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## EDUCATION FOR A NATIONAL CULTURE\*

By

Ngugi wa Thiong'o

I feel it slightly presumptuous on my part to stand here, in Zimbabwe, and talk about education and culture. For a people who have entered the highest phase of political struggle against foreign rule and oppression, have already laid firm educational foundations for a national patriotic culture. For it's both an act of education and an educational process to struggle to seize back the right and the initiative to make one's own history and hence culture which is a product and a reflection of that history. Cabral has rightly said that national liberation is necessarily an act of culture, and the liberation movement "the organized political expression of the struggling people's culture."

### Yellow Maize and Industrial Prostitution

So let me start by congratulating the heroic people of Zimbabwe for their successful armed struggle against the colonial stage of Imperialism. I talk of the colonial stage because Imperialism has in fact two stages: Colonial and neo-colonial. The failure, or the deliberate refusal to recognise this and hence the pitfalls into which a successful anti-colonial struggle can fall is already costing many an African country dear in terms of economic misery -- turning beggary and charity into national institutions; political subservience to the extent of ceding whole territories for foreign military use in exchange for yellow maize and cultural depravity, raising prostitution to a national industry for consumption by American sailors and military personnel.

By organizing a conference imbued with the spirit and desire for a structural social transformation as outlined in the letter of invitation from the Minister for Education, the people of Zimbabwe, I take it, have already seen the possibilities and hence the dangers of neo-colonialism -- what Kwame Nkrumah once described as the last stage of Imperialism.

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\* Ngugi, the well renowned Kenyan writer, presented this article at the Seminar on Education in Zimbabwe -- Past, Present and Future, held at the University of Zimbabwe in August 1981. The article was subsequently published in *Forward*, Vol. 4, Nos. 2 and 3, 1982, from which this reprint is taken, and to which we owe much gratitude. In this regard *Ufahamu* recommends *Forward* as one of the growing publications of political enlightenment. More information on *Forward* can be obtained by writing to Forward Publications Ltd., P. O. Box 5160, Kampala, Uganda, East Africa

Education and culture can play a decisive role in the social transformation so vital and necessary for a victory over the neo-colonial stage of Imperialism.

But what education and what culture? What's the relationship between the two? And what have these got to do with economic, political and social transformation of Society?

Education is the process of integrating the youth into the entire system of production, exchange and distribution of what we eat, wear and shelter under, the whole system of organizing the wealth of a given country. It does so (i) by imparting knowledge about the two basic relations on which the entire society including its culture is erected: i.e., the relations between man and nature and relations between man and man, and (ii) by imparting a certain outlook or attitude to the two relations. Now the world outlook of a people is embodied in their moral, aesthetic and ethical values which are in turn embodied in their culture. Their culture is itself a product and a reflection of the history built on the two relations with nature and with other men. Thus education is part of culture and culture is part of education. They run into each other and one way of looking at education is as a process of integrating a people into the dominant culture of that community.

Let me illustrate this by going over a familiar ground.

Man, like animals, is part of nature. But unlike animals he produces his means of life: what he eats, wears and shelters under. His labour power acting on nature produces his food, clothing, shelter, and other things to meet other needs. His labour power acting on natural resources generates wealth. His labour power is made more productive by the use of tools, that is, instruments of labour, from the simplest stone to the most complicated machinery; by his skills and ability to utilize the tools, i.e., technology; and by his cooperation with other men in his struggle to wrest a living from nature.

#### A Social Act

The relation between man and nature is characterised by both harmony and conflict: harmony because being part of nature, whatever man does is a manifestation of nature; and conflict because he must detach himself from nature, act on it, change it, turn it into a slave, compel it to meet his needs. Nature itself is not passive and often acts hostile to man. Struggle is the essence of man's relations with nature.

But in struggling with nature man enters into relations with other men in two ways. He must cooperate with others, through division of labour, to face hostile nature. When we talk of human

labour power over nature, we are talking of cooperative human labour. Thus the production of wealth is a social act, the result of many hands. Once he has wrestled with nature and has compelled it to yield, he now must share out the fruits, the products, the wealth resulting from that cooperative struggle with nature. The relation between man and man is characterized by both harmony and conflict: harmony or cooperation when he joins with others to face nature and conflict when it comes to sharing that which their combined labour-power has wrested from nature. Struggle is the essence of man's relations with man, since even in production he will try to occupy a place that gives him an advantageous position in the exchange and distribution of their common wealth. For instance, those who in the evolution of a society, come to own the means of production (the tools of labour, natural resources and even human labour power itself) control the bigger share out of the common or social wealth.

The relations that men enter with one another in the production of wealth are relations of production and constitute the economic structure of that community. Thus the two relations of rather the two struggles (with nature and with other men) are the foundation of any society and they are linked together by human labour power in production. It is first an economic community.

But in the process of the economic evolution of that community, they work out rules that govern and regulate their economic life: i.e., their relations with nature and with one another over both production and the share out of the social product. They even evolve a machinery for enforcing the rules. Thus the economic community evolves into a political community with often a form of state (the military, the police, the judges with law courts and prisons) for enforcing the rules governing and regulating their economic life. So our community has also a political life; it is a political community.

### Dialectics of Culture

In the process of their economic and political life the community develops a way of life often seemingly unique to that society. They evolve language, song, dance, literature, religion, theatre, art, architecture, and an education system that transmits all these, plus a knowledge of the history and the geography of their territory of habitation, from one generation to the next. Thus our economic and political community evolves a cultural life expressed in their languages, art, architecture, dance, song, theatre, literature, and their educational system. It is a community of culture, linked together by a shared way of life.

A people's culture is the carrier of the values evolved by that community in the course of their economic and political

life. By values I mean their conception of what's right and wrong (moral values); what's good and bad (ethical values); and what's ugly and beautiful (aesthetic values).

The values they hold are the basis of that community's consciousness, the basis of their world outlook, the basis of their collective and individual image of self, that is the selfhood of that community, their identity as a people who look at themselves and their relationships to the universe in a certain way.

This is not a mechanical process, occurring in neat steps and springs with the economic structure giving political and other institutions and those in turn giving rise to culture, values, consciousness and identity in that order. The processes are often evolving more or less simultaneously with one process generating several others at the same time. Nor is it all a one-way traffic with economic life flowing into political and cultural life. It's a dialectical process. How people look at themselves affects the way they look at their culture, at their political and economic life and ultimately at their relations with nature. It's a complex process with things acting on each other to produce what we call society.

What's the role of education in that scheme? Ideally, education should give people the knowledge about the world in which they live: how the world shapes them and how they shape the world. Education should transmit a culture that inculcates in the people a consciousness that man through his labour power is the creator of his social environment and that in the same way that man acts on nature and changes it, he can also act on his social environment and change it and in the process change himself. Previously nature used to confront man as a hostile incomprehensible force until he was able to understand its hidden laws (e.g., gravity) and hence overcame it and turned it into a servant. Today man's social environment confronts him as a hostile force. When he finally understands its hidden laws, he'll overcome it, transcend it, and so create a new world for a new man, where both the natural and the social environments are servants of man. Education should give people the confidence that they can in fact create a new heaven on this earth.

#### What Is A Horse?

But what education are we talking about? Depending on who is wielding the weapon, education far from being a means of illuminating reality can be used as a means of masking reality to mystify the relations between man and nature and between man and man. In his novel, *Hard Times*, Dickens has very neatly demonstrated how education can be used to mystify and often obscure reality. The setting is in a school run by a Mr. Thomas Grandgrind in an industrial town. In the school, people are to be taught nothing

but facts so as to forever eliminate the habit of wondering about "human nature, human passions, human hopes and fears, and struggles, defeats, the cares and sorrows, the lives and deaths of common men and women!" In the school are two characters, Sissy Jupe, a girl who has lived among horses all her life because her father works in a circus. Then there's Blitzter, a boy who has never once seen a horse in his life. In the class, Thomas Grandgrind suddenly asks Sissy Jupe, the girl, to give a definition of a horse, and the girl is thrown into the greatest alarm by this sudden demand and she cannot define a horse. Thomas Grandgrind, after announcing that the girl is unable to define a horse, 'One of the commonest of animals', now turns to Blitzter, the boy who has never lived among horses.

"Blitzer," says Thomas Grandgrind, "Your definition of a horse."

The boy stands up and with great bravado spews out the definition of a horse learnt from books.

"Quadruped. Graminivorous. Fourty teeth, namely twenty-four grinders, four eye-teeth, and twelve incisive. Sheds coat in the spring; in marshy countries, sheds hoofs, too. Hoofs hard but requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks in mouth

The teacher now turns to the girl and says: "Now...you know what a horse is!"

But in reality, in practice, it's the girl, Sissy Jupe, who knows all about horses, and it's the boy, Blitzter, who does not. Jupe, the girl, knows the reality of a horse for she has touched one, fed it, rode on it, and has lived among them. Blitzter, the boy, only knows a horse in words, as a mental abstraction. Here education is being used to mystify and obscure reality.

Why is this? If we go back to our hypothetical human community or society we shall find that the economic structure is at the same time a class structure with some people owning the means of production (human labour power, the instruments of labour and the natural resources) while others do not own the means. In other words, in the process of people acting on nature to produce their means of life, they come to stand in different positions in the production process. The relations of production, the relations between man and man and between man and the forces of production (labour plus tools of labour), is not one of equality, but one of the exploiter and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed. In a slave society, the slave-owner owns everything; in a feudal society, the nobility owns the land and the peasants rent it from them. In a capitalist society, the owner of capital owns all the means of production and the worker has only his labour power. But it's the slave, the peasant, the worker who doe

all the production, who creates the wealth of that society, but is not able to control the disposal of that which his sweat has generated. Since in such societies, the economic structure is at the same time a class structure, all the institutions, political and cultural, will bear the stamp of this or that class. Education and culture will reflect these class cleavages at the economic foundation of that society. Education and culture are in fact class education and culture.

Thus in a class structured society, or in a situation where one nation or race or class is dominated by another, there can never be any neutral education transmitting a neutral culture. For the oppressing class or nation or race, education becomes an instrument of suppression, that is an instrument for the conservation of the prevailing social order; and for the struggling class, race or nation, it becomes an instrument of liberation, that is, an instrument for the social transformation of the status quo. In such a society, there are in fact two types of education in mortal struggle, transmitting two opposed types of culture and hence two opposed consciousnesses or world outlooks.

A  
B = Exploitation

Let me illustrate this. A is sitting on B. A is carried, fed and clothed by B. What kind of education will A want B to get? In other words, education for what kind of culture and consciousness? A will want to educate B to obscure the fact that it is B who is carrying, feeding and clothing A. A will want B to learn the philosophy which says the world does not change. A will want to teach B that which tells him that the present situation is divinely willed and nothing can be done about it, or that B is in the present plight because he has sinned, or that B should endure his lot because in heaven he will get plenty. Religion, any religion, is very useful to A for it teaches that the situation in which A is sitting on B is not brought about by man; it is not historical: on the contrary, it's a natural law of the universe, sanctioned by God. A will want B to believe that he, B, has no culture or his culture is inferior. A will then want B to imbibe a culture that inculcates in him values of self-doubt, self-denigration, in a word, a slave consciousness. He will now look up to A's superior culture. In short, A will want B to have the education which on one hand will deny him real knowledge about the status quo of an A sitting on a B or the historical origins of a situation where A is sitting on B; and on the other, impart a culture embodying values of slavery, a slave consciousness or world outlook. This will make B subservient. For A wants B not only to be a slave but to accept that his fate or destiny is to be a slave.

B on the other hand will want that philosophy which teaches that everything changes, that change is inherent in nature and

human society. He will embrace that religion which preaches that the system of some people sitting on others is against the law of God. B may want to reevaluate his past and he will discover that he was not always a slave, carrying, feeding and clothing A. Thus he will embrace the education that shows him quite clearly that his present plight is historical and not natural, that it has been brought about by man and so can be changed by man. B will embrace that culture which inculcates in him values of self-confidence and pride in himself, values which give him courage and faith that he can do something about his present plight, in short B will want the education which not only gives knowledge about his plight, but instils a liberated consciousness, a consciousness urging him to fight for freedom.

Now it is possible that A and B are not necessarily conscious of the type of education and culture and world outlook they want. But the fact remains that there is an education system which imports a culture embodying a consciousness corresponding to the objective position of A, and another corresponding to the objective position of B. The two types of education, culture and world outlook, are in mortal struggles, for A is trying to make B embrace a slave consciousness so that he, A, can exploit and oppress in peace. But B is also struggling to evolve an education which imparts a culture that frees him from the intended slave consciousness so he can with confidence overturn A and be free to now carry, feed and clothe himself.

We can see the situation of A and B more concretely if we look at education and culture under imperialism in its colonial and neo-colonial stages.

Colonialism broadly speaking is that situation in which the ruling class of one nation and country imposes its rule and hegemony over another nation and country and subjugates and suppresses all the other classes of the colonised country. The aim is the control of the productive forces of the colonized peoples. But colonialism finds that economic control is impossible without a political control, so after a successful military conquest and occupation of the country, colonialism imposes political control either directly through a white settler presence as in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Algeria or through a white administration but one working indirectly through feudal elements and missionary products as in Uganda, Ghana and Nigeria.

Even then, colonialism finds that economic and political control are incomplete without cultural control. So colonialism imposes an education system which denies the colonized real knowledge about the wealth produced in the land while at the same time importing a culture embodying a slave-consciousness.

Thus the colonized are taught that they have no history, meaning they have never acted on nature and changed it. Their



history, they are told, started with the arrival of the whites carrying banners of a christian civilization. Before colonialism, wrote Professor Trevor Roper of Oxford in 1960, there was only darkness in Africa and as darkness was no subject for history, Africa had therefore no history prior to colonial conquest. A land of darkness and perpetual childhood, cried Hegel. Where there was clear evidence of advanced civilizations as in Ethiopia and Egypt, then arguments were brought to show or prove that these people were not Africans. Where there was evidence of a very highly developed material culture with an architecture often superior to that of Europe of the same period as in Zimbabwe and East Africa, then arguments about a previous white or Arab presence, despite lack of historical evidence, are advanced to explain away such achievements. Denying that people had a history has one aim: to show that the colonized like animals had merely adapted themselves to nature and had made no attempt to put a human stamp on their natural environment. Hence they were really savages!

#### Black Devil White God

The colonial education system denies that the colonized have real human languages. These are described as vernaculars meaning the languages of slaves or merely barbaric tongues. So the children of the colonized are punished and ridiculed whenever they are caught speaking their mother's language, and rewarded when they speak the language of the master, French, English, Portuguese or Italian as the case may be. This has one aim: to make a child despise his language, hence the values carried by that language, and by implication despise himself and the people who spoke a language which now was the cause of his daily humiliation and corporal punishment. By the same token he will admire the language of the conqueror, and hence the values carried by that language and the people who evolved the language of his daily reward and praise. Now take the English language for instance: what are the values attached to blackness in that language? If a road is very dangerous, they put the picture of a grinning skull and a cross of bones, and write down: BLACK SPOT. If a child does not fit into the family, they say he is the BLACK SHEEP of the family. If one engages in business illegally, then he is operating a BLACK MARKET. If one does something offensive to the powers that be, then he is put on a BLACK LIST. Black spot; Black sheep; Black market; Black list, Black day: these are white lies of colonialist education.

But they are reinforced by Christianity, particularly the version brought by missionaries. To the European colonizer, the African has no religion, he knows not God. He is superstitious, and worships idols and several Gods. There is only one God, though he has a Son, begotten by the Holy spirit. This God is white: his angels are white; and when the saved finally go to

heaven, they will wear white robes of purity. But the devil is black; his angels are black; sin itself is black; and when the sinful finally go to Hell, they'll be burnt to black charcoal. Is it surprising that the African converts sing in pleading terror: Wash Me Redeemer and I shall be whiter than snow? Is it any wonder that African converts wear white robes of virgin purity during their white wedding? And is it any wonder that African women often buy red, blond or brunette wigs to hide their black hair? And is it any wonder that African women and men will apply *ambi* and other skin-whitening creams to lighten their dark skins? Whiteness becomes a christian virtue as in Smith's Rhodesia and Botha's South Africa.

Christianity even denies that the African has a right to his name. A name is a simple symbol of identity. The African convert will discard his African name and give himself such good christian names as Smith, Welensky, Verwood, Robert, James, Julius, Ironmonger, Winterbottom, Elizabeth, Mary, Margaret, Summer and Winter! He does not realize that this business of getting new names has roots in slavery where the slave dealer branded the slave with his own mark and gave him his name so that he would for ever be known as that master's property.

The same story is true in art, dance, music, drama and literature. The Good African in European fiction on Africa is he who collaborates with colonialism. The bad native is he who rejects colonial occupation and wants to assert himself and struggle to get back the stolen wealth. Thus in a book called *King Solomon's Mines* by Rider Haggard, the blacks like Gagool who want to prevent the foreigners from exploiting the country's natural assets like gold and diamonds are painted in most revolting terms. Such books are even translated into African languages like Kiswahili and Shona by colonial literature bureaus so the African can clearly understand the message of slavery. The reader's emotions are guided in such a way that he cannot possibly identify with the patriots. The traitors on the other hand are described in positive terms of courage, honesty, diligence and intelligence selling fellow Africans to colonialist Europeans. Even in books which do not delineate the African character in terms of animal and landscape, that is, in books by liberal Europeans, the African character held for admiration and presented as worthy of emulation is the non-violent spineless type, the type who turns the other cheek, the right cheek once the left cheek has been hit by a racist colonialist whitey. Such for instance is Rev. Stephen Kumalo in Paton's poisonous novel, *Cry the Beloved Country* or Johnson in Joyce Cary's *Mr. Johnson*. Incidentally even the most racist of white characters in *Cry the Beloved Country* would be quite happy to have a Bishop Stephen Kumalo for a Prime Minister.

In art illustrating books on Africa written by intellectuals of colonialism the European colonizer occupies the central stage

of action and drama with light radiating outwards from him. The African native is in the background and merges with darkness and natural scenery at the outer edges of the action. When the Makerere School of Fine Art was started in the sixties, the European lecturers used to import clay from Europe, Ugandan soil was not good enough for art, even though the students were all Africans!

The sum total of this type of education in the teaching of geography (rocks and rivers and mountains of Europe first); history, (Africa was discovered by Europe, Africa is a continuation of Europe), art literature, theatre, is to socialise the African youth into a culture embodying values and hence a consciousness and world outlook which on the one hand is in total harmony with the needs of Imperialism and on the other, is in total antagonism to the struggle for liberation. The aim of such colonial education is to bring up a partly developed native only fit for brute labour, a native who has internalized a consciousness that blinds him into not seeing the loot and the plunder going on around him.

#### The Nyayo\* of Neo-colonialism

But such a colonial education has another aim: to produce a native elite which has absorbed the culture of Imperialism, and through whom Imperialism, in its neo-colonial stages, can continue looting and plundering the wealth of the country.

Neo-colonialism is that process in which a country is nominally independent but its economy is still in the hands of the Imperialist bourgeoisie. Nothing has, in substance, changed. The only change is that where before the imperialist bourgeoisie used to exploit through its settler or feudal representatives in the colonized territory, now it does so through a native bourgeoisie nurtured in the racial womb of colonialism but now eternally grateful for being allowed to raise a flag and to join Europeans in looting and plundering now that the racial barriers to property accumulation have been removed.

The native bourgeoisie which takes the flag at independence has been very well described by Franz Fanon in that brilliant chapter titled 'Pitfalls of National Consciousness' in his book *The Wretched of the Earth*. It's a chapter which should be compulsory reading for all newly independent countries who want to opt for a different path of development. The chapter will serve as a warning of what not to be since the picture it draws cor-

\* Nyayo is a Kiswahili word meaning foot-print. President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya has developed a peculiar "philosophy of Nyayo" committed to the policies of Jomo Kenyatta, the deceased former president of Kenya. The present political repression in the country is a logical consequence of "Nyayo." (K.M., ed.)

rectly describes the situation in most independent African countries.

*The national middle-class which takes over power at the end of the colonial regiment is an underdeveloped class. It has practically no economic power, and in any case it is in no way commensurate with the bourgeoisie of the mother country whom it hopes to replace. In its wilful narcissism, the national middle class is easily convinced that it can advantageously replace the middle class of the mother country. But that same independence which literally drives it into a corner will give rise within its ranks to catastrophic reactions, and will oblige it to send out frenzied appeals for help to the former mother country. The university and merchant classes which make up the most enlightened section of the new state are in fact characterized by the smallness of their number and their being concentrated in the capital, and the type of activities in which they are engaged: business, agriculture and liberal professions. Neither financiers nor industrial magnates are to be found within this national middle class. The national bourgeoisie of underdeveloped countries is not engaged in production, nor in invention, nor labour; it is completely canalized into activities of the intermediary type. Its innermost vocation seems to be to keep in the running and to be part of the racket. The psychology of the national bourgeoisie is that of the businessman, not that of a captain of industry....*

Fanon goes on to describe the various characteristics of this class which wants to follow the Western bourgeoisie along its path of negation and decadence.

*Because it is bereft of ideas, because it lives to itself and cuts itself off from the people, undermined by its hereditary incapacity to think in terms of all the problems of the nation as seen from the point of view of the whole nation, the national middle class will have nothing better to do than to take on the role of manager for Western enterprise, and it will in practice set up its country as the brothel of Europe.*

This petit-bourgeoisie can play that role without seeing any contradictions because, in the colonial stage, they had completely imbibed the culture of slavery and hence a slave consciousness and a world outlook.

During the neo-colonial stage of imperialism education and culture play an even more important role as instruments of domin-

ation and oppression. European naming systems; European language; European theatre; European literature; European content in teaching materials; all these areas, so central to culture, are left intact. Since the petit-bourgeoisie grew up accepting the world-view of the imperialist bourgeoisie, it will drive the youth even more vigorously into educational factories producing the same world-view. More churches are built. Religious programmes on radio or television are intensified. This class wants to prove to its Western mentors that it is civilized, that it is cultured, that it will not bring chaos into the country; it will try to prove that all the former accusations of inability to run the country were false. The moment this class accepts the imperialist bourgeois terms of evaluation of what constitutes progress, civilization, stability and so on, the imperialist bourgeoisie has won the battle and the war. For the Western imperialist bourgeoisie civilization, stability, progress, mean the continuation of the colonial state, the colonial economic structure, with, of course, a few cosmetic reforms (like allowing a few natives to own farms, businesses, and go to live and drink in places that were formerly for whites only) to deceive a restive populace.

A petit-bourgeoisie which refuses to negate its roots in Western education and culture, develops into what Fanon describes as

*a little greedy caste, avid and voracious, with the mind of a huckster, only too glad to accept the dividends that the former colonial power hands out to it. This get-rich-quick middle class shows itself incapable of great ideas or of inventiveness. It remembers what it has read in European textbooks and imperceptibly it becomes, not even the replica of Europe, but its caricature.*

Now a people who want total liberation must recognise imperialism whether in European, Japanese or American guise, as the main enemy. They must recognize that imperialism has two stages: colonial and neo-colonial and accept the full implications of that recognition. That means that the battle is not won with its flag and a national anthem. The aim of imperialism whether in its colonial or neo-colonial stage is to steal the wealth generated by the people; that is generated by the labour power of the workers and peasants of the colonial world. Imperialism aims at economic control, that is the control of the productive forces of that country. The political and cultural institutions it sets up are only to facilitate this theft and robbery. Therefore for as long as the economy of the country is not liberated, that is, for as long as the wealth of the land does not go back to feed, clothe and shelter those whose labour power produced it, those people cannot consider themselves free and liberated.

## Liberation Content of Education

A people engaged in the struggle for liberation must then recognize that the content of that liberation is the liberation of the economy from foreign and internal parasites. Any reform in education and culture must keep that objective clear in mind if such reforms are going to be useful and relevant. The aim is to devise an education system that not only gives people a true knowledge of their relations to nature and to other men, but which imparts a culture that embodies a consciousness, a world outlook and value system that is a complete negation of imperialist culture.

If the colonial and neo-colonial education aimed at imparting a culture of the partly developed individual who only vaguely understands the forces at work in society, an individual who is weak in body, feeble in mind, cowardly and subservient in spirit in face of an exploiter and oppressor, then an education for liberation ought to aim at producing a fully developed individual who understands the forces at work in society, an individual imbued with great hatred of all parasitic relationships of exploitation and oppression, an individual imbued with great patriotic pride and courage, an individual desirous of a total control of his natural and social environment.

This can only be achieved by the kind of education described by Marx as polytechnic education. Such an education system would have three aims:

### 1) Provision of mental education.

This would aim at developing the mental capacities of the people. People should be taught their history, their art, their literature, their theatre, their dances first before being taught other people's cultural achievements. Their history, art, literature, theatre, dances, should be interpreted from the point of view of the needs of the majority: the workers and peasants. In this context, political education is crucial. By this I don't mean education for conformity but a political education that raises people's awareness and particularly their awareness of the social forces at work. Education should endow a people with a scientific understanding of the laws governing nature and society: that is, endow them with a scientific understanding of the world.

### 2) Provision of physical education.

This would aim at producing healthy strong individuals. This would produce vigorous minds and bodies fully prepared in their twin struggle with nature and with other men. This would include everything from the simplest gymnastic to military train-

ing. A people must be in a position to defend the gains of their history. The whole people should be in a state of military preparedness to defend their revolution. A standing army should only be the highest concentrated expression of the military preparedness of the whole people.

3) Economic and technological education through involvement in production.

Everybody ought to be involved in productive labour. Every child should be taught some technological skill that would enable him or her to engage in direct productive labour. The aim should be to turn everybody into a producer, so that the nation eventually becomes an association of producers who are masters of their natural and social environment. The aim is to produce a producer, a thinker and a fighter all integrated in the same individual.

What then I am advocating is not just education and culture per se. I am calling for an education for a national patriotic culture to produce fully developed individuals with a consciousness that man must be the master of both natural nature and his social nature. Education and culture should not only explain the world but must prepare the recipients to change the world. Man is the creator of his destiny and we, as an African people, can only get the destiny we create for ourselves.

I would like to end this address with the closing words of Franz Fanon in his book *The Wretched of the Earth*:

*Comrades, let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions and societies which draw their inspiration from her.*

*Humanity is waiting for something other from us than such imitations which would be almost an obscene caricature.*

*If we want to turn Africa into a New Europe ...then let us leave the destiny of our countries to Europeans. They will know how to do it better than the most gifted among us.*

*But if we want humanity to advance a step further, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries.*

*If we wish to live to our people's expectations, we must seek the response elsewhere than in Europe.*

*Moreover, if we wish to reply to the expectations of the people of Europe, it is no good sending them back a reflection, even an ideal reflection, of their society and their thoughts with which from time to time they feel immeasurably sickened.*

*For Europe, for ourselves and for humanity, comrade, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man.*

Friends, before the Portuguese intervention, Zimbabwe used to be the seat of a great African civilization with an architecture our detractors still try to explain away. Today, in the latter quarter of the 20th century, there's no reason why Zimbabwe should not be the seat of a new beginning for the final homecoming of the new man of Africa. Our educational system and culture should and must be geared towards the homecoming of the new African.

But the New African will not be given us on a silver platter. He will be a product of an intense revolutionary class struggle led by a revolutionary party of workers and peasants, at all levels: economic, political and cultural.

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