it exists at all.

It is the Kenyan working class which has done the basic work of building the existing infrastructure of roads, buildings and towns, factories, industries, etc. Yet they hardly eat the fruits of the culture they produce by their own sweat and blood. Actually, it is the working class which continues to be the basis of the material and intellectual culture Kenya. But all their efforts are appropriated by the imperialists and their puppets. Nearly all the music, songs, dances, sports and art is created by the peasants and workers or those who are part of or originate from this class. In fact, it is the cultural resistance, creativity and work of the peasants and workers that has enabled our languages, our music, our dances, our literatures - our African cultural heritage - to survive from being annihilated by colonialism and neo-colonialism.

9. Conclusion

The comprador class has nothing positive to offer us Kenyans in terms of culture. Instead, this class collaborates with imperialism to underdevelop us and prevent us from developing our national culture. This class has imposed upon us the culture of fear and silence which strengthens dictatorship, fascist tendencies, and undermines any semblance of popular democracy and participation, and human rights. The rule of the primitive capitalists and neo-colonial surrogates emasculates us, destroys our creative talents and potentialities, and wastes our efforts and possibilities.

For these reasons, it is clear that we have to struggle for cultural identity as a nation hitherto. We have no cultural independence because we are not independent yet. We have to struggle and fight for political liberation. For without political liberation we cannot have cultural liberation. But the reverse is also true: that without cultural liberation we cannot have political liberation. This means that the alternative we have to the neo-colonial culture of national exploitation and oppression, of poverty, backwardness, underdevelopment, dependency, violence and violation of human rights, is the culture of struggle against capitalism, imperialism, dictatorship and the rule of traitors.

All our morality, art, literature, music, politics, sports, individual and collective creativity's, talents and energies should be directed towards building and strengthening the culture of resistance, struggle and liberation from internal and external exploitation and oppression. Political liberation first and foremost means that the workers, peasants, patriots and the masses of our country must capture state power from the unpopular dictatorial neo-colonial regime. Popular state power should then be used to lead and mobilise the masses towards social and national liberation - cultural revolution.

The cultural revolution will aim, among other things, at democratisation of the Kenyan society, rooting out the culture of dictatorship, exploitation and oppression of person by person, liberating our country from capitalism and imperialism and towards laying the material foundation for the development of science, technology, industry and building an independent, integrated and self - sustaining economy.

The ultimate aim is to create and build a Kenyan national revolutionary socialist culture, a culture of humanism, of laying the material and social base for the exercise of participatory democracy and human rights and the climate of the participation of all Kenyans in the process of creating and enjoying the fruits of culture.

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