

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF – M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N° :



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGE

STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE

OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

The National Betrayal in Ngugi wa Thiong'o's
A Grain of Wheat

**Dissertation submitted to the Department of English in Partial fulfilment of the
Requirement for the Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

Candidates:

Ms. Amel Djebblahi

Ms. Fatima Zohra Bouzenzen

Supervisor:

Dr. Houria MIHOUBI

2019/2020

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2019/2020

Dedication

I thank Allah Almighty for the strength and patience he has given me to accomplish this work

To my dear mother, father, family and friends

*To my dear friend **Samih** **Djebbari***

Amel

Dedication

Thanks to Allah

I want to dedicate this dissertation to my dear parents and family

Fatima Zohra

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First of all, our sincere gratitude is to Allah; the Most Grateful for helping us in acquiring this work.

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Abstract

Capitalism is a very prominent theme in postcolonial studies, it creates all kinds of hardship in the colonized society; comprises the corruption, betrayal and arbitrary power. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's *A Grain of Wheat* is a piece of work that traces the heartache of Kenyans from the widespread corruption of the elite during the British colonization. The main purpose of this dissertation is to highlight the impact of power, corruption, capitalism, and alienation which Kenyans suffer from. Post-colonial theory is the applied method, particularly, it deals with the effects of colonial persecution during post-independence Kenya. Thus, the study is divided into a theoretical frame work discussing the context related to post-colonial Kenya and analytical frame work examines the national betrayal. Hence, the study attempts to expose the trauma suffered by the Gikuyu people.

Key Words: Betrayal, corruption, guilt, power, capitalism,

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Introduction

In Africa, the study of literature is regarded as one of the channels for expressing and instilling into the youth; and the importance of literature is in educating them on issues of slavery, pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial experiences. Sense of community, landholding and freedom were lost during the Post-Colonial Era. In the novel, betrayal, guilt, capitalism and greed were highly represented during the Post-Independence Kenya. Almost every character feels guilty about something, and those sources of guilt tend to derive from a betrayal of another character or of the Kenyan people. Moreover, individual's betrayals are representative of the vast betrayal of the whole society by its power elite.

A Grain of Wheat chronicles the events leading up to Kenyan independence, or Uhuru in a Kenyan villages. No doubt, it shows Ngugi's attempt to expose the trauma suffered by the Kenya's Gikuyu people, both as individuals and community during the period that the British declared a state of emergency, as it was struggling to contain the Mau Mau uprising. At root, Ngugi reveals that during the Mau Mau struggle, heroism was mixed with opportunism amongst the freedom fighters who left their rural villages to join the fighters in the forest.

Ngugi is one of the legendary Kenyan writers among his contemporary African Writers. His work, *A Grain of Wheat*, can be classified as a historical piece of literature. Thus, it traces the problems associated with war on cultural trends and life. Expressing the betrayal that shows man's defeat from his desire, Mugo's betrayal to Kihika, the betrayal of Gikoyo and Mumbi, the betrayal of Karanga, and the betrayal of the governing elite. So, in this way the theme of betrayal works in the novel initially. During the 19's, the British colonization made a negative impacts on Kenyans.

British use their power, and use Kenyans as slaves and took their resources and rights; The Kenyans had respond by Mau Mau Emergency, it was a rebellion against British rule and British arrested civilians. In 1920, Kenya officially recognized as a British colony. In brief, *A Grain of Wheat* passes through the heart breaking experience of how other people can use the plight of others to testify their personal interests.

The African writings is in fact a very striking example of post-colonial literature since it explores the struggle for the quest of freedom, and it is for sure quite obvious that Ngugi is one of these writers who explored this notion at length. Therefore, the motivation behind this project is to highlight Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's views about the national betrayal, and how he uses *A Grain of Wheat* as a supporting corpus for the widespread corruption of the elite during the Post - Independence Kenya.

In this work, we will try to discuss the impact of capitalism corruption on the Kenyans at both at home and abroad, where many post-colonial writers suffered from exiling and alienation. For, we will shed more light on Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, and how through his writings he could express what Kenyans suffered during the 19's.

The research project will therefore seek to explore and investigate the following:

The main question:

- How did Ngugi express the national betrayal in *A Grain of Wheat*?

The sub-questions:

- How were Kenyans struggling to contain the Mau Mau uprising?
- How the betrayal between characters and corruption of the elite was eventuated?

- How did Ngugi protested against it?

Dedan Kimathi in his most important paper “*Kenyan’s Freedom Struggle*” defended the Mau Mau movement .He dealt with many issues, he describes their struggle for freedom and land through the recovery of some of movement’s papers that had been seized by British;which illustrate the struggle of the movement and its objectives.

“*Ngugi’s Concept of History and the Post-Colonial Discourse in Kenya*” (1997) written by James A.Ogude. In his article, in Canadian journal of African studies, Ogude addresses the effects of post-colonial state on many sides in Kenya in which poverty, exploitation and trampling on culture upon by bourgeoisie were high in order to serve European values .Ogude also takes into consideration Ngugi’s invention of the Mau Mau. For Ngugi, all the peasants and the working class had national goals in resisting the colonial rule and this indicates a collective awareness. Searching for freedom has been well expressed in all post-colonial writings. Oguade shows Ngugi’s possibilities in creating characters whom could positively bring a revolutionary fighter.

“*Post-Colonialism and the Politics of Resistance in Ngugi Wa Thiong’o’s Wizard of the Crow*” (2014) by Ugwanyi Dele Maxwell. Maxwell in his article addresses the issue of African writers and how they could address the affairs of their countries throughout their writings, they can draw materials from the history of their people, and indicating their interest and commitment to the aspirations of their people.

“*Ngugi Wa Thiong’o’s Fight Against Colonialism and Neocolonialism: An Exploration of the Theme of Betrayal*” (1987), a thesis made by James Stephen Robson, tackles the theme of Betrayal as temporary state of personal alienation because of hostility and divisiveness in neo-colonial environment.

“Uhuru : A Post Colonialist Reading of Kenyan’s Independence in Ngugi Wa Thiong’o’s selected fiction”(2010), is another thesis conducted by Rama Mohammed Ghali Alhabian in which she states that in spite of independence ,the liberated nation will still face many challenges and various forms of colonialism in what post colonialist critics have agreed to term “neo colonialism.” Moreover, it explores the nature of the political freedom achieved to prove its forged essence.

Betrayal, guilt, capitalism, etc., can be studied particularly from the post- colonial theory. The theory studies deals with the effects of colonization on cultures and societies. Thus, expressing how British colonization made a negative impacts on Kenyans and how was corruption of the elite during the Post-Independence Kenya eventuates. So, the national betrayal in itself is very crucial to the writers who come from a similar background related to colonialism.

Frantz Fanon become an inspirational figure firing the moral imagination of people who continue to work for social justice, the marginalized and the oppressed. In his significant theories concerning the theory of violent revolution and post-colonial corruption; he dealt with many issues, as well as, concerning "violence" as a fundamental element of colonization, introduced by the colonizer and visited upon the colonized as part of the colonial oppression. Moreover, he dealt with what signifies the fall of imperialism and demonstrates how people struggle to decolonize their "mind" to avoid assimilation.

Chapter one discuss the theoretical frame work pertinent to the study, reviews relevant studies ,includes Frantz Fanon’s theory of neo-colonization and Ngugi’s theory of decolonization. As well as , discussing the context related to Post- Independence Kenya .

Chapter two examines the analysis of the novel focusing on the idea of national betrayal by the governing elite, and summarizes the solution presented by Ngugi to protest against the corruption of the elite and colonizes his country again.

Chapter I: Theoretical and Historical Background of the Study

Introduction

The first chapter of this thesis introduces the theoretical and socio historical frame work of our research. Ngugi's *A Grain of Wheat* illustrates what the Post- Independence Kenya has been suffered from; where post colonialism signifies the cultural production of nations prior to, during or even after the encounter with European domination during the colonial period. Therefore, the Post-Colonial theory is the appropriate theory for the present study ,as well as, Frantz Fanon's theories of violence neo-colonization and Ngugi's theory of decolonizing the mind are the most significant contributions and literary works in which we are going to deal with in order to understand well the postcolonial theory. Moreover, this chapter will provide a socio historical background of Post- Independence Kenya, moving through the trauma suffered by the Kenya's Gikuyu people during the period that the British declared a state of emergency. As well as, it will highlights the negative impacts of the British colonization on Kenyans; especially capitalism, corruption, greed and betrayal.

I.1. Post-Colonial Theory

The definition of post-colonialism includes the concept of imperialism, which is rooted in exploitation, partnership and assimilation. While colonialism is the means by which exploitative and discriminatory practices take place analysed for a practices carried out by colonial rule, it is characterized by several different mechanisms that involve power either economically, politically, or directly, which in turn creates an effective form of domination. For that past, imperialism as a

concept and colonialism as a practice are still active in a new form which is neo-colonialism. As

well as, neo-colonialism is the last stage of imperialism where a country is unable to accept the colonizer's domination even after gain independence. After independence, Africa had been testifies a huge cultural, educational, industrial and technological subjugation and underdevelopment that led to the emergence of neo-colonialism (Lazare S 1172).

Eyrice Elem in her paper *The Development of Postcolonial Theory* defines post-colonialism as an ongoing process of oppression and imperial suppressions, she argues:

Post –colonialism is a continuing process of resistance and reconstruction and post-colonial theory, thereby, involves discussion about previously-mentioned experience of various kinds such as slavery displacement, emigration, suppression, resistance, representation, difference, racial and cultural discrimination and gender[...] The term ‘ post-colonial ’ has come to stand for [...] the continuing process of imperial suppressions and exchanges throughout this diverse range of societies, in their institutions and practices (2).

Post-colonial theory is built from the colonial experiences of people who engaged in liberation struggle. It can be defined in terms of the intertextual framework as it relates to the ethnicity and culture of local settlers, where theorists race to find the answer about the possibility of overcoming colonial oppression and when does a settler become native, primary citizen and truly postcolonial. Many scholars argue that postcolonial theory emerges through the challenges and diverse cultural origins of post-colonial writing which in turn led to the impotence of European theory and its inability to accept the new literature that expresses the voice of people who are not in power. However, the postcolonial theory remains limited by the social structures resulting from imperialism and colonialism (Lazare S 1173).

Simply, it defends the main issues of postcolonial literature as Sawant, Dr. Datta states in his article *Perspectives on Post-colonial Theory: Said, Spivak and Bhabha*, he argues:

Thus, postcolonial theory – as epistemology, ethics, and politics – addresses matters of identity, gender, race, racism and ethnicity with the challenges of developing a postcolonial national identity, of how a colonized people’s knowledge about the world is generated under specific relations between the powerful and the powerless, circulated repetitively and finally legitimated in service to certain imperial interests (5).

Through the colonial experiences of people who participated in liberation struggles around the world in America, Asia and Africa resulting from the European appropriation of all influence, a post-colonial theory is being constructed. In so doing, post-colonial theory raises self-consciousness which revolutionizes the minds of the colonized and colonizer to build a new society where liberty and equity prevail (Lazare S 1189).

A study of postcolonial literature have to begin with the historical contexts of colonialism, thus, contexts that are unremittingly and frighteningly shot through violence. Frantz Fanon is one of the writers who strongly contributed to the development of a postcolonial account, he introduced a significant works on postcolonial literature. Therefore, fanon’s influential books, *Black Skin White Masks*, *the Wretched of the Earth*, strongly inspired the anti-colonial independence movements particularly in the African continent.

I.1.1. Frantz Fanon’s Theories of Violence and Neo-Colonization

Frantz Fanon was born on July 1925 in Fort-de-France, an assimilated and conventional black bourgeois family of Martinique- a French territorial possession in the Caribbean. In 1943, Fanon joined the Free French forces in World War 2 and was awarded the ‘Croix de Guerre’ for his heroism in combat. Nevertheless, he witnessed rampant racism in the army then he left (Mohring1). After WW II, Fanon was awarded a scholarship to study psychiatry, after completing

his presidency, he was sent to a hospital in Algeria where he spent rest of his life. After working few years in Blida-Join Ville hospital, Fanon dedicated him to political work to support the kind of change that he judged truly necessary for curing mental illness and promote mental health. Furthermore, he was a political activist and prolific author in various areas such as society, culture, civilization and mental health; and he was one of the psychopathology of colonization, whose works have inspired numerous anti-colonial liberation movements (Butts 50-54).

During his time as a psychiatrist, Fanon realize the inferior treatment by the white society where French patients refused to be treated by him. While he was in Lyon, Fanon's experience with racism inspired him to analyse many works and wrote about blacks. For example, The Fact of Blackness which would later be the 5th chapter of his book *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), which deals with experience of discrimination he suffered from because of his blackness, and describes the process of isolating blacks from whites, the book gained high recognition. Thus, Fanon examines the damaging effects of colonial racism, in reading his book we do not only gain an insight into the culture of colonialism, but we are made to feel its agonizing effects. In other words, he addresses the efforts made by the colonizer to spread white culture, as this causes harm to the colonial countries (blacks) in a number of ways; including preventing an independent feeling of identity, meaning that western culture equals whiteness with purity and goodness (Möhring 2).

The inferiority complex ,as Fanon demonstrate in his work, is how people amongst one another will have no occasion to experience what he calls the "the black problem ", therefore, it is the experienced inferiority of black people, which is created by the white society . In Fanon's *Black Skin White Masks*, he describes the deep feeling of inferiority felt by the colonized people and analyses the attempt to overcome this feeling by identifying the white colonizers, as a deep

feeling of inferiority to the point of not fully existing, and of being guilty of some profound sin without knowing that the sin is (Möhring 3).

“Collective unconscious”, as Fanon argues, is “cultural, i.e., it is acquired”; the cause of the inferiority complex is a “habit”, not an “instinct”. Then, a collective unconscious is the black colonized people view as inferior. This view permeates through adult life; they are raised on European story books, comics, and films; most especially in the continual use of blackness to symbolise evil and death. Furthermore, the white people too view people of black skin as inferior and they share the same collective unconscious. The complex inferiority, therefore, is a combination of being racialized as black by the white colonizers and the cultural classification of black people as inferior, and this classification is absolutely a part of the collective unconscious. This is what Fanon means by the term “negrophobia”; Means, like a phobia, is the collective unconscious classification of black people shapes the outlook and behaviour of each individual (Webber 10). In this regard Fanon in *Black Skin White Masks* affirms:

So here we have the Negro rehabilitated, “standing before the bar,” ruling the world with his intuition, the Negro recognized, set on his feet again, sought after, taken up, and he is a Negro—no, he is not a Negro but the Negro, exciting the fecund antennae of the world, placed in the foreground of the world, raining his poetic power on the world, “open to all the breaths of the world.” I embrace the world! I am the world! The white man has never understood this magic substitution. The white man wants the world; he wants it for himself alone. He finds himself predestined master of this world (97).

The complex inferiority creates the dilemma of white masks. To escape the feeling of being inferior is to wear masks, which is a form of subjection and alienation. However, this complex can't be overcome this way, simply because white colonizers and the wearer of masks (blacks) insist on tying blackness with evil, it is therefore a phobic, it is effectively an attempt to esteem something associated with evil (Webber 11)

In this sense, childhood traumas of the black people is a traceable example that helps in tracing the psychic difference between the white colonizers and the black colonized. Fanon sees the traumas as a common issue, the inferiority complex is something ordinary among black colonized people. Furthermore, it is not the differences between their families that the cause is to be found, but in the wider social context that they all share (Webber 9). Therefore, Fanon argues that a normal black child, having grown up with a normal family, will become abnormal at the slightest contact with the white world, as he states in *Black Skin White Masks*:

The wearing of European clothes, whether rags or the most up-to-date style; using European furniture and European forms of social intercourse; adorning the Native language with European expressions; using bombastic phrases in speaking or writing a European language; all these contribute to a feeling of equality with the European and his achievements (14).

Simply, What Fanon is trying to express is that the white man defines a person's cultural identity by the colour of the others skin in his searching for self-consciousness (Möhring 3). Fanon realizes that the black man is caught between the frame of his ancestors and the frame of the white society, as he asserts:

What! When it was I had every person to hate, to despise, I was rejected? When I should have been begged. Implored, I was denied the slightest recognition? I resolved, since it was impossible for me to get away from an inborn complex, to assert myself as a BLACK MAN. Since the other hesitated to recognize me, there remained only one solution: to make myself known (87).

Alongside many other writers, Frantz Fanon became known for his postcolonial and psychological thinking. *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), which is the ancestry of the concept of post-colonialism, is the last book of Fanon. At that time, it was considered as the bible of the decolonization movement, the book explains the consequences of colonialism, the anti-colonial

fighters, and the challenges to gain independence. Moreover, the book begins with a preface by the French philosopher and political activist Jean-Paul Sartre during the 20th century. Sartre begins by describing the world's population as consisting of men (citizens of colonial empires) and natives (the colonized people). Therefore, *the Wretched of the Earth* is considered as one of the key texts that analysed, reflected and embodies the anti-colonial actions of post-war period, or what has been called the period of decolonization. The only way to do away with colonialism and its effects is through violence as Fanon asserts that *The Wretched of the Earth* is the work which introduces the use of revolutionary violence, it is the only force that can permit the emergence of a new man and new humanism (Guégan168).

Fanon argues that the effective means of liberation to get rid of colonial rule is violence. He asserts that there is no end to colonialism without violence, as it helps to build national solidarity, and for him this is a decisive process. It is a physical act of freeing a territory from external control of the colonizer, as well as, the psychological act of freeing. Consequently, dealt with various nations of violence such as force, physical or psychological injury, aggression and radicalism (Guégan172).

Furthermore, Fanon, in *The Wretched of the Earth* acknowledges that changing the colonial society ultimately is by using violence and he considers violence as the highest form of political struggle to advocate for true decolonization. He says:

Violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders, make it possible for the masses to understand social truths and gives the key to them. Without that struggle, without that knowledge of the practise of action, there is nothing but a fancy-dress parade and the blare of the trumpets. There is nothing save a minimum of re-adaptation, a few reforms at the top, a flag waving: And down there at the bottom an undivided mass still living in the middle-ages, endlessly marking time (118).

So, decolonization as Fanon's claim: Violence is required to do both-"Decolonization is always a violent phenomenon" (99). He advocated violence in order to bring about total and authentic decolonization. He says:

Decolonization is the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature, which in fact owe their originality to that sort of substantiation which results from and is nourished by the situation in the colonies. Their first encounter was marked by violence and their existence together-that is to say the exploitation of the native by the settler- was carried on by dint of a great array of bayonets and cannon. The settler and the native are old acquaintances. In fact, the settler is right when he speaks of knowing "them" well. For it is the settler who has brought the native into existence and who perpetuates his existence. The settler owes the fact of his very existence, that is to say his property, to the colonial system (27-28).

Then, the violent victory over the settler is the victory of the native's humanity (102).

I.1.2. Ngugi's Theory of Decolonizing the Mind

Decolonization is the process that corrodes the human- centred of its victims to lose qualities of courage, kindness, faith in themselves, mercy, integrity and self-confidence. In this way, the colonized attempts to teach the Africans the white culture and values for the purpose of subjugation, and making them feel ashamed of their cultural heritage with no right to self-determination, therefore, introduce new forms of seeing reality and unconsciously or consciously abandoning one's cultural norms and adopting new ones (Kgatla 148).

Ngugi argues that language is the tool by which the colonizer can capture the colonized, as the colonial education enables to link between culture and language , thus, the learners gradually move away from the environment in which they born. They set up schools that taught children

European languages as a means of enforcing their control (Kgatla 150). In the postcolonial colonial studies, Ngugi is well known for his most famous critical essay "*The Language of African Literature*" from his collection of essays *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. He shares his childhood experience in an English-run school in which students were punished if they spoke their native language, Gikuyu, in or near the school, he asserts:

One of the most humiliating experiences was to be caught speaking Gikuyu in the vicinity of the school. The culprit was giving corporal punishment- three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks- or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as I AM A DONKEY (11).

Moreover, Ngugi argues that African writers are used to write in the languages of their oppressor and giving up their cultural independence. Therefore, Ngugi sees English as a language of oppression and is a form of cultural and linguistic invasion; he insists on using the native languages in his writing in order to resurrecting the African soul from slavery and denigration, and it is a tool to preserve the cultural identity and liberated from imperialism (Al Farabi 67). Ngugi, in *Decolonizing the Mind*, opposes the writer who used to produce the African literature in European language. He claims:

By writing in our languages per se-although a necessary first step in the correct direction-will not itself bring about a renaissance in African cultures if that literature does carry the content of our people's anti-imperialist struggles to liberate their productive forces from foreign control; the content of the need for unity among the workers and peasants of all the nationalities in their struggles to control the wealth and peasants of all nationalities in their struggle to control the wealth they produce and to free it from internal and external parasites (22).

Furthermore, highlighting the importance of cultural independence from the colonial control. For Ngugi, language is the carrier of culture and culture can't be separated from language, he asserts that language as communication and as culture are then products of each other. Communication creates culture (Al Farabi 68).

Through *Decolonizing the Mind*, Ngugi tries to free the native's minds from the control of the colonizer and insisting on the necessity of adopting it. The colonizer introduced his language in the colonies with the aim to shade the native's culture and make it less inferior, we can observe that through Ngugi's use of the child's learning of the colonizer's language in order to analyse its role in the process of alienating the natives from his culture (Bahuguna01-02).

I.2. Post-Independence Kenya

The socio-historical context of the study is the main element in which the events of the novel *A Grain of Wheat* are turning around. The British colonialism started when David Livingstone, a British preacher came to Africa for a three purposes, announcing that he want to civilize the people, spread Christianity and do business; but if he want to end slavery that was a debate. Most imperialist take his arguments as excuses .The white declared Kenya as a protectorate, and to make their authority accepted by Kenyan they use a solid administrative equipment, in order to make a huge financial gain to Britain from this colony. For this mission they required natives who are ready to associate with the white in this pragmatic profiteering. Colonizing Kenya wasn't the British first goal Kenya was a road to Buganda. They build a railway from Mombasa to Kampala which called the "lunatic railway" it took five and a half years to build and cost the British £5,000,000 by 1901. The British establish "the British East Africa Company" that was the root

administration in Kenya, the role of this company in the beginning was to get local labour to build the railway (Omeje 185).

After the settler distributed in Kenya; the colonialist had no desire to acknowledge themselves about the African civilization, the white had a sense of supremacy over the African tribes, the colonial used administration and local traitors to preserve its rule. The African existence in their country was neglected, Kenya was divided into provinces and districts, the African were bounded in rural areas the jurisdictions and legislative council were under the British control with the help of chiefs (were originally Africans) they help white to maintain order and collect taxes. The British colonialism neglected the development policy in Kenya such acts was considered as charity by the white colonizer; the administration was only to serve the white people (Omeje 186).

Kenya's independence was a result of a long disturbance of British oppression, Kenyan were offended by the colonial administration that take their land and treat them as inferior and slaves; Kenyan were living in poverty on account to high taxation and exploitation, they were considered as cheap labors to the white settler farms . The Kenyan conscious raised after the WW II under the British army in 'King's African Rifles' -a recruitment of Kenyan against the German- they overcome the invincibility of whites. The British pretext was protecting Kenya as if it is their duty regarding the white's interest. The Indians' resentment and independence showed the way to African countries and impulse them to fight for independence. Then, a conflict between the British settlers and the African nationalist happened; the white settlers resented and continued to call for Kenya to be self-governed with British white settlers. Thereafter, African nationalism « Kenya African Union » KAU declared Kenya as "the black man's country". Britain considered giving Kenya independence as an African state by the involvement of Africans in the administration to obtain peace and got independence in 1963, 1st June. Nevertheless, Jomo Kenyatta is prime

minister in the independent Kenya; the colonial structure stays the same. Thus, Kenya is ruled by African corrupt elite in indirect rule behalf colonial system. Kenyatta continued with the colonialist values and refused to change the hierarchy of the elite (Omeje 188).

British colonization hired by local traitor to reinforce its army those fighters are called loyalists their role expands the military reserves and counter the rebellion by gathering local information to the British intelligence and act as spies in the Mau Mau rebellion. The most important role of the elite is to make a fragile peace that facilitates the British withdrawal from Kenya, the question was how the loyalists are going to be treated after the withdrawal? (David 48)

The British had plan to protect the loyalist and made them the new rulers of Kenya after the independence. They made a Bargain with loyalist about Mau Mau rebellion, which contains safe surrender, British gave them national forgiveness from prosecution for both rebellion and loyalists, due to this bargain Kenya gained independence earlier than expected; that was a political solution in countering disobedience. Basic aims of the British is first, to undermine the solidarity of the Mau Mau movement for those less determined members, second, to look as chivalrous in the world's public opinion. The African loyalist had the aim of dominating the Kikuyu society, to protect their interest and to sustain a fragile peace. At the end of January 1953, only 7600 kikuyu men hired to the home guard. Ogot considers that loyalists have different motivations but they were not genuine loyalists to the British; they were seeking economic gain; just small number of them has the intention to hinder the Mau Mau movement (David 50). In 1954 the Kikuyu Home Guard reached 25600 members; the double amnesty of January 1955 concealed the prosecutions of loyalists and special groups laminated the remaining Mau Mau fighters (David 52).

The surrender deals were successful, ten percent to twelve percent of the rebels surrendered; this method contributed to the elimination of the movement. The British gave impunity to the

criminal, torturers and loyalists' murderers. In addition, the British secured loyalists by exiling 70000 kikuyu who were suspected of helping Mau Mau rebels. The British depended on the loyalists to govern Kenya and they worked hard to secure them. Loyalists became the rulers of Central Province and they got the administrative positions in 1956 then the government from 1959; they prevented Mau Mau from elections and public life. They forbid the rebels from the recuperation of their land. Mau Mau was banned until 2003 in the aim that the loyalists' trial not be made (David 64).

From 1902 to 1952 white minority ruled. The kikuyu were residing in the central provinces and the highlands but after the coming of the British settlers, they were displaced and forced to be tenant farmers or to move to urban Nairobi. The Kikuyu ancestors were mainly farmers farming their lands it was their livelihood. For the Kikuyu, losing their land was the biggest issue that led them to rebel. In 1920, the Kenyan wanted representatives in the government; in 1930 David Anderson said that: "the land question had by 1930 become the crucial political grievance". However, others wanted a radical change using violence. There were three political factions: conservative, moderate, nationalists and militant nationalists. The conservatives were the chiefs and elders who have authority derived from the British. The educated Kenyan and unemployed poor hated the conservative. the Kikuyu Association (KA) was a conservative party, the KA break down and joined to the moderate nationalists those who declared that they have opposite principles; however in fact they wanted the conservative positions, they didn't touch the problems of the poor Kikuyu. Militant Kenyan formed the east African association (EAA) against the KA they wanted armed combat, the (EAA) didn't last long but its militant ideas continued. In 1924 moderate Kikuyu central association KCA associated but the British prohibited it. The Kenyan African Union KAU was a moderate nationalist party formed in 1951 but the Kenyan needed a

militant schedule; which led to the uprising of the Mau Mau. In October 7, 1952 the Mau Mau killed the chief Waruhiu Wa Kungu, he had a strong tie with the colonial government, although other were killed Waruhiu's death caused resentment and the British declared emergency (Tully 59).

The native elite, without considering the purpose from the western education they believe in their superiority over their community. The elite leaders feel outstanding over other leaders in society, those elite make huge effort to maintain their existence in the government jobs and they support the political regime so they dominate the society. They limit the freedom of press and women's associations in the state party; all those acts support imperialism. The British ideology « divide and rule » especially in administration cause a separation between the elite and the crowd. So in any society the elite are the dominant class, they have the most important positions in hierarchy. The elite influence the society by actions, ideas and emotion through speeches. They are a creation for and by the colonial. Those elite are trained in a lower level compared to the white colonizer, the elite manipulate the masses for their own benefit and profit. Moreover, the elite are somehow equivalent to the bourgeoisie in the political side as well, which this word bourgeoisie identified as opposition to other classes, they possess power, control and make the supreme decisions. They carry on neo-colonial imperialism, as they reject the middle class values and take the role of the white man after independence. The elite exploit the nation; they consider themselves a masters because they are favored by education or proximity to jobs that white man left them behind (Diaw 13).

Furthermore, the elite have power, they influence in the political decision-making that serves their interests, they spoil the public possessions, and their positions help them to cause political violence in the country in order to get their benefits fulfilled. They almost treat the masses the

same as they were treated by the white colonizer; as they exploit women sexually in the work place, women find problems in keeping their jobs, they incur to blackmail, the women qualifications are ignored in comparison to their physical appearance (Diaw 3).

The object of the neo-colonialism is to change the alignment of independence forces in favor of imperialism by giving power to corrupt elite who prefer their interests on the advantages of society. After the WW II and the defeat of the British Empire in most of its colonies imperialism gradually faded. Neocolonialism is an oppression in a new form it continue the imperialist exploitation. It is indirect control of the colonizer on the administrative, economic and cultural structures to rule masses. Neocolonialism paralyzes the economic growth of the independent country in the sake of the colonized country's growth and exploitation of labor and resources. According to Nkrumah Kwame, Ghana, he declares that neocolonialism is the last stage of imperialism. His observations are as follow: First, the domination is done by providing a military bases to ensure peace and security. Second, the economic means of domination appears in the attempt of forcing the new independent nation to import the products manufactured by the imperialist country until the local production subsided and preventing other competing products from elsewhere. In addition, the administrative policies invest imperialist capital to run the government. Also, the non-alignment policy results in dependence of the imperialist power. The imperialist attempt to divide the colonial territories to small states so they became fragile and incapable of development, in the same time be dependent on the imperialist country. Neocolonialism is long and undefined contract between the colonizer and its colonies, which came from lack of conscious of the masses (Nag 137).

Ngugi sees Kenyatta's role as political evolution of 4 stages: The Kenyatta of the KCA era, he was anti-imperialist peasant against the bourgeoisie's oppression. Then, The Kenyatta of the

KAU era when he was a graduate of Malinowski's school in London, he was for 15 years out of the Kenyan physical touch with their real life struggles. After that, The Kenyatta of the KANU era he was in prison for 9 years, he was out of the Mau Mau movement. Last, The Kenyatta of the KANU in power, he was embed in the party organization and administration. Kenyatta make sure that nobody was in the movement became near authority. Therefore, Kenyatta hadn't any role in the Mau Mau movement (Robson 19).

The Mau Mau was a movement that fought for independence from British in Kenya. The movement started in 1947 to take revenge from the Loyalist Africans those who worked for the British. In 1952 the British governor declared a state of emergency and requested more troops during the emergency. Britain arrested thousands of Kenyans and detained them. Kenyans left their lands and forced to stay under military guard. As, Ngugi describes this state, in *A Grain of Wheat*, when people of Thabai found themselves surrounded by soldiers with guns and tanks, Britain accused the residents of supporting the rebellions, leaders like Jomo Kenyatta were arrested in labour's camp. Moreover, Ngugi tells the history of Mau Mau its origin and how the white man holds the bible in his hand. He also talk about The Home Guard that was organized by the British, it contain white man and native chiefs with guns and uniforms to control the villages; the home guard chiefs considered as traitors in the eyes of the Kenyans (Davis, et al. 3).

Novel events take place in a small village called 'Thabai'; Ngugi writes about past and present events and some flashback from the past during the 5 days of independence , presenting a powerful critique of European imperialism that adapts the ideological limitations of individualism. Furthermore, exposes the extent to which social and economic domination for both colonialism and capitalism is enabled by various forms of social isolation. Throughout the novel, individualism is presented as a product of the exploitation and competition for survival endemic to the process

of colonial domination. Ngugi presents a vision for a community that would be capable of balancing the needs of individuals with a common good. Thus, each of the characters in the novel experiences difficulty acclimates the psychological and historical trauma initiated by the British role. Which creates a feeling of powerlessness and disconnection from community (Lutz 174). All these conditions would lead absolutely each one of the characters to be a corrupt then to betray his close.

In this context, the socio-historical background of the study needs to draw attention first to the authorial information and the biography of Ngugi Wa Thiong'o. The Kenyan writer and novelist Ngugi Wa Thiong'o was born on January 5, 1938 in Kenya, where his country was under colonial rule at the time. He received his education in a missionary school, then continued his education at the University of Uganda, then joined the University of Leeds in England. In 2002 he became a distinguished professor of English and comparative literature at the University of California in Irvine, USA.

Furthermore. He began his writing career with the first play to celebrate the independence of Uganda and the novel *A Grain of Wheat* in 1967, this was the last novel he wrote in the English language. Then he wrote in his native language, Gikuyu, which he struggled for during his career as a teacher of literature. In his most famous works, *Weep Not Child* (1964), *The River Between* (1965), *A Grain of Wheat* (1967), *Petals of Blood* (1977), and then *Devil on the Cross*, Ngugi depicts the colonial and postcolonial contradictions of the Gikuyu society.

He witnessed the Mau Mau rebellion against the British, as one his brothers was one of the member of the freedom Group in Mau Mau who fought for the freedom of Kenya's independence. He entered prison in the late 1970s after performing his play *I Will Marry When I Want*, where he

was arrested and detained without trial. He remained in prison for a year to leave Kenya later on and he is living in exile since 1982 (Davis, et al. 1).

Generally, this chapter dedicated for the impacts of colonialism on societies. After moving through the theoretical and historical framework of theories of violence neo-colonization and decolonizing the mind; besides post-independence Kenya. Now, we will shed light on the analyses of one of the main impacts lasted by the British colonialism focusing on the idea of national betrayal by the governing elite. Furthermore, how did Ngugi protested against it? What was the solution presented by him in order to colonize his country again.

Chapter Two: Betrayal, the Corrupt Elite and Decolonization in Kenya

Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis for a series of experiences for the main characters in the novel, before and after the Uhuru Day, where characters are forced to submit to British power and betrays their society; besides fighting the war of independence. Moreover, highlighting the idea of decolonization through the analyses of the characters who suffer from the practices of British institutions, the corruption of church, and the cultural imperialism.

II.1. The War of Independence

Kenya's history is well known for the struggle of freedom through the colonial period and after it. Ngugi describes the new converts to Christianity as destroyers of the Gikuyu world. They grasp only the surface; they are absent about the true intentions behind the evangelization process (Léfara 14372). Therefore, there is a contradiction between the two cultures and "the elders of the land protested" (GW12).

Waiyaki and other warrior-leaders took arms. The iron snake spoken of by Mugo Wa Kibiro was quickly wriggling towards Nairobi for a thorough exploitation of the hinterland. [...] The Whiteman with bamboo poles that vomited fire and smoke, hit back; his menacing laughter remained echoing in the hearts of the people. [...] They flocked to his meeting, waiting for him to give the sign. Harry denounced the Whiteman and cursed that benevolence and protection which denied people land and freedom. He amazed them by reading aloud letters to the Whiteman, letters in which he set out in clear terms people's discontent with taxation, forced labour on white settler's land, and with the soldier settlement scheme which after the first big war, left many black people without homes or land around Tigoni and other places (15).

The British usurped the land of Kenya, deprived them of their rights and obliterated their identity and civilization. The white men murdered Gikuyu leaders “Waiyaki was buried alive at Kibwezi with his head facing into the center of the earth” (GW15). The seeds of sacrifice is the foundation the Mau Mau movement (Léfara 14373).

Soon people saw the Whiteman has imperceptibly acquired more land to meet the growing needs of his position. He had already pulled down the grass-thatched hut and erected a more permanent building. Elders of the land protested. They looked beyond the laughing face of the whiteman and suddenly saw a long line of other strangers who carry not the Bible but the sword (15).

The Kenyan refuses all forms of servitude and domination, during the journey of struggle they were devoted to face imperialism and neo-colonialism. Ngugi consider the movement as the only reason that Kenya is free from colonialism. The MauMau movement brought back the Kenyan’s identity, but the British falsified the movement. Media Neil Lazarus states that: “ the nationalist movements which aim to liberate the colonized, the downtrodden are usually categorized as ‘the rubrics of activism, anarchy, irrationality, and power-mongering’ (GW69); which led Ngugi to write many novels their events take place during the MauMau period.so the world knows about the Kenyan struggle (Aldhahyani 13). Moreover, Lashley Cliff in his review states, “A *Grain of Wheat* pulls together two related hallmarks of Kenyan history: the MauMau war and the long-awaited independence. It is a story of heroism on the one hand and of betrayal on several fronts on the other. The exploits of the young leader Kihika add to the spirit of the resistance, boosting the courage and heroism of many, including the women of Thabai who are forced to build a new village in the absence of their men” (GW210).

In spite of his European education, Kihika was not affected by their claim of urbanization and humanity, he refuses to give up the Kenyan identity and faith. He believes that Christianity

support the Mau Mau struggle and do not refute it. He was a symbol of freedom, he implanted hope in the Kenyan community, “People came to know Kihika as a terror of the Whiteman. They said he could move mountains and compel thunder from heaven” (GW17). Kihika uses Christianity to tell the colonizer that he is using his holy book against him (Bredlid 78). He was the leader of the armed struggle, his hatred of injustice and contempt was a torch that spurred the fighters (Aldhahyani 14).

Furthermore, Kihika’s influence by Ghandi’s resistance in India is what makes him assert that the sacrifice is what could frighten the British.

‘Take up my cross is what Christ told his people,’ Kihika resumed in a more lighthearted tone. ‘If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it. Do you know why Ghandi succeeded? Because he made his people give up their fathers and mothers and serve their one mother-India, Kenya is our mother (103).

In the other hand, John Thompson, the British responsible, considers the struggle as a savage and rudimentary movement the British responsible. As well as, threaten to civilization, a spoiler of advancement and terror to the society “Mau Mau is evil: a movement which if not checked will mean complete destruction of all the values on which our civilization has thriven” (GW64). He deceives himself and the press by the myth of civilizing Africans (Aldhahyani 14). His words count as a sense of superiority against the African culture. Thompson encourages imperialism as he notes

In a flash I was convinced that the growth of the British Empire was the development of a great moral idea: it means, it must surely lead to the creation of one British nation, embracing peoples of all colours and creeds, based on the just proposition that all men were created equal (62).

The movement is stereotyped as well as the freedom fighters is described as criminals. When colonel Robson was murdered the headline of the British press is: "A District Officer had been senselessly murdered by Mau Mau thugs" (GW212), which feature the hostile point of view of the westerns. Therefore, The MauMau related-suspects who are imprisoned were treated as criminals not political prisoners. "Among other things they wanted to be treated as political prisoners not criminals. Food rations should be raised. Unless these things were done, they would go on hunger-strike" (GW152). Kihika differentiate between a murderer and a political prisoner, he consider the British as the only criminals who want to control the subaltern. The freedom fighters use violence for social justice (Aldhahyani 14).

We only hit back. You are struck on the left cheek. You turn the right cheek. One, two, three-sixty years. Then suddenly, it is always sudden, you say I am not turning the other cheek any more. Your back to the wall, you strike back.... We must kill. Put to sleep the enemies of black man's freedom... Strike tenor in the heart of the oppressor (216).

Kihika ignites the enthusiasm and urges people to fight for the nation, And to get rid of all the restrictions that bind them to colonialism and not allow the British to remain in their land and enslave them, "But first we have to be ready to carry the cross. I die for you, you die for me, we become a sacrifice for one another. So I can say that you, Karanja, are Christ. I am Christ. Everybody who takes the oath of Unity to change things in Kenya is a Christ" (GW110). He thinks that the white man wronged the black man and enslaved him and deprived him of the lowest rights to own the land. The white man did not teach people nor educate them, but made them servants to his greed and ambitions to control and rule, "Take your whiteman, anywhere, in die setded area. He owns hundreds of hundredsof acres of land. What about the black m en

who squat there, who sweat dry on the farms to grow coffee, tea, sisal, wheat and only get ten shillings a month? (GW113). Thus, The Mau Mau movement aims to restore African entity and Kenyan sovereignty, restore prestige to the black man, in addition to his confidence of his ability to work, produce and prosper without dependency on any outside power (Bredlid 79), “it is life. Is he a man who lets another take away his land and freedom? Has a slave life? ” (GW112).

In the events, Ngugi portrays a set of individuals who have different disposition about the armed struggle. Ngugi’s faith is steadfast about the theory of Fanon “absolute violence” which indicates that is the only way to expel the colonizer. The colonial subjects should be willing to cast themselves into a new mould in order to be the torch bearers of the process of colonization, which Fanon call replacing certain species “of men by another species of men.” (Fanon 27) It changes people from persecuted into distinct and active people in their society; it switch them from objects to men and women worthy of freedom. The example of Harry Thuku who was a leader in the struggle confirmed that the political debate with the colonizer won’t change Kenya’s path toward independence he left the party and joined the armed struggle (Dhar177).

Kihika refuses to be a slave to the British, he believes that the colonizer’s control will be destroyed only by violence “we must kill put the sleep the enemies of the black man’s freedom... if we are weak. We cannot win I spite at the weaknesses of our fathers” (GW216-217). He uses religion to stimulate motivation that sacrifice will be their salvation, “That’s what crucifixion means today. Else we deserve to be slaves, cursed to carry water and hew wood for the white man for ever and ever” (GW218). Kihika’s perspective relates to fanon’s distrust of nationalist parties and leaders, those who have no interest in the armed struggle nor the radical overthrowing of the colonizer. The MauMau movement rises the conscious of the masses, which are peasantry. Those who appreciate the armed struggle instead of the political struggle that had little result (Dhar 179).

For Kihika, the use of violence against the British is justified and even considered a duty. From his point of view there is no other alternative to the armed struggle. Kihika believes that he is fighting for a lofty goal in order to eradicate the violence and torture practiced by the white man in Kenya for many decades (Breidlid 80).

We don't kill just anybody,' he started speaking as if there had been no interruption. 'We are not murderers. We are not hangmen – like Robson - killing men and women without cause and purpose.' [...] And the animal groan of dying men is a terrible sound to hear. But a few shall die that the many shall live. That's what crucifixion means today (216-217).

The British authorities' rejection of the least demands of the colonized peoples, in addition to the policy of oppression, is what drove them to revolt. As Fanon claims in his book *The Wretched of the Earth*:

The practice of violence binds them together as a whole, since each individual forms a violent link in the great chain, a part of the great organism of violence which has surged upward in reaction to the settler's violence in the beginning.. .Violence is in action all-inclusive and national. It follows that it is closely involved in the liquidation of regionalism and of tribalism. Thus the national parties show no pity at all toward the caids and the customary chiefs (76).

Kihika's belief in strength and disgust towards weakness, he was aggressive towards Submissiveness (Breidlid 82).

They say we are weak. They say we cannot win against the bomb. If we are weak, we cannot win. I despise the weak. Let them be trampled to death. I spit on the weakness of our fathers. Their memory gives me no pride. And even today, tomorrow, the weak and those with feeble hearts shall be wiped from the earth. The strong shall rule. Our fathers had no reason to be weak (217).

Kihika thinks that re-experiencing the previous policy is not useful and will not lead to any positive results. Rather, weapons and intimidation of the colonialist are what can restore the lost freedom of the Kenyan (Aldhahyani 16).

African history has been always characterised by the events of struggling the white power. Africans have devoted their lives to resist the colonial domination, the European culture, imperialism and neo-colonialism through their rebellion against the British colonialism. Therefore, they opposed the colonised power by the Mau Mau movement, the anti-colonial resistance that aimed to rebuild the Kenyan identity. In *A Grain of Wheat*, Ngugi attempts to prove that the Mau Mau rebellion is politically motivated one that toddles tribal boundaries in Kenya, as well as, demonstrates the complexities of the colonial situation in socio-historical events, particularly during the years of resistance that leads to the emergence of the Mau Mau rebellion. Ngugi asserts that the movement is an expression of Kenyan's commitment to economic, political and cultural conflict (Aldhahyani 12-13).

In the events, Ngugi portrays a set of individuals who have different disposition about the armed struggle. Ngugi's faith is steadfast about the theory of Fanon "absolute violence"; which indicates that is the only way to expel the colonizer. The colonial subjects should be willing to cast themselves into a new mould in order to be the torch bearers of the process of colonization, which Fanon call replacing certain species, "of men by another species of men" (Fanon27). It changes people from persecuted into distinct and active people in their society; it switch them from objects to men and women worthy of freedom (Dhar 177).

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"The cry of children was terrible to hear. The new D.O. did not mind the cries. He even permitted soldiers to pick women and carry them to their tents" (GW144). Mumbi tell the story of the white man how did they get them out of their home and burn it. Ngugi describe the inhumanity the hideous and terrible acts of the white man, soldiers leave the women and children without food in shameful famine, they even exploit mothers sexually. He deems that the political struggle is not a substitute for war. He proves that and gives example of first leaders of the movement, he admits that did not succeed in regaining the land (Aldhahyani 16).

Harry denounced the whiteman and cursed that benevolence and protection which denied people land and freedom. He amazed them by reading aloud letters to the whiteman, letters in which he set out in clear terms people's discontent with taxation. Forced labour on white settler's land (12).

Consequently, Kihika thinks that re-experiencing the previous policy is not useful and will not lead to any positive results. Rather, weapons and intimidation of the colonialist are what can restore the lost freedom of the Kenyan (Qahtan Aldhahyani 16).

II.2. Power and the Corrupt Elite

Ngugi is interested in social circumstances of his characters and especially in the background of a Mau Mau resistance against which these figures live their lives. Villagers represent ordinary people in Kenya who are subjected to torture and humiliation but stand up to hold on their cause and strive to achieve their aspirations. But in time of conflict, they are forced to submit to British power as they walk like the dead in morally and spiritually dead land, stuck in a vicious circle of manipulation and despair by following the steps of their white masters. Ngugi presents a series of experiences for the main characters in the novel before the Uhuru Day. Karanja, Gikonyo, Mumbi and Mugo are dominated by their remembrance of Kihika, who was betrayed to the British by one of the villagers; as well as, the Uhuru day has been the dream of these figures. For instance, Karanja's experience with the British administration and John Thompson, Gikonyo recalls his confession to the oath, Mumbi recalls the circumstances under which she was forced to submit herself to Karanja and betrayed Kihika, and Mugo recalls his betrayal of Kihika (Bhardwaj 586).

Those thoughts and feelings stand out after the state of emergency, that incident was the turning point and this shift in values forms his character as a collaborator; Karanja experiences an isolation from the Kenyan community as an oppressed people. Karanja gives up his subordination to the community in favour of his own benefit. In the train station, when he sensed the attraction between Mumbi and Gikonyo his sight over the future changed, his social status and his world seemed to be shaken; this incident plays a role over his political position and he considered it as white blank abyss (Lutz 173).

Karanja's decisive change in his situation that occurs in the railway is not accident, because deforming the moral value of the colonized is a process carefully planned by imperialism (Lutz 174). The construction of the Uganda railway at the turn of the twentieth century played a critical

role in giving the British access to the interior of the country and opened the region to settlement. The train symbolized the national trauma of the white man in Kenya. He felt that his world was out of control, besides the difficult time of the emergency state he felt that he must save himself from this chaos (Edgerton 4).

Karanja's love for Mumbi is another cause of his betrayal besides his greed for wealth and position. Karanja feels disappointment from Mumbi who chooses the carpenter and ignores his love for her, although he considers himself handsome and strong, "Jealousy crept into him, a surprise because he had always refused to consider Gikonyo a serious rival" (GW 107).

He gets more jealous and angry when he accompanies Gikonyo and Mumbi to the train station crossing the forest. In the mid-way the carpenter and Mumbi stop in the centre of the forest where they are intimate for the first time. At the station, Karanja pulled aside from the crowd, then he automatically infers that Gikonyo and Mumbi are alone together, he speculates that he has been deceived by the love of his life as this idea torments him and increases his anger and bitterness (SENE 373).

How could Mumbi make him pant and sweat in the sun, all for nothing? How could she make him trot ahead, like a child, so that she might remain behind with Gikonyo? He thought of rushing back, seek her out, humiliate her, force her to her knees in public, till she cried to him to save her. The impulse to effect this was so strong that he started walking away from the platform even as the thought was forming. Then he stopped, stood, debated whether he ought to run or not, as if the manner of his retreat from the platform would determine the degree of success in his self-appointed mission. 107

Ngugi depicts Karanja's character, who influenced by the desire to become a powerful man in a powerful white regime, as a victim of colonialism and racism which occupied its society and

individual psyche. He rejects his community and joins the colonial administration. Consequently, he becomes a trustful citizen in the eyes of whites and got a job at Githima. Karanja is appointed chief among homeguards, culminating in his crowing accomplishments as a supporter of colonial government and adopting his repressive policy against his people; thus, he mocks, strikes and kills those who believe in justice, equality and freedom (SENE 372).

[...] Karanja became a chief. Soon he proved himself more terrifying than the one before him. He led other homeguards into the forest to hunt down the Freedom Fighters. It was also during his rule that even the few remaining fit men were taken from the village to detention camps. He became very strict with curfew laws and forced communal work (167).

Karanja betrays his relationships with all his close friends, showcases his strength to his fellow citizens and prides himself on his power to destroy everything. His fear of living in an independent Kenya drives to transform from an ordinary man, satiated with patriotism, to a brutal man aiming to destroy the Mau Mau rebels and prevent them from preserving their Kenyan identity. As well as, his alliance with white man to maintain his standing among them (SENE 372).

“Karanja, who worked at Githima Library dusting books, keeping them straight in their shelves and writing labels” (GW 40). As well as, he used to work as a messenger for the white officials, “John Thompson and Mrs Dickinson used Karanja as their personal messenger” (GW 42). John Thompson, who used to work as a district officer in many parts of Kenya, had a proven track record in the colonial administration. During the state of emergency, he was temporarily transferred to concentration camps to rehabilitate the Mau Mau rebels and he had always been obsessed with writing and sending messages to anyone, until the day that Thompson sent Karanja to his wife to tell her that he will not eat at home. Although Margery Thompson never considered Karanja a man, but when he comes home to deliver to her a message from her husband, she feels

a similar sensual urge towards him but Karanja had refused to pick up the hints which had left her feeling both frustrated and miserable. So that, he feels embarrassed and inferior (Robson 90).

Margery sat opposite Karanja and crossed her legs. She put her cup on the arm of the chair. Karanja held his in both hands afraid of spilling a drop on the carpet. He winced every time he brought the cup near his lips and nostrils. 'How many wives have you?' she asked. This was her favourite question to Africans; it began the day she discovered her latest cook had three wives. Karanja started as if Margery had tickled a wound that had only healed at the surface (45).

John Thompson was a corrupt British responsible, he uses his authority badly; he participated in the torture of prisoners in the incident of Rira 11 prisoners died, this incident shook his position (Breidlid 56). His behaviour towards native workers has superiority, this pride in British culture influences and attracts collaborators, Karanja over appreciate the colonial authority and despise what is below it even himself when he face the white man, he appreciate all what is western (Breidlid 57), "As long as he did not know the truth, he could interpret the story in the only way that gave him hope: the coming of black rule would not mean the end of white power" (GW45).

This great admiration for the British civilization blinds him. When Mrs Thompson invited him, "Then gradually he became exhilarated, he wished Mwaura had seen him at the house" (GW 46). Reminiscent of Fanon's statement that "The native is an oppressed person whose permanent vision is to become the persecutor" (Fanon 14). Karanja sees in the Thompson everything that he as an individual desires. Thompson was a corrupt British responsible, he uses his authority badly; he participated in the torture of prisoners in the incident of the death of 11 prisoners (Breidlid 57), this incident shook his position.

John Thompson had worked as a District Officer in many parts of Kenya. He worked hard and his ability to deal swiftly and effectively with Africans was widely recognized. A brilliant career in the colonial administration lay before him At Rira, the tragedy of his life occurred. A hunger strike, a litde beating and eleven detainees died The fact leaked out... A commission of inquiry was set up. He was whisked off to Githima, an exile from the public administration he loved (54).

Thus, The superiority of the whiteman started to collapse which hurts the prejudice of Thompson, also in more personal level after Rira disaster. The colonized knows and understands the colonial exploitation and refuses it; in the colonial presence there was cooperation from loyalists and rejection from rebellions. This analysis stems from Fanon's theory oppressors and subaltern: that in history the African are absent from discourse; in the novel Ngugi tries to clarify the Kenyan identity to the world and gives voice to the voiceless, as the Kenyan heritage has its impact and history ,Kenya's civilization and culture is rich (Breidlid57).

Karanja bears the humiliation of Thompson in order to consolidate his position among the white settlers, he therefore fears the government's transition to black power and is apprehensive about the rumour that the Europeans working since this would affect his own station. Nonetheless, he raises the hope that the coming black rule does not mean the end of white power (Robson 91).

But on the whole Karanja would rather endure the humiliation than lose the good name he had built up for himself among the white people. He lived on that name and the power it brought him. At Githima, people believed that a complaint from him was enough to make a man lose his job. Karanja knew their fears. Often when men came into his office, he would suddenly cast them a cold eye, drop hints, or simply growl at them; in this way, he increased their fears and insecurity. But he also feared the men and alternated this fierce pose with servile friendliness (43).

Karanja prefers individualism over community which classifies him in the category of collaborators, he believes that the British will stay in their country forever and This vision isolated him. The historical process of colonization cause moral doubt which create collaborators. Although Karanja considers himself as part of the white community, in the British concept he is considered inferior. But Karanja barely notices it from his point of view being a collaborator is a sign of survival that guarantee a descent life. Economic exploitation of the colonizer inherits a system of value that encourages the continuing existence of the imperialist expansion in Africa. Ngugi inscribes a historical and psychological suffering of the Kenyan community; he also highlights the imperialism and exploitation of the British in Kenya (Lutz 175).

The ideology of the white settler is to give franchise according to ethnic discrimination, which produces a collective tribulation that paralyses the society. Kenyan has faced several pressures like economic hardship, cheap labour and social hierarchy of racism. The Kenyan try to challenge the colonial domination and the human vulnerability, by clinging to communal values that were against the brutality of of European capitalism (Lutz 177). The violence committed by the British reveals the community's problems more and produced malicious traitors and brought up the British army's brutality to the surface.

Mugo, Karanja, Gikonyo and other characters have different and even contradicting values. This contrast in personalities and ethics shows the eternal conflict between good and evil. Ngugi uses the collective narrator to show the collective quest for freedom plus the refusal of the colonial domination. Ngugi uses history in the emergency in addition to the subjective history to show the capitalist exploitation. He also points out that human psychology is damaged. He is using history as a political weapon for revolution; He is influenced by Marx's theory that criticises the capitalism and affect the psychological development of individuals (Lutz 178).

Ngugi wants to mobilize the minds of black community , to disapprove with the corrupt elite and to draw attention to the social and economic gap between the elite and common citizens who work in their service .(Lutz 179)

Ngugi's historical design is influenced by Karl Marx, Franz Fanon in addition to Gikuyu culture of Kenya, Ngugi sees the history of Kenya through the common people such as the peasants and the Mau Mau. The events were set first in the period of emergency and few days before the independence, this period represents a turning point in the history of Kenya. Grain of wheat criticises imperialism and the greed of individualism. Ngugi considers colonialism and capitalism as a destruction to the social values and economic structure, he wants to rise consciousness over corruption and economic decline, This deficiency that occurred at all levels happens mainly due to the lack of ethics and immoral actions of the Kenyan elite. Ngugi considers self-interest and greed as result of competition between those elite in order to fill the void left by the colonizer on the job market and also in the administrative positions. The hegemony of capitalism and radical individualism has affected the lives of Kenyan citizens in a negative way it makes every character flop and experience traumatic events whether to accept the oppression or to be part of the resistance wave(Lutz 172).

The colonialist bourgeoisie had hammered into the native's mind the idea of a society of individuals where each person shuts himself up in his own subjectivity, and whose only wealth is individual thought. Now the native who has the opportunity to return to the people during the struggle for freedom will discover the falseness of this theory (Fanon 47).

Ngugi uses history in the emergency in addition to the subjective history to show the capitalist exploitation. He also points out that human psychology is damaged. He is using history as a political weapon for revolution; He is influenced by Marx's theory that criticises the

capitalism and affect the psychological development of individuals. Ngugi wants to mobilize the minds of black community, to disapprove with the corrupt elite and to draw attention to the social and economic gap between the elite and common citizens who work in their service (Lutz 179).

Gikonyo and Mumbi get married and live happily. However, this happiness did not last long, their conjugal life is disturbed when Gikonyo is arrested by the colonial power, as he left behind a sad and helpless woman. A long time ago, Mumbi refused Karanja when he proposed to her, “And that refusal irrevocably bound him to her” (GW 238), as she accepted Gikonyo’s request and ignored him. Thus, Karanja does not want to be separated from Mumbi and always tries to persuade her to give him a second chance as he tries to approach her in the absence of her husband, but her love for her husband is still alive and vital which gives meaning to his betrayal and his life as whole (SENE 373).

When Gikonyo was taken to detention, Karanja suddenly knew he would never let himself be taken away from Mumbi. He sold the movement and oath secrets, the price of remaining near Mumbi. [...] Women offered their naked bodies to him; even the most respectable came to him by night. But Mumbi, his Mumbi would not yield, and he could never bring himself to force her (238)

Thus, Karanja has sold his homeland in the name of love. He considers that his love for Mumbi is more precious than the voice of his and the oath, he does not feel any remorse for betraying his homeland and the loss of his social strength, all he wants is to fulfil his dream of winning Mumbi even if it is at the expense of his people (SENE 373).

Next to Karanja appears Gikonyo, an ambitious carpenter and businessman who is married to Mumbi, after spending six years in the detention, he could not bear the distance between him and Mumbi. Thus, he drains his revolutionary enthusiasm and signs a confession and is released.

Upon his return, Gikonyo is surprised by Karanja who became a homeguard and from his wife who gave birth to a son in his absence. Gikonyo's hopes are shattered when he discovers the betrayal of his wife, who committed a sin to see her, he therefore gets angry at his infamous actions he did to meet his wife which makes him unable to forgive himself and her (Robson 96).

Gikonyo's suffering began on the day the white man's arm extended to his hut where he was arrested, he considers that Mumbi and Wangari are the only constant truth and hope that gives freedom to his soul, he always waits for the day when he returns to Thabai and celebrates the birth of freedom (Bhardwaj 586).

'Freedom! What is freedom?' Gatu asked slowly, in a subdued voice that sounded like a suppressed cry. The question destroyed the motif and Gikonyo was depressed inside. suddenly Gatu turned his watery eyes on Gikonyo. Gikonyo felt the terrible bond being established between them. He struggled against this but in the end gave up, so that it was he who first opened his heart to Gatu. He told him of Thabai, of Wangari, of Mumbi [...]. But now Gikonyo told Gatu of his one desire to see Mumbi just once (126).

Gikonyo confess his oath, he breaks the bounds with the resistance movement and insults himself in the name of love without guilt, "His desire to see Mumbi was there. His mind was clear and he knew without guilt" (GW 130). However, "Thabai was just another detention camp. Would he ever get out of it? But go where?" (GW 135), although he betrayed the oath for Mumbi, Gikonyo draw a bitter lesson when returning home (SENE 374).

During the six years that he spends in detention, Gikonyo feels that his life's meaning is depended in his return to see Mumbi. He spends all the time in concentration camps thinking about Mumbi, trying to remember her cast, her angelic voice and her hands radiating with light. Through all these details, Gikonyo maintains his stability in the prison and builds an ideal vision

for his relationship with Mumbi. However, Gikonyo's shock of Mumbi's betrayal of him with Karanja scattered all his hope in an instant (Lutz 180).

The quick, bitter pang he had experienced [...] Life had no valleys, no mountains, no streams, no trees-nothing. And who had thought of life as a thread one could continue weaving into a pattern of one's choice? He was remotely conscious that he was tired. And somewhere in that remote region of his mind, hidden, words formed (132).

Mumbi was the only thing on his mind, he never thought that returning to Mumbi would be a return to silence. He had many thoughts at once, he could not believe that his wife had intercourse with another man and betrayed the bond and the secret between them. Thabai's life became another detention for Gikonyo, all the streets and roads suffocating him, he wants to go anywhere else where he does not imagine the mother's image while breastfeeding her child (Lutz181).

As Fanon considers the traumatic events increase interpersonal differences between people; Ngugi combined historical and personal trauma in his book, according to him they are simultaneous. According to this Mumbi's betrayal of Gikonyo represents a psychological trauma which occurred as a result of social difficulties. Gikonyo's reconciliation was to return to carpentry, his decision to plunge in work is a process to forget the past. Indulging in work is Ngugi's treatment of trauma (Lutz 195).

Gikonyo's wounds were not easy to heal, accepting the betrayal of Mumbi and Karanja's child slowly walking towards reconciliation, he begins to be convinced that Karanja's child is the future and that Mumbi needed him during the emergency; her facial features hide many thoughts, feelings and weaknesses, "He was surprised to find that tiredness in her eyes. How long had she been like this? What had happened to her over the last few days?" (GW 280). Furthermore, While

lying on the hospital, Gikonyo recalls his life experiences in the seven camps and guesses that he betrayed the oath; Then, he understands that there is no difference between him and Karanja (Robson 102-103).

Furthermore, Gikonyo and other participants in the business, collectively associate their efforts to the benefit of society. Unfortunately, they find Karanja in the new administration. Gekonyo wants a collective share of ownership but the MP intend a personal profit which sign to the distorted values that was inherited from the British colonization. Gekonyo discovered the reality that the colonial system is going to be applicable after the independence This scene explains the clash between the new elite and the peasants. Gikonyo realized that the British and loyalists are trying to control Kenya, and the elite are the new African wealthy bourgeoisies, those who betrayed Kenya are the new rulers. The injustice and the plunder of the economic wealth is going to continue with those corrupt elite; which means that the colonial administration will not change. The collaborators are going to follow their example. Thus, the new elite have privileges in taking the rule over Kenya, which makes the people questioning its future. The Kenyan conservatives are disgusted from those distorted values that was inherited from the British colonization. Gikonyo discovered the reality that the colonial system is going to be applicable after the independence. Ngugi's vision to Kenya's post-independence was a democratic public rule, but he is disappointed by the reality that it is traitor's rule (Lutz 195).

Moreover, General R lived through painful events during the British rule besides MauMau movement, but his dream of a complete liberation of Kinya did not come true. In General R's speech, he indicates that the seed of betrayal is noticeable, he was disappointed that the freedom fighting didn't reach the level to change the colonial remains. To confine the role of traitors due to lack of capabilities, which mean another freedom fighting. Despite his acumen, his ability to

act was limited; General R attention was to search just for the one and only traitor ‘the betrayer of Kihika’, while the traitors are all around (Lutz 195).

The new elite have privileges in taking the rule over Kenya, which makes the people questioning its future. General R discovered the reality that the future of Kenya is Fraught with difficulties (Lutz 193)

We are still here. We whom you called traitors and collaborators will never die!" And suddenly General R. recalled Lt. Koina's recent misgivings. Koina talked of seeing ghosts of the colonial past still haunting Independent Kenya And it was true that those now marching in the streets of Nairobi were not the soldiers of the Kenya Land and Freedom Army but of the King's African Rifles, the very colonial forces who had been doing on the battlefield what Jackson was doing in churches. Kigondu's face was now transformed into that of Karanja and all the other traitors in all the communities in Kenya (220-1).

Those thought show that the betrayal of the nation is clear and without any doubt is happening. The MauMau movement couldn't bring a new system which is free from oppressors (Lutz 194). However, the betrayal is beyond what General R assume, as Gerald Moore notes:

[the] search for the betrayer of Kihika years before is truly an irrelevance, the betrayal is going on all around [him] at that very moment, as those who stayed in the wings during the struggle step forward to occupy the seats of power (273).

Mugo lacks connection with other people, but he is unlike Karanja he has no attention to control others. Mugo's betrayal of Kihika came from the need to protect himself but for Karanja he intended to join the homeguards and be against the MauMau movement. Mugo's loss of his parents and psychological abuse from his aunt grow his fear of abandonment tragically. Mugo's relationship with earth and natural world separate him from community but he still need

acceptance. This alienation is manifestation of historical process and collective consciousness among the oppressed peasantry in colonial Kenya. Colonization and its dehumanization is part of capitalists control, it generates philosophical pessimism and convince the colonized that he is a passive victim and has no control (Lutz184),

Previously he liked to see events in his life as isolated. Things had been fated to happen at different moments. One had no choice in anything as surely as one had no choice on one's birth. He did not, then, tire his mind by trying to connect what went before with what followed after. Numbed, he ran without thinking of the road, its origin or its end (172).

Not just to restrain his guilt of betraying Kihika and that he has no power to change, but also his passive approval to oppression and social rules. It looks that he is opposing this colonial capitalism; it prevents him from taking moral responsibility over his actions. Mugo's resign from social responsibility removes the aim of his existence and his sense of commitment, those last pushed him to betray Kihika. Mugo deceives himself that he would be a great man unfortunately Kihika suddenly entered his life and corrupted his plans. Thereafter Mugo blindly and rashly delivered Kihika to the British after a week of the incident ; Mugo's greed for money In addition to his desire to benefit from colonial authority nudge him to reckless decision; he was thinking that his betrayal would provide him with success and wealth (Lutz 185).

He would flash his victory before the eyes of his aunt's ghost. His place in society would be established. He would be half-way on the road to power. And what is greatness but power? What's power? A judge is powerful: he can send a man to death, without anyone questioning his authority, judgment, or harming his body in return. Yes-to be great you must stand in such a place that you can dispense pain and death to others without anyone asking questions (197).

Power is a wild inclination of the colonizer and the colonized alike. Moreover, it pull apart of the sense of morals and values in individuals. The colonial domination create a powerful trauma and attack Mugo in a savage way (Lutz 186)

Mugo, like Karanja, need self-preservation no matter what the price to the community. He decided to meet Thompson and betrays kihika where, at the moment, he feels his hatred for Kihika again which increases his insistence on confessing. As well as, convincing himself that he is in a position, “a pure delicious joy at his own daring, at what he suddenly saw as a great act of moral courage” (GW 226). Furthermore, the communication between him and Thompson is his first contact with another human being which increases his gratitude towards the white person, “He felt a deep gratitude to the whiteman, a patient listener, who had lifted his burden from Mugo’s heart. Who had extricated him from his nightmare. He even dared to look at the whiteman, the new-found friend” (GW 226). Consequently, he succumbs to the blind action and proves his submission to the colonial role, thus, betrays his society by accepting hegemony that has eroded Kenya and deludes himself that the colonial power is the only force that should be treated. Power pull apart the sense of morals and values in individuals (Lutz186).

Mugo tricks himself and believes that “his acts are beyond good an evil” when he discovered that he has power over life and death by this knowledge about Kihika gives him, however this state of power disappeared after he betray the secret to Thompson, then he found that his information about Kihika serve only the colonial authority. Mugo’s submission to fate and colonial rule led him to betray his community that nurtured him long before; In order to satisfy his greed for money. Mugo’s feeling of guilt and regret already forgotten once he accepts power as the only force worthy of recognition. He chooses to be a servant to the cruelty of the British rather than his vulnerable community. Mugo has similarity with Karanja that of them have moral

coward and selfishness, moreover the sense of self-protection blind them from sacrificing themselves for their home country, at last the society has to pay for this greed. Mugo's betrayal has not resulted just in Kihika's death but also brought attention of the colonial authorities to the village (Lutz 199).

Ngugi depicts the motivations behind Mugo's actions and highlights the complex relationship between individualism, alienation and colonial ideology in which power becomes the primary object of Mugo. His individuality, selfishness, and inability to find his goal is what convinces him of Kihika's betrayal, deluding himself into thinking he is, "destined to be a great man" (GW 224). Mugo puts himself at the mercy of his internal motives and the historical forces transforming his society, by consolidating his position in society and the trend towards power. Therefore, it increased his personal desire for betrayal (Lutz 185).

He would flash his victory before the eyes of his aunt's ghost. His place in society would be established. He would be half-way on the road to power. And what is greatness but power? What's power? A judge is powerful: he can send a man to death, without anyone questioning his authority, judgment, or harming his body in return. Yes – to be great you must stand in such a place that you can dispense pain and death to others without anyone asking questions (224).

The colonial process is firstly based on the policy of capitalist domination, whereby humanity is stripped away, making every Kenyan person convinced that he is a victim so this is what Mugo lives in his permanent state This alienation is manifestation of historical process and collective consciousness among the oppressed peasantry in colonial Kenya. Thus, his strange behaviour, his escape from social responsibility would lead him to betray his community. The dispersion of his thoughts increase his individuality and alienation that appears as a symptom of his inability to overcome the painful experience of his childhood (Lutz 184).

Previously he liked to see events in his life as isolated. Things had been fated to happen at different moments. One had no choice in anything as surely as one had no choice on one's birth. He did not, then, tire his mind by trying to connect what went before with what followed after. Numbed, he ran without thinking of the road, its origin or its end (195).

Mugo is more complex than the other characters, he is introduced right at the novel where Ngugi show the kind of burden that Mugo is carrying in his heart; thus, he is troubled by the burden of guilt even in his dream. Despite his constant fear, Mugo is a brave man, Ngugi portrays the right side of him in which he defends a pregnant woman from the brutality of the guards and tries to reach the old man who lost her son, and more importantly, his steadfastness during torture. But what Mugo faces is a new challenge. Kihika's visit to Mugo to persuade him to be a part of the struggle and join the stream of the political events is the main motive behind Mugo's betrayal of him. However, Kihika's passionate speech does not stir anything in Mugo rather than a cold anger. His old hatred against Kihika returns as he painfully reflects that if he dies he has nobody to mourn for him. So he decided to betray Kihika. Thabai's call for him to lead the Uhuru celebrations and their confidence that he is the hero of the Kenyan struggle is his exhaustion, "As soon as the first words were out, Mugo felt light. A load of many years was lifted from his shoulders. He was free, sure, confident" (GW 276). So, he decided to admit that he killed Kihika and get rid of guilt (Jones137).

Mugo's confession means that he is able to take responsibility towards his act of betrayal, which count as a sign of repentance. Mugo gets rid of a heavy burden that was crouched on his chest. This courageous act must be considered as a return to his motherland and social morality. Unlike Karanja who chooses to remain unfaithful to his community. This act from a collaborator who is now a responsible in the administration of Kenya symbolizes Kenya's lack of complete

liberation. The restrictions of colonialism is remaining even after the end of British colonialism; which can be referred to as neo-colonialism. Karanja escapes from his actions and his betrayal becomes evident (Lutz 190).

One by one they went past him, and Karanja inside the hood recognized many people and knew with pleasure that none of them could see him ... The picture of Mugo at the platform, like a ghost, rose before him, merging with that of the hooded man. Karanja stood near the crossing, contemplating the many eyes that had watched Mugo at the meeting. The train was now so near he could hear the wheels screeching on the rails. He felt the screeching in his flesh as on that other time at Rung'ei station. He was conscious too, of many angry eyes watching him in the dark ... When the train disappeared, the silence around him deepened; the night seemed to have grown darker (231).

This passage highlights Karanja's role in sending people to the concentration camps. He do not assign any value to what the hopeless villagers think about his cooperation with the colonizer, on the contrary the passage emphasizes the pleasure that derives from his power and domination. This moral blindness identify that Karanja follows the footsteps of the colonizer, He thinks that he also can justify his immoral acts. Karanja's aims are how to survive and win positions without giving attention to the results. The angry peasants and the oppressed community condemn the elite who betrayed the oath. Those who were the cause of the delay of independence. Sensation of fear about the future of Kenya rise with the existence of those elite, which make the submitted effort of the rebellion go in vain. (Lutz 191)

But now, whom do we see riding in long cars and changing them daily as if motor cars were clothes? It is those who did not take part in the Movement, the same who ran to the shelter of schools and universities and administration. And even some who were outright traitors and collaborators ... At political meetings you hear them shout: Uhuru, Uhuru, we fought for. Fought where? (68-9).

Ngugi dismisses the political injustice of the black responsables, which show class repulsion and social exploitation that continue even after the British withdrawal. What happened is a misalignment in the socio-economic structure, and a clash between this new consisted wealthy class versus the MauMau peasant (Lutz 192).

On the Uhuru day, Mugo goes up to the stage with crowd cheers and applause to deliver his speech and confession. At the moment of his confession, Mugo's enemy is his own fears and desires. He lives in an internal struggle where he sees contempt and terror on the face of every person in the village; as well as, to admit that Kihika was killed on such a glorious day requires a lot of courage (Jones 138).

His heart pounded against him. He felt sweat in his hands, as he walked through the huge crowd. His hands shook, his legs were not firm on the ground. In his mind, everything was clear and final. He would stand there and publicly own the crime. He held on to his vision. Nothing, not even the shouting and the songs and the praises would deflect him from this purpose. It was the clarity of his vision which gave him courage as he stood before the microphone and the sudden silence (277).

Through the novel, Ngugi criticises imperialism and the greed of individualism. He considers colonialism and capitalism as a destruction to the social values and economic structure, he wants to rise consciousness over corruption and economic decline, this deficiency that occurred at all levels happens mainly due to the lack of ethics and immoral actions of the Kenyan elite. Ngugi considers self-interest and greed as result of competition between those elite in order to fill the void left by the colonizer on the job market add to that the administrative positions. The hegemony of capitalism and radical individualism has affected the lives of Kenyan citizens in a negative way it makes every character flop and experience traumatic events whether to accept the oppression or to be part of the resistance wave (Lutz 172).

II.3. Decolonizing the Kenyan Society

A Grain of Wheat is a novel that exposes what post-colonial Kenya clashed with the practices of British institutions and how Kenyans suffered to maintain their land. Even after the official end of colonialism people found difficulties in building their independent nations and continue to imitate them because of their believe that the former colonial power still represented the pinnacle of learning, technology, civilization and economic power .In the process of decolonization, colonialism produces an elite group of natives who imitate the customs of the colonial power, they gain positions of power in the new governments and continue to imitate the culture and practices of the former colonizing nation. However, the elites were never accepted as equals, therefore, the novel addressed the corruption of the Christian church and the cultural imperialism lasted by the missionaries to abolish the Kenyan cultural values as they impose European practices (Miller 4).

The Kenyan Emergency has always been an important factor in creating the Kenyan individual and nation-building, thus, Ngugi believes that the Emergency shapes the nation as people have to choose their loyalties. Therefore, he presents the characters of Kihika, Karanja, Gikonyo and the Member of the Parliament in the newly independent Kenya (Miller 19).

In the novel Ngugi presents his critique of Christianity, he depicts a character Kihika, who rejects Christianity as practised by the missionaries, he uses biblical stories and rhetoric to encourage people to rebel and resist imperialism. Furthermore, how the church serves the goals of capitalism and colonialism which effect directly in creating an elite. He is the “terror of Whiteman” who can “move mountains and compel thunder from heaven,” characteristics which are associated with a deity (GW 20). Kihika is considered one of the most important rebel figures

who fought colonialism for the freedom of his people and land, even after his death he continues to inspire people (Miller 22).

The use of Christian rhetoric in the cause of independence is one of the most notable features of Kihika's speech in defending his land as he follows in the footsteps of Harry Thuku whom the people consider to be God's prophet (Miller 26), "So in Harry Thuku, people swore they would follow Harry through the desert. They would tighten their belts around the waist, ready to endure thirst and hunger, tears and blood until they set foot on Canaan's shore"(GW 16).

Identically, Thuku considers as similar as Moses character places him within the context of the Christian faith even though many freedom fighters rejected Christianity because of its association with missionaries and colonialism. From a young age, Kihika has a religious faith where he performs his prayers and "Believed in prayer. He even read the bible every day, and took it with him wherever he went" (GW 22). Furthermore, he "Was going to school and discovering the world of the printed word. The boy was moved by the story of Moses and the children of Israel, which he had learnt during Sunday school- an integral part of their education- conducted at the church by the headmaster" (GW 99). Kihika's underlined passages reflect his true religious beliefs and those aspects of Christianity which he chooses to accept, and represents a middle ground between Christianity and traditional African beliefs; thus, He resists capitalism and the abolition of certain cultural practices but he still invokes those aspects of Christianity which advance his position (Miller 24-26).

Kihika's interest in politics began when he was a small boy and sat under the feet of Warui listening to stories of how the land was taken from black people. That was before the second world war, that is, before Africans were conscripted to fight with Britain against Hitler [...] of young Harry and the fate that befell the 1923 procession; of Muthirigu and the mission schools that forbade circumcision in order to eat, like insects, both the roots and the stem of the Gikuyu society (96).

The missionaries considered their own religion and customs to be superior to native ideas and practices, and they imposed upon African people and eradicates their native identity. Missionaries use Christianity as a means to justify imperialism, transform indigenous people and eliminate their culture in the name of Christianity, considering themselves on a civilized mission to teach citizens their advanced methods of technology, governance, economics and religion (Miller 11).The missionaries also sought to abolish some of the practices of the Kenyan culture, such as circumcision which they refused to be a Christian custom (Miller 12).

Therefore, Ngugi's greatest critique of the church was its alliance with colonialism, and its influence in eradicating African traditions and identity. Even though Kihika considers as the man of religion and faith Ngugi presents in him an edited Christianity through Kihika's use of religious language to urge rebellion reflects. Ngugi's view that Christianity properly understood, supports and change rebellion, hence Kihika represent a synthesis of both Christian faith and traditional practices and he adopts those principals of Christianity which support resisting oppression and injustice while still maintaining a connection to African culture and traditional practices such as female circumcision (Miller 27).

Kihika left Mahiga school a little disgraced. It happened like this. During a session one Sunday morning, Teacher Munui talked of the circumcision of women and called it a heathen custom. 'As Christians we are forbidden to carry on such practices.' 'Excuse me, sir!' 'Yes, Kihika.' The boy[...]dared not say or do. Even Teacher Munui seemed scared [...] the Bible does not talk about circumcising women (99).

Despite, the use of the bible and Christian principals, Kihika is still rooted in Gikuyu tradition. He is even portrayed as the Charismatic leader of the Mau Mau movement.

Fanon's theories on neo-colonialism also impacted Ngugi's political philosophy, Ngugi recognizes the way in which independence simply benefit the upper classes or elites of Kenyan society. In *A Grain of Wheat*, Ngugi depicts black bourgeois who betray their people to reveals the continued existence of colonial structures and criticizing the aspects of Christianity which last cultural imperialism. Specifically, in the novel he deals with this case through the depiction of characters who embody the characteristics of the collaborationists and conformist figures such as Karanja and a corrupt elected official (Miller 19). Karanja is one of traitors who cooperated with the colonizer, he tolerates humiliation and insult to preserve his good reputation and build a prominent position in society at the expense of his people and the continuance of colonial rule.

But on the whole Karanja would rather endure the humiliation than lose the good name he had built up for himself among the white people. He lived on that name and the power it brought him. At Githima, people believed that a complaint from him was enough to make a man lose his job. Karanja knew their fears. Often when men came into his office, he would suddenly cast them a cold eye, drop hints, or simply growl at them; in this way, he increased their fears and insecurity. But he also feared the men and alternated this fierce pose with servile friendliness (43).

"I could not believe it. He had been a friend of Kihika and Gikonyo; they had taken the oath together; how could he betray them?" (GW 163). Karanja renounces his oath and becomes a homeguard, he chose to betray his people and cooperate with colonialism as he became a barrier between peasants and the British colonial government in order to achieve personal gains and strength. Despite, Karanja became a homeguard and later a chief, he is always concerned about

the reaction he would face after the British withdrawal, and the emergence of the new black government since he considers the colonial power as his only refuge, especially that he is accused in Kihika's murder (Miller 22-23). Moreover, Karanja claimed that the reason behind his job as a homeguard is his fear of annihilating his people, he tells Mumbi, "You don't understand. Did you want us all to die in the Forest and in Detention so that the whiteman could live here on this land alone? The Whiteman is strong. Don't you ever forget that. I know, because I have tasted his power" (GW 168).

The connection between biblical archetypes and characters in this story demonstrates the relationship between Christian principals and the actions of the Mau Mau rebellion. Thus, the Mau Mau movement explicitly defined in the beginning of the book (Miller 26).

Its origins can, so the people say, be traced to the day the whiteman came to the country, clutching the book of God in both hands, a magic witness that the whiteman was a messenger from the Lord. His tongue was coated with sugar; his humility was touching. For a time, people ignored the voice of the Gikuyu seer who once said. There shall come a people with clothes like the butterflies (13).

The Kenyan people were invested their lives in the land where they born and which they consider a gift from God. Therefore, taking over from colonialism was an event that destabilized the identity of Kenyan state and its people .The white man's capitalistic ideology to gain the Kenyan lands was repulsed by the Mau Mau movement, termed itself the "Land and Freedom the Army", from 1952-1959 which arose directly in response to loss of Kenyan land and sought to regain the land through rebelling against the British government, the movement and its goal is to fight the forces of capitalism which considered to be anti-human and the opposite of African traditional communal culture (Miller13). Through the humiliation and the bloodshed of Kenyans

the white man oppresses the Gikuyu to deprive them of their land, cultural heritage and freedom; thus, the colonizer murders many Gikuyu leaders to achieve the goals of colonialism (Léfara 14372).

Waiyaki and other warrior-leaders took arms. They iron snake spoken of by Mugo. Wa Kibiro was quickly wriggling towards Nairobi for a thorough exploitation of the hinterland. [...] The Whiteman with bamboo poles that vomited fire and smoke, hit back; his menacing laughter remained echoing in the hearts of the people. [...] They flocked to his meeting, waiting for him to give the sign. Harry denounced the Whiteman and cursed that benevolence and protection which denied people land and freedom. He amazed them by reading aloud letters to the Whiteman, letters in which he set out in clear terms people's discontent with taxation, forced labour in white settler's land, and with the soldier settlement scheme which after the first big war, left many black people without homes or land around Tigoni and other places (15).

The British colonialism continues to dominate the Kenyan lands through its capitalistic ideas and possession of lands that it plundered from the Gikuyu, which are cultivated by its indigenous people. Black people used to go to farms early to grow, yet they only got an ascetic amount of money. Ms Burton was one of the first settlers to come to Kenya, where he lived most of his life, he knew no home but Kenya, and despite his age, he had no intention of ever leaving. Until the day that the power would transfer to hands of black people, then he decided to sell his land and return back to his homeland, Britain. Gikonyo and five others agreed to co-purchase MP's farm through which Gikonyo aspires to return to the traditional collective ownership of land and boycott capitalism (Miller 20).

In the afternoon he had an appointment with the M.P. for the area. About a month back, Gikonyo and five other men had decided to contribute and jointly buy a small farm belonging to Ms Burton was one of the earliest settlers, who, encouraged by the British Government to settle in Kenya after the railway line to Uganda was finished, came and got the land for a song. his children were born in Kenya, went to school there [...], Mr Burton had never believed that the British government would abdicate. Now Mr Burton wanted to sell the land he loved and in which he had put so much of his life and go home to Britain (70).

Gikonyo was disappointed by MP, who accused of giving him a loan and buying the land for himself. Ngugi considers capitalism to be hostile to the African traditional culture and produces an anti-human culture since private property is a Western concept. Portraying MP's character as a good example of the bourgeoisie described by Fanon in his work. When Mr Burton chose to not allow Gikoyoy and the others, thus Gikonyo becomes a victim of marginalization by the new black government. Consequently, MP continues to imitate the colonial power and adopts the British institutions (Miller 20).

In *A Grain of Wheat*, Ngugi interacts with Fanon's theory about the struggles of decolonization, including the educated elite's mimicry of the former colonial power and the continued oppression of the lower classes in an independent nation, he presents post-colonial struggles as the colonial power continues to persecute people and maintain its rule and sovereignty despite the end of colonialism. Unlike Fanon, who fully rejects the cultural practices imposed by colonial governments; by presenting Kihika's character, Ngugi gives some hope of salvation where he combines Christian education with traditional customs and explain the Christianity's role as an important factor for social justice and resistance in oppressive systems. Thus, Christian church and the group of elite are a means by which colonialism depends on the continuity of imperialism and capitalism (Miller 30-31).

Conclusion

Post-colonial literature has been affected by the imperial process from colonization. It is the study of power relations between different groups, cultures or people. It is characterized by the effect of colonization on people and nations, and challenges to faith, language, politics. Furthermore, it addresses problems and consequences of the decolonization, especially of subjugated people. Thus, the dissertation analyses the colonial domination where Europeans started colonialism and spread their power. Over time, resistance to the control of the colonial power grew, as people felt the colonial system exploited them and took away their political, social and economic freedom.

The Post-Colonial theory is the appropriate theory for the present study, as well as, Frantz Fanon's theories of violence, neo-colonization and Ngugi's theory of decolonizing the mind are the most significant contributions and literary works in which we are going to deal with in order to understand well the postcolonial theory. Fanon is one of the most prominent authors of post-colonial literature who has shaped post-colonial theory. He was interested in the emotional effects of colonization and racism on blacks, in his book *The Wretched of The Earth*, he analysed the nature of colonialism as a source of violence rather than reacting violently against resistors which had been the common view. Moreover, in his book *Black Skin, White Masks*, he addresses the damaging psychological effects of colonial racism in which the colonizer spread white culture intended to prevent the colonized people from their feeling of identity and belonging.

Furthermore, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, the founder and of the Gikuyu language, establishes the relationship between the language and power in the process of decolonizing the mind, he sees language as the most potent instrument in the hands of the colonisers to capture the mind of the colonised. Thus, it emphasizes out the way in which the language of Afro-European literature manifests the dominance of the empire.

Ngugi's *A Grain of Wheat* illustrates the Kenyan's fight against British colonialism and covered up the portion of the state of Emergency as well as Uhuru events, he presents a series of experiences for the main characters in the novel before, during and after the Uhuru Day in a Kenyan village when they are forced to submit to British power, stuck in a vicious circle of manipulation and despair by following the steps of their white masters. Thus, Post- Independence Kenya, moving through the trauma suffered by the Kenya's Gikuyu people during the period that the British declared a state of emergency where betrayal, corruption, capitalism and greed are the most common issues that Ngugi tries to highlight in his novel.

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ملخص

الرأسمالية هي موضوع بارز جدا في دراسات الحكم الإستعماري، فهي تخلق كل أنواع المشقة في المجتمع المستعمر. تشمل الفساد والخيانة والسلطة التعسفية. رواية حبة قمح للكاتب الكيني نقوقي تتبع معاناة الكينيين من الفساد المنتشر للنخبة خلال فترة الإستعمار البريطاني. الغرض الرئيسي من هذه الأطروحة هو تسليط الضوء على تأثير السلطة، الفساد، الرأسمالية والتوجه الذي يعاني منه الكينيون. نظرية مابعد الإستعمار هي الطريقة المطبقة، لاسيما أنها تتعامل مع آثار الإضطهاد الإستعماري خلال فترة مابعد الإستقلال في كينيا. تنقسم الدراسة إلى إطار عمل نظري يناقش السياق المتعلق بكينيا مابعد الإستقلال، وإطار تحليلي يفحص الخيانة الوطنية. ومنه، تحاول هاته الدراسة الكشف عن الصدمة التي يعاني منها شعب كيكويو.