

وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

Mouloud MAMMERY University of Tizi-Ouzou  
كلية الآداب واللغات Faculty of Letters and Languages  
Department of English

جامعة مولود معمري تيزي

Specialty: English language

Option: Literature & Interdisciplinary Approaches



Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Master II in English

Title

**Neo-colonialism and Hegemony in James Ngugi's Devil on the  
Cross and Kateb Yacine's Mohamed Prends Ta Valise**

Submitted by:

Ms. Malha AIT RAMDANEDr.

Miss. Kaouthar BENAMRA

Panel of Examiners:

Chair: Ms. Dalila MATMER, MAA. Departement of English, M.M.U.T.O.

Supervisor: Ms. Sabiha LARABI, MCB. Departement of English, M.M.U.T.O.

Examiner: Ms. Sonia ASSOUS, MAB. Departement of English, M.M.U.T.O.

Promotion : 2018 - 2020

N° d'Ordre :

N° de Série

## Dedication

To:

*My precious parents for their love  
My beloved and supportive husband Rachid  
The apples of my eyes: Noor El-Houda, Med Islam and Mahdi Abderaouf  
My source of inspiration, support and courage my unique brother Rabah  
My dear sisters with my nieces and nephews  
My dear friends mainly Rosa, Naima, Sihem and Sarah.  
All teachers I had the privilege to meet during my six years at UMMTO*

*Malha*

To:

*My precious parents for their love  
My supportive sisters Radia, Nada and Inchirah  
My dear brothers Rabie and Soheib  
My dear friends  
All the teachers I had the privilege to meet during my five years at UMMTO*

*Kaouthar*

## **Acknowledgements**

This section is devoted to thank everyone who contributed from near or far to the accomplishment of this research paper. Within the academic world, we would like to express our most sincere thanks to our supervisor **Doctor Sabiha LARABI** for providing us with this crucial topic and her kind support. She was always willing and gracious enough to answer our questions. Our thanks are also extended to the panel of examiners, Ms. **Sonia ASSOUS** and Ms. **Dalila MATMER** who accepted to scrutinize each paper of our dissertation and assessing it despite the current sanitary crisis Covid19.

## Abstract

The present dissertation has compared James Ngugi's *Devil on the Cross* (1982) and Yacine Kateb's *Mohamed prend ta valise* (1971). It has investigated the way these authors reveal the issue of neo-colonialism dimensions and the hegemonic system in the world of the Kenyan novelist James Ngugi and the Algerian playwright Yacine Kateb. To examine this point, this dissertation has brought into focus the influence of the authors' backgrounds on their satirical portrayal of the intellectuals' plan to perpetuate the colonial like system in both countries. This research has also examined the notion of hegemony and its implementation on the mother land of both committed writers' of Ngugi and Kateb. To reach these aims, this paper has relied on Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) and Antonio Gramsci's *Theory of Hegemony*. The analysis of Ngugi and Kateb works has revealed that both authors believed that the corrupted intellectuals are the main responsible for their countries incomplete independence. Another finding is that both authors tend to demonstrate the intellectuals camouflaged ways of continuing the hegemonic agencies of the prior colonizer. We reached that committed literature, regardless of their literary genre, can be equally used as a powerful mean to denounce and struggle against the local exploiters.

### Key words:

*Neo-colonialism – hegemony- national bourgeoisie - national literature- literature of combat- traditional intellectuals - organic intellectuals-commitment.*

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The fact is that the so-called European civilization –“Western” civilization –as it has been shaped by two centuries of bourgeois rule, is incapable of solving the two major problems to which its existence has given rise: the problem of the proletariat and the colonial problem; that Europe is unable to justify itself either before the bar of “reason” or before the bar of “conscience” ; and that, increasingly, it takes refuge in a hypocrisy which is all the more odious because it is less and less likely to deceive.

(Aimé Césaire, *Discourse On Colonialism* 31)

“The struggle against neo-colonialism is not aimed at excluding the capital of the developed world from operating in less developed countries. It is aimed at preventing the financial power of the developed countries being used in such a way as to impoverish the less developed.”

(Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* 1965)

## 1. Introduction:

The two world wars in the first half of the twentieth century were a factory of enormous significance in altering the history of Africa. It was an era when most African countries got their independence, as it was the case for Algeria and Kenya. The optimistic expectations were severely shaken by post war conditions that are raised by many thinkers and writers. Despite of the departure of the Europeans, the foul practice of the former colonist did not end. The new form of camouflaged imperialist practice has appeared under the name of neo-colonialism.

Accordingly , a long range of critical thoughts went together to establish a consensual unit between the two systems and then make end to their undesirable aspects of dictatorship, colonial and imperial exploitation of the colonized's human and economic resources under the pretext of civilization, in his *Discourse On Colonialism(1950)* Aimé Césaire asserts that “ A civilization that proves incapable of solving the problems it creates is a decadent civilization”<sup>1</sup>he also added that it is a stricken and dying one<sup>2</sup>. The spread of these waves of scholarship and /or polemics raises the interest in human consciousness appeal of the emergency to break down with the previous stereotypes and overcome the oppressive chains relying the colonized to colonizer and then populace to elites.

Mainly in the 1970's, many writers, filmmakers, and intellectuals used literature as an apparatus to denounce neo-colonial phenomenon that was widely spread in Africa. Kateb Yacine's *Mohamed prends ta valise(1972)* and Ngugiwa Thiong'o's *Devil on the Cross(1982)* constitute best examples of African's literary fiction that deal with portraying the so-called neo colonialism in Africa and more precisely in Algeria and Kenya. Although they write in different languages and situated in different countries, they both strive to exhibit that

the post independence era is solely a treacherous exchange of power between the outgoing masters and a few of their faithful heirs.

As we felt compelled to actively pontificate and agitate on the issues of neo colonialism in both countries Algeria and Kenya. This paper aims at elucidating the representation of intellectuals in both works. Moreover, we will show how the Gramscian notion of hegemony, which is the domination or the influence of one group over a society or one nation over others, is exhibited and treated in both works of Kateb Yacine's *Mohamed prends ta valise* and Ngugiwa Thiong'o's *Devil on the Cross*.

### **Review of literature:**

Both Ngugiwa Thiong'o and Kateb Yacine have already received a substantial volume of criticism from different angles.

To start with, Ngugiwa Thiong'o's masterpiece *Devil on the Cross* have previously received a considerable attention in the academic field in term of stylistic and thematic studies. This masterpiece is Ngugi's most radical contribution to Kenyan literature it is considered as one of the fundamental works that portray and elucidate neo-colonial regime in Kenya's post-independence era. Ngugi uses *Devil on the Cross* as a novel genre to portray the cruelty of neo-colonial elitism and its influence in Kenya. It explores the relationship between the colonizer, the British and the Kenyan elite in the new regime. He elucidates in his literary work the exploitation exercised and perpetuated through camouflaged structures and policies. Hence, he shows how the masses start to advocate themselves against their exploiters. In other words, the post-colonial novel exhibits the existing strive for true independence from the ruling elite by the masses. Ngugi attempts to use his novel as an apparatus to inform the masses and make them aware of their exploitation by the ruling elite.<sup>3</sup>In this regard, Kasarla, S.R. in his article, *Representing the Traits of Capitalism in Thiong'o's Devil on the Cross*,

exhibits that the novel is aesthetically adequate in raising consciousness against modern capitalism and neo-colonialist policies in Kenya. He highlights the struggle between the two social hierarchies of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Ngugi's pessimistic view of the Kenyan bourgeoisie and their attitude towards the working class as he states in his *Literature and Culture Homecoming* that there is no area of our life that has not been affected "by the social, political and expansionist needs of European's Capitalism"<sup>4</sup>. He portrays the dilemma and the social malaise of post-colonial Kenya where peasants and the workers cannot enjoy the fruit of their toil and sweat"<sup>5</sup>.

Furthermore, another investigation reviewer's criticism suggests that many if not all African literary figures are inspired by their societies. They extensively attempt to portray their societies' issues and reflect them in their pieces of works especially in post-independence era. Thus, their writings become an ultimate and important weapon for asking for their nation's true independence. Therefore, one among many studies that tackled the issues of post-colonialism in *Devil on the Cross* is the master dissertation of Karoui Manar titled *The Theme of Corruption in Post-Colonial African Literature: A Case Study Ngugi's Devil on the Cross*. The study argues that "the smell of the colonization is everywhere in the elements of the government; people, economy, and politics"<sup>6</sup>. It highlights that the scratches that have been left by the prior colonialism are still perpetuated in terms of unjust and abuse practices in taking the under-power nation's resources. Thus, it discusses the three types of corruption; moral, political and economic. These types are reinforced through; first, the western literature that play an important role in showing the African people as unable to take action, primitive and uncivilised. Second, by the local politicians who act as agents and favour foreigners' benefit upon theirs. By doing so, they use their power to make personal gains instead of ruling the government. In order to shed light on these issues, Ngugi, uses his work as a historical record of the corruption in Kenya during the post-independence era.

Hence make an appeal to the Kenyan and African readers in general to make an end to this plague that handicapped the progress in almost all African countries.

As far as Kateb Yacine's *Mohamed prends ta valise* (1971) is concerned, our Senior Lecturer in African and Comparative Literature at the English Department of the University of Tizi Ouzou, DR. Nadia Gada, in her Magister dissertation entitled : "*Kenyan and Algerian Literary Connections Ngugi WaThiong'o and Yacine Kateb*(2006)<sup>7</sup> has already paved the way for further studies and analysis of both Kenyan and Algerian national literature of which Kateb's play under study. Through her investigation on literary analogies connecting all of Ngugi's play *I Will Marry When I Want* (1977) with Yacine's *Mohamed prends ta valise* (1971), she focused on the African postcolonial dystopia that pushes the two playwrights to shift their interest from plays with Aristotelian dramatic techniques to the Epic theatre of Bertold Brecht : " Now that we have explained the principles, which govern the Brechtian theory of epic theatre, our intention is to identify some of its elements in Ngugi's *I Will Marry When I Want* and Kateb's *Mohamed, prends ta valise*"<sup>8</sup>.

On Kateb's play, Dr. GADA viewed that *Mohamed prends ta valise* reflects the main criteria of the epic theatre as it relays on a range of the Brechtian techniques such as the direct narration, the narrator interruption or improvisation, the episodic plot with illogically connected scenes, the use of songs and dances to raise the spectators' point of view, to stir their feelings and push them to react. The play is also filled with protagonists who are neither complex nor highly individualized describing the petty bourgeois with sarcasm and humor. Her identification was summed up by the raisons which pushed the Algerian playwright Kateb to appeal to these devices, the ends justify the means, Kateb's adoption of the epic theatre fits his literary commitment needs to be understood by the populace and bring changes in the favour of the masses, to rise their national awareness and especially to rehabilitate their national cultures. She finally, assumes that:

Kateb's *Mohamed, prend ta valise*, owes a lot to the Brechtian Epic theatre on the ground that some epic devices are integrated in Kateb's play. Kateb's indebtedness to Brecht ranges from the way he structures his play, the infusion of some techniques like the direct narration, interruption, reason and argument, and the linking of scenes by folk songs and dances.<sup>9</sup>

Other authors like Dr. Neil A. Doshi, an Indian writer, educator, and researcher in philosophy and comparative literature at the, shows his interest in Kateb's play *Mohamed prends ta valise* more than once. In his dissertation entitled: *Revolution at the Crossroads: Street Theater and the Politics of Radical Democracy in India and in Algeria* (2009)<sup>10</sup>, Doshi described the purpose behind his inquiry as follow:

I discuss Kateb's work here to introduce a comparative reading that examines, through both Algerian-French and Indian-Hindi/Urdu street theater, the expression of popular politics in the post colonial world. In the last 30 years, genres of street or mobile theater that distinguish themselves by their political content and their self-conscious modernity have evolved in both India and in Algeria.<sup>11</sup>

Through his investigation Doshi identifies the techniques used by Kateb to make his audience, or the masses, speak and participate in the street theatre production, and the politics of publicity in the play. Hence, he asserts that in his play, Kateb and his theatrical troupe ATC use staging hidden bodies and silenced voices to denounce the military forces oppression on the African young men to make them engaged in something on which they have no idea nor concern. Besides the previously cited techniques, Doshi added that Kateb's use of reclaiming heterogeneous, contested statements is to proclaim the gap which exists within the public sphere in the nation.

Doshi carried on his analysis of the play to confirm its figuration within the street theatre category or list, he consulted different historical events mainly those unveiled by Kateb and he suggests that a complementary investigation is needed in the future to confirm the raised issue. Doshi finally concludes :

It is clear that street theater works *tactically*: in a plays like Mohamed prends ta valise or Honda keGunda, the particular rights of laborers find themselves cast as universal rights within the nation. Yet this

perspective alone does not allow for the revolutionary aspect of street theater, namely that beyond its activist role, what is at stake is a fundamental interrogation of the institutions that determine what the national collectivity is. In what follows, I will argue that the question of collectivity and minority is one that hinges on the recognition of universalism and particularity as being mutually constitutive.<sup>12</sup>

## **2. Issue and Working Hypothesis**

From the above review of the literature about Ngugi's and Yacine's works, one can notice that these studies focused mainly on the literary devices or affinities and many other studies have dealt with the two selected works from different angles. Hence, to the best of our knowledge, all the works we have consulted so far do not reveal or tackle the issue of **hegemony** during the neocolonial period in both James Ngugi's *Devil on the Cross* (1982) and Kateb Yacine's *Mohamed Prends Ta Valise* (1971). Therefore, the basic hypothesis of our piece of research are: First, how does it come that in spite of their being two different literary genres, those novel and play understudy handle the same issues of hegemony, neocolonialism and resistance in post-independent Africa? Second, to what extent were Kenya and Algeria of post-independent period paralyzed and shaken by the neocolonial phenomenon? Third, what can push two outstanding intellectuals as Kenyan Ngugi and Algerian Kateb, distinct in space and language, to converge to the same committed literature?

## **3. Methodological Outline**

In this research paper, we have made use of the IMRAD method. Thus, our work is composed of five sections; the first section is devoted to general introduction where our problematic is identified, followed by a brief review of literature conducted on both works. We have then raised the issue and the working hypothesis which is the unstudied side or the gap that we aim to fulfill. The second section includes methods and materials it is devoted to the summaries of the theories on which our work is based, in addition to the summaries of the

two primary sources. The third section consists of the results and the findings of our research paper. The fourth section is dedicated to the discussion and the analysis of the two literary works; it will be divided into two main chapters, the first chapter is devoted to the denunciation of the organic intellectuals in Ngugi's novel and Kateb play, while the second one discusses the issue of hegemony in both works under study. The last section is a general conclusion of our research outcomes with suggestion of further inquiry on Kateb's play.

### **Endnotes:**

<sup>1</sup>Césaire, Aimé. "Discourse On Colonialism". New York: Monthly Review Press,

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p31.

<sup>3</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o's Portrayal of Neo-Colonial Elitism in *Petals of Blood*, *Devil on the Cross* and *Matigari*] (n.d) Retrieved from [https://storage/emulated/0/download/stiwala/JosephNutelamo/2018see.Pdf](https://storage.emulated/0/download/stiwala/JosephNutelamo/2018see.Pdf).

<sup>4</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Homecoming: Essays on African and Caribbean Literature, Culture and Politics*. (London, Heinemann, Print, 1978)

<sup>5</sup>Kasarla, S.R. (2015) *Represented the Traits of Capitalism in Thiong'o's Devil on the Cross*. Veda's Journal of English Language and Literature-Joell, 2(4), 109-111.

<sup>6</sup>Karoui Manar (2019) *The Theme of Corruption in Post-Colonial African Literature: A Case study Ngugi's Devil on the Cross*, University of Echahid Hamma Lakhdar, Eloued, 37.

<https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/nkrumah/neo-colonialism>

<sup>7</sup>Nadia, GADA. "Kenyan and Algerian Literary Connections NgugiWaThiong'o and KatebYacine". University of Boumerdes, 2006.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid. p128

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p148

<sup>10</sup>A. Doshi, Neil. "Revolution at the Crossroads: Street Theater and the Politics of Radical

Democracy in India and in Algeria”.University of Michigan,2009.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.p 87

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.p142

## I. Methods and Materials

This section includes the theoretical framework of our thesis besides the materials required for our investigation on the representation of intellectuals and hegemony in both works of Kateb Yacine's *Mohamed prends ta valise* and Ngugiwa Thiong'o's *Devil on the Cross*.

### a) Methods:

This part in our dissertation provides a deep insight on the theories used in this dissertation. We will depend throughout our investigation on conducting and borrowing some concepts of strong relevance to our work from Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* and Antonio Gramsci theory on Hegemony.

#### 1.a. Frantz Fanon's ' The Pitfalls of National Consciousness '

In the process of analysing both African literary fictional works; Kateb Yacine's play *Mohamed prends ta valise* (1971) and Ngugiwa Thiong'o's novel *Devil on the Cross* (1982) from neo colonial perspective. We will rely on Frantz Fanon's third chapter of *The Wretched of the Earth* entitled ' The Pitfalls of National Consciousness '.

In this chapter, besides its preceding ones , from the first chapter to third Fanon goes from elucidating life of the third world under colonialism to the fight and struggle against colonialism to establishing a nation. As Ngugi declares it is "impossible to understand what informs African writing, particularly novels written by Africans without reading Frantz Fanon's *The wretched of the Earth*, mostly the chapter titled 'The Pitfalls of National consciousness...' Fanon attempts to exhibit an accurate description of the way how national bourgeoisie are self interested and how they tend to grab for more power after independence. He discusses how this category seeks to overtake the former colonist's position in the country instead of eliminating such hierarchical divisions. They re-create colonial situation in the decolonized country where their only slogan is "to replace the foreigner"<sup>13</sup> and maintain the

old structures of exploitation and oppression. One of his suggested solutions in order to truly decolonize the country is that the national bourgeoisie “must simply be stoutly opposed because, literally it is good for nothing”<sup>14</sup>.

### **1.b. Antonio Gramsci’s Theory of Hegemony**

In his “ Prison Notebooks”(1947) produced during the decade of incarceration at the fascist stockades, the Italian Communist Party leader Antonio Gramsci unveiled the reasons behind the failure of the workers’ councils to develop into a national movement and behave in the way Karl Marx and Frederic Engels predicted them. After his investigations on why “the old order is dying, but the young cannot be born”<sup>20</sup> referring to the moribund capitalism and the yet unborn socialism, Gramsci asserts that the secret on the general apathy of workers and people lies in the recesses of the human consciousness, through culture, ideology, language and symbols in relation to the powers of those who rule and the ambiguous understanding of the subalterns-ruled. From this point, Gramsci coins the concept of hegemony (derived from the Greek word ‘hegemonia’ which means the domination of one element of a system over other i.e leadership.) to a condition in process which a dominant class does not merely rule a society but leads it through the exercise of intellectual and moral leadership. He also asserted that hegemony is practiced by using consensual strategies or tactics ; apart from pressure and force, a reason for which the dominated class (populace) gives spontaneously its consent to the dominant one (elite) .In other words, Gramsci uses the term hegemony to denote the ideological leadership of the bourgeoisie over subordinate classes .

### **1.c. Antonio Gramsci’s Theory on “The Role of Intellectuals Within the Hegemonic System”/ ‘War of Movement and War of Position’**

Through his attempts to convince the masses or the subordinate class about their possibility of changing their basis from the proletarian class to the elite class by gathering

their volitions to create what he calls ‘the proletarian hegemony’ , Antonio Gramsci identifies the realities and the role of the intellectuals who either participate or just interfere in the elaboration of the hegemonic ideologies .Accordingly, he claims that although all tasks require a degree of intellectual and creative ability , some persons will be required to perform tasks or functions which are just visibly intellectuals. Concisely, Antonio Gramsci’s categorizes the intellectuals into two dimensions , the horizontal and the vertical dimensions. The latter gathers all of the directors and specialists who organize industry in particular for the capitalists. Whereas, the horizontal dimension is also divided into two categories of intellectuals, the organic and the traditional intellectuals. Contrary to the traditional intellectuals who have no link with the economic, political and even social structures or discourses, organic intellectuals are more related to these organizations and give them a lot of interest. In this category also we find directors but they are just societies’ organizers but considerably the most prominent agents for the propaganda of the capitalist hegemonic system.

### **1.3. Definition of neo-colonialism:**

Neo-colonialism may be briefly defined as the perpetuation of imperialist oppression and colonialist domination in different new formats even though after achieving independence. Therefore, neo-colonialism operates indirectly by controlling the newly decolonized nations by economic, cultural and political policies. Kwame Nkrumah, the leader of the newly independent Ghana, was one of the earliest to use the term neo-colonialism in *Neo-colonialism, the Last stage of Imperialism* (1965); he says that “neo-colonialism is the final and the most perilous stage of imperialism” <sup>15</sup>. Fanon argues that the structures established by former colonial powers continue to exist in post colonial nations. Neo-colonialism describes the ways in which colonizing powers cease to exert political control and domination over the colonized, but continue to influence a former colony through economic and social factors.

## **b. Materials**

In this section of our dissertation, we will provide an insight to the necessary biographical elements of both Yacine Kateb and Ngugi wa Thiong'o and the context and the summary of our primary resources.

### **1. Ngugi wa Thiong'o's Biography:**

Ngugi wa Thiong'o is a Kenyan novelist, playwright and literary critic. He is often referred to as one of the most Kenyan 'revolutionary writer'. He belongs to that particular group in the African culture and African literature that believes on the importance of denouncing the neo-colonial policies. Therefore, for him it is imperative for post colonial writers to display through their literary works the socio-political tapestry of the difficulties and divisions triggered in both the birth and the struggle against colonial and neo-colonial Kenya.

Ngugi was born in Kamiruthu on January 5, 1938. Although he did not actively participate in the Mau Mau independence movement, he could not escape the impacts it had on his family and surroundings. In the preface to *Secret Lives*, Ngugi elucidates the significance of the strive against the British colonial government and its impact:

As a writer I remember ... uncles and other villagers murdered because they had taken a oath, the beautiful courage of ordinary men and women in Kenya who stood up to the might of the British imperialism and indiscriminate terrorism<sup>16</sup>.

Because of his deep awareness of the legacy of colonialism and the burden of neo colonialism in Kenya and Africa as whole, he decided to readopt his first Gikuyu name and his mother tongue - from James wa Thiong'o to Ngugi wa Thiong'o and from writing in English to Gikuyu. As a result, his contest for true independence cost him losing his freedom for several years in detention without fair trial. Yet this could not stop him from continuing

his path as a revolutionary writer. For instance he wrote one of his significant works behind the prison walls *Devil on the Cross* (1982) on lavatory papers. It is considered as an insightful interpretation and scathing critic of Kenyan politics and society during the neo-colonial era. It aims at denouncing the exploitation, social struggle and the role of intellectuals in the post-colonial period.<sup>17</sup>

## **2. Devil on the Cross (1982), Context and Summary:**

For many millennia Kenya enjoyed many decades of prosperity and managed to enter its golden age mainly between the ninth and the fifteenth century. It was among the most important world trade port's for gold and ivory before the British colonialism which did not solely change its name from Kyrinyaga to Kenya; yet turns everything ups down. It started from the Berlin conference in 1885 the era when European powers divided east Africa to several provinces of influence, until the period that follows the two world wars in December, 1963.

The movement towards decolonization in Kenya was violent and traumatic. After years of struggle, the national rebellions ostensibly achieved to grasp the fruit of their glorious revolution. There were great expectations for bright future where all citizens will benefit from safe water, education, and good health care. Jomo Kenyatta was an activist and one of the heroes of Kenya's struggle against the coloniser and served as the first prime minister for one year and was the first president of the country after independence. However, when he came to power, Kenyatta stood for continuing and not change. Gikuyu who had trained in London for 15 years, as a prime minister, introduced policies that turned the country into a dictatorship. The president was given much power and authorities to the extent that he can detain political opponents without charge if they threatened his position. This was the

case of Ngugi who was incarnated for producing literary works against the Kenyan government. Fanon describes those leaders:

Before independence, the leader generally embodied the aspiration of the people for independence, political liberty and national dignity. But as soon as independence is declared, far from embodying in concrete form the need of the people in what touches bread, land and the restoration of the country to the sacred hands of the people, the leader will reveal his inner purpose: to become the general president of the company of profiteers...<sup>18</sup>

Unlike Kenyatta who opened Kenya for foreigners to invest and allowed them to possess profits and properties, Amilcar Cabral, the Guinean revolutionary and intellectual, rejected all foreign interference declaring that “National liberation exists when, and only when the national productive forces have been completely freed from all kinds of foreign domination”<sup>19</sup>. However, the colonial legacy is still felt in Kenyan neo-colonial’s system of politics, social structure and economy. Kenyatta and his followers chose to maintain ‘ the indirect rule ’ of the colonial political regime as they argue that they will not depend on “native backward institutions, peasants, farmers, and their primitive technology to achieve rapid social transformation and development”<sup>20</sup>.

Ngugi wa Thiong’o, The ‘ caged writer ’ in cell 16, wrote *Caitani Mutharabaini* (1980) his “first novel of its kind in scope and size in the Gikuyu language”<sup>21</sup> ; then, translated it himself into English as *Devils on the Cross* in 1982. It was written during his imprisonment on lavatory paper and took over a year to be accomplished. The author dedicated his novel to “all Kenyans struggling against the neo-colonial stage of imperialism”<sup>22</sup>. Indeed, the novel is full of pungent symbolism, allegory and satirical rhetoric that portray the neo-colonial conditions in Kenya. Ngugi indirectly voices his criticism towards the corrupt ruling intellectuals who preserve the colonial legacy. The title’s words parody the Christian myth of sacrifice and at the same time an expected justice for the devils of neo-colonialism.

The story of the novel turns around six main characters that travel together in a matatu taxi to Ilmorog (the fictional place for all Africa). These characters are Waringa, Gaturia, Wangari, Muturi, Mweriri and Mwaura, the matatu driver. The characters find themselves surprisingly invited to a Devil's Feast. The plot of the novel that is divided into twelve chapters seems to be less complicated than *Petals of Blood* and *Grain of wheat*, for example. The main part and the centre of the story is concerned with speeches of the local and foreign exploiters who meet in Ilmorog's cave celebrating the Devil's Feast in order to choose the seven cleverest thieves and robbers. At the feast, the exploiters start to speak about how they exploit and snatch the wealth of the poor. Moreover, every orator should declare how many wives he has, how many cars he owns, how many suggest girls and how much property he possesses. At the end, the protagonist Waringa, whose name means 'woman in chains', after failing to commit suicide several times, realises that her problems are solely symptoms of a sizable social malaise and decided to overcome her ordeal and take revenge from her exploiters.

### **1. KatebYacine's *Mohamed, prends ta valise* (1971): Context and Summary:**

Similar to Kenya, the movement toward decolonization in Algeria was also fierce and traumatic. In July 1962, the Algerian people get their independence and began to make reveries about the welfare which will govern the Algerian territory on the dawn of their liberation from the exploitive French colonist. However, the colonial legacy continues its propagation through the hegemonic and neo-colonial system ruled by the national intellectuals who take over the power. Thus, the Algerian new born came with anomalies after irresistible post-deliverance sufferings. It is this paradoxical moment, which pushes the Algerian committed author of 'Nedjma', KatebYacine, to face with harsh critics the neocolonial government elites.

Kateb's play *Mohamed, prends ta valise* (1971) is one of Yacine's committed theatre which covers the cries of the Algerian disillusioned population. Written in a poetic shape reflecting the Brechtian techniques of the epic theatre, Kateb's play declared the birth of national literature. It is full of historical and social events and it includes national and international events starting with the May 08th, 1945 to the Algerian liberation. Kateb has opened the eyes of the audience to the dishonorable social conditions and maltreatment of the employees in both Algeria and France. Mohamed Zitoune is the protagonist of the piece, who under his features hides the character of Djeha as in popular tales. The play strongly denounced the hypocrisy of Algerian and French societies on the burlesque and the satirical mode.

The plot of the narration is very simple: The adventures of Mohamed, plain citizen, confronted to the logic of the masters and the high status. The fable settles in a coming and going between a just post-independent Algeria. It tells the life of the Algerian emigrant marks, through the simple history of Mohamed Zitoune, forced to live far from his wife Aïcha, who remains in Algeria and becomes a prey for the hypocrite and corrupted religious man, the Mufti. Aïcha stands for Algeria coveted and manhandled. Kateb introduces multiple narrative processes, where all of the actors of the neocolonial exploitation are presented as oppressive faces (Boudinar, the Mufti and the Caid), repressive (as the police or the governors, that intervene all along the piece) or of the people's incarnations through multiple characters (as the workers, the soldiers, the immigrant workers or the unemployed person). All revolve around Mohamed, the central character, who represents "crucible" and incarnation of the Algerian by turns either migrant or immigrant. He is in victim's position, constantly rejected by his interlocutors: French soldier or sweeper, he is submitted to racism, to the exploitation, to the denial of existence, by the French, the police, and even his own brother, to the will of his round-trips between Algiers, Marseille and Paris.

It is very clear and beyond a shadow of a doubt that Kateb 's "*Mohamed, prends ta valise*" is the best example of literature of combat through which Kateb shows his connection to the alienated populace of Algeria and denouciation of the national bourgeoisie. It is also worthy to mention that Kateb was influenced by Antonine Artaud , a French philosopher who incites writers in general and playwrights in particular to produce a tragic theatre which enails the real and cruel situation of the audience , Artaud argues that theatre should frighten the spectators in order to make them aware of their chaotic living conditions. Kateb with his theatre troupe "Action Culturelle des Travailleurs (ACT)" took with boldness the burden of revolutionalising and criticizing the postcolonial corrupted and hegemonic system governed by the organic intellectuals and elites who renewed the political, economic and social trauma or dogma of the colonizer.

Kateb also sacrificed his career as a talented writer for his cause and engagement 'nationalist cause' which is to educate his compatriots (who get out of colonization unlearned and illiterates in majority) through theater, the most nearer form of literature to the masse at that time, dictated by his conscience of responsibility . The use of popular tales and myths style in his play is also a kind of belonging to the oral literature of North Africa, and even when his character Mouhamed Zitouneproclaim the earth of his father is a kind of connection to the place, which makes a sense of belonging.

All in all, KatebYacine's Mohamed prends ta valise reports the discomfort of the Algerian people towards the neocolonial conducts of the political, economic and even religious national leaders (national bourgeoisie) who show respectively the same exploitive, corrupted and lecherous intentions towards the national populace . The reason which pushes the peasants to look for alternatives like immigration, as their last chance to survive, the phenomenon to which Kateb gives much importance in his play to stir the tragic mishaps of the selfish and weak intellectuals who take over the power during the postcolonial era. The

Algerian peasant who supposed to live in wealth and dignity in a country like Algeria full gas and oil resources , lives in misery and economic instability and reliability to the previous capitalist colonizer who before his departure sowed the seeds of neocolonialism and ordered his heirs to take care of them.

**a. The Biography of KatebYacine**

KatebYacine is the father founder of the Algerian modern popular theater; he was born in Conde-Smendou, near Constantine in august 1929 to Mohamed and JasminaKateb. In 1937, he attended the Quran School, one year later, he was educated in French- colonial schools until 1945. He participated in the demonstrations of May 8, 1945 and he was placed under arrest and imprisoned for two months. From that point on he became a partisan for the nationalist cause. One year later ,Kateb published his first collection of poetry, *Soliloques* (1946) and in May 1947 he joined the Algerian Communist Party. His mother's psychological health decline and his love for a married cousin surnamed Nedjma made him live in dejection and sadness along his life, in his words:

Je suis né d'une mère folle très géniale. Elle était généreuse, simple, et des perles coulaient de ses lèvres .je les ai recueillies sans savoir leur valeur. Apres le massacre (8 mai 1945), je lai vue devenir folle. Elle, la source de tout. Elle se jetait dans le feu, partout ou il y avait du feu.ses jambes, ses bras, sa tête, n'étaient que brulures .j'ai vécu ca, et je me suis lance tout droit dans la folie d'un amour, impossible pour une cousine déjà mariée.<sup>23</sup>

All this transformed into a famous mythical novel entitled “Nedjma” published in 1956, known as the birth certificate of modern Algerian literature, then another novel in 1966 “The Starry Polygon”, then he lived the language of Moliere, the French tongue and change it by his mother tongue, the dialectical Arabic , that he calls it the Algerian language, which is the mixture of different jargons; Tamazight, classical Arabic, French, Turkish, and Spanish, a tongue adapted through centuries of colonization with the languages of the invaders, after

turning to a playwright of a collection of plays among them; “The Circle of Reprisals”, “The Man in the Rubber Sandals”, “Cadaver surrounded”, “The Powder of intelligence”, and some essays and poems, and also “Butcher shop of the hope” plays, [four plays, including Mohamed, take your suitcase,1971]. Worked as a journalist, traveled around Algeria and the world, he developed friendship with a lot of artistic figures such as Mohamed Dib, M'hamedIssiakhem, Malek Haddad, and Berthold Brecht, it is also worthy to mention that the writer of Nedjma was highly impacted by the American rural modernist William Faulkner as he asserted in one of the interviews he attended . In October 28, 1989, at the age of sixty, Algeria and the world lost this pillar of committed literature, in the hospital of Grenoble, France, dead of leukemia illness. Nowadays, his works studied in different universities around the world and translated into different languages. Besides his committed literary works, KatebYacine had embodied / incarnated his sought-after national identity on his family record book by naming his son and his relief AmazighKateb.

### **Endnotes**

<sup>13</sup>Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press,1963), 158.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid, 176

<sup>15</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*(London, 1965).

<sup>16</sup>James Stephen Robinson, *NgugiwaThiong'o's Fight Against Colonialism and Neocolonialism:An Exploration of the Theme of Betrayal*( Simon Fraser University, 1987)

<sup>17</sup>Paolo Abis, *Class Struggle, Elitism and Social Collectivism in NgugiwaThiong'o's Devil on the Cross: A Frntz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press), 158.*Marxist Approach*(Dalarna University, 2001).

<sup>18</sup>*Country Profile: Kenya*. (June 2007). Retrieved from Library of Congress –Federal Research Division

<sup>19</sup>BenaoudaLebdai, *Post -Independence African Literature Case Study Boujedra/ Ngugi* : Office Des Publications Universitaires. 1. Place central de Ben Aknoun (Algeria).

<sup>20</sup>Ayettey.B George, *Africa Betrayed*, (St Martin's Press; New York1992).

<sup>21</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind*,( London, James Curry, 1936),.63.

<sup>22</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 1982,5

<sup>23</sup>. [https://dicocitations.lemonde.fr/auteur/5044/Yacine\\_Kateb](https://dicocitations.lemonde.fr/auteur/5044/Yacine_Kateb)

## **II. Results and Discussion:**

### **III.1.Results:**

This section of our work aims to exhibit the basic findings we reached throughout our undertaking of this piece of research. First and foremost, our handling of Algerian theatre through Kateb Yacine's *Mohamed prends ta valise* and Kenyan literature by Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Devil on the Cross* allows us to come to the conclusion that both works whether play or novel are powerful means of denouncing and portraying the neo-colonial hegemonic social and political malaise in general and those of post-independence Algerian and Kenyan societies in specific; as it is the case of our work.

The second major finding concerns committed literature and theatre. In fact, through the exploration of both Kateb and Ngugi masterpieces, we have noticed that both authors attended to trigger the same themes and show the new exploitative hegemonic system ruled by intellectuals in both countries, Algeria and Kenya, since both were ex-European colonies. Therefore, we can say both Kateb's play and Ngugi's novel are committed to elucidate and voice the new repressive regimes practised by the motherland's intellectuals in post-independence Africa.

Third, as regard to Fanon's theory on post-coloniality, our study of both Kateb Yacine's *Mohamed prends ta valise* (1971) and Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Devil on the Cross* (1982) has proved that Fanon has been prophetic in his prediction on the Neo-colonial phenomenon. Similar to Fanon's theory, Gramsci's theory on Hegemony also find its echoes within our selected works. In other words, our borrowing of Fanon's and Gramsci's theory has enhanced the vision of both authors on portraying how the whole continent has been shaken by this new repressive, hegemonic and racist system. Therefore, our research findings bridges the gap between the Algerian playwright Kateb Yacine and the Kenyan novelist

NgugiwaThiong'o. Both break the boundaries of language and space and meet in their struggle against neo-colonialism and hegemony in Africa.

### **III.2.Discussion:**

In this part of our dissertation we intend to analyze the issues of neo-colonialism and hegemony as they are portrayed in our selected works from the Fanonian and Gramscian theoretical standpoints. Though it was difficult to separate the interrelated theories to which we made appeal to, for being bind with the concept of 'intellectual', we suggested dividing the section into two main chapters focusing on characterization, style and themes. While the first chapter is devoted to the demonstration of the ways our committed authors denounced the neo-colonial representation of intellectuals. The second one stands for the identification of the hegemonic devices

#### **2.1.Chapter One: The Representation of Intellectuals inYacine's play*Mohamed prends ta valise* andNgugi's novel *Devilon the Cross*.**

Although KatebYacine and NgugiwaThiong'o are from different countries and write in differentlanguages, their masterpieces, *Mohamed prends ta valise* and *Devil on the Cross*, are regarded among the important and fundamental works that portray the post-colonial regime. As far as this first chapter is concerned, the representation of intellectuals will be discussed and deeply analysed. Hence, we will first discuss the representation of intellectuals as Ngugidescribes: "the imperialist watchdogs, the children of the devil"<sup>24</sup> or simply the so-called 'the comprador bourgeoisie' "who only their skin is black but their heart is European"<sup>25</sup>. In other words, they are intellectuals who exploit the nation altogether with the foreigners. This chapter will also scrutinize another type of intellectuals who arecalled ' national bourgeoisie '. Although the latter's goal is "to build true native capitalism, free from foreign ideologies"<sup>26</sup>; yet it is not quite different from the first one in terms of interests and exploiting the masses.

Before analysing how intellectuals are represented in both works, we aim to explain the connotation of this term according to some theorist and experts. According to Marxist ideology, all societies whether democratic or not are ruled by intellectuals who occupy quite an important position within society because of their economic and political franchise. This equates Gramsci's argument that "all men are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals"<sup>27</sup>. Gramsci highlights that he is not referring to the academic, student, and/or a philosopher, who produces solely pieces for academic journals and only read by people of the same ilk, instead he is alluding to intellectuals that are holding control over powerful positions in the social hierarchy. Thus, we could define the concept as all persons and groups, who with the power they possess, influence the activities of a community. This social category is shallow and imitates European ways in all aspects.

### **2.1.a. The representation of Intellectuals in *Devil on the Cross*(1982).**

Ngugi alludes to the representatives of this social category which is composed of educated, rich and powerful elements in society by thieves and robbers who compete in the Devil's Feast in Ilmorog. The Kenyan thieves and robbers are gathered to tell their stories as a way of justifying their criminal activities and exploitation in Kenya:

First thing first, this feat is not a Devil's Feast, and it has not been organized by Satan. This feast has been arranged by the organization of Modern Theft and Robbery in Ilmorog to commemorate a visit by foreign guests from an organization for the thieves and robbers of the western world, particularly from America, England, Germany, France, Italy, Sweden and Japan, called the International Organization of the Thieves and Robbers<sup>28</sup>

In an allegorical form, the Devil's Feast certifies the exploitation of Kenya's peasant by foreign companies and greedy Kenyan bourgeoisie. Throughout the novel, Ngugi describes and represents the Kenyan intellectuals straightforwardly as corrupt, greedy and nasty bourgeoisie whose "sole motto is to replace the foreigner", Fanon writes. Ngugi shows how African intellectuals are westernised, 'manufactured' by the Europeans. They form a clan of individuals who are Africans in blood and skin colour, but Europeans in taste, way of thinking, morals and mentality. Fanon highlights this point claiming that "the national Bourgeoisie steps into the shoes of the former Europeans

settlement...”<sup>29</sup>. Although they belong to backgrounds preferring diverging positions, often pursuing different interests, they end up seeking to elevate their incomes. Fanon argues that “the intellectuals [mainly] on the eve of independence rallied to the party, now make it clear by their attitude that they gave their support with no other end in view than to secure their slices of the cake of independence”<sup>30</sup>. In the novel, Gitutuwa Gataanyuru declares “what was very surprising ... Was that apparently it did not matter on what side one had fought in the battle for freedom ... what was important now was the handsome physique of money”<sup>31</sup>.

Throughout the novel, Ngugi carries on representing the Kenyan intellectuals in different ways to exhibit the neo-colonial policies in Kenya. For instance, the comprador bourgeoisie, Gitutuwa Gataanyuru is one of the thieves and robbers who is seen as a representative of the “vile class of men who are determined to oppress the whole land”<sup>32</sup>, who have enriched themselves on “the sweat and blood of the workers”<sup>33</sup>. Ngugi illustrates the voracity of Gitutu, ‘the big farmer’, who recalls his father’s words that he should “learn from the white, and [he]’ll never go wrong”<sup>34</sup>. Gitutu proudly describes how he used his cunning to make profits without ‘sweating’. He admits that “cunning was more profitable than hard work”<sup>35</sup>. Ngugi carries on describing the Kenyan intellectuals whose voracity is never satisfied. The competitor enriches himself by taking the ordinary people’s land from the outgoing colonizer and resells it to the masses. He clearly declares:

The question is this. The land wasn’t mine. And the money with which I’d paid for it wasn’t mine, and I hadn’t added anything to the land – where did I get the 220,000 shillings? From the pockets of the people. Yes, because the land really belonged to the people, the money with which I bought it came from the people!<sup>36</sup>.

Fanon echoes this point by arguing:

The big farmers, as soon as independence is proclaimed, demands thenationalization of agriculture production. Through manifold scheming practices they manage to make a clean sweep of the farms formerly owned by settlers, thus reinforcing their hold on the district<sup>37</sup>.

In other words, in the novel, Ngugi aims at exhibiting that after independence; the Kenyan intellectuals mainly revealed their greediness through an endeavour attempt to take the masses lands through various camouflaged ways. Fanon argues that because of such attitudes “the national economy of the period of independence is not set on footing...we go on being Europe’s small farmers...”<sup>38</sup>.

Another example of neo-colonial intellectuals represented by Ngugi is KihaahuwaGtheeca. His name's connotation may reveal his active support and endorsement of neo-colonialism since it is driven from the Gikuyu call for the 'kingstock'. In the novel, Ngugi describes him as having a mouth which is "shaped like a beak of the kingstock: long, thin and sharp"<sup>39</sup> which equates his physical description as slim and tall. Moreover, his attitudes as one of the Kenyan intellectuals who compete in the Devil's Feast reflect the Gikuyu proverb which says that 'a bird that has a beak does not pick up grains for another'. It is mainly through the testimony of KihaahawaGatheeca that Ngugi portrays how the Kenyan intellectuals have gained political power and utilise it to perpetuate the workers and the peasants' exploitation. Kihaahu claims that he "picked fruit riper and sweeter than that on all the Uhuru trees"<sup>40</sup>. Said differently, since "only who sits under the tree who knows what the black tree-ant eats"<sup>41</sup>. Kihaahu began to look for the fruit which his contemporaries were plucking. Consequently, he came to the conclusion that "as soon as people accumulate property, they all wanted to enter parliament"<sup>42</sup> and that politics is "the basic of profit for modern Kenyan bourgeoisie"<sup>43</sup>.

The new emerging neo-colonial intellectuals use their political power only to manage their personal affairs and obtain more wealth. Fanon argues that "the party is becoming a means of private advancement...a true instrument of power in the hand of the bourgeoisie, reinforces machine, and Ensures that people are hemmed in and immobilized"<sup>44</sup>. Ngugi equates Fanon's statement as Kihaahu continues declaring: "I'm very grateful to the masses of the Kenyan people for their blindness, their ignorance, their inability to demand their rights are what enable us, the clan of men-eaters, to feed on their sweat..."<sup>45</sup>. In other words, Ngugi wants to exhibit the political attitudes of the Kenyan intellectuals' after independence in exploiting the country through Kihaahu who may be seen as Ngugi's prototype of neo-colonial African intellectuals. In the eyes of those intellectuals all what is matter is to fulfil their needs and to elevate their own interests. Kihaahu carries out saying "I'd invested in the election campaign had yielded quite a tidy sum. And you'll note, I hadn't shed a drop of sweat. All my money came from the very people who had voted for me. How? Because it was their tax that would go to back the money borrowed from foreign banks"<sup>46</sup>. This recalls Fanon's words that "the bourgeoisie caste to govern the underdeveloped country first with the help of the people but soon

against them<sup>47</sup>. For Kihaahu to win his election campaign, he was in need of the people to vote for him; however, as soon as he wins “a seat on Iciriri Country Council, Ruuwa-ini Ward<sup>48</sup>, he makes them pay for his loans in foreign Banks as if a “dictatorship is a necessity<sup>49</sup>”.

An additional intellectual of the same kind is the character Nditikawa Nguunji. His physical representation may be simply deduced from his name's connotation, which means ‘the one who carries a huge burden’. Ngugi represents Nditikawa as “very fat. His head was huge, like a mountain. His belly hung over his belt, big and arrogant<sup>50</sup>”. Through this competitor's physical representation, Ngugi attempts to portray the voracity that characterises the neo-colonial Kenyan intellectuals'. The new Kenyan emerging capitalist bourgeoisie has learnt from the former colonizer the necessity of maintaining its exploitation as it is highlighted by Fanon “today the vultures are too numerous and too voracious in proportion to the lean spoils of the national wealth<sup>51</sup>”. Ngugi made a resemblance between the national economic wealth and the representation of national Kenyan intellectuals' appearance. Nditikawa is one of many examples and further, as the master of the ceremony reminds the thieves and robbers that no one without big belly and fat cheeks should bother to come up to the platform, stating “who could possibly argue the size of man's belly and cheeks is not the true measure of his wealth?<sup>52</sup>”.

The Kenyan intellectuals' are represented further as who commit their lives to wealth and Prosperity, who believes in the “proverb: a rich man never dies<sup>53</sup>”. Nditikawa echoes Fanon's words “kill Yourself that I may become rich<sup>54</sup>” as he declares “if you find anything belonging to the masses, don't leave it behind, for if you don't look after yourself, who'll look after you ?<sup>55</sup>” .

The second type of Kenyan intellectuals' represented by Ngugi might be referred to as ‘national bourgeoisie’ who are not quite different from its preceding one -the comprador bourgeoisie- in terms of their inclination to favour the exploitation of the masses. However, these local intellectuals aim to enjoy their piece of national cake by themselves. In *Devil on the Cross*, the local intellectuals are represented by Gaturia and Mwireri. First, Mwireri wa Mukirai is represented as an example of national intellectuals who cannot accept the exploitation of the masses by foreigners, preferring to be

achieved by the masses' compatriots. He realizes that "foreigners are not ready to relinquish their hold on our manufacturing industries-fed, of course, by the sweat of our workers. For a workers' sweat is the source of all profit"<sup>56</sup>and wonders if they "have people on [their] own who can milk themasses"<sup>57</sup>. As a consequence, he believes that the exploitation of the masses should be indigenous as he openly states his belief: "I MwireriwaMukirai, believe only in the first kind of theft and robbery: that is, theft and robbery of nationals of a country, who steal from their people and consume their plunder right there in the country itself"<sup>58</sup>.

Therefore, Mwireri's belief suggests that the Kenyan intellectuals' should "seek to build true native capitalism, free from foreign ideologies"<sup>59</sup>. By doing so, we "could break the chains that have Bound us to foreigners"<sup>60</sup>. This point of view is echoed in Fanon's words that the national bourgeoisie tends to "constantly demand the nationalization of the economy ... this because, from their point of View,... nationalization simply means the transfer into the native hands of those unfair advantages which are a legacy of the colonial period"<sup>61</sup>. That means, the permanent demand of local intellectuals to nationalize the country recourses is merely due to their interest to grab and benefit from positions left by the former colonial legacy.

Second, Gaturia is ostensibly represented at the beginning of the novel as being radical, a prospect revolutionary who rejects his father's attitude in neo-colonial Kenya. In the novel, a sense of hope is represented by Gaturia as the one who may bring a torch of light to the nation because he is described as being one of those who always seek change. This anticipated hope came from his name's reflection which means 'the seeker' or 'the quester'. However, by the end of the novel, everything takes another turn revealing that Gaturia is not different from his fellow intellectuals. For this Ngugi wonders ironically if there is "a difference between a thief and a man who looks on"<sup>62</sup>. The answer is given through Muturi 'the leader of the clan of workers' words "if whenever we see theft and robbery, we shut our eyes and look the other way, doesn't this mean we support the system of theft and robbery? There is no difference between a thief and him who observes the act"<sup>63</sup>. In this sense, when Muturi in his fight against neo-colonialism challenges Gaturia addressing him: "bring

your education to us and don't turn your back to the people. That's the only way"<sup>64</sup>; however, Gaturia ignores Muturi's challenge and chooses to maintain his political commitment purely academic.

Another example to illustrate that Gaturia is represented not differently from his proceeding intellectuals is when Muturi trusts his gun to Waringa and not Gaturia, because Gaturia cannot simply be trusted as Muturi claims: "those educated people are not sure whose side they are on"<sup>65</sup>. Moreover, Although he witnessed the clansmen and "the mass of students (uprising) in Ilmorog... (fighting) against neo-colonialism, the last stage of imperialism"<sup>66</sup>, he still procrastinating to take an action. Ngugi argues that for anyone to take an action he does not need more evidences because "procrastination destroyed the beehive"<sup>67</sup> and it is never too early to chase away the devil. Fanon highlights that this kind of conductance is due to their – the intellectuals- "lack of practical links between them and the mass of people, their laziness, and let be said, their cowardice at the decisive moment of struggle will give rise to tragic mishaps"<sup>68</sup>.

The uncommitted intellectual who according to Ngugi equates the national bourgeoisie is represented as a researcher whose quest is only to discover the causes of the social malaise in neocolonial Kenya. Although Gaturia praises Wangari's step for positive change and knowing that his music will not bring a possible revolution in Kenyan music as he quote Igor Stravinsky's words in his book *Poetic in Music*: "he argues that there was no real revolution in music: each composer only adds something to what others have done before"<sup>69</sup>, Gaturia still maintaining the decision to stay in his comfort zone producing purely academic oratorios, writing for the oppressed, but not with the oppressed. Unlike Gaturia, Ngugi illustrates other Kenyan students who refused to "be left behind"<sup>70</sup> and choose to join hands with the workers in their struggle against imperialism. They wonder about "what greater thing (their) education can do for (their) nation"<sup>71</sup> in order to throw out the devil and his counterparts.

Furthermore, Ngugi demonstrates that instead of composing "music to tell the story of one's country"<sup>72</sup>, Gaturia cannot escape emulating the selfishness of other neo-colonial intellectuals. For instance, at the beginning he tells Waringa that he is about to compose music that tells the story of the

Nation's struggle against imperialism in rhythm and theme. However, at the end of the novel, he transgresses his word deciding that his score will "be Wringa's engagement ring... (and) the first performance (will) take place on their wedding night"<sup>73</sup>. Another example to confirm Fanon's statement that the national intellectual's aim is solely "to defend (their) immediate interests, and see no further than the end of (their) nose, (revealing themselves) incapable of simply bringing the national unity into being"<sup>74</sup> is when he was talking to Wringa. He says that his father will be glad when he sees what he has brought to him and when Wringa wonders if it is "over (her) or the score"<sup>75</sup>, he demands pretending angrily "how can you compare your own beauty with mere sheets of music"<sup>76</sup>. This quote represents Gaturiaas one of those who seeks only his interest and after all he still chasing his father's gladness.

### **2.1.b. The representation of Intellectuals in *Mohamed prends ta valise* (1971)**

The double disillusionment caused by the theirresponsible advocates of civilization and liberation at the international and national enterprises respectively, pushed the Algerian writer and playwright KatebYacine, well known for his boldness to denounce the dominant (the bourgeoisie) and side the dominated (the proletariat). In other words, Kateb defends the faked missionaries and ideologies of the elites and at the same time he advocates the populace and defends them. These raisons and others pushed Kateb to renovate his classical literary edifices mainly after he had discovered the epic theatre devices of Berthold Brecht which matches enormously with his needs for colonialist and neocolonialist denunciation. Besides, he adopted the Fanonian anti-colonialist and the gramscian anti-capitalist theories to decry the representation of the intellectuals to whom the peasants entrust their national share and patrimony.

In the post-independent Algerian society, as similar to the Kenyan one, the individuals who handled the governance from the French colonizer were unfaithful and greedy subjects. They waited the Algerian newborn deliverance with suspense not for the good of the whole

nation but for the fulfillment of self interests, wealth and prestige. Hence, in the third chapter ‘The Pitfalls of National Consciousness’ of *The Wretched of the Earth (1961)*, Fanon identifies the shameful truth about the national intellectuals who keep distance from the masses and their failed role on the political, economic and religious positions. Moreover, Fanon through his prophetic assertions foreshadows the dire consequences that may result from the absence of the national consciousness, in his words:

This fight for democracy against the oppression of mankind will slowly leave the confusion of neo-liberal universalism to emerge, sometimes laboriously, as a claim to nationhood. It so happens that the unpreparedness of the educated classes, the lack of practical links between them and the mass of the people, their laziness, and, let it be said, their cowardice at the decisive moment of the struggle will give rise to tragic mishaps.<sup>77</sup>

Fanon’s prophecy on the petite bourgeoisie whose thirst and greediness to inherit and substitute the departed colonizers gives birth to a fake national intellectuals by the dawn of the independence day. As a result, tragic consequences emerged and impact all of political, economic, social and religious spheres.

Kateb Yacine’s *Mohamed prends ta valise (1971)* is regarded as being a significant epic theatre which reports the tragic outcomes of the corrupted and lecherous conducts of the national intellectuals that took over the government at the dawn of the Algerian independence. Hence, The representation of intellectuals in Kateb’s play is embodied in three main characterizations to which Kateb ironically refers as the tricolours gandouras that the protagonist Mohamed presented to the public as the Gandourie:

“Je vous présente la Gandourie

Chaque gandoura y tient un rôle,

L’une est en soie, l’autre en tissor,

Tandis que moi je suis tout nu

Je vous présente la Gandourie!<sup>78</sup>

Through direct narration , Mohamed addressed the audience to inform them about the importance of the well dressed men wearing North African cloths (Gandouras) but with the symbolic colors of the French flag, respectively, Boudinar in blue, the Mufti in white, and the Caid in red, while he, he is naked though Mohamed I is Boudinar's brother. This comparison denotes the two mostly divergent classes engendered by colonization, a regime which does not tolerate the emergence of the middle class ,i.e the rich get richer and the poor stay poor, though in the African societies, it is the middle class intellectuals of the underdeveloped countries who become the national or petite bourgeoisie under the influence of the colonial and neocolonial regime. For that Fanon pointed out: "the national middle class who takes over the power at the end of the colonial regime is an underdeveloped middle class"<sup>79</sup>. Concisely they inherited selfishness, greediness and the colonizer motto "Greed is Good".

More can be said on Kateb's representation of the neocolonial intellectuals. He ironically labelled them according to their role, their status, and their dominant profile. for instance, the three Gandouras' first names were never evocated, they are known for what they stands for : Boudinar for the greedy man who shows his thirst for money 'Dinar' , in the Algerian vernacular Arabic, 'bou' stands for the owner and 'dinar' for the Algerian monetary currency. The Mufti, a high religious man in the Islam but in Kateb's play he is a lecherous and hypocrite man who forbids the forbidden and brings the same. And the Caid who stands for justice and social peaceful arrangements but he is unfair in his judgements when the matter is on the favour of the peasants. To illustrate the corrupted unfair exploitative connotations which are hidden behind the gandouras , Algerian representatives of France , Kateb denounces their neo-colonial reactions and betrayal, right from their entrance on the

stage as ‘they salute militarily the Negrier ( slave driver ): “ Entre le negrier .les troisGandours le satulentmilitairement.”<sup>80</sup>

Additionally ,Kateb unveils the crimes those elites caused for humanity; they take profit of peasants’ misery by exploiting them and practice adultery on their women. Moreover the oppressed is always misjudged for instance , the Mufti who should be a coorthy and sedate religious man seized the difficult moments that Mohamed Zitoune and his wife Aisha passed through , to practice adultery with Aicha and run behind his lust as long as possible, in kateb’s words:

Un baiser, un seul baiser!

Ah! Tu m’assassines

Aicha :

Non, seigneur mufti

Le

Mufti :

Rien qu’un baiser...

Et demande- moi ce que tu veux!<sup>81</sup>

Besides ,Boudinar the greedy man, seized his brother’s land and house and left him with nothing apart his empty suite case , his flute and a rusty nail which he refuses to give it up, to illustrate this fact with Kateb’s utterances:

Boudinar :

Vends-moi ta maison

On s’entendra comme des frères

...

Mohamed :

C'est la toute ma fortune

Mon capital le plus précieux.

Si tu achètes la maison

il faudra que tu laisses

le clou planté là où il est

boudinar :

quelle est cette lubie ? <sup>82</sup>

To provide more details regarding the role of each Gandouras, mainly after the poor Mohamed addresses the audience attentively, not for nothing but certainly a crucial connotation is behind the positions that the Gandouras occupied. Effectively, a thorough analysis of Kateb's play reveals that the Gandourie is a group of intellectuals not traditional intellectuals with glasses but they are neocolonial agents who surrendered to the mother bourgeoisie instructions and principles. Those native elites manufactured by the colonizer refuse to unite with their congenital brothers for the restitution of the national consciousness in the post-independent era, but in reverse, they extend their hands to the imperialists and bind their minds with theirs to reinforce the hegemonic system and the ideological thoughts they created together. Moreover they sold their brothers' forehead sweat and their traditional intellectuals' brains, Kateb echoes this through boudinar's direct narration :

J'ai grand besoin de tous ces veaux

Je vends les bras et les cerveaux

Et ça m'rapporte et tout va bien <sup>83</sup>

As evidences regarding the issue cited above, we may evocate also the accompaniment of national intellectuals for the French figures in mostly all the scenes. For instance, by the

beginning of the play the Gandouras were side by side with the Negrier and Mohamed with his wife, who stands for the Algerian peasants, are their servants. By the dawn of the independence , The three Gandouras did not glorify the Algerian independence but they celebrated their belonging to the French Algeria or downright the France in the Algerian territories :

Boudinar:

Vive vous

Le Mufti:

Vive l'AlgerieFrancaise

Le Caid:

Vive la France

Le Negrier :

Les Arabes, silence!

Vous etes mes invites!

Aicha , apporte le repas !

Mohamed , n'oublie pas le vin!<sup>84</sup>

On the same issue Fanon asserts that: “the national bourgeoisie organizes centers of rest and relaxation and pleasure resorts to meet the wishes of Western bourgeoisie”<sup>82</sup>.

Beside the Negrier, we find the gandouras (national bourgeoisie or national intellectuals) denounce their brothers to the French soldiers and judge presidents for a lesser error ignoring that they are the main cause of his/her error. But in fact these gestures are very important for the national bourgeoisie to show their alliance to the mother bourgeoisie and even their

contribution and collaboration within the intellectual movement. Kateb in return denounces their intellectual banditry and national treason. For instance, when the Mufti accused Mohamed of being a thief for taking an onion from his garden just to satisfy his hunger, and denounced him to the policeman and then to the trial where he is sentenced for two months of prison and finally exiled:

Le gendarme emmène Mohamed accompagné du mufti au tribunal.

Entrent un juge français et un interprète.

Le juge, à Mohamed:

Pourquoi a-tu volé ces oignons?

Mohamed :

Parce que j'ai faim.

Le juge :

Tu travailles ?

Mohamed :

Je ne travaille pas

Le juge :

Pourquoi ?

Mohamed :

Parce que je n'ai pas d'épaules!!

Le juge :

Quoi ???

Mohamed :

Je suis de douar de Beni-Gandour

Toutes les gandouras

Me sont tombées dessous

Et moi je n'ai pas d'épaules

J'ai un frère mais mon frère n'a pas de nez

Le juge :

Bon ! Bon !deux mois de prison.<sup>85</sup>

This illustration is so significant portraying the reality of the national bourgeoisie and national intellectuals who takes over the power after the national liberation. In fact the latter is just a protocol with no practical evidences. The protagonist Mohamed Zitoune refers to his origins 'douar Beni-Gandour' to inform simultaneously the judge and the audience that he comes from the same origins as the Gandouras but since he did not take sides (shoulders) with the officers, policemen, directors, generals , technicians, engineers and all the organic components of the capitalist neocolonialist movement, which imposes the abdication of the nationalist spirit , to which Mohamed refers by –Nez- stirring his brother adhesion in the movement which pushes him to be deprived of the brotherhood feelings and human ethnic dignity.

Before putting the end point for this issue, the representation of the Algerian organic intellectuals in relation to their counterpart from the western bourgeoisie, it is worthy to mention three figures who Kateb introduced as the French PDG "entrenttrois P.D.G francais: Pompez-tout le capitalist , Pompez –doux le neocolonialist et Pompez –tout-doux , la synthese des deux premiers."<sup>84</sup> . These colonist and neo-colonist figures are the managers or the directors of the neocolonialist and capitalist movement, they are different from the organic intellectuals , Gramsci categorizes them as the vertical dimension of intellectuals .

Similar to Gramsci or may be impacted by Gramsci's 'war of movement and war of position'<sup>86</sup>, Frantz Fanon in the first chapter "concerning violence" of his book *The Wretched Of The Earth* (1963) shows his public the mechanism or the process through which both of organic and vertical intellectuals crystallize or rather industrialize their capitalist neocolonial movement and how they obtain their positions:

This phenomenon is ordinarily masked because, during the period of decolonization, certain colonized intellectuals have begun a dialogue with the bourgeoisie of the colonialist country. During this phase, the indigenous population is discerned only as an indistinct mass. The few native personalities whom the colonialist bourgeois have come to know here and there have not sufficient influence on that immediate discernment to give rise to nuances. On the other hand, during the period of liberation, the colonialist bourgeoisie looks feverishly for contacts with the elite and it is with these elite that the familiar dialogue concerning values is carried on. The colonialist bourgeoisie, when it realizes that it is impossible for it to maintain its domination over the colonial countries, decides to carry out a rearguard action with regard to culture, values, techniques, and so on.<sup>87</sup>

Returning back to our play, and more precisely to our last illustrations concerning the three French P.D.G. to whom Kateb adds the three Algerian P. D.G.. we may conclude that Kateb through his play informs the public about the hierarchical structure of the neocolonial and capitalist movements, and the reality of those who took over the power after independence. Kateb by doing so or combating so aims to rise the dominated (oppressed/ populace) class consciousness and push them to react. Indeed, changes began to take place, from the workers side, by the last scenes of the play. As evidence we may cite the response that the protagonist Mohamed Zitoune gave back straightforwardly to the three French PDG when they come in his front:

Pompez –tout-doux:

Le plus ancien, c'est Pompez –tout

Et le nouveau , c'est Pompez –doux

Mais tous les trois , on t'aime beaucoup.

Mohamed :

Même s'ils diffèrent par la méthode

C'est toujours les mêmes loups qui rodent,

Ils ont toujours le même code

Faut pas charrier, ils sont partout.<sup>88</sup>

From this moment on which the main character, Mohamed Zitoune began to react and face the vertical intellectuals (the highest positioned elites of the capitalist movement), with consciousness and awareness, we can say that Kateb's play denounces the oppressor and incites the oppressed to react

### **Endnotes:**

<sup>24</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 1982, 196.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid,104

<sup>26</sup>Ibid,170

<sup>27</sup>Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks* , p,9.

<sup>28</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 1982, 78

<sup>29</sup>Ibid,15

<sup>30</sup>Ibid,171

<sup>31</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 1982, 103.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid, 183

<sup>33</sup>Ibid, 187

<sup>34</sup>Ibid, 102

<sup>35</sup>Ibid, 103

<sup>36</sup>Ibid, 106

<sup>37</sup>Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press1963), 154.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid,151

<sup>39</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 1982, 108.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid, 114

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 114

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 114

<sup>43</sup>Ibid, 112

<sup>44</sup>Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press1963),171.

<sup>45</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 1982, 116.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid, 116

<sup>47</sup>Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press1963),181

<sup>48</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 1982, 114.

<sup>49</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press1963), 181

<sup>50</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 1982, 176.

<sup>51</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press1963), 172.

<sup>52</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 1982, 96.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid, 180

<sup>54</sup>Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press1963), 194

<sup>55</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 1982,177.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid,169

<sup>57</sup>Ibid, 168

<sup>58</sup>Ibid, 166

<sup>59</sup>Ibid, 170

<sup>60</sup>Ibid, 170

<sup>61</sup>Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press1963),152

<sup>62</sup>NgugiwaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 1982,185.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid, 158.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid, 205

<sup>65</sup>Ibid,211

<sup>66</sup>Ibid, 209

<sup>67</sup>Ibid, 158

<sup>68</sup>Ibid, 148

<sup>69</sup>Ibid, 244

<sup>70</sup>Ibid, 209

<sup>71</sup>Ibid, 209

<sup>72</sup>Ibid, 226

<sup>73</sup>Ibid, 226

<sup>74</sup>Ibid, 159

<sup>75</sup>Ibid, 225

<sup>76</sup>Ibid, 225

<sup>77</sup>Yacine, Kateb. Boucherie de l'Esperance, 1971

<sup>78</sup>Ibid

<sup>79</sup>Ibid

<sup>80</sup> Ibid

<sup>81</sup> Ibid

<sup>82</sup> Ibid

<sup>83</sup> Ibid

<sup>84</sup> Ibid

<sup>85</sup> Ibid

<sup>86</sup> Ibid

<sup>87</sup> Ibid

<sup>88</sup> Ibid

## **2.2. Chapter Two: Hegemony in Both Works**

In this part of our dissertation, we will discuss the vast notion of hegemony as it is developed by Antonio Gramsci. Moreover, we will make relation how Ngugi and Kateb implement and agitate this notion in both of their works. In way to reveal the different ways that international and national intellectuals want to implement in order to maintain its hegemonic domination over the masses. Bill Ashcroft argues that the term hegemony ‘can be useful to describe the success of the imperialist power over a colonized people.’<sup>89</sup> This quote is sufficient to argue that the period following the Second World War is the period when indirect means of colonization have emerged. The Western imperialists are no longer in need of external direct armed power to colonize developing countries. Instead they form a new camouflaged strategy referred to later as neo-colonialism. This new policy refers to the use of economic, educational, socio-political influential forces by the west to spread their hegemony over newly decolonized countries

### **2.2.a. Hegemony in *Devil on the Cross* (1982)**

Ngugi uses many characters to denounce the economic, socio-cultural, educational, political and religious hegemony. Each character explains how they aspire to exploit the masses. It is worthy to mention that throughout the novel, Ngugi elucidates that in many post-independence African countries there exists a double notion of hegemony. From one hand, the hegemony that is maintained and exercised by the global North Western countries on the Southern, mainly African and Latin American countries through different agencies. From the other hand, the same hegemony is echoed and mimicked by native and local intellectuals of the mother land. Fanon describes those local intellectuals as being “completely upsets the hesitant, prudent, landed bourgeoisie, which gradually slips more and into the lines laid down by colonialism”<sup>90</sup>. The author from his part equates Fanon’s statement and wants to exhibit through his novel that the Kenyan intellectuals are deeply influenced by Eurocentric hegemony.

In the novel, Gitutu declares his father's piece of advice asking him to "learn from the white and (he)'ll never go wrong"<sup>91</sup>. This quote reveals that the local intellectuals endeavour attempt to emulate and clone the foreigners in all aspects.

Ngugi uses the cave ceremonies as an epitome of international and national hegemony exercised on new independent Kenya. For instance, each competitor in the Devil's Feast admits how many cars he owns. Ulrich Brand and Markus Wissen declare that "the new consumers are oriented toward western mode of living."<sup>92</sup> In this sense, Ngugi describes those intellectuals boasting and being proud that they drive the latest Western car modes as Kihaahu says that "there's not a single mode [he has] not tried... [He] change[s] cars like clothes."<sup>93</sup> In other words, the Western hegemony is achieved when they win the intellectuals' consent through "imperialist discourse, so that the Euro-centric values, assumptions, beliefs, attitudes, are accepted as a matter of course as most natural or valuable,"<sup>94</sup> Ashcroft writes.

Moreover, Ngugi shows, mainly through Mwireri's testimony, the cunning ways used by the western to maintain and perpetuate their hegemony in new decolonized Kenya. Through Mwireri's, Ngugi reflects that there is no difference between hegemony practiced by intellectuals who favor to "join hands with foreigners,"<sup>95</sup> or those Intellectuals who prefer and argue that they "should not join hands with foreigners"<sup>96</sup> since they are all used as a "window-dressing"<sup>97</sup> to keep the people acquiescence in the belief that they are becoming wealthy bit by bit. Through a parable narrated in the novel, the window-dressing trap is well explained by Ngugi showing how foreigners left their faithful servants to perpetuate their hegemony after independence, he states:

The patriot guerillas and the masses of this country will now be deceived, because you are all black, as they are, and they will chant; 'see, now our own black people have the key to our country; see, now our own black people hold the steering wheel. What were we fighting for if not this? Let us put down our arms, and sing hymns of praise to our black lords'."<sup>98</sup>

The local intellectuals moved from being the willing slaves and servants of the Western hegemony to reproducing it within their own country. By imitating the western hegemonic

apparatuses, they aim to maintain their power and have control over the masses. Since Gramsci's concept of hegemony means "domination by consent,"<sup>99</sup> Ngugi represents what Gramsci calls 'the organic intellectuals'<sup>100</sup> as attempting to use more convincing ways rather than using violence. They want to spread their hegemony through 'common sense' instead of 'coercion' to make the masses accept their destiny as something 'natural' and more as a sacrifice to their country's development. Ngugi argues that the effectiveness of hegemony depends on subordinated people accepting the dominant ideologies as 'normal reality' or 'common sense'. Moreover, the intellectuals from their part will not let the masses recognize their subjugation; for instance, he says in the novel that "the workers will never know what's being done to them. They'll never see or feel those machines and pipes in their bodies. Thus, if they should ever chance to see them, they won't mind the burden."<sup>101</sup>

Ngugi discusses and portrays the burden of neo-colonial hegemony in deeper way through the novel's characters that stand for the local Kenyan intellectuals. For instance, Gitutu elucidates the economic hegemony through his testimony about how he used to exploit the peasants and the farmers. As soon as he realizes that "hunger multiplied by thirst brings about mass famine, and mass famine is the source of wealth of a cunning grabber"<sup>102</sup> and "the loss of the masses is the gain of few,"<sup>103</sup> he starts applying ethnic ideologies to deceive the people and win their trust. He allows only the local village residents to buy his plots as he convinces them that "the son of homestead is always the first to be smeared with luck-oil of initiation."<sup>104</sup> As a result of his annunciation, "his pocket now rings with the joyous sound of [money]."<sup>105</sup> Moreover, "the people started singing [his] praise, calling [him] the son of Gtaanguru, a child imbued with love of the people."<sup>106</sup> He does not solely win "hundred thousand shillings in the bank,... [his] fame [become] greater than that of any man who had shed his blood for his country –and all this without a drop of sweat falling on the land [he] has sold".<sup>107</sup> This equates

Gramsci's statement that "the power of the ruling class rests not only on violence, but also on conviction, hence the mechanism of power is not only the threat of force, but also conviction."<sup>108</sup>

Furthermore, Ngugi carries on explaining the economic hegemony applied in the nation through Mwireri's words as he explains that "the thieves and robbers of the world... share the same ideology."<sup>109</sup> Mwireri, in his testimony, focuses more on "what in English we call *capitalism*,"<sup>110</sup> it is a "system based on the theft of the sweat and blood of workers and peasants. The system... (Where) the masses cultivate and select few those with talents harvest. Five rich men grow roots in the flesh of fifty workers and peasants."<sup>111</sup> He explains that through ideology that is resembled to "the trick of wrapping poison in sugar-coated leaves"<sup>112</sup> intellectuals' used to deceive the people and continue their exploitation as long as possible. Mwireri explains that Capitalists "reap where (they) have never sown and grab things over which (they) have never shed any Sweat."<sup>113</sup> They tend to seize

The wealth of the nation [that] is produced by the workers of that country. For it is true that without the hand and the head and the heart of a worker there is no wealth... the machinery is a kind of a trap, and the salary is the piece of meat that is used to trap a mouse... the machinery is a machine for milking the sweat, the blood, energy and skills of a worker, and the banks are vessels – the calabashes, tins, drums- in which the milk is stored.<sup>1142</sup>

The intellectuals that dominate the "finance houses are the governing voices in the world today"<sup>115</sup>. As soon as they achieve to take control over "these financial institutions" they could not only "dictate ownership and growth,"<sup>116</sup> but also govern all types of business.

The competitor, Mwireri, does not solely explain the capitalist system applied in new independent Kenya, but also how he used to take part in it. Gramsci in his Prison Notebook emphasises the rule of ideological structures that help in justifying the position of ruling class and reproducing capitalism.<sup>117</sup> Mwireri, in order to win the masses approval to empower his hegemony, he has to manage to satisfy the respective interests of the other classes. Raymond Williams explains that the ruling class implies a willing rules and principles that may seem to

operate in the people's best interest "which in fact express the needs of a dominant class."<sup>118</sup> For instance, Waringais an example that describes the blacks mainly women, she is represented that whenever she looks in the mirror the most thing that she loathes is "her blackness, so she [endeavoured] to disfigure her body with skin-lightening creams."<sup>119</sup> For this, as soon as the ruling intellectuals realize the alienation of the blacks, they take it as an opportunity to exploit them, such as Mwireri, who took it as an opportunity and "started a factory for manufacturing skin-lightening creams."<sup>120</sup> The faulty belief that she could whiten her skin through skin-lightening creams which not only does not benefit her but also harm her skin as Mwireri declares "I found a cream to destroy black people's skin."<sup>121</sup>

In *Decolonizing the Mind*, Ngugi argues that the bourgeois tend to practise "education as a process of weakening people... mystifying knowledge and hence reality."<sup>122</sup> The educational system is geared toward the maintenance of hegemony of the ruling class. Gaturia declares that although Kenya wins its independence, the university curriculum of history department still specialises and focuses on European history, he says about professor Kimenyiugeni, "he is in the department of history. But he only knows European history."<sup>123</sup> Through this quote Ngugi seems to reveal various things; for instance, from one hand, he wants to exhibit the colonial legacy and neo-colonial hegemony on the system of education. From the other hand, revealing the fear of the ruling class of teaching Kenyan history from any possible uprising of passive revolution. Michel Foucault made a parallelism between the educational system power and the political discourse for both could make change. He says: "every educational system is a political means of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it."<sup>124</sup> Ngugi explains that the system of education instead of "giving people confidence"<sup>125</sup> it becomes "a process of alienation."<sup>126</sup>

Kimeendeeri declares frankly the real goal behind building schools in neo-colonial Kenya. In the process of never letting the people and "the workers learn of the existence of the

third world [besides the two worlds of the eater and the eaten], the world of revolutionary overthrow of the system of eating and being eaten”<sup>127</sup>, they tend to teach

The workers’ children ... that there is nothing people can do to put an end to the system. Children will be allowed to read only those books that glorify the system of drinking human blood and eating human flesh. They will not be allowed to ask questions about the conditions of their lives or those of their parents... they will only sing songs and hymns and read only that literature that glorify the system of drinking human blood and eating the human flesh.<sup>128</sup>

This quote echoes Foucault’s argument that schools are institutions that teach people to respond in a predictable way and that education is a form of disciplinary power used to maintain social order. Said differently, the organic intellectuals’ power lies on the ability to use the educational system as a way to conceive people and “make them feel their weakness; and their incapacities in the face of reality; and their inability to do anything about the conditions governing their lives”<sup>129</sup>.

Kimeendeeri may be described as a character who could stand for all types of hegemony exercised in new independent Kenya. He explains another type of hegemony which is applied through mass media. The role of state apparatuses such as mass media in producing and reproducing contents and ideas that are expedient to the ruling class’s interests. Gramsci argues that ‘mass media are tools that the ruling intellectuals use to perpetuate their power, wealth and status [by popularizing] their own philosophy, culture and morality.’<sup>130</sup> In the novel, Kimeendeeri announces in his orator in the cave that he

will build a hall, where the people will be shown films and will be entertained by concerts and plays ...(that) will glorify the deeds, traditions and the culture of the drinkers of human blood and the eaters of human flesh. The victims of cannibalism will always be presented as happy and content people.<sup>131</sup>

Through the use of the cannibalism myth, Ngugi wants to reinforce the significant role of mass media in perpetuating hegemony and deceiving the people. He reveals the extensive exploitation and the oppressive nature of mass media. Those filmmakers and playwrights, who are the willing

slaves of “kimeendeeri class”, are not different from cannibals that eat humans flesh and which Mwireri calls the “class of man-eaters.”<sup>132</sup>

Kimeendeer mentions that he “will also publish newspapers, whose role will be to denigrate those opposed to the system of drinking human blood and eating human flesh, and to celebrate the charitable hand-outs of Kimeendeeri and his friends.”<sup>133</sup> In other words, in the process of ‘universalizing’ the ruling intellectuals’ interests they are not only achieved through conviction means, but also with some coercion at the backdrop. Although hegemony is secured for the most part by consent, Gramsci argues that there are “also moments when a given consensus and hegemonic order are challenged. In this moment it may be necessary to re-secure [these] order by coercion.”<sup>134</sup> The mass media craftily influence their audience and act as “brain washing poisons whose purpose [is] to convince the workers that in the world there is nothing glorious as slavery.”<sup>135</sup>

### **2.2.b. Hegemony in *Mohamed prends ta valise* (1971)**

Akin to Ngugi, Kateb appeal to Gramsci’s conception of hegemony using characters from the elite class and characters from the working class, to make his audience learn about the tactics that the elites manage to keep their high position and let their opposites in the low position. Like wisely, he incites the Algerian population to react and then create new changes in their lives. Concisely, Kateb elucidates this in several episodes of his play, for instance:

The protagonist Mohamed Zitoune shows his disagreement and disappointment towards the exploitive capitalists who steal take profit of the Algerian resources :

Mohamed :

« Apres sept ans de durs combat,

On a fini sur un coup bas

Une pompe ici , une pompe là-bas

Pendant qu'on danse la samba. »<sup>136</sup>

In an other scene Kateb describes the sorrowful alienation caused by the national representatives or leaders:

Le GERANT :

“ Pas d'amis !

Pas de parents !

Pas de réunions !

Pas de politique !

Pas de journaux algériens !

Pas d'amicale !

Pas d'assistante sociale !

Interdit!Interdit!Interdit! »<sup>137</sup>

Kateb's play *Mohamed prends ta valise* (1971) shows the high gap that the neocolonial hegemonic system creates within the same society and even in the same family( Mohamed Zitoune and the Gandoura –Boudinar are brothers) ; while the three Gandourie are well covered and will dressed with Gandourasin quality fabric , their brother Mohamed is naked. For more evidences we can also cite :

VISAGE DE PRISON:

« Nos frères sont morts dans les maquis

Et nous sommes perdus comme des fourmis.

Est-ce un exil ou une folie ?

MOHAMED :

Notre pays s'est vide d'hommes.

Le roumi grossit son capital

Et toi tu compte aller en France.

Mais ou est-elle l'indépendance ? »<sup>138</sup>

A long the play, we feel the perseverance of Boudinar to acquire as much as possible of capital and goods inside and outside of the country, he inherited the capitalist motto 'Greed is Good'. Kateb denies the capitalist greediness and illustrates in the allegorical way what can those obsessed men dare to put in the market for sell, the most important thing is that earns much money:

Boudinar:

« J'ai grand besoin de tous ces veaux

Je vends les bras et les cerveaux

Et ca m'rapporte et tout va bien. »<sup>139</sup>

In fact, our focus on Boudinar goes together with the economic and monetary fields on which the neocolonial hegemony implements its strategies. Kateb denounces Boudinar as a neocolonial and hegemonic figure through the following :

Boudinar :

Ton père , le voici

Ce dinar, c'est ton père,

Et mon père a moi

Et notre père a tous

Répète

Mohamed à genoux répète ces paroles comme une leçon.

Mohamed :

Mon père, le voici

Ce dinar, c'est mon père,

Et ton père a moi

Et notre père a tous !

Boudinar se retire, fier d'avoir donné une leçon a son frère »<sup>140</sup>

Through BoudinarKateb alludes to the absence of humane or brotherhood essence within the hegemonic system. In this way, the capitalists will not give the proletariat the chance to own a capital which permits them to acquire their own means of production. Kateb echoes this through his western vertical intellectuals characterization who indirectly govern the Algerian government : “Pompez-tout le capitalist , Pompez –doux le neocolonialist et Pompez –tout-doux , la synthese des deux premiers.”<sup>141</sup>

Pompez-tout:

“Je n'achète pas de vin algerien

Nous avons de vin francais

Boudinar :

Et le pétrole ?

Pompez-tout, menacant:

Attention de le vendre

Sans en passer par moi”<sup>142</sup>

In an other episodic scene, Kateb opens the eyes of the audience about the hegemonic devices that the colonizer or the oppressor could practice in order to reinforce his dominance, for instance when Mohamed I and Mohamed II are accompanied with Ernest and Moshe, respectively , and follow their path till their arrival to the douar:

« Les deux groupes se mettent en marche ,mohamed I accompagné d'Ernest, et Mohamed II de Moché. »

Ernest :

Ou habites-tu ?

Mohamed I :

Là-bas

Moché :

Ou ca, la-bas ?

Mohamed II :

Juste ici

Ernest, a part :

Ou va-t-il ?

Moché , a part:

Ou va-t-il celui la ?

Mohamed I, a part :

On dirait....

Mohamed II, a part

...qu'il me suit .<sup>143</sup>

So, this explains the importance of being the owner and not the subaltern to keep a respectful position within a group. For this reason, Gramsci, being a Marxist Leader, elucidates the working class about the necessity to develop a counter-hegemony which is also the common purpose which binds Kateb Yacine's play "*Mohamed prends ta valise*" (1971) to Gramsci's Hegemony.

### **Endnotes:**

<sup>89</sup> Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*; 2nd ed., (New York: Routledge, New York, 2007), 43.

<sup>90</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 155.

<sup>91</sup> WaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 102.

<sup>92</sup> Ulrich Brand and Markus Wissen: quoted in Mathew Raphael Johnson, "*Necessary and sufficient*" *Ethics: The Theory of Hegemony in Antonio Gramsci*, Johnstown, PA.

<sup>93</sup> WaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 110.

<sup>94</sup> Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies*, 30.

<sup>95</sup> WaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 107.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 166.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 167.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 83.

<sup>99</sup> Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies*, 55.

<sup>100</sup> Roger S. Gottlieb (1989), *An Anthropology of Western Marxism: From Lukacs and Gramsci to Socialist-Feminism*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 62.

<sup>101</sup> WaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 188.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, 105.

- <sup>103</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>104</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>105</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>106</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>107</sup>Ibid, 106.
- <sup>108</sup>Johnson, “*Necessary and sufficient.*”
- <sup>109</sup>WaThiong’o, *Devil on the Cross*, 173.
- <sup>110</sup>Ibid, 166.
- <sup>111</sup>Ibid, 166.
- <sup>112</sup>Ibid, 82.
- <sup>113</sup>Ibid, 84.
- <sup>114</sup>Ibid, 168.
- <sup>115</sup>Ibid, 89.
- <sup>116</sup>Ibid, 88.
- <sup>117</sup> Joseph A, Buttigieg, *Antonio Gramsci: Prison Notebooks*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975).
- <sup>118</sup> James Lull, *Media, Communication and Culture: A Global Approach* (1995).
- <sup>119</sup>WaThiong’o, *Devil on the Cross*, 11.
- <sup>120</sup>Ibid, 169.
- <sup>121</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>122</sup>NgugiWaThiong’o, *Decolonizing the Mind*.( London: James Currey, 1936), 56.
- <sup>123</sup>WaThiong’o, *Devil on the Cross*, 61.
- <sup>124</sup>Bert Oliver, ‘Decolonisation, Identity, Neo-Colonialism and Power,’ *University Press of Free State* 20 (2019).
- <sup>125</sup>WaThiong’o, *Decolonizing the Mind*. London: James Currey, 56.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid, 57.

<sup>127</sup>WaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 184.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid, 189.

<sup>129</sup>WaThiong'o, *Decolonizing the Mind*, 56.

<sup>130</sup>Lull, *Media, Communication and Culture*, 56.

<sup>131</sup>WaThiong'o, *Devil in the Cross*, Ibid, 189.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid, 168.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid, 189.

<sup>134</sup>ChristophSecherrer, *'Double Hegemony'? State and Class in American Foreign Economic Policy-making*, (Kssel, University of Kssel Press, 2001).

<sup>135</sup>WaThiong'o, *Devil on the Cross*, 189.

<sup>136</sup> Yacine, Kateb. *Boucherie de l'Esperance*, 1971, p :316

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.319

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.289

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.310

<sup>140</sup>Ibid.217

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.313

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.211

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.189

## **Conclusion:**

The present study contributes to the existing African literature by examining the representation of intellectuals and hegemony written by an Algerian and a Kenyan writer through focusing on different perspectives. It has sought to discover that despite of the differences in space , language and literary genre, both African writers' works KatebYacine's *Mohamed prend ta valise*(1971) and NgugiwaThiong'o's *Devil on the Cross* (1982) deal in an extensive way with the notions of neocolonialism and hegemony in post independence Algeria and Kenya.. We have relied on Frantz Fanon theory *The Wretched of the Earth* more specifically the forth chapter entitled "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness" to exhibit how both authors tend to represent the new emerging intellectuals in recently independent Algeria and Kenya. We have also relied on Antonio Gramsci theory of Hegemony to depict the role of those intellectuals who either contribute or merely intervene in the arrangement of the hegemonic ideologies and introduce the colonial ways to the people, since they both have experienced its impact on their real life

This research has allowed us reach certain conclusions; we have noticed that in reality nearly in all cases, intellectuals are the main reason for their mother country's incomplete independence. We tend to reinforce our arguments depending mainly on Fanon and Gramsci's theory, as well as many other thinkers' view of the same ilk on the discussed issue. It does not matter if it is a play or a novel, intellectuals are represented quite the same in both works. Kateb and Ngugi depend in the process of representing the Algerian and Kenyan intellectuals' on both the physical and the consciousness side in order to make them easily recognised by the people. They both tend to reveal and unveil their camouflaged, naive and corrupted ways to perpetuate the western like domination.

As far the representation of intellectuals is concerned, we have come to another conclusion that they are concerned with the perpetuation of the prior colonial hegemonic agencies in the mother land after independence. Since most of them posses high positions they always tend to influence the nation's affaires. Instead of ruling the government to the real path of true independence their main concern is focused on how to take advantage of their personal gain. In other words, the national intellectuals whether, comprador or local, both mission is based on the different ways they take in order to perpetuate the classic colonization like policies. They become the echo of neo-colonial hegemonic agencies.

The last conclusion to be reached is that both KtaebYacine and NgugiwaThiong'o treated and tackled through their works the topic of neo-colonialism and hegemony with satire in order to grab the attention to the malaise that has been fallen on almost all African countries after independence. We also deduced from our analysis that both writers pictured through their different masterpieces genre the impact of neo-colonialism on their countries, Algeria and Kenya, a plague that delay the true educational, social, economic and political independence.

The scope of this research can be extended to deal with more issues as kateb's play and Ngugi's novel are still rich grounds for new perspective research. It will be interesting for students to ground their knowledge through comparing the works of both *Mohamed prends ta valise* and *Devil on the Cross* to other African authors. It will be also interesting to other students to deal with the works through the perspective of subalternism applying Spivak theory "Can the Subaltern Speak".

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