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Between 1973 and 1975 it gradually occurred to a group of us university students that there was a serious academic disease spreading rapidly in the University lecture-rooms, seminar-rooms and auditoriums. The carriers of this disease, we felt, were some lecturers and professors who were supposedly "educating" us and dishing out "knowledge" to us. The disease they were spreading, under cover of "learnedness" and "academic authority", was definite servility and continuation of foreign, even anti-Kenyan styles and materials. Apparently convinced that the best concepts are foreign ones (from USA, UK, etc) and only occasionally paying lip service to the initiative and needs of the 1.5 million "other" Kenyans, these gentlemen of learning perverted the truth about Kenya's past, present and future potential. Many even announced to us in various class-rooms that Kenya's salvation lay in becoming more and more dependent on the imperialist masters "because we have no skills, no capital, no wealth". They called this higher education. We knew it was wrong, because it did not agree with what we saw everyday in our own eyes in Kenyan society.

We asked ourselves many questions, we found out that we were ignorant as to the REAL answers regarding our society's problems. Our 12-plus years of "education" had provided little basis for the real knowledge or truth. We practically had to start from zero. We started doing serious investigation as to the nature of the university as an instrument of learning and social development in a neocolony. We assigned serious work to students both at Nairobi University and Kenyatta University College.

We have researched a great deal, we have obviously missed much, especially the innermost secrets that are locked in the imperialist controlled guardrooms and safes to be made available only to the select, trusted few. We have confined ourselves to published material - there for everyone to see and evaluate.

We had to restrict our work to local academics and artists and avoid foreign ones because our findings are that the latter are generally outright perpetrators of imperialist thought. One or two may be liberal or even anti-imperialist but these are the rare exceptions. Most of
the foreign academics, it is our experience, are racist in addition to their other imperialist functions. Indeed, some departments, are nothing more than extensions of bigger ones in USA or UK. No research needed.

Our concern was the local collaborators. They are more devious, more difficult to grasp, hence they need deeper investigation. It is now clearer to us that under the difficult undemocratic conditions such as lack of basic freedoms (speech, association, etc), prevailing in Kenya today, most Kenyan academics and artists have, albeit individually, upheld a fairly correct political stance. Others may have minor weaknesses but are generally pro-Kenyan. We therefore isolated the extreme ones in order to strengthen the better ones.

All along, as is made clear in the introduction we have used one guideline and one standard of judgement; who is the audience? Foreign (imperialist) oriented or Kenyan (patriotic) oriented? Who are the main enemies of the Kenyan people? Who are their friends? Where is the dividing line? How do we unite the allies in order to isolate and attack the enemy?

We all agreed that we must lay no claim to being "objective" without purpose. We are partisan. We are shamelessly biased towards the Kenyan people according to above guidelines. Our learned "teachers" will accuse us of "academic infidelity". We have already accused some of them of treason.

We have chosen only some sections of learning. Many other areas remain. This is just an example of what we should be doing. These other areas and individuals should be researched and similary exposed. This is not a private document with "rights reserved". Use it, copy it, enlarge on it as long as your aim is clear - to defend Kenyans, to unite them, to expose their enemies, to learn from facts in order to find truth, use truth to help advance the people's cause, to oppose imperialist propaganda disguised as education, to make every single classroom a forum (a mini-Kamukunji) for trying these anti-Kenyan, untouchable academic barons.

INTRODUCTION

The entire world is in a state of great turmoil. Everywhere one looks on the globe and sees eruptions of mass discontent and social upheaval as people violently fight old corrupt and oppressive social orders. In the main these eruptions, rebellions and revolutions are most intense here in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America -- the ex-colonies. Enraged peoples have militantly risen up, taken up the
gun and set about to regain their national destiny, to reshape their history -- Vietnam, South Africa, Namibia, Palestine, Mozambique, Cambodia, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Zaire, Djibouti, Laos are examples. Their principal enemy is the imperialist superpowers, particularly the treacherous U.S. imperialists, who want to maintain their domination and therefore their superprofits.

Many lessons are to be learned from these glorious victories in the flames of armed national liberation struggles in Indochina and Southern Africa. The greatest lesson is that it is not the one or two imperialist superpowers aggressors armed to the teeth that matter. Rather it is a determined, united, politically aroused people -- no matter how small, no matter how poor! This is now a simple fact of modern history. This fact disturbs imperialists. Mortally scared U.S. imperialist messenger Henry Kissinger and friends Smith and Vorster frantically dash back and forth to try and buy time, protect their loot and install puppets in order to delay history. Unintimidated, Africans rise up even more fiercely from Umtali to Windhoek to Cape Town, from Pretoria to Soweto through to Salisbury and back again to Soweto -- an irresistible and inevitable historical trend.

It is in this light, in this context of historic revolutionary change that our own country, Kenya, must be seen.

Kenya is a neocolonial society. Our tremendous natural wealth, our vast labour might are all completely controlled by an alliance of foreign capitalist interests and their faithful local assistants (i.e. comprador bourgeoisie). This evil alliance is Kenya’s number ONE enemy. Up to a few years ago British imperialism was our principal enemy. Due to the rapid decline of British imperialism, U.S. imperialism has taken over control and even assigned war planes, warships "loans", fresh largescale student airlifts out and professors and spy airlifts in. All in a grand effort to ensure a permanent lease here. Our prostitute comprador class, anxious to get a little wealth out of it has jubilantly obliged and even gone out of its way to assist in the take over, and ensure a happy home-coming for the new imperialist grand master. "We recognize the need for protection by a strong democratic, friendly power...", they shamelessly proclaim. Protection from whom? we ask. "Communists are all around us, they want our land. The communist threat", the comprador controlled newspapers reply. Now the imperialist U.S., UK, West Germany, France, Japan rejoice. Their comprador agents are signing their songs and profits are high and rising -- Lonrho record 12 million pounds net profits, Shell, Esso, Inchape, E.A. Industries similarly.
Protection from whom? From angry Kenyans tired of landlessness when compradors grab all land, tired of rising prices and static wages, sick of corruption by big government and cabinet officials, tired of unemployment and lies about development and progress when all around blatant evidence abounds to show how we are sinking deeper and deeper in wretchedness.

"Stay calm; love each other; obey the law, the P.C., the D.C., and your chief; contribute everything to harambee projects; go to church daily; don't monger rumours (i.e. don't think); leave all politics to us (means shut-up); go back to the land (any land but our huge estates). The comprador repeat and repeat endlessly. In the end if people angrily rise up, if they speak up they are jailed by the comprador government on false charges, they are detained, they are killed or tortured brutally in Patrick Shaw's Torture Chamber. Police and GSU are unleashed and beat to blood entire village. Today Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret, Nairobi, Mombasa are police states -- martial law, state of emergency.

"This is democracy at its best wisest leadership in Africa. Aren't you happy you are not in Chad or Tanzania", scream the imperialist owned comprador newspapers.

"Only by your staying peaceful and submissive", the imperialist owned newspapers advise the Kenyans, "will foreign investors, foreign tourists, foreign experts bring us wealth and develop our country so we have pipelines brimming with oil, smooth roads to nowhere, shiny new skyscrapers filled with we big officials, new hotels, new churches and new exotic religions, this is progress. Foreign investors are welcome".

This is what we mean by neocolonialism in Kenya. This is the social reality on which this document is based and which forms the basis of reference. This is the point of departure for serious discussion of Kenyan society, especially discussion regarding answers to the following questions:

1. How did we get to this?
2. How shall we get out of it?

British colonialists in order to confuse Kenyans on the above questions designed a basically useless educational system. Their
curriculum sought (1) to isolate educated Kenyans from the rest of the "uncivilised" population and (2) to spread lies about our history, and our future in the form of higher education. After 1963 when the current comprador class took over they continued the same enemy teaching and called it education. Now the U.S. imperialists have helped them to design new modernized (i.e., servile to the American system) curriculum and provided "assistance" in forms of books, professors, dormitories, etc. Why? In order to create new diversions and sow confusion among Kenyans seeking answers to (1) How did we get to this and (2) How shall we get out of this? ?

Education is in the realm of ideas -- thought-control. It is an important aspect of a people's culture. An oppressed, occupied people cannot change their condition by using enemy ideas, enemy thought, enemy education, enemy culture. U.S. imperialists know this and have decided to mount a major onslaught or invasion the ideas front, i.e. on the cultural front. If they succeed, they think, if we are so confused, misdirected, cowed and depoliticised then they hope they won't have to use guns and bullets as in Vietnam to protect their profits and their faithful comprador assistants.

Nairobi in 1976 is Saigon in 1962, complete with local Ngo Diem, Cao Ky and Van Thieu puppets. That is how the U.S. imperialists have done.

Culture, of which education is an inseparable part, is a reflection of the economic and political order. It is dependent on the social order and in return influences the social order. THERE IS NO CULTURE OR EDUCATION INDEPENDENT OF THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN A COUNTRY. In neocolonial Kenya, oppressed and dominated economically, the dominant culture and education is equally neocolonial, dominated by U.S. imperialist culture but having its own comprador cultural agents.

The Universities in Kenya are direct entry-points of foreign imperialist culture and education -- History, Economics, Commerce, Sociology, Government, Arts, Literature, Educational Psychology, etc. Imperialist propaganda, lies, and distorted reality, all hidden in long words, false professionalism and bogus "international standards" are crammed into our minds as education.

In these oppressive circumstances what should all genuinely patriotic Kenyan intellectuals be doing?

The answer is clear. Rejecting. Rejecting in total imperialist culture and miseducation, leading to exposing the lies and falsehoods, fighting weapon for weapon relentlessly to oppose enemy ideas that keep our people and nation shackled to foreign parasites, REPRESENTING
CORRECTLY, MILITANTLY, UNCOMPROMISINGLY the objective political, economic, historic and social REALITIES; representing firmly our people's demands for complete democracy, complete national self-reliance, employment, higher wages, lower prices and rents, an end to imperialist exploitation and oppression. This is part of the role.

The other part of our role is to create a fighting culture in defence of our country, our future, our national wealth, our people. A new literature and art of the people. To sing praises of the national struggle of all Kenyan people against foreign domination and against comprador oppression. A new culture of won national forms cherished by the Kenyan people, with a view to promoting national self-respect and self-confidence, enhancing their fighting will and strengthening their conviction of sure victory. To persist against imperialist cultural aggression, to combat ideological infiltration and spiritual subversion, to carry out a long fight against servile, slavish neocolonial culture, which paralyzes the will of the people drains self-confidence and leaves them vulnerable. Finally to take all necessary steps to thoroughly eliminate the harmful influence already wrought.

Many people have dared and have stood firm. Much has been disseminated to expose and to urge on. We hail this and happily join hands. We especially hail the nine university students from Nyeri, Embu, Kirinyaga, Meru, Murang'a, Nyandarwa, Nakuru, Kiambu who as early as 1973 exposed GEMA as a homeguard clique of anti-Mau Mau, anti-Kenyan elements. And also MWANGUZI for showing in early 1975 the correct nature of KANU and GEMA as dangerous pro-imperialist organs.

However, we notice that indeed many intellectuals have accepted their imperialist assignments slavishly. Some have stood aloof, indifferent and sneering while many others have plunged right into defending, spreading, and apologizing for, imperialism. There are therefore TWO types of intellectual - patriotic, revolutionary anti-imperialist ones and the servile, pro-imperialist anti-Kenyan ones.

We direct most of this document against a few fairly typical representatives of the latter group. They are the foreign agents who have believed the imperialist message written on the baccalaureate degrees. This message reads:

Now dear native you are educated - very educated. You are at the zenith of achievement. Run fast and leave far behind you the dirt and the mud of the illiterate, the hunger, the disease of your rural unlettered kith.
Join the world that we shall allow you into: be comfortable, seek pleasure and fame, be content and never oppose us.

Demand from your rural kith the best of life and give nothing in return, instead demand yet more. Remember to insult them, they stink of sweat, mock their suffering, they look sickly and underfed. Deride them for their children then at the end demand that they worship you, that they respect you and that they seek your learned advice. Then confuse them, hound them, shout them down, impress and awe them, cow them and make sure they never so much as question your authority or your right to be on their backs or our right to be on all of you -- this is the natural order of things, this is human nature, willed by gods and sanctified in both the Bible and the Constitution that we kindly gave you and both of which are protected, along with us, by your wise government.

These anti-Kenyan intellectuals serve U.S. imperialism well. They are told and they repeat that they are the cream of their society. To carry their dairy metaphor further, the majority of Kenyans are therefore skimmed milk and when capitalism churns the cream a bit, out comes butter, that is the fat, greedily big bourgeois that rules with the imperialists. The majority Kenyans are to them MANURE to thrive on!

These anti-Kenyan, pro-imperialist intellectuals who arrogantly declare they must be maintained comfortably, paid highly and must do little or no useful work to benefit anyone are the cultural agents of imperialism -- our great enemies.

Now let us look at what these agents of imperialism write about us in Literature and History.

LITERATURE

Writing is an important aspect of a people's culture. Stories, poems, plays, essays can very effectively carry messages and redirect thought and hence action. Having defined Kenya's current social reality our point of departure in looking at Kenyan writing is: Who is the audience? This is a fundamental question. For who is a literary author writing? For what purpose is he writing? Whom does it serve?
During British occupation aspiring Kenyan writers were told to ape European literature. Their audience was European intellectuals. To be the "African James Joyce" was the ultimate recognition. Many rejected this and started portraying African situations, patriotic, anti-colonialism and nationalism and later after 1963 even opposed neocolonial subordination. This was one type of socially conscious, committed writer.

The other type was the opportunist, get-famous-quick type who found easy employment from foreign anti-African intrigues. For this type, writing was simply an abstraction, unconnected to reality and requiring complete disengagement from the majority of the people "in order to be objective". We have chosen three such authors: Taban Lo Liyong, Charles Mangua and David Mailu.

These three individuals represent fairly typically the two general forms of dangerous writing in our society:

(a) outright worship of imperialism and fascism by Taban Lo Liyong.

(b) despondency, sexual vulgarity, aimlessness, unquestioning, by Mangua and Mailu.

We shall look at them in that order.

**TABAN LO LIYONG**

Taban Lo Liyong is the literary version of Ali Mazrui, Gidson Mutiso, and William Ochieng'. He is one of those African intellectuals who bask in the sunshine of the applause they get in the West for consistently abusing themselves and the African people. But Taban, who since 1969 has vomited over ten volumes of literary exercises denigrating the liberation efforts of millions of African people has outstripped even the most enthusiastic defenders of imperialism by calling for the end of African people as a race. In his book, *The Last Word* (1969), he defines the hundred per cent African as the one who has in fact ceased to be African:

A racially and culturally mixed person is the universal man: all is in him: he identifies with all: he is kith and kin to all other Homo sapiens. This leads us to a super-Brazil. He will have slant eyes, kinky hair, Roman nose. Red Indian knight-errantry, democratic folly, dictatorial changeability, Maori tattoos, use English as a tool for rebuilding Babel tower. All these (and more) will make the hundred per cent African: the descendant of Zinjanthropus, the culturally and racially mixed man of the future.
Behind the verbiage is a race death wish, a call for race suicide.

He also has a deep hatred of his own father presumably because his father was not white or at the very least did not absorb imperialist white culture by going through Gulu High School, Sir Samuel Baker School, the National Teachers' College, Kampala, Harvard University (U.S.A.), Knoxville College and the University of Iowa. So, unlike his son Taban, the old man never read Homer, never appreciated Western abstract art, never listened to classical Western music and, of course, never made love to a white woman.

In the same book, The Last Word, this is how he greeted the news of his father's death:

The news of my father's death reached me in North Carolina. I had just finished the first session of summer school, subject: European systems of government and cultural anthropology (my minor was to be Sociology). When I enrolled for the second session, I took a graduate course in Shakespeare, taught by the Harvard-trained professor they have down there; and the first part of American Literature -- that intellectually richest period comprising the puritans, the metaphysicians, the transcendentalists and such figures as Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Hawthorne, Melville.

Hip hip hip! Hurray! Hurray! Hurray! Three cheers! For dad is dead. And with his death is removed that ruling against my studying art.

Thus the death of his peasant father who must have scratched the earth hard or sold his last remaining cows to pay fees for Taban can only bring cheers from our famous artist to be. What was this art apart from dabbling in paint?

English was thenceforth my major. Written English is an art. My long time aim was to go back to art.

Through all his utterances Taban has a pathetic Mazrui-like faith in the "civilising" capacity of European languages, hence, according to him, the need for upgrading local speech into English.

We are also the people to create new African English and African French. These will give us the facility we need for transmitting our cultures and wisdom.

Thus, for the sake of the freedom to study English Literature
Taban celebrates the death of his own father! What he was really celebrating was the death of his African parentage which must also have carried the symbolic death of the African world from which Taban so desperately longed to be freed.

In all his books (vomits because they are not even well written), the universe is divided into TWO:

There is the "civilised" developed Western world with its enviable technology and culture and music and literature and women. Then there is the "primitive" underdeveloped world of African peoples recently emerged from the dark ages (no doubt because of colonialism).

In 1969 he wrote:

Those ages were really dark -- that is a fact of history: it can't be denied. But we don't celebrate the skull-hunting days any more, just as Hawthorne would not like to see the witch-burning days at Salem glorified.

In 1971 recalling the image of his father also symbolizing pre-colonial Africa, he wrote:

My father's image is abroad
The skull-hunters are here.

This juxtaposition of his civilized imperialist West and the primitive peasant African world forms the philosophical base and framework of all Taban's abuses and utterances and sick solutions for Africa's problems and all parroted out of his racist and fascist Western intellectual mentors.

He never lets us forget how "highly developed" the imperialist countries are in everything. He does not of course ever stop to wonder which classes in the imperialist countries have pocketed the wealth generated by this development in science and technology. If he does, it obviously does not worry this famous artist of the English language. He does not stop to analyze how this wealth was obtained. It does not seem to worry him that this so-called development was a result of the exploitation, oppression and suppression of African, Asian and Latin American peoples. It does not seem to worry this artist that by the same token Africa which in 16th century was more highly developed than most parts of Europe (except in gunpowder) has remained poor because its human resources (slaves), its natural resources and the fruits of the labour of her people have all been going to enrich Europe and America and Japan. For our sage and artist there is no dialectical connection between the
wealth of imperialist Europe and America and the poverty of Africa. For him U.S.A and Europe and Japan are developed, no doubt because they have higher cultures and languages, and what Africa can do to develop is to sell herself even more firmly to U.S.A., West German, British, French and Japanese imperialisms. This is the advice he gives us in his book, 13 Offensives Against Our Enemies (1973): Enslave yourselves to imperialism and the imperialist, your masters, will help you to develop. Let us quote a few examples from the book:

1. Say you want to affect political changes in Southern Africa. We would choose a white party (Vorster's party) to groom. We would work hand in hand with that party...

2. Say again you want to affect changes in Angola and Mozambique. We would work hand in hand with Portuguese politicians in Portugal...

3. Say again Britain is being troublesome ... we should work through the ex-colonial servants. Capture the Labour government preferential treatment if they strangled Enoch Powell, if they will be good to Africans, Asians, West Indians...

Following in the footsteps of such spokesmen of colonialism as Elspeth Huxley, Robert Ruark, Blixen, Taban Lo Liyong can never see African people as being able to do any thing on their own, for themselves, despite the historical evidence of victorious African people's revolutionary struggles against slavery, against colonialism and even despite the glorious, triumphs of armed Africans in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, etc. It is Taban's boot-licking admiration for, and identification with U.S.A., West German, British, French and Japanese imperialisms that makes him advise Africans to yoke themselves even more firmly to western imperialism including zionist Israel. It is this identification with imperialism that makes him in his latest book, Ballads of Underdevelopment, praise white South Africa:

South Africa will be great
For the sake of contrast.

His admiration for imperialist robbery of Africa and of the Third World is only matched by his even more fervent admiration for and complete identification with the culture of imperialism.
When Taban was in U.S.A. as a student he used to write for C.I.A. publications like African Report. It was then in 1968 that he first published an article in which he abused other African students and called them culturally deprived because they did not seem as mesmerized by imperialist culture as Taban had been. He must have liked the article because in 1969 he reproduced it in his book, The Last Word, apparently to ensure that history records his love of U.S.A. bourgeoisie. He writes:

Africans are the most culturally deprived students in the United States. In the first place, they lack an active classical culture of their own. Then, political nationally inspired slogans... block their participation in other people's cultures. Opposition to things American and Western is another reason that keeps them from exposures to cultural activities in this country. Indifference or apathy or lack of curiosity, and plain laziness makes deprivation total.

He was horrified that they danced to Highlife and listened to Miriam Makeba and read Chinua Achebe and Cyprian Ekwensi instead of listening to Beethoven and Mozart and reading Homer and Sartre and attending lectures on Cybernetics. He goes on:

The African is only proud of his drums and heartbeats... (He) is never tired of the monotony of the Bongo drums, the Kwela whistles, the sweet voice of the Congolese vocalist Rossignol. So he keeps his mind functioning strictly by arithmetical progression. To elevate it to this geometrical level of functioning he never cares to do. Simplicity.

He called upon the African geniuses (the small elect like Taban himself) to lengthen their necks (giraffe-wise) and taste the fruits of the higher culture of western imperialism:

We also need higher things: things beyond the reach or experience of the vulgar and the average.

Obviously Highlife and Miriam Makeba and Chinua Achebe and Kwela music were things vulgar and average; for he asks rhetorically!

You, Sir, swaying to your Kwela music in your Harvard dormitory, are you better culturally than you brother in Kilembe mines?
Thus he ended his famous article by abusing oppressed African workers just as he had abused his peasant father. It is not for nothing then that Taban quotes European racist commentaries on Africa (see *The Last Word*) with approval. He has imbibed imperialist culture in total including imperialist racist distortion of African history and African precolonial, pre-capitalist feudal and communal cultures.

He hates Africa and African peoples. He writes:

"Most Africans have been and still are, as plebeian as Luther was, with well-marked distaste for what they did not have or what are above them (*The Last Word*).

His advice to the oppressed Afro-American nationality is thus for them to turn away from solidarity with "primitive Africa" where only the other day people were skull-hunting. He tells them to look up to European achievements for their cultural heritage. To him it does not seem to matter that Afro-Americans have been in that U.S. imperialist culture for more than 400 years without any improvement of their lot; that is was their labour, blood and sweat which built America; that for more than 400 years the African-American working class has been the most exploited and oppressed by the white American ruling class; now the progressive Afro-Americans are realising that the only way is for them to join hands with African, Asian and Latin American peoples and all other oppressed peoples in resolutely opposing U.S. imperialism and racism. He tells the Afro-Americans.

Rather than go to the Moorland (means Africa) go to Library, New York Library... to look for your African heritage... is it not more worthwhile for you to find out who your European foreparents were? There might be a family legacy somewhere for you or one the state took away on grounds of intestacy (*The Last Word*).

Here Taban comes across very well as one of those spokesmen of the African bourgeois intellectuals who have a permanent incurable wish for identification with bourgeois Europe. When Taban tells Afro-Americans to look for their European forefathers, he is serious, for that is exactly what he himself would have liked to have been -- a European child of feudal or bourgeois parentage pickled soft in imperialism.
Failing that biological link to bourgeois Europe, Taban tries
to become an European child through total uncritical absorption of
every aspect of imperialist culture and claim it for his heritage.
In the same book, he writes:

In the final analysis, after you have stripped the
African of his acquired Africanness, you are left with
an individual who ticks the way all other human
organisms the world over tick.

To this great artist-intellectual-cum-philosopher Africanness is an
acquired thing. Strip the African, divest him of his skin, and maybe
underneath you will find the UNIVERSAL MAN who of course is
European. That is why in the academic debate initiated and
gloriously led by Okot P' Bitek's Song of Lawino, Taban took
Ocol's and Clementine's sides. If you remember Ocol and Clementine
in the poem are the two characters who have taken imperialist
culture. Ocol is the one who asks: "Mother, Mother why was I born
Black?" And Clementine is the one who tries to rub out of her black
skin so that she can be a European lady. Ocol is the one who wants
to burn all the village poets, who wants to exterminate rural
peasant culture root and branch. Taban says about Ocol:

He (Ocol) says: 'Black people are primitive and their
ways are utterly harmful, their dances are mortal
sins, they are ignorant, poor, diseased'. Yes,
Ocol, Black people are primitive, their ways are
harmful, they are ignorant, poor and diseased.

Indeed Taban can never see the way out for Africa except through
African's acquisition of imperialist culture:

The African who would like to make his mark in
this world has to study the American music, the
English novel, the European Theatre or the
Japanese Noh theatre and their developments.
(The Last Word)

Africans too must give up their jungle talk and rule their countries
according to the ways the white bourgeoisie brought.

In his latest pronouncements under the title Ballads of
Underdevelopment, Taban compares Africa to the five blind men
who went to touch the Elephant to find out what it was. His
advice is for Africans to touch the Elephant of European imperialist
culture, learn from it, and therefore grow. He writes:
For this world we live in
We need native exploiters than disclaimers.
For this world we live in
We need native millionaires ...
For this world we live in
We need more Europeans than natives.
For this world we live in
We need more Jews than Arabs
For this world we live in
We need more knowledge than ignorance.

But we have seen that Taban equates knowledge with imperialism,
oppression and exploitation of Africans and the other peoples of the
Third World. We should copy imperialism and learn how to exploit
and oppress our people even more. He advises us:

The Germans grow by blood and iron.
The Japs bloom by trade and atom
The Americans masquerade by trade and
subversion... No sacrifice is therefore big enough.

In the same book he writes of his undying admiration of those that
grab without fear -- like the current greedy native exploiting
ruling class here in Kenya, for instance.

A common feature of Taban's writing is his identification of
the writer with a social dictator. In other words, he sees the role
of the writer as one of subjective dictatorship. He writes:

Isn't each writer an arbitrary maker, ordering or
reordering the world? Isn't each reader a
naturalised subject who submits to each author's
dictatorship?

This is not accidental. It reflects the kind of society, the kind of
social relationships he would like to see in real life. For Taban,
there is no coherence, no sense in this world. There are no laws
governing social development. Everything is arbitrary, accidental,
isolated. In *The Uniformed Man* (1971), this famous artist-cum-
intellectual, tells us that order and coherence, ended with Greeks
and Romans. Since then, we live in a world of fragments.
He writes:

Nature and culture are broken, art which
mirrors them can only correctly register broken
images.
So since the world is in chaos, the only people who can hold it together are neocolonial elites, exploiters and feudal dictators. Hence, Taban's fanatical salivating admiration for the Elites, the Select few, those "fated" to rule, the U.S., Japan, West Germany, and especially the fascists in these countries. This is scattered in all his writings, but summarised in so-called aphorism 320 in Ballads.

Dogs love those who beat and feed them.
Beating is recognition of their existence.

He identifies imperialism, racism, fascism, exploitation, oppression with manhood. In an attempt reminiscent of his kind, Eldridge Cleaver, who reduced oppression to vulgar sexuality. Again in Ballads of Underdevelopment, he pronounces:

Hear the ballad of those born to rule
The huge black rising Gods
They have huge manhood in their trousers,
And when their manhood rises
All other men's shrink up
In limpness of all
The hero's manhood dominates the scene.
For the will to power lies in the middle region.
Upstairs we have calculating machines
Downstairs we always have had
The force that drives the hammer
Egyptian Pharaohs measured manhood in pillars
The Empire state building made Americans go to the moon
Only those born to rule
Have manhood big and strong.

Not surprisingly Taban admires Nietsche, the German philosopher of Nazi fascism, and, of course, admires Hitler, Nixon and Amin. Every other line is full of Nietsche. He invokes Nietsche in every other paragraph. His own writing is moulded on that of Nietsche. In "aphorism" 416 this identity with Nazism becomes complete:

416 Last words (Two Versions) Nietsche: I attack only causes which are victorious -- and at times I wait until they are victorious. (1888) Taban: I attack only causes which are victorious -- and at times I wait till they are victorious. (1968)
A few pages later in the same book of Ballads, he writes:

If Hitler read Nietzsche, he understood him.

May be Taban is waiting for his Hitler. Or maybe Taban has found one in Amin who incidentally was placed in power by the very people Taban admires and worships: Golda Meir of Zionist Israel, the British government, and the French government with the blessing of U.S. imperialism. And no doubt Taban will find symbolic parallel in the fact that it was another Taban, Amin's son, who led in the massacre of hundreds of Makerere University students recently.

Taban's complete identification with imperialism, fascism, oppression, the Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the majority of humanity, the suppression of Africans and Afro-Americans comes in "aphorism" 495 of his Ballads.

"I wish I were a Ku Klux Klan".

The Ku Klux Klan is an American white fascist terrorist organisation responsible for lynchings and murder of thousands and thousands of Afro-Americans since 1865.

Taban's books of poems, stories, e.g., Fixions, Meditations in Limb., Frantz Fanon's Uneven Ribs, Another Nigger Dead, etc., emptied of their wise nothing but subjective mysticism, witticism and desperate efforts to appear original through obscurity and sheer bad writing.

But his writings are dangerous because they are peddled in our bookshops, libraries and classrooms. Again Taban is no exception: he is the spokesman of that class in Kenya and Africa that identifies with imperialism. We as students must oppose imperialism in the classroom and in our university curricula. It does not matter if imperialism and imperialist culture are being sold to us by European neocolonialist writers or by African paid intellectual agents. It is all the same cultural imperialism. University Departments and Teachers and publishers who peddle Taban should explain to us whose agents they themselves are. We must ask them: "On whose side are you?" On the side of majority Kenyans or on the side of their enemy-imperialism?" To teach us Taban Lo Liyong and his like without exposing his imperialist connections which started when he was an undergraduate in U.S.A, is to support imperialism in Kenya as whole. Taban and writers like him are enemies of Kenyans and African people in general and of all oppressed peoples of the world.
Charles Mangua in 1971 and 1972 published *Son of Woman* and *A Tail in the Mouth*. The late 1960's and early 1970's were momentous years in the world's history. Internationally the U.S. aggressor in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos was losing every battle, her Portuguese allies in NATO were also suffering defeat after defeat in Africa. The capitalist economies were showing the first sings of a disease afflicting them up to this date -- thus in 1967 the British pound was devalued by 15 per cent, later U.S. dollar was also devalued. Internally all the imperialist countries especially the U.S., were faced with massive popular anger against racism, foreign aggression, inflation and unemployment. In Kenya being directly connected with U.S. and British economies, the compradors started intriguing to keep people down -- oaths, fake tripartite agreements, assassinations and the formation of GEMA as a grouping of the ruling class, pro-imperialist and anti-Kenyan elements from all sections of Kenya led by the old anti-Mau Mau, settler assistants of the Central Province. Everywhere Kenyans were asking: What went wrong, after almost ten years of Uhuru why are we galloping backwards in every sector of our society? University students were holding demonstrations, workers were striking, etc.

Mangua trying to ignore all this and obviously waiting to make money and fame out of it, came out preaching "you can do nothing -- drink, make more love, steal, kill, laugh at yourself, hate yourself and all the suffering people, be aimless but do not question. His language and writing style reflect the source of his training -- a mumbo-jumbo of U.S. ghetto jive, British cockney, Australian out-back, South African Boer talk, Cowboy and hippy slang all spouting incongruously out of his characters who unbelievably are largely Kenyans in various Kenyan towns. Sound tough, care never -- that is life for Mangua in both books.

Basically Mangua deals with the dispossessed Kenyans whose lives have been disrupted first by the British colonialism and aggression in the fifties and by the U.S. take-over in the late sixties. Their lives are described as aimless, self-destructive and anti-social. It is on this detailed cataloguing of suffering that Mangua and his publishers base their literary justification that "(this) prize winning novel is one of the finest and most entertaining pieces of writing about contemporary Africa yet published, a humorous but yet profoundly disturbing commentary on the seamy side of rapid social change".
The two main characters in these books are Dodge (Dod) Kiunyu and Samson Moira. They are essentially identical in their role in Kenyan society despite such details as the former being a Makerere graduate, orphaned son of a prostitute in colonial Nairobi while the latter is a rural Catholic trainee priest drop-out, who settles into a shady city existence. The time period for both books spans the socially tumultuous decades of the forties, fifties, sixties and early seventies.

At no time is it clear what forces are at work in society. We quote the less vulgar passages to show Mangua's general stance and approach:

In my dingy office the most intelligent companions were evil-smelling, cheating bums bothering me for jobs.

I started feeling sorry for myself, I was really sorry for poor me... I hated myself... there was something wrong with me...

I started to hit the bottle... I mean hit the bottle. No half measures. I simply drank myself silly.

I spat on the floor and walked out. That's me I simply can't stand women hissing at me. Women should not hiss at all. I wouldn't be bothered if they spent their whole goddam life hissing at each other -- but at me! Oh No... That is why I spat.

My shoes are number ten... I notice with disgust the red familiar dust on them as I walk towards Eastleigh. They are dusty, my shoes. I can't afford shoe polish and the shoe-shine boys wouldn't lend me their brush.

... wet pus is making the inside (of the shoe) slippery. God! I hate myself at times. I hate pus. Ruins my appetite, it does ... I am all confused.

That's me. Plain broke. Broke as a dry twig. Broke as hell. Not a thing. Nothing. Damn it. And I am a graduate. That is what I am, a graduate... That is how helpful education is. Very helpful. Gosh! I am hungry.
My name is Dodge... and I like your tits.

I started dressing smart and what have you. I did not behave like a goddam taxi driver. I behave like a gentleman in her presence.

... Trouble is that I can't help lying sometimes. One thing led to another. Movies, game parks, picnics, night-clubs and all expensive things that a man resorts to when he is trying to impress a woman.

One day we went to the Swiss Grill... there was dancing and drinking and lots of girls. Three of them were French whores. George told me that they were easy. You got them drinking and dancing and the rest followed...

And on and on and on purposeless obscenity, self pity, alcoholism, social disorder. Imperialist laud this trash as literary realism.

Had Mangua simply stopped there we would have dismissed him as simply capitalising on the government's "Africanisation scheme of removing one top foreigner and replacing him with an African with a similar outlook. In this Mangua was the local pornographic back in a "Buy Kenyan" obscenity campaign.

But no. Mangua went on to denounce and abuse our heroes the anti-colonial Mau Mau guerilla fighters and the peasant based Mau Mau movement of the fifties.

I hated the Mau Mau all along. They are a murderous lot. They are terrible. They hate the Church. I have a lot of confidence in the (colonial) government...

We had one thing in common though. We hated the Mau Mau. The village is guarded day and night but terrorists still manage to get in.

Describing a guerrilla fighter Mangua says:

His ears are hidden behind a mass of knotted hair that is the same black-brown colour as his beard. It makes him look as if he were trying to imitate a gorilla... and he smells like an oiled goat skin. It is written all over him.
Imperialists say that a writer should be free to write what his genius tells him. They separate the motive of writing from the effect. We reject this. When Mangua insults oppressed Kenyans then insults their defenders, the fighters, he is IN EFFECT, no matter what the motive, declaring his enmity to us. Our concern is effect, we cannot ignore political and social effect. Mangua's literary trash has direct objective effect of prolonging the life of imperialism in Kenya.

DAVID G. MAILLU

David Maillu started writing in the late 1960's. Now he has his own publishing house -- Comb Books Publishing Press. This has enabled this writer to produce many books and get wealthy within a very short time: among his books are such notorious works as My Dear Bottle; After 4.30: Unfit for Human Consumption and the recent No! Maillu in all his works attacks the Kenyans, he uses vulgar language against them and discourages them from struggling for their liberation. He generally portrays people as helpless, incapable of liberating ourselves and advocates that we should maintain the status quo and let things go. He writes:

There are no more great thinkers left to show the people the way, all is in chaos. Then I would say let us all share this chaos and bitterness.

Here Maillu advocates that those masses of the people who have the bitterness of the whole unjust system stick to it and those who delight in the chaos (the thieving, smuggling) should be left to enjoy this privilege.

Maillu using his vulgar language attacks women more particularly Kenyan African women and portrays them as mere men's tools who cannot serve any useful purpose in this society other than satisfying men's sexual lust. He portrays African women as "Sex Maniacs" whose desire for sex is uncontrollable.

Maillu further attacks and abuses the African men as devils. He says:

Lili, this is Africa. If you invite devils to your home, you must give them what they eat.

This pornography writer portrays the whole African people as being savage and unsympathetic:
But some men laughed, not the usual laughter, but the African laughter which may even come when looking at a dead body.

This "great" writer is not concerned with the problems that our people are facing, and the causes of such problems. He simply shys away from addressing his mind to the root causes of these problems and he simply declares:

The sins are not yours.

Maillu does not go forward to tell us who is responsible for the suffering of the masses. He only goes further to justify the status quo by declaring:

You know when you are rich, you want all the good things to come to you. This is human course.

In *After 4.30*, Maillu sees the suffering of women as engendered by men. He attributes the suffering of the women to male domination and goes further to advocate that if the men were to be fair then everything would be alright for women. This is obviously wrong. It shows lack of elementary understanding of the cause of the problem. Maillu tells us that it is human to need more when you are rich. This, of course, is the basis of bourgeois exploitation of the world peoples. It amounts to the same thing as telling the people to be submissive and not to struggle for their rights, lest they upset the order of God as predestined!

Recently Tanzania banned Maillu's trash. When a local newspaper sought Maillu's reaction over the bannings, all that he had to say was that he realized that Tanzania has a different social system and that is the reason why his books had been banned there. This shows us two things about this "great" author: (1) that Maillu is writing for a definite class in a rotten political system, that he is representing the Kenyan bourgeoisie and imperialists and that (2) Maillu realises the destructive role he is playing in our society.

And for these reasons it would be dangerous for our people and the progressive peoples of the world not to attack this writer's works.

In conclusion about these two writers (Mangua/Maillu) we must say that what causes the misery narrated in these books is not matter of cheap laughter and jokes but of national destiny.

Mangua and Maillu want us to laugh at the violence, the
WHAT IS THE ROOT CAUSE OF ALL THIS, and WHAT IS THE SOLUTION?

According to these two anti-Kenyan writers the many victims of oppression are themselves to blame for their condition. They are helpless to change their lives for the better -- individually or collectively as they are innately incapable of serious, dedicated collective struggle. All they can do is chase round in circles like a cat after its tail as Mangua eloquently concludes in Tail in the Mouth.

Who are these miserable people? These are 90-95 per cent of our people. We cannot afford to laugh.

HISTORY

For an oppressed people determined to liberate themselves, the study of the correct history of their society is of primary importance to their struggle. Incorrect, distorted history is one trick used by oppressors to prolong a people's suffering. What has the recent role of Kenyan historians been?

We have chosen to examine the work of three university historians -- William Robert Ochieng', Atieno-Odhiambó and Godfrey Muriuki.

WILLIAM ROBERT OCHIENG'

Our investigations have revealed this man to be an ambitious academic who cares little where his ideas come from or what damage they do to this country's future as long as they serve to disunite Kenyans, confuse issues, apologize for colonisers and all other foreign devils, and in the process ensure his career security by publishing many, many worthless little books. Ochieng's road to the intellectual camp of colonialism and imperialism has been short and straight. He started his academic career as a relatively pro-African liberal intellectual apparently recognising the need for some revolutionary changes in our country. He provided liberal, un-workable solutions to the questions which were raised by the social reality of these revolutionary changes. As neo-colonialism deepened its hold on Kenya in the late 1960's Ochieng' moved on
to an openly opportunist platform and had by 1975 become a well finished agent of the full scale U.S. imperialist offensive in Kenya. Of his many publications we shall largely deal with two: The First Word (1975) and Eastern Kenya and Its Invaders (1975) in which his political character is typically portrayed.

The First Word:

This is Ochieng's most comprehensive statement of his political stand. In it he gives his unqualified support to the phenomenon of tribalism and describes its evil practice as:

a healthy psycho-cultural (sic) aspect of our people.

Instead of seeing how tribalism is used by our enemies to divide and disunite us he approves of it as "a very healthy trend" in our country today.

On the issue of nationalism, Ochieng' has given his name to a very anti-African trend by denying that any genuine attempt had ever been made by the Kenyan masses to resist imperialist settlement in our country. Mau Mau, a valiant peasant uprising against British imperialism in the 1950's which was betrayed by the Kenyan petty-bourgeoisie, is reduced by Ochieng' to a mere Kikuyu chauvinist affair. Since, according to him, other nationalities did not fully participate in that phase of Kenya's nationalist struggle, Ochieng' denies the movement its nationalist character. Again because of the predominant Kikuyu participation and leadership in KAU, this wise historian denies it a nationalist character. On KAU, Ochieng' argues,

It is... important to correctly evaluate KAU as primarily a Kikuyu political Union, since only among the Kikuyu did the requisites of leadership and social communication exist to the extent needed to support a mass movement... in fact they (Kikuyu) were more concerned with the defence of their land than with wider nationalist issues.

According to Ochieng', KAU's non-Kikuyu members such as Ochieng Oneko, Oginga Odinga, Tom Mbotela, Ngei, Kali and Khamisi were Kikuyu puppets!. We feel that it is only a shallow pro-imperialist historian who would describe the Mau Mau guerrillas as "terrorists" and KAU as a "Kikuyu chauvinist Organisation".

In an essay copying the style of Dr. Rev. Martin Luther King, Toward African Revolution, Ochieng' pretends to see the need for
revolutionary changes in Africa. But goes on to say that revolutionaries who should affect these changes "are as rare as green-eyed Chinese". But even if we had "a few committed African revolutionaries", Ochieng¹ would still doubt their revolutionary intentions. First they must obtain Ochieng's clearance because he is not sure whether such revolutionaries would be "committed to the welfare of the individual". This is the reasoning U.S. bourgeois professors use to oppose Third World liberation struggles. For Ochieng¹ a genuine revolution must involve "spiritual love" and change "human values". Love in a class love and not a love transcending classes -- that is abstract love. What Ochieng¹ calls "human values" is in essence nothing more than the illusionary, selfish values which are upheld by imperialists and their comprador agents.

Ochieng¹ attacks, without specifying all "those African revolutionaries who have been brainwashed by leftist Communist ideas". Their revolution scares Ochieng¹ for it would lead to Communism like the one practiced "in Communist China (which) has often reduced men to mere cogs in the wheel of the state". This argument reveals Ochieng¹ as standing on the side of the enemies of the African people and the entire oppressed masses of the world in general.

It is true that if we as Kenyans want to grasp the process of the African Revolution and have a deep understanding of the class forces involved, we should have a certain amount of knowledge of the international situation and the conditions in the imperialist countries which are contending for the control of our country. To study the African revolution in isolation and to overlook class struggle as the key link, like Ochieng¹ is to assist Kenya's enemies -- the imperialists.

Ochieng¹'s pro-imperialist world outlook does not allow him to understand the dialectical connection between Public and Self. He fails to see that Communism does not refute the existence of the self. All it does, and Ochieng masks this, is to make it possible for people to subordinate their personal interest to the public interest, consequently to bring the collective and the self into harmony. To conceal his true colours Ochieng¹ tries to make a tactical concession by pointing at some obvious defects in capitalism so that he might appear as the neutral objective, know-it-all academic. Phony neutrality (actually spineless opportunism), as has been proved time and again, is the most outstanding characteristic of neocolonial intellectuals like Ochieng¹.

Ochieng¹'s analysis of the historical role played by Kenyan
colonial Chiefs also lays open his political stance regarding major historical events of our country. He insists that:

throughout the colonial period, especially up to the beginning of the second world war, African colonial Chiefs led the way in radicalism -- call it progressivism if you like.

Clearly Ochieng' wishes to cover up the collaborationist role of most Kenyan colonial Chiefs. A modern Kenyan collaborator shamelessly defending his predecessors?

Thus Ochieng' claims that a well-known traitor like chief Karuri Gakure was a nationalist! Yet it has been proved again and again that Karuri, because of his traitorous acts against our people was handsomely rewarded and was eventually made a paramount chief in Murang'a. John Boyes, an imperialist chieftain and one who was responsible for killing thousands and thousands of our people in Murang'a and Nyeri, has this to say about Karuri:

As time went on Karuri was to become my friend and right-hand collaborator, while I, in turn was to raise him to the position of a great chief and myself to supreme power in the country -- a virtual king of the Kikuyus.

And Ochieng' considers Karuri a "radical nationalist!"

It was Karuri who encouraged British imperialism to settle in Murang'a, it was Karuri who led the colonial forces in an attempt to subdue our people's resistance against British imperialism in Central Province. In short, what we are trying to say is that such Kenyan colonial chiefs as Mumias, Mwendwa of Kitu, Masaku, Wambugu Mathangani, Lenana, Nderi, Wang'ombe, Musa Nyandusi, Kinyanjui, Gathirimu, Wangu, Waruhiu, Njiiiri, Magugu, Muhoya, etc., were colonial collaborators and outright traitors. All of them played key roles in the colonial government's efforts to subdue our people's resistance against foreign domination.

Like the present comprador class in our country today, the aims of these chiefs were mainly selfish and greedy at the expense of our people. A.W. McGregor, a white liberal missionary, states:

The chiefs had all the power, wherever they went, they commandeered; whatever they fancied -- food, livestock or women. They went to the extent of.
killing people and if anyone protested, their village would suffer.

Again:

The chiefs enriched themselves by taking other people's wives and property by force.

The individuals were not radical nationalists as Ochieng' would have us believe. They were anti-Kenyan colonial mercenaries in the real sense of the word.

In chapter one of the book, Ochieng' dishes out another argument that imperialism and capitalism were not the root causes of Africa's underdevelopment. He quotes racist historians like Trevor-Roper to support his arguments. Ridiculous arguments such as these can only be put up by Henry Kissinger, John Vorster or Ian Smith. Ochieng' joins them in spirit and in deed.

At any rate, studying world history, we should know that as a result of western invasion after the second half of the 16th century, vast areas of Africa were reduced to colonies or semi-colonies and subjected to ruthless exploitation and enslavement by imperialism. The vicious slave trade and various forms of cruel plunder and killing by western imperialists changed Africa from a land of wealth, beauty and progress to a "dark" continent. Four centuries of plunder by imperialists reduced the African population by 100 million, crushed our civilisation and destroyed our culture and technology.

Eastern Kenya And Its Invaders:

This booklet is Ochieng's effort at what colonial historians call "ethnographic history". Ethnography is the European study of "primitive native" customs. Ochieng', under the pretext of writing Eastern Kenyan history, copies the works of early racist European anthropologists and adventurers. He therefore approves of the racist ideas of these anti-Africans.

Of the five chapters in this most unoriginal work the first four contribute nothing new to what has already been written by such racist authors as Coupland, Ingharm, Reusch, Hatch, M.W.H. Beech, H.E. Lambert, J.F. Munro, G. Matthews, Freeman-Grenville and Liberal ones like Basil Davidson, R.H. Oliver, etc. Ochieng's job was to collect and compile from them and stick on a likely title and his own learned name.
First the book is based on European stereotyped interpretation of African history. Ochieng' accepts such European racist labels as "bantu", "nilotic", "bushmen", "pygmy", "man-eating Ethiopians", "negroland", "wazimba cannibalists", etc. It does not bother this learned scholar that what has been written by the European bourgeois historians on us is pure racist dogma, in both content and form. His aim seems to provide "African" evidence to back these insults especially this "wazimba cannibalist" myth, contrived by colonisers last century and passed on as academic studies. On page 51 Ochieng' writes:

"Meanwhile a peculiar situation had risen at Mombasa owing to the arrival of a horde of savages called the Wazimba. The Wazimba were a black races of cannibals who had come from the interior of Africa...in 1587 they had captured Kilwa and after destroying the town, had eaten most of their prisoners.

Ochieng' has shamelessly copied this passage, word for word, from Reginald Coupland, a British racist historian.

Ochieng's book shows clearly that it is influenced by colonial European writings. The book is full of supportive quotations from such enemies of Africa as Cecil Rhodes. Of all people Cecil Rhodes!

On the question of the Indian Ocean slave trade Ochieng' distorts the real conflict of economic interests, especially as concerns African slave-sellers. First it is clear to all but our wise scholar that European and Asian traders were the major undertakers in this evil business. Africans were the victims. A few Africans (a very few traitors) undertook forwarding and hunting duties for minor payment. Politically these were the forefathers of the present sell-out compradors. But to Ochieng' these were the major force. He brands all the Wakamba and Waswahili people as slave-hunters and, by so doing shallowly dismisses important distinctions and creates divisions among Kenyans. Ochieng' cannot hide the great historical importance of the slave trade in Africa. This major event brought Africa into conflict with foreign, especially western imperialist plundering and unleashed the still continuing class struggle between imperialism and its local running dogs on the one hand, and the majority of Africans on the other.

On page 83 he writes:
The final stage in the slavery and anti-slave trade campaign came in 1897 when a decree was passed entirely abolishing the legal status of slavery in (East Africa)... Kenya was thus saved from the worst effects of the slave trade by Britain. Instead of being marched abroad to be enslaved, the British now enslaved Kenyans in their country. It was at least better to be enslaved at home, among one's people than abroad in a foreign and hostile environment.

Sounds like Livingstone, Stanley, or Krapf writing to the colonial office in London! Only a true imperialist historian would gloss over the question of slavery by favourably contrasting it to colonial occupation. Neither colonialism nor slave abolition was humanitarian. The basis of slave abolition was economic not humanitarian. The British bourgeoisie argued that the rich Eastern region of Africa offered far greater economic opportunities than man-stealing. Ochieng's "better enslavement at home" does not seem to include the annihilation and displacement of entire population and the stealing of land. Extended further, this piece of Ochieng's apologia clears Hitlerite Vorster of much wrong doing since he does it all to Africans among their own.

One might say that Ochieng' has a right to produce such claptrap of academic excreta. But we students and others should not be forced to study it as worthy knowledge thus poisoning inquisitive minds and derailing our patriotic consciousness.

In our opinion the most insidious crime to Kenya's history and people is his distortion of the true political nature of GEMA. Naively and shallowly this "great" scholar refers to the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru people as "the GEMA people of Mt. Kenya". This shows the pettiness, the chauvinist-tribalist interpretation of our history. It has been shown and proved especially since J.M. Kariuki's assassination, the GEMA, is NOT a tribal organisation in the lines of Luo Union, New Akamba Union, Abaluhya Union and the like. GEMA (as the nine gallant students of the University of Nairobi referred to in the introduction showed us as early as 1973) is an alliance of the richest, the most reactionary wing of the Kenyan comprador bourgeoisie. Their history is one of settler-loving, homeguarding, etc. Most important they are not Kikuyu, Embu and Meru elements only but included too are such other ruling class elements from other ethnic groups as Okiki Amayo, Nyamweya, Matano, Munoko, Ngei, Towett, Cheluget, etc. GEMA is the inter-tribal executive wing of
the minority ruling party KANU and wants to use the Mau Mau heroism of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru peasants to give legitimacy to its comprador activities. Is this too scientific for our great scholar to perceive or is this too scary for him to contemplate?

Three other books by Ochieng' deserve mention: A Pre-colonial History of the Gusii of Western Kenya A.D. 1500-1914; An outline History of Nyanza up to 1914 and History of Rift Valley.

Although these have the same subjectivist, stereotyped interpretations they are "important" because of another important theme in Ochieng's outlook. He consistently views African people as drifting overland as if they are phantoms in a dream - aimlessly, unexplained, they keep moving: now migrating south, now suddenly north then back south but a bit to the west, etc., endlessly, page after page, no depth, no substance just trivial travelogues of whole populations. People never, never just move. There are always economic explanations in one form or another. Bad weather, deteriorating pastures therefore declining food and welfare. Perhaps exploitation or threat of war which may lead to poorer economic welfare for the conquered and better welfare for the conquerors. For Ochieng', people move like ghosts.

In Nyanza Up to 1914, Ochieng' goes out of his way to provide a redundant postscript to Ogot's A History of the Southern Luo. In Rift Valley, he again refuses to acknowledge the traitorous role played by chief Lenana. Instead he praises him as a nationalist. His analysis of the conflict between the Nandi and British imperialism is very one-sided, on the British side. Everybody knows that the Nandi under Koitalel and Samoei fought the British very fiercely. A.T. Matson's Nandi Resistance to British Rule honestly represents this;

Honourable Dr. William Robert Ochieng' whom are you serving?

ATIENO-ODHIAMBO

On the surface Atieno-Odhiambo seems to disagree but on examination actually agrees with Ochieng' on major issues about Kenya's history. He differs essentially only in his use of Marxism to cover his anti-Marxist theories and analyses -- whereas Ochieng' openly attacks Marxism and scientific socialism, Atieno-Othiambo uses it to cleverly oppose it. We have called him a shrewd twister of Marxism for being opportunist and tricky.
Atieno-Odhiambo talks eloquently about the "need for a coherent ideology" that will recapitulate an intelligent national programme for development. Not having specified to whom such ideology and programme should be directed or by whom it should be executed, he casually leaves the stage open for foreigners or the local selfish ruling class to run it and benefit from it. He might protest 'but I have all along implied that the oppressed Kenyans should benefit'. What kind of Marxism is this, so tame and impotent that it does not bodily state but merely satisfies itself with meek implications? Our understanding of Marxism is that it is merely a guide to action based on living and real social conditions and not a dead pile of dogma. Dogmatists like Atieno-Odhiambo fail to see that neocolonial Kenya today has a political and economic and cultural framework based on a most "coherent ideology that recapitulates intelligent national programme for development" of Kenya compradors and foreign imperialists. For a true Marxist the fundamental question is "for whom and by whom?"

Only pseudo-Marxists would fabricate such Freudean garbage as Atieno-Odhiambo's theory of "peasant inferiority complex". He uses this theory to explain the alleged historical decline of this vast class. Psychiatrist "Marxist" Atieno-Odhiambo diagnosed this mass psychopathology recently and announced in his book that about the year 1922 this usual epidemic killed the Kenyan peasantry! If there are any peasants today, one might conclude they are chronically sick at Mathare hospital, their death 54 years overdue! And then strangely he asserts that the peasant class (even in rudimentary form) DID NOT EXIST ANYWHERE IN KENYA BEFORE 1888. The wretched class was hatched in 1888 and died prematurely of a serious psychological malady in 1922 after a life of 34 years! This is the "Marxist" history of a University professor. How was the peasantry suddenly formed? Atieno-Odhiambo tells us:

"The creation (sic) of an African (Kenyan) peasantry was primarily the result of the interaction between an international capitalist settler economic system and the traditional socio-economic systems".

Profound! After this incorrect statement Atieno-Odhiambo deliberately omits any analysis of what he calls "traditional socio-economic systems". Who does not know that Kenyan nationalities towards the end of 19th century were developing feudalist tendencies. He, moreover, demonstrate a serious ignorance when he makes the existence of peasantry as a class dependent upon the parallel (or
simultaneous) presence of a working class. This is dogma borrowed from the Harvard/Cambridge type of pseudo-Marxist, anti-communist professors!

In short Atieno-Odhiambo denies the existence today of the class that is numerically the most powerful in Kenya and mistakes its historically-conditioned backwardness for inherent weakness, non-existence or even sickness.

We stated above that Ochieng's major crime is his glossing over of the nature and role of GEMA. Atieno Odhiambo avoids this question altogether. That is perhaps better than sowing confusion. He however out-does Ochieng in denouncing and insulting without exception all historical incidences of Kenyan people's resistance to colonialism and neocolonialism. According to Atieno-Odhiambo, "Everybody was collaborator" with imperialism. Everybody? Everybody! In his book, Paradox of Collaboration, one sees in one evil collaborationist basket such patriots as Kimathi, Pinto, Oneko, Samoei, etc., rubbing shoulders with such boot-licking sellout scum as Karuri, Lenana, Rawson Macharia, Mahihu, Chief Magugu, Chief Njiiri, Chief Nderi, etc., all of them collaborators with foreign interests. One must quickly conclude that Atieno-Odhiambo is describing his own paradoxical role as a "Marxist" collaborator. Kenyans have a shining revolutionary history. True Kenyans intellectuals would attempt to analyse the past, to illuminate the future, to differentiate the good from the bad in order to enrich and heighten people's revolutionary awareness. What manner of Marxism is this professed by this great "Marxist" scholar if not mere anti-Kenyan, imperialist trash.

From specific cases of sell-out politics of particular comprador elements in colonial Kenya, Atieno-Odhiambo makes a general law applying to all African people. It is on the basis of this anti-Kenyan line that he revealingly dismisses "the pursuit of the origins of mass nationalism (as) an irrelevant pursuit for historians of Kenya". Here is a "Marxist" who believes that people, on their own just rise spontaneously and subsequently affect revolutions without any vanguard or organisational basis. It is not unmarxist that such a vanguard may come from one nationality or more. If nationalism does not address itself to the problems affecting the people concerned, what kind of political content will it have?

On the whole Atieno-Odhiambo is a dangerous pen-wielding academic who is paid handsomely to smuggle pro-imperialist ideas into the Kenyan university classrooms and elsewhere. True Kenyans
must, therefore, take an antagonistic position against him. He must be exposed and opposed as an intellectual puppet of the imperialists.

GODFREY MURIUKI

One important difference between Muriuki and the intellectual twins above is that he at times seems to attempt to abandon imperialist-based "academic objectivity" and occasionally sides with Kenyans. Of course like them he lacks the requisite uncompromising, pro-Kenyan, anti-imperialist world outlook so that he will accusingly refer to such things as Kenyans committing "grisly massacres" in their self-defence against European penetration.

His book, A History of the Kikuyu (1974), is the latest in a series fathered by Ogot's Southern Luo attempt. He, like his predecessors, delights in recording a chronology of events. Lacking in the living core of "why societies change" such chronologies are dead and pointless. The first five chapters add nothing new as, for example, the Kikuyu-Gumba-Athi relationship tells us nothing we did not know before. The last two chapters show Muriuki's failure to grasp the Kenya-wide impact of British colonialism and post 1963 neocolonialism as well as the worldwide conflict of which Kenya is a part. In a departure from Ochieng'/Atieno-Odhambo theories, Muriuki bravely shows the anti-nationalist traitorous nature of most colonial chiefs. But again fails to see the connection between the British colonial policies and the gradual development and differentiation of the current comprador ruling class. Again like Ochieng' and Atieno-Odhambo, Muriuki does not see that colonial collaborator chiefs like Karuri, Wang'ombe, Mwendwa, Mumias, Kinyanjui, Masaku, etc., were the political forefathers of today's Kenyatta, Ngei, Moi, Koinange, Towett, Omamo, Angaine, Karume, Matano, Matiba, Oloitipitip, Mahihu, etc. He sees chiefs as individuals doing bad things to Africans, not in their class context. As if the current anti-Kenyan, pro-imperialist comprador ruling class emerged overnight, Muriuki having failed to it give historical underpinnings, whispers:

Even today, it is discernible that some of the early chiefly families are some of the largest land-owners.

Just early families owning much land and presumably recent families owning none. "Objectivity" has led him to these glib bland, tame pronouncements on current Kenya lest he be accused of being an agitator, a non-academic or a communist!
For Muriuki, dealing as he seems to with the Central Province and its neighbours, the question of GEMA should have been thoroughly discussed. The excuse that his research was done before GEMA was set-up is not enough since publication gave him the chance to add or revise. Is it true that GEMA, as their lie goes is a Kikuyu, Embu, Meru welfare (social) non-political organisation or is this the disguise, the cover under which it masquerades? Who are the leaders? Were they not the very home-guards and anti-Kenyans like Kihika Kimani, Karume, Peter Muigai, Mahihu, etc? Are the other non-Kikuyu, Embu, Meru compradors (i.e., Omamo, Ngei, Amayo, Paul Mboya, etc.), not GEMA in essence, in objective political effect?

Perhaps Muriuki feels that this particular book is not the place for this critical issue, but he should know that this important issue will not go away simply because he has cowardly shied away. The book keeps completely silent on the question of exploitation and oppression of our people. His silence on this issue in our country's history today would only mean that he is indifferent to the forces of reaction against the great masses of Kenyans. Dead history, dead facts are of little benefit for us. Muriuki and his honourable colleagues refuse to face up to the living reality to today's Kenyan society and their implication to future history.

FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS

In the future other subjects, other academic departments in the Universities and other individual academics will need intensive investigations. For example Ali Mazrui, a renowned apologist for imperialism, must be thoroughly exposed. Mazrui is a descendant of the notorious Mazrui family in the Kenyan coast who made much wealth and large estate from slave trade. Their large estate was protected by an Act of Parliament, enacted in 1931 and revised in 1962 and still active. (The Mazrui Lands Trust Act -- cap. 289). He has already been well described as "an ideologist of the ruling class in Africa". He has achieved notoriety internationally by his use of bombastic oratory and false eloquence to explain away Africans' oppression by imperialism and capitalism. In this he has outdone most neocolonial Third World intellectuals. In reviewing Colin Leys fairly objective book, Underdevelopment in Kenya - The Political Economy of Neo-colonialism 1964-71, Mazrui attacked Leys of "symptoms of Kenya-phobia and sheer prejudice against Kenya" (see Transition, 46). Mazrui opposes any form of National Liberation and adores European/
American imperialist prescriptions on development. He even called Amin "the common man's president". Mazrui is now opposed wherever he goes. In Columbia University Afro-Americans denounced him as a traitor.

Another individual is Professor G. Mutiso of Government. He seems to aspire to Mazrui's style and notoriety. He outdoes Mazrui in abstraction, metaphysics and sheer incomprehensibility. Of late he has been advertising himself as a "specialist" in African Literature, African thought and African politics. In 1975 he advertised himself in one of the imperialist journals, *Africa Today*, Volume 2, No. 4 (page 104). The advertisement reads:

Dr. G.S. Mutiso, Department of Government, University of Nairobi, is in United States through February, and he is prepared to lecture on African Literature, and Kenya Politics. Schedule arrangements are being handled by Alice R. Morton, Social Sciences Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

The Department of Government like other foreign extension Departments is well-known for opposing a free exchange of ideas especially Marxist teachings and relying on American Government interpretation of the world. Just look at the many shallow treatises on politics and "modernisation" that are produced by the honourable professors there.

These are just some areas for further work. But at the same time we must be on guard to detect fake or sham shifts in position by these intellectuals. As they become known as enemies they will attempt to hide and change superficially while deep down they are the same. They will support Kenyans and even socialism in words while serving U.S. imperialism in deeds. This is especially so since some of their foreign mentors are already taking a more scientific and objective stand in their writings -- e.g., Colin Ley's book above. This will be a signal for the local ones to cover up a bit and follow suit, at least for academic fashion and respectability!

This is important because up to now imperialists and their servants have always taught us that African societies are exceptional in world history since "in Africa there are no classes". Africa is classless so class analysis and consciousness is "foreign ideology!!" Now proved wrong here in Kenya by the obvious daily fact of class conflict, our neocolonial scholars will attempt to explain away
classes by lying that "our classes here are exceptional and unimportant politically!"

Investigate and be on guard.

CONCLUSION

This is partly the disease we referred to in the preface. A parasitic and decadent culture and education is fostered by some writers and lecturers/professors who glorify imperialist concepts of freedom, selfish, individualism, cynicism, greed; who exalt pleasurable idleness, commodities and money, who represent imperialism as an irreplaceable system. They want us to believe that there is something eternal and insoluble about the human situation since they say that human beings are unknowable and mysterious and that nobody understands how they became what they are.

A great deal has happened in our society since we started the research. Most particularly the growing awareness about the real nature of GEMA as an inter-tribal, comprador organisation which is posing great danger to the unity of the Kenyan people. University students have, militantly resisted unwarranted police/GSU attacks and held any patriotic demonstrations. We learned a lot from them as well as from the numerous people's newspapers (so-called seditious pamphlets) particularly MWANGUZI. We in this document contribute a small part toward combatting the imperialist cultural disease by diagnosing some of its carriers. The disease is spreading. We have just learned of the proposed Ford/Rockefeller/UN project to install a Institute of Population Studies and Control to study "objectively" such "relevant" topics as "The Comparative Decline of Rural Masai Fertility in contrast to urban, middle-aged, unemployed Luo males in Kisumu". Or IDS's "revolutionary" project studying school leavers who never found jobs and blaming it on their psychology! Or the most learned of them yet, study of Turkana participation in Democracy as adjudged by the 1974 General Elections. This is "learning". Neocolonial US/UK-controlled learning -- totally useless to Kenya and parasiting on Kenyans. The political function of it is to prolong imperialism's lease on us by making us students, supposedly learned, carry out foreigner's wishes against our people.

We must oppose this role. Out of our opposition and work along with all Kenyans' struggle, will arise a new fighting culture
developed in heated confrontations by a reawakened people keenly made aware of their strength and potential. Out of that will arise proud, fighting intellectuals, writers, and other cultural workers inseparable from their people's and nation's history. Only then can we show foreign exploiting, lying, devils and their local apologisers--

We have learned your tricks now;  
We want you off our backs,  
You blood-drinking parasites.  
Do not bore us with your problems, your failures, your careers  
We are headed forward,  
We must now go  

You are headed backwards.  
We must part company,  
We have little time and much distance  
Go your way, we go ours.  

One day the "learned" will be interrogated by the simplest of our people. They will be asked what they did when their nation died out. No one will ask about their dress, long naps after beery wet lunches nor about their sterile combats with "the ideas of the nothing". Nor yet about their higher financial earnings, Greek Mythology, Shakespeare or M.I.T. theories on overpopulation. No one will ask them about their self-disgust at their own cowardice or even about their absurd justifications born in the shadow of the total lie. On that day the simple men will come, those who had no place in their books and poems but who daily sweat to deliver them bread and milk and eggs, those who mended their clothes, drove their cars, cared for their dogs and farms and they'll ask:

"What did you do when the poor suffered, when tenderness and life burned out in them?"

You will not be able to answer.  
A vulture of guilty silence will eat your gut,
your own misery will pick at your souls and you will be mute in your traitorous shame. And us, the people, living in victorious happiness. Surely it is only the mass of the working folk, who toil with minds and hands, together, throwing up their own leadership who can most truly be counted as people. Those who gang up as profiteers into an industrial complex, certainly cannot!

The professors of apologia the purchasers of mass media, the slaves of entrenched privilege, are not the people. They look on the people as stupid or ignorant enough to be fooled, to be bought up and owned by them, policed by the slave minded, bitten at will by police dogs.

Who are "the people" of Nairobi?
The hundreds of thousands in stinking jails, the orphans, disabled, the parking boys who beg, the victims of torture chambers, the protestors against more outrage, or those who make what they can in dollar currency ready for a quick get away by private plane?

Who are the people of Kenya?
The imperialist-manipulated ones, the ministers, the P.Ss, the directors held there by foreign superpower monopoly or those in growing slums, the detention camps, or the foodless, waterless huts of the countryside? The farmers, the fishermen, the overworked, underpaid working folk who will fight against new and old oppression, whose children in their abundance, with deep intensity watch the drama unfold. Awaiting their turn.

Many children. Population is not the problem. While

Man-eating imperialism nurtures the profits of the capitalists, the enslavement of nations to its needs, the rape and plunder of our earth. Grinding its heel into the precious people, starving murdering, blaming our sickness, poverty, hunger on ourselves for having too many children, quoting reactionary Malthus. Guns are rumbling, people are rising throwing off the fetishes that have held them down, standing as one at the time of common need.