

Committed Literature and the Role of the African Writer in Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's Essays

Nouara KHAROUNI*¹

University of Bejaia (Algeria), LESMS Lab

nouara.kharouni@univ-bejaia.dz

Received: 27/10/2020

Accepted: 15/12/2021

Published: 31/12/2021

Abstract

The present paper aims to study the Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o's conception of committed literature in his essays. It attempts to elucidate the role he assigns to Kenyan and African writers in contemporary post-colonial Kenya and Africa characterized by conditions of neo-colonialism and imperialism. The corpus of the study comprises selected essays from his collections *Homecoming* (1972), *Writers in Politics* (1981), *Barrel of a Pen: Resistance to Repression in Neo-Colonial Kenya* (1983), and *Pen points, Gun points and Dreams* (1998). Analysis of the essays is based on Sartre's theory of literature developed in his book *What is Literature?* (1976) and Frantz Fanon's theory of Literature of combat. It will be argued that Ngugi is committed to social reform and convinced that the African writer has the obligation to address the issues of the day and to help solve Africa's current problems.

Keywords: committed literature; African writers; neo-colonialism; cultural liberation; economic independence.

1. INTRODUCTION

The modernist tradition which emerged in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century conceives literature as an autonomous sphere of activity completely separated from social and political life; it is an aspiration to universalism, art for art's sake. The writers who belong to this tradition are concerned with form and style at the expense of the message. However, the advent of the Second World War destroyed the spirit of modernism and signaled the rise of commitment in Europe. The writers were then called to

¹ *Corresponding author/ Nouara Kharouni

take sides and to serve a definite cause; their writings lost their universalism and became utilitarian.

African writers for their part skipped the universalism and autonomy of the modernist tradition. They emerged within the circumstances of colonialism and their writings could not be but a response to this historical context. As Arab puts it: “It is the fundamental antagonism between colonialism and the African revolution that forms the driving force of Modern African literature” (1982, p. 5). African writers used their art to assert their existence, their being and their culture which were denied by the colonialist ideology. They were the spokesmen of the illiterate and exploited colonized people, demanding world attention to their plight by portraying their situation in their poems, plays and novels. Moreover, African writers supported the nationalist leaders’ fighting for independence and became their propagandists by “asserting at the ideological level the historical identity and the idea of nationhood politically shattered by colonialism” (Gikandi, 2001, p. 1). Therefore, since Africa was politicized by the colonial situation, African literature was politicized from the start tending towards a committed literature and art for the sake of political freedom.

The access to independence of the majority of African countries in the 1950’s and 1960’s did not bring the great hopes and expectations brought and perpetuated by the liberation movements. Instead, socio-political upheavals took place. As a result, the post-independence generation of African writers turned their attention to the problems and challenges of the post-colonial era becoming its witness and denouncing its shortcomings. They questioned why, in Frantz Fanon's words, “the apotheosis of Independence is transformed into the curse of Independence” and “the young African nation is condemned to regression” (Fanon, 1976, p. 76-77). They focused mainly on the failure of the new ruling classes to shake off the shackles of neo-colonialism and join hand in hand with the former colonial powers to perpetuate the exploitation of Africa.

Therefore, the historical imperative of colonial dependence and post-colonial problems necessitated the commitment of African literature and the

affirmation of the social and political responsibility of African writers, as Peter Nazareth asks: « L'écrivain Africain en cette période de colonialisme, néo-colonialisme, peut-il se permettre de rester non engagé ? (Quoted in Danièle, 1988, p. 17). Despite differences in style, theme and ideological alignment, their mainstream remained deeply concerned with the “burning issues” of their time and what distinguishes one generation from the other is in Chidi Amuta's words, “the nature and identity of political challenges with which it has had to grapple with and recreate in its art” (1986, p. 56).

Committed literature and the writer's role in his society have been at the centre of preoccupations of many African essayists with differences in their perception of this issue. From the sixties Chinua Achebe, one of the early legislators of African literature, has attributed to the African writer the role of a teacher. For him the novelist is a teacher who has to show that Africans are not the dark side of the western psyche but rational human beings, thus helping them to regain their lost dignity and it is inconceivable for him to ignore this social role.

Through his essays, Soyinka attributes to the writer the role of a prophet or a spiritual guide. In a paper titled “The Writer in a Modern African State” which he delivered at the international Stockholm Conference, he called on the African writer to be sensitive to the collapse of human ideals on the continent. For him, the writer in an African society has always functioned as the spokesman of his people and “the voice of vision in his own time” (cited in Maduakor, 1993, p. 83).

This issue has been also a central concern to the Kenyan writer and cultural critic Ngugi wa Thiong'o. It is one of the topics which he has revisited, repeated and extended in his essays. The present study aims to examine Ngugi's conception of committed literature and to elucidate the role he assigns to Kenyan and African writers in contemporary post-colonial Kenya and Africa.

2. Literature and Politics

Ngugi wa Thiong'o is a major post-colonial African novelist,

dramatist and an influential essayist who performs an important role in the cultural and political debates in post-colonial Africa. Moreover, he plays a crucial role as a chief critic of capitalism and neo-colonialism.

Ngugi published his first collection of essays *Homecoming* after he completed his post-graduate work at Leads where he was influenced by Frantz fanon and the Marxist theory; this transformed his political views and made him move from a liberal to a leftist position. While doing his graduate studies at the university of Makerere at Uganda (1960-1964), he had already started an appraisal of the situation of his country after its access to independence. At that time, he espoused a moralist humanist outlook which he presented in his early essays in *Homecoming*². In these essays he viewed independence as a ground for the Kenyans' reconciliation and the transcendence of class and race conflicts. He also believed in the new government's willingness and commitment to the realization of these post-colonial objectives.

However, in the first years of independence, Ngugi was discovering that his dream will not be achieved since the new Kenyan elite seemed eager to embrace and perpetuate the colonial institutions in order to keep their economic interests. In *Homecoming* he shows his disillusionment and frustration with independence. He considers that decolonization was nothing more than the transference of the exploitative colonial system to the post-colonial ruling classes.

In the same collection, Ngugi considers African literature within its historical context. He is concerned with the subjects that dominated African writing during the colonial period and the first decade of independence. In his introductory note he asserts that literature is not produced in a vacuum; It cannot be separated from the social, economic, and political conditions of its being especially in Africa where literature has emerged and developed against the background of European imperialism and its stunting effect on

² See the essay "Kenya: The two Rifts". *Homecoming*. (1962).

African economy, politics and culture (1972, p.5).

In the essays “The Writer and his Past” and “The Writer in a Changing Society” included in this collection, Ngugi, like Sartre, rejects the notion of art for art’s sake and views the writer as a product of history and at the same time as force through his written word to bring social change.

Surveying the socio-political background to African creative literature, he asserts that colonialism did not only rob the African continent of its wealth but also attempted to steal its history and its soul by intellectual deceit. To perpetuate colonialism the best minds of Europe like Frederick Hegel and H.G. Wells invented racist theories and stereotypes that negated the sense of a worthwhile African past. He adds that it is these stereotypes, perpetuated in the fiction of writers like Ridder Haggard and Robert Roark, which were taught in colonial schools to produce an alienated elite with an inferiority complex and a reverence to Europe (1972, p. 41).

Faced with this situation, African writers like Chinua Achebe attempted to rewrite and rehabilitate the African past in their fictional works in order to challenge the colonial supremacist mythology and “to restore the African character to his history” (1972,p. 43).

Yet, Ngugi worries that African writers’ concern with restoring the dignity of the African past will distract them from the pressing issues of the present. He believes that within the present juncture of Africa, they should give up their bourgeois position and align themselves with the struggle of the African masses to build socialist and egalitarian societies:

I believe that African intellectuals must align themselves with the masses for a meaningful national ideal. For we must strive for a form of social organization that will free the manacled spirit and energy of our people so that we can build a new country and sing a new song. Perhaps in a small way, the African writer can articulate the feeling behind this struggle (1972, p. 50).

3. Literature and revolution: Fanon Revisited

Ngugi's interest in the relevance of literature to society continued in the 1970's to become one of his major concerns. His reflections about this issue are summed up in his collection *Writers in Politics*. Ngugi's major political concern in this period is the international capitalism's neo-colonial exploitation of Kenya and the complicity of the post-colonial Kenyan regime in this exploitation. It is important to note that in the 1970s, Kenya was marked by economic and political deterioration and a widening disparity between the rich and the poor, creating discontent on the part of the dispossessed sections of the population. Moreover, the Kenya Popular Union (KPU), a left-wing opposition party, was banned by the Kenyatta government in 1969.

In this period, Ngugi's disillusionment was complete and he lost all hopes to improve things in his country except through a total and violent revolution brought about by the masses. This led him to turn to theatre and his native language as the mode most immediate in its impact. Thus, he moved from the stage of denouncement to that of action towards change. In *Writers in Politics*, he conceives literature as urged by Sartre as a medium of communication, action, history. In the preface to this collection, he asserts that the writer is by definition involved in the economic, political, social and cultural issues of his time because his works reflect one or more aspects of this struggle. He adds that, the writer cannot stand on the fence and avoid taking sides: "what he can choose is one side or the other side in the battle field: the side of the people, or the side of those social forces and classes that try to keep the people down... Every writer is a writer in politics. The only question is what and whose politics" (1981).

In the title essay of *Writers in Politics* Ngugi argues that the relation between writers and politics is particularly important in Africa because of the specific historical circumstances of imperialism where economy, politics and culture are developing "under the strangulating embrace of western industrial and finance monopoly capital and fierce struggle of the people for breath even". The embrace of western imperialism led by America's finance capitalism is total -economic, political and cultural-

*Committed Literature and the Role of the African Writer in Ngugi Wa
Thiong'o's Essay*

therefore the struggle against it must be total. Literature and writers “cannot be exempted from the battlefield” (1981, p.73).

To enhance his argument, Ngugi gives the example of two writers and heads of states in Africa: Léopold Sédar Senghor, one of the first poets of negritude and the first president of Senegal, and Agostinho Neto, Angola's first president and one of the leading poets in Africa. As regards the former, the process of writing and expressing his “people's collective consciousness” led him to the political struggles of his time while Neto's political struggle led him to take the pen as a necessary adjunct to his political commitment. For him, “the gun, the pen, and the platform have served the same ends: the total liberation of Angola” (Ibid).

Ngugi, like Sartre, opposes those writers who commit themselves to write about universal values such as justice and freedom. He believes that, it is concrete freedom and justice that the writer should defend by immersing himself in the class struggles of his time and society. He has to be aware of history and show a progressive outlook on society. Moreover, his attitude should indicate an attempt to influence its evolution in a way which would improve the condition of the community at large.

Ngugi concludes the essay by assigning to the African writer his tasks within present-day Africa and world situation: the African writer has to be conscious of the fact that imperialism and the forces struggling against it to build a new world are global phenomena. Politically, he must show commitment “not to abstract notions of justice and peace, but the actual struggle of the African peoples to seize power and hence lay the only correct basis of peace and justice”. In addition, the African writer has to side with the masses of the world in their struggle to establish socialism by inspiring revolutionary feelings and instigating revolutionary ideas in his writing.

Ngugi's message is a revolutionary movement consisting of committed intellectuals including writers and the people (the oppressed, the working people). He espouses Fanon's theory of violence. In *The Wretched of the Earth* Fanon comes to the conclusion that the only means for the

colonial victims to get freed from oppression is a socialist revolution which must be achieved through violence (1976, p.45). Ngugi also shares with Fanon his belief in the importance of moving the struggle beyond the level of the nation. Within the present situation of world capitalism and imperialism he predicts a socialist revolution led by the oppressed peasants and workers of Africa and the world. He wants the African writer to be an essential part of this revolution. In Ngugi's words, the African writer has to "reject, repudiate, and negate his roots in the native bourgeoisie and its spokesmen, and find its true creative links with all the socialistic forces of the world... He must write with the vibrations and tremors of the struggles of all the working people in Africa, America, Asia and Europe behind him. (1976, p.80)

Aesthetically, Ngugi urges the African writer to give the content of his novels, an aesthetic form that obeys the principals of socialist realism. He refers to Semben Ousmane as the writer who exemplifies the kind of commitment he is speaking about. His socialist realist novel *God's bits of Wood* is a model to follow by African writers. This is the form Ngugi gives to his novel *Petals of Blood* rejecting the form and rhetoric of high modernism which he used in *A Grain of Wheat*.

Ngugi's conception of literature as action which aims to change the world is explicit in the fictional works, he published in the 1970's. The latter are scathing criticism of the situation in his country with a perspective to change. His novel *Petals of Blood* (1977) is a sharp criticism of Kenyatta's regime, exposing the post-independence betrayal of Kenyans by a bourgeois class in collaboration with international finance capitalism. Through this novel, he incites the exploited and marginalized Kenyan peasants and workers to change their situation by means of a socialist revolution.

Likewise, in *Devil on the Cross* (1982) his principle purpose goes beyond the dramatization of Kenya's political problems seeking to show through his principle characters what action can be taken to counteract the oppressive and exploitative methods of the state and to return the means

and rewards of production to the people. In *Matigari* (1989) Ngugi's calls for change and revolution are more direct.

Additionally, as Ngugi became convinced that his novels were not accessible to his target audience, the illiterate Kenyan masses, he used drama as the mode most immediate in its impact. In 1975 he produced, in collaboration with Miceer Mugo, the play *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi*. The latter aimed to mobilise the popular will against capitalism and neo-colonialism that widen the gap between the rich and the poor. It shows to the people the role played by the Mau Mau insurrection in gaining political independence and wants them to follow their example. In the preface to the published script of this play Ngugi called for "...a revolutionary theatre...which without masking mistakes and weaknesses, gives people courage and urges them to higher resolves in their struggle for total liberation." (Ngugi, 1986, p. 43).

Ngugi produced his subsequent play *Ngaahika Ndeenda*, with the peasants of Kamiriithu in a local language in order to be accessible to the peasants. As Emanuel Ngara puts it: "it is the contradiction between Ngugi's conception of the social function of literature and the estrangement of the public that has led him to write his next play *Ngaahikaa Ndeenda* in his native language" (1985, p.84). In fact, by writing in Gikuyu, Ngugi reached a broader local public. His novel *Chaitaani Mutharabani* which he wrote in prison and which was expressly written, in language and style to be accessible to a broader local public was a popular success in Kenya selling some 13.000 copies in three successive printings. It is also estimated that perhaps 100.000 people heard the novel when it was read aloud (Douglass, 2000, p.77). Ngugi reports that it was read aloud in families, among workers, on buses, in taxis and in public bars (1986, p.83).

Ngugi's plays also seem to be politically more effective than his novels. This point was confirmed by the political problems surrounding the production of *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* at the National Theatre in Nairobi in 1976, the abolishment of *Ngaahika Ndeenda* and his detention for one year in 1978 at Kamiti Maximum Security Prison. Moreover, in

1981 he produced a musical *Maitu Njugira* (Mother Sing for Me) due to appear at the Kenyan National Theatre on 19th February 1982, but was banned by the authorities and never took place.

4. African Literature and Cultural Liberation: Fanon's Literature of Combat

Ngugi's recommendations on the function of literature in post-colonial Africa emphasize the necessity to create a national culture and combat cultural imperialism. In the essay "literature and society" included in his collection *Writers in Politics* (1981) he views literature as a central element on both sides of the struggle for cultural domination and liberation. He asserts his refusal to separate literature, the imaginary activity from society; from a Marxist understanding of history, he argues that literature reflects the economic, politic and cultural reality of society. This idea is linked to a current in the modern Marxist theory represented especially by George Lukacs and Goldmann; it views literature as the embodiment and expression of the world view of a social group.

Ngugi defines literature a partisan interest which does not only reflect social reality, economic, political and cultural, but reflects it from the point of view of a class, race or a nation. Accordingly, Ngugi analyses both the role of western literature in the struggle for the domination of the colonized people by instilling in them a sense of cultural inferiority and that of indigenous literature in organizing resistance to domination.

He views that cultural imperialism / control was part and parcel of the economic and political exploitation and oppression of the colonized people. It was the means to make their domination effective and complete and was carried mainly by colonial education. Its aim was to instil and perpetuate the mantle slavery of the oppressed and hence avoid other forms of resistance: economic, political and military. In other words, to create a regime which combines hegemonic consent and coercive domination. It was to achieve this purpose that "the best minds of Europe" including David Hume, Thomas Jefferson, Hegel and Anthony Trollope "were employed by the European ruling classes for the cultural genocide of the

colonized people.” (1981: 13). This is an idea which Ngugi shares with other post-colonial thinkers like Amilcar Cabral who argues that imperialist domination for its own security requires cultural oppression and the attempt at the destruction of the essential elements of the culture of the colonised people.

Ngugi views that literature as an element and a reflection of culture is a more efficient weapon in cultural imperialism because it effects emotions and consciousness. On the basis of these criteria, he sums up the literature available to African students in colonial schools by dividing it into three categories:

First, comes the good European and American literature, ‘the product of the best and most sensitive minds from European culture’. He mentions in this category Aeschylus, Sophocles, Montaigne, Rabelais, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Goethe, Balzac, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Thomas Mann, Ibsen, Yeats, Whitman, and Faulkner. Yet, for him, these writers had an Europeanised vision of man and the world. Thus, African students, in his words:

See how Prospero sees Caliban and not how Caliban sees Prospero; how Crusoe discovers and remakes Man Friday, but never how Friday views himself and his heroic struggles against centuries of Crusoe’s exploitation and oppression. (1981, pp. 36-37)

Ngugi adds that, these writers were used for “cultural diplomatic export...and to overawe us who were not known for indigenous manufactures and no arts and sciences... [and also] to buy our goodwill and favourable image towards their country” (1981, p. 16).

The second category is the literature that tried “to define the colonized world for the European colonizer”. This was “downright racist literature and often made no effort to hide it” (Ibid). Here he includes Ridder Haggar, John Buchan, Rudyard Kipling, Robert Ruark, Nicholas Mansarrat, Elspeth Haxley, and Karen Blixen.

Third, is the literature of European liberals who often had Africa as the subject of their imaginative exploitation. These writers “set out to sympathetically treat the African world either to appeal to the European liberal conscience or simply to interpret Africa for the Africans” (1981, p. 19). Here Ngugi includes Conrad, Alan Paton, Joyce Cary and William Blake who were seen as apostles of European liberalism. But he thinks that, even among these writers, like Joseph Conrad, the African image is still presented in negatives terms.

It is worth to mention that Britain, like other European colonial powers in Africa, created schools for the autochtones for the formation of a small élite which could serve the colonial power. The schools applied the same Eurocentric programmes studied in the mother country and which taught African children to allow allegiance to the European civilization and to deny their own history and identity. Frantz Fanon criticized this system as encouraging a slave mentality. Similarly, Ngugi denounces this education which aimed “to take captive the minds and hearts” of the educated Africans in order to create a middle class that will continue the exploitation of the African people’s wealth in the neo-colonial period. For him, this class becomes the main agency of cultural imperialism by perpetuating colonial culture and educational institutions in independent African states and this goes hand in hand with an economy which benefits the native bourgeoisie and European interests.

Ngugi insists on the need to ‘understand that cultural imperialism in its era of colonialism is a more dangerous cancer because it takes new subtle forms and “can hide even under the cloak of militant African nationalism, the cry for dead authentic cultural symbolism and other native self–assertive banners”, this is because:

Suddenly under Neo-colonialism it is the African who is building churches in every village under Harambee self-help schemes; who is rushing for the latest literary trash from America or failing that, Africanizing the same thrills and escapism by giving them local colour.... (Ibid: 25)

Ngugi thinks that African writers, being part of the bourgeoisie, are hampered by their bourgeois class affiliated ideology. This is why they have never accepted to be the literary guerrillas of the masses in their struggle for total liberation; instead:

In their novels the crowds emerge as gullible, easily fooled, praising now this leader then that leader in return for a drink of beer and five cents...the masses are seen as having no minds of their own...in African literature we have very few positive heroes who would embody the spirit of the struggle and resistance against exploitation and naked robbery by national bourgeoisie and its global allied classes. (Ibid, p. 24)

Ngugi views that the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle is also waged at the level of culture so that the political and economic struggle be complete since the aim of cultural resistance is to free African personality from mental conditioning and to restore the African personality to its true human creative potentialities in history.

To combat cultural imperialism Fanon called for the African writer to produce "a literature of combat, a revolutionary literature, a national literature" (1976, p. 193). Likewise, Ngugi argues that, like European writers who sustained and perpetuated imperialism, African writers should form an essential part in the anti-imperialist struggle of the African people for total political liberation from imperialism and foreign domination. Their literature should carry the context of the African people's anti-imperialist struggle to liberate their productive forces from foreign control. Moreover, they have to be inspired by anti-colonial movements such as the Mau Mau

movement which, through its songs and written literature, rejected the culture of the colonizer as part of its economic and political struggle.

Ngugi's cultural involvement with peasants and workers at Kamiriithu Cultural Centre to produce the play *Ngaahika Ndeenda* (1976) in his native language is part of his struggle against cultural imperialism. He writes that Kamiriithu, "he had ceased being a teacher and become a student at the feet of the peasant and worker" (Ngugi, 1981) who act like living libraries of the true Kenyan culture. His endeavour to learn from them his history and to revive his traditional culture is a reaction to his alienating colonial education. In addition, his writing in Gikuyu marks his decision to break away from European linguistic and cultural imperialism.

This reasoning is also behind Ngugi's attempt with some of his colleagues to reform literary studies at the Nairobi English Department. As the then Chairman of the Department, he fought to reorient the focus of the literary syllabuses from a traditional English based structure to one based principally on African literature and languages. Ngugi asserts the need in Kenya for an effective education that will teach people to be proud and confident in themselves and their history which will enable them to be morally independent and creative and economically productive.

5. The Price of Commitment: The Writer and the State

After his exile, Ngugi's ideological position became more radical. In his essays on African literature included in his collections *Decolonizing the Mind* and *Moving the Centre* he focuses on the indigenization of African literature. He argues that for the development of an authentic African literature, African writers have to return to their indigenous African languages and commit themselves to the struggle of African people to demolish imperialism.

In addition, in the essay "Freedom of the Artist" (1983) he raises the issue of the writer's freedom in a neo-colonial state. Ngugi's personal experiences in the 1970s during Kenyatta and Moi's successive governments were dramatic. He was arrested on 31 December 1977 and detained for one year without trial because of his peasant theatre which

denounces the complicity of the “Kenyan national bourgeoisie with the international national bourgeoisie” in the exploitation of the Kenyan masses and in a language understood by them. He was released from detention in December 1978 only to find that he had been stripped of his post at the University of Nairobi. Furthermore, he was forbidden to work in the other universities and colleges of Kenya. The government continued to harass him and his family received frequent death threats, and since 1980 he has been forced to live in exile. In the essay “Freedom of the Artist: People’s artists versus People’s Rulers” included in his collection *Barrel of a Pen: Resistance to Repression in Neo-Colonial Kenya* (1983) Ngugi discusses the fate of those writers, especially in post-colonial who take the side of the people. In the case of his friends and colleagues this has included censorship, arrest, harassment, imprisonment and exile.

Besides examining state repression of artistic production which constitutes a clear curtailment for the writer’s freedom, Ngugi argues that the artist in the Third World is free only when he immerses himself in the struggle of the people against imperialist domination.

In the essay “Art War with the State” included in his collection *Penpoints, Gunpoints and dreams* (1998), he is concerned with one of his oldest cultural projects: his attempt to understand the relationship between the artist and the state in Africa (Gikandi, 2000:200). In the essay “Art War with the State: Writers and Guardians of a Post-colonial Society” he posits an antagonistic relation between the artist and the state because the nature of art and state, as he sees them, are inherently at odds with one another. He argues that art’s war with the state is basic to the nature of art and the state, any state, and there is always the possibility of war between them.

6. CONCLUSION

To conclude this study, we can say that Ngugi rejects the notion of art for art’s sake in favour of a committed literature. Emerged within the context of neo-colonial Kenya and Africa marked by neo-colonialism with its negative consequences on the life of the masses and influenced by Frantz Fanon and the Marxist theory, he advocates the dismantling of capitalist and

imperialist systems and the establishment of socialist egalitarian regimes which would redeem the rights of the unprivileged masses. He sees this change as being made more readily possible by the influence of a committed and revolutionary literature. The latter should be written in indigenous African languages in order to empower the oppressed to seek the means of their own liberation and self-determination.

5. Bibliography List:

1. Amuta, C. (1989). *The Theory of African Literature*. Routedledge.
2. Arab, A. (1982). *Politics and the Novel in African Literature*. Office des Publications Universitaires.
3. Cook, D., & Okenimpke, M. (1997). *Ngugi wa Thiong'o An Exploration of his Writing*. Heinemann, Education Books.
4. Fanon, F. (1976). *The Wretched of the Earth*. London: Penguin.
5. Gikandi, Simon (2000). *Traveling Theory: Ngugi's Return to English*. Indiana University Press Journals.
6. Gikandi, S. (2001). Theory, Literature, and Moral Considerations. *Research in African Literature* 32(4), 1-18.
7. Haddouche, F. (2013). Cultural Clash and the Manichean translation of African culture in Achebe's *Things fall Apart*. *Traduction et Langues* 12(1), 164-172.
8. Maduako, O. (1993). The Political Content of Wole Soyinka's Plays. *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*. Vol. XXIX. N. 1.
9. Ngara, E.(1985). *Art and Ideology in the African Move*. . Heinemann Education Books.
10. Nkrumah, K. (2009). *Le Néo-colonialisme, dernier Stade de L'impérialisme*. Présence Africaine.
11. Sartre, J. P. (1969). *What is Literature?* Billing and Soms Ltd.
12. Stewart, D. (1988). *Le Roman Africain Anglophone Depuis 1965*. Editions L'Harmattan.

13. Taleb, W. (2020). Africa Backwardness: the Danger of Abusive Reference to Neo-colonialism. *Journal of Studies in Language, Culture and Society*. 03(02), 143-148.
14. Wa Thiong'o, N. (1967). *A Grain of Wheat*. Heinemann.
15. Wa Thiong'o, N.. (1972). *Homecoming*. London: Heinemann.
16. Wa Thiong'o, N. (1977). *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi*. Heinemann.
17. Wa Thiong'o, N.(1977). *Petals of blood*. Heinemann.
18. Wa Thiong'o, N. (1981). *Writers in Politics*. Heinemann: Educational Books Inc.
19. Wa Thiong'o, N. (1982). *Devil on the cross*. Oxford: Heinemann.
20. Wa Thiong'o, N.(1982). *Ngaahika Ndeenda. I Will Marry when I Want*. Heinemann.
21. Wa Thiong'o, N.(1983) *Barrel of a Pen: Resistance to Repression in Neo-Colonial Kenya*. London: New Bacon Books.
22. Wa Thiong'o, N. (1986). *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. Heinemann..
- 23 Wa Thiong'o, N. (1993). *Moving the Center: The Struggle for Cultural Freedom. Portsmouth*. New Hampshire: Heinemann..
24. Wa Thiong'o, N. (1998). *Penpoints, Gunpoints and Dreams*. Oxford University Press.