This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

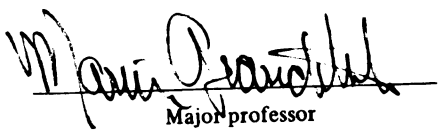
Education, Liberation and the Creative Act

presented by

Toby Tafirenyika Moyana

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Secondary Education and Curriculum



Major professor

Date February 24, 1978

J. D61

EDUCATION, LIBERATION AND THE CREATIVE ACT

By

Toby Tafirenyika Moyana

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Secondary Education and Curriculum

1978

ABSTRACT

EDUCATION, LIBERATION AND THE CREATIVE ACT

By

Toby Tafirenyika Moyana

This study deals with the problem of developing, among students in an oppressive society, a heightened consciousness of their oppressed status. The assumption is held that oppression as such does not lead to revolution, nor is revolution merely the overthrow of those in power. Rather, it is change in peoples' consciousness--their awareness of themselves as their own liberators--that leads to and defines a revolution. Conscientization, the pedagogical process of creating that awareness, is the central concern of this work.

Consciousness is presented as the property that determines whether man is either liberated or enslaved. On a societal level, the nature of a peoples' culture is an index of their level of consciousness. Hence the need for cultural imperialism by the oppressors, and the desire for a cultural revolution by the conscientized oppressed. This is shown clearly in the centrality of the schools to the rhetoric and practice of both revolutionaries and colonialists. This work centers on the use of the school as an agent of domestication and exploitation in settler-ruled Rhodesia (1953-1970). Within that context, the author's attempt to conscientize within the context of classroom practice is presented.

Toby Tafirenyika Moyana

The vehicle for conscientization is language teaching. The philosophical basis for viewing language as a crucial aspect of domestication and liberation in education arises from the capacity of language to becloud or reveal perceivable reality. The author's experimentation involved the teaching of creative writing within the context of a highly structured, examination geared system with regular government inspections. The methodology was a variation of that used by Paulo Freire among South American peasants and discussed in detail in his Pedagogy of the Oppressed. In this case it consisted of students describing what they see, hear, touch, smell, taste, etc., in situ, and dialoguing on their writings and their perceived reality. From sensory experiences, the exercises rise progressively to writing and dialoguing about more complex experiences that can reach mystical and psychical levels, with profound social, economic and political implications. Thus sensory experience becomes a handle with which to probe the causes, complexities and limitless implications of human behavior in general and man's role in the existing socio-economic, and political system in particular.

From an analysis of students works are drawn the following conclusions: (1) Conscientizing processes in creative writing must start with students experiencing accurately through their senses the artifacts of domination they live with. (2) The sharpening of the senses which is aided by dialogical discussions in small groups leads to increased concreteness and precision in the students use of words as well as an individuality of language that indicates the functioning of a liberated consciousness. (3) On-going discussions and

observation and analysis of what is experienced and written about lead logically and through well defined hierarchical categories to a discovery of the whole complex of an exploiting order as a system. This is the desirable level of critical consciousness, whereby the students, freed from both romanticism and fanaticism, arrive at a realistic recognition that they stand as the antithesis of the oppressor and that their ontological vocation is to revolutionize society for man's greater humanization.

Dedicated to my dear wife, Olivina Patricia and to our children, Vushomuzi, Tamera and Kundai, who patiently endured the absence of a husband and father to allow this work to be completed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to all who helped me in so many ways to produce this dissertation. First and foremost Dr. Marvin Grandstaff, Chairman of my Doctoral Committee and Professor in the Department of Secondary Education and Curriculum, who provided much of the intellectual impetus that transformed a class seminar paper into a larger project of a doctoral dissertation. His help at every stage of planning and writing of this work was invaluable to me. My gratitude also goes to other members of my doctoral committee, Dr. Ben Bohnhorst, Professor in the Department of Secondary Education and Curriculum and Dr. Stephen Judy, Professor in the Department of English. They were always ready with helpful and supportive counsel and suggestions for reading material. It is particularly gratifying to note that for upwards of three years my library was graced with invaluable texts from Dr. Judy's own personal collection. I owe further gratitude to Professor Nancy Martin of the Institude of Education, London, for a very informative conversation on latest developments in creative writing work associated with her Institute and for passing on to me a most exhaustive bibliography. My gratitude also goes to the very many students and former students of mine who made available to me some of their writings for this project. Above all my warmest gratitude goes to Jo Grandstaff for performing the indefatigable task of typing and putting a rough hewn text into neat

printable form and in the process, re-educating me on so many of the hidden skills of footnoting and editing. Needless to add that though I owe so much to so many in producing this dissertation, the faults and opinions therein remain mine alone.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOCIAL REFORM	12
III.	EDUCATION, ACCULTURATION AND OPPRESSION	28
IV.	LANGUAGE AND CONSCIOUSNESS	44
V.	EDUCATION AND OPPRESSION IN RHODESIA 1953-1970	58
VI.	LIBERATION AND THE CREATIVE EXPERIENCE	102
VII.	EDUCATION, LIBERATION AND THE CREATIVE ACT	161
VIII.	THE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE	176
APPENDIX		193
BIBLIOGRAPHY		213

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

A crucial problem of any revolutionary period is that of cultivating a revolutionary consciousness among the oppressed. Long after the material conditions for a revolution have matured, the revolution might still not take place; simply because the peoples' consciousness, their sense of awareness of themselves as victims of exploitation is low. Or alternatively, the ruling power can be overthrown and replaced by a few individuals without the majority of the people experiencing a revolution. For a revolution is not a replacement of masters. It is a movement that qualitatively changes both the individuals and the society they live in. It alters the total outlook of the people: their ideas, their behavior, their arts and their basic assumptions about society. This change in outlook is what is meant by the growth of revolutionary consciousness. Change in consciousness is thus the definitive essential of any revolution. How to achieve that change is the central issue to which I address myself in this dissertation. This is a much more difficult problem than the physical overthrow of the reigning power. Yet in its effects it is more far-reaching than any other activity in the revolution.

The exploiting powers are aware of this. They know that it is not the guns, the bombs, nor the police that will be the ultimate support of their power, but their ability to recondition the minds of the oppressed so that the latter can acquiesce in, if not fully accept, their predominant position. And so the conquest of the mind becomes a predominant pre-occupation of every exploiting power.

> When we consider the efforts made to carry out the cultural estrangement so characteristic of the colonial epoch, we realize that nothing has been left to chance, and that the total result looked for by colonial domination was indeed to convince the natives that colonialism came to lighten their burdens.[1]

To attain this objective, the exploiting powers had to distort a peoples' history, demean their ancestors, despise their culture, their language, their philosophy, in short, reinterpret their outlook on life in accordance with an arbitrary developmental scale that relegates the oppressed to the role of the "child-peoples" of the world. Even their intellectuals are indoctrinated with theories of Western bourgeois liberalism. Faithful to the traditions of the Enlightenment, these alienated intellectuals begin to see development as the "economic and political consequences of the applications of the products of reason and science."[2] They now look upon themselves and their people as lacking in science and reason and thus incapable of improving their lot on their own initiative. An acute sense of inferiority develops.

> So often do they (the oppressed) hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing, and are incapable of learning anything--that they are sick, lazy and unproductive--that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness.[3]

Side by side with this campaign of instilling an inferiority complex among the oppressed, the oppressor must present himself and his culture as a model of excellence, heroism and humanity. So writes Britain's arch-imperialist John Cecil Rhodes:

> I contend that we are the finest race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. Just fancy those parts that are at present inhabited by the most despicable specimens of human beings. What alteration there would be in them if they were brought under Anglo-Saxon rule.[4]

The idea is to make the oppressed feel ashamed of themselves, yet admire the oppressor so much that they emulate his ways and his language and behavior and thus submissively accept his right to rule.

Cecil Rhodes was the founder of the British colony of Rhodesia. His successors have faithfully stuck to the positions he so clearly enunciated. As a result, Rhodesia offers an unparalleled opportunity for a case study of the problem of consciousness in an exploitative society. It gives us a rare opportunity too of experimenting with Freirean pedagogy to develop a revolutionary consciousness among the oppressed through teaching. The education system in Rhodesia is designed to transform the African student into a humble submissive servant and admirer of the white man. The official literature of African education--from reports of white school principals, reports of provincial inspectors to those of parliamentary secretaries and government commissions--are explicit in their denigration of the African background and personality and the need to proletarize and Anglisize him. A government commission led by Sir Alexander Kerr, for example, described the African society before the

coming of the whiteman as "primitive," dubbed the African moral code "low," described African arts as "crude" and called African life before the coming of the whiteman "hard and dangerous."[5] They saw the purpose of education among Africans as a project to "regenerate a race."[6] They insisted on a kind of education that would "fashion the (African's) life, his whole behavior to the needs of a huge and complicated industrial organization and the marvels of modern science."[7] And just in case we miss the meaning of that last sentence the commissioners add: "In all native education, the prime importance and dignity of manual labour should be continually stressed and continuous endeavour should be made to build up keenness in this respect."[8]

The Kerr Commission (1953) was of paramount importance to the period of educational development--1953 to 1970--which will be used in this study to illustrate the practical application of the Freirean model of education for an oppressed society and to provide the essential background for the reader to understand the significance of the creative writing project presented. I will present an interpretative analysis of the curriculum (written and unwritten) of African education since 1953. The effects of such an obvious case of mis-education will be analyzed. Numerous writers have documented the type of man such an education would produce among them, John Dewey, Edward Blyden, Frantz Fanon and Julius Nyerere. He is that man of two worlds that Blyden described as a "man of distorted tastes, confused perception and resultless energy."[9] Literary artists have scorned him as effiminate and impotent.[10] Freire and

Ali Mazrui have shown how this type of man displays a dependency mentality because since he internalized the oppressor, his struggle to be a man only means a struggle to be like the oppressor. He had lost any consciousness of himself as a person and as an anti-thesis to the oppressor.

It is the business of getting the oppressed to eject the oppressor from their consciousness, of rehabilitating their own conceptual idiom of reality as legitimate and a viable way of viewing the world and getting them to develop a consciousness of themselves as an anti-thesis of the oppressor in a revolutionary situation, that this philosophical exposition is addressed to. The problem is viewed here as a pedagogical problem that can be handled in a classroom situation. The focus is on changes in linguistic behavior as shown in students' writing during creative writing. The act of creation as a liberating act and the view of esthetics as antithetical to domination give added weight to the use of creative writing as an approach to develop revolutionary consciousness among students.

With regard to the pieces of student writing that illustrate the practical demonstration of the methodology advocated in this study there were special difficulties because of the nature of the Rhodesian system of education. The curriculum is provided and heavily structured. The objective is passing a country-wide examination. Government inspectors make regular inspections of the teacher and may watch him in action in half a dozen periods in a term; they can tell him what not to teach and they study pupils' books to find out what they write. Any work that involves conscientization of the pupils

must be carried out with great circumspection and under the pretence of more innocent aims like: 'to encourage precision in language,' or 'to develop pupils' imagination.'

Basic Assumptions on the Methodology Suggested

The basic assumption that enables Freirean pedagogy to be extended to the teaching of creative writing can be viewed from Freire's ideas on the nature of language. His ideas link up easily with those of Susanne Langer and those structuralists who see language as conceptual symbolism.

> In a sense language is conception and conception is the frame of perception or as Sapir has put it 'Language is heuristic . . . in that its forms predetermine for us certain modes of observation and interpretation . . . .'[11]

Both Freire and Susanne Langer argue that this observation and interpretation must start with the individual being involved in the more rudimentary activity of naming. "To exist, to be human, is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming."[12] Susanne Langer, on her part, sees the act of "giving something a name (as) the vastest generative idea that was ever conceived: its influence might well transform the entire mode of living and feeling in the whole species within a generation."[13] For me these ideas on language illustrate its possibilities for mental liberation or domestication. They give me the theoretical basis upon which I can use language for developing a revolutionary consciousness through creative writing projects.

But the start of the process must be the experience of the individual cognizing reality with his own senses. The very basic senses of sight, smell, taste, touch and hearing must change if society is to change. Language becomes revolutionary the moment it becomes authentic, that is, when it succeeds in naming accurately the things truly seen, heard, tasted, touched and smelled: when it ceases to be a dehydrated cliche; lost to its referent, and alienated from the consciousness of its originator. The rehabilitation of human consciousness must mean above all the rehabilitation of the senses and the language that mediates for them.[14]

The creative work that is produced by a methodology that is based on confronting the world with a sharpened sensibility hits one like a brick with its concrete realism of word and imagery. Students now noticeably ceased to quarry for imagery and symbolism in archaic productions of European classical writers or great foreign writers of the past. What appeared to interest them now was the factory gate with the inevitable sign "no work" or "the hoe in sweltering hands" of the labourer or the garbage tin that the children of the poor ransacked for pieces of metal to make toys with. The freshness of the language and the tone of an individual voice that came through each of these pieces of writing left me convinced that the students had "regained their primordial right to speak their word."[15] And the artistic sensibility so revealed was so permeated with a clear-headed recognition of the plight of their people in a system of oppression that it was clear that the revolutionary consciousness had become part of their very biology.

There is of course a further implication: that the nature of art under revolutionary conditions is symptomatic of revolutionary consciousness in general. Herbert Marcuse's theory that "the exigencies of sensibility" develop historically[16] becomes the basis on which to theorize on the validity of the claim that these pupils' writings represent the esthetic sensibility of the "new man," who incidentally both Marcuse and Freire insist must appear not after but during the revolution.

Summary of Objectives

The major objective of this philosophical exposition is to suggest that Freire's pedagogy, which was intended for adult literacy classes in a peasant community can be developed for use in the classroom with similar revolutionary results. The dialogical method that he proposes is in many ways a variant of the child-centered progressive methodology that is so popular today. The social and political implications of the dialogical method, however, can transform the simple neutral activity of teaching a language into a revolution. The present study is basically theoretical. The student writings that will be included represent literary productions of students I taught through a modified form of the dialogical method. The purpose of these samples is to act as an aid to theory.

A second aim of the thesis is to demonstrate the possibilities of using the teaching of creative writing to cultivate a revolutionary consciousness. And finally, I intend to show how the Rhodesian

educational system fits into the Freirean model of education for exploitation.

Structure of the Study

The study will fall into three main parts. The first three chapters will be theoretical. They deal with consciousness: its role in social reform, its fate in an oppressed society, the possibilities of its distortion or recovery through language. The idea will be to lay a theoretical study for the case study that is to follow. The second part of the study will be a case analysis of Rhodesian African education (1953-1970) according to the theoretical model of education for exploitation laid down by Paulo Freire and as background to the creative writing exercise that follows. The third part of the thesis will consist of a presentation of my creative writing teaching experience in Rhodesia: its methodology, samples of pupils' writing, and a theoretization of their worth as a manifestation of the growth of a revolutionary consciousness. There will be a postscript chapter generalizing on the differences between African literature produced by the alienated African writer and the rehabilitated revolutionary writer and the qualification of my students' work to claim a place among the latter.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER I

[1]Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1963), p. 170.

[2]Marvin Grandstaff, "Education and the Revolt of the Third World: The Context of Freire's Pedagogy," Michigan State University, 1975, p. 6 (mimeographed).

[3]Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Seabury Press, 1968), p. 49.

[4]Cited in Norman Atkinson, Teaching Rhodesians (London: Longmans, 1972), p. 5.

[5]Report of the Native Education Inquiry Commission (1953), (Kerr Commission), (Salisbury: Government Printer, 1953), para 45.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., para 56.

[9]Cited in Hollis Lynch, Black Spokesman (London: Cass, 1971), p. 223.

[10]See Okot p'Bitek, Song of Lawino (Nairobi: Afro Press, 1968).

[11]Susanne Langer, Philosophy in New Key (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1974), p. 126.

[12]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 76.

[13]Langer, p. 142.

[14]I have been surprised in my reading to discover an almost perfect marriage between Marxist epistemology and virtually all the big theorists on creative writing on this point. So far as I know my attempt to effect this marriage in one work has never been made--and I look forward to the uproar this will create when I finally put this theory into a book.

[15]Freire, Pegagody of the Oppressed, p. 77.

[16]Herbert Marcuse, Essay on Liberation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 37.

CHAPTER II

CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOCIAL REFORM

This chapter sets out to define the Freirean view of consciousness which lies at the base of the pedagogical theory presented in this dissertation. I will attempt to show the relationship between Freirean consciousness and his view of human nature, his theory of history and identify three types of consciousness: the magical, the naive and the critical as marking three stages in man's mental growth from the domesticated mind to the free. It will also be necessary to show that the liberated mind represents the emergence of what socialists call "the new man." And since this work focuses its consciousness raising techniques on pedagogical processes, it will be necessary to examine the epistemological possibilities of the Freirean consciousness.

The most crucial part of Paulo Freire's work is his view of the role of consciousness in social change. A misunderstanding of Freire on this point has led many critics to distort his ideas. A number of critics look upon Freire as a simple minded utopian who has a one-sided and flat view of human nature;[1] others have denounced him as a champion of bloody revolution that will create a heaven on earth day after the overthrow of the oppressor;[2] still others see him as an ineffectual and poorly read theorist of the student-

centered-education approach;[3] and still others see the whole Freirean approach as an exclusively South American phenomena, which has little or no relevance to the rest of us.[4] It is Freire's view of consciousness that explains the pedagogical process now inseparably linked to his name: conscientization.[5] It is only in relation to his view of consciousness and the process of conscientization that his philosophy of man, of history, of revolution and of education can make sense.

Dynamism is the basic tenet in Freire's treatment of consciousness. He sees consciousness as that aspect of man through which he can be either humanized or dehumanized. Man, according to Freire, is an "uncompleted being, conscious of his incompletion."[6] It is what happens to his consciousness that determines whether he is being completed (humanization) or depleted (de-humanization). And there is no neutrality possible. Every societal act results in man's consciousness being either deformed or reformed: destroyed or re-created, humanized or de-humanized. The essence of consciousness is intentionality. Humanization involves the raising of men's consciousness "as consciousness intent upon the world."[7] Freire deems it as a special characteristic of man that his consciousness is not only intent on the world, but he is also conscious of his consciousness. "Dehumanization consists of inhibiting or domesticating the intentionality of consciousness . . . thereby denying men their ontological and historical vocation of becoming more fully human."[8] As a conscious being, man can reflect on his own existence and base his actions on his own objectives. Unlike animals, man can

objectify himself, his actions and the world. Liberation for man starts with a restoration of his intentionality, his self-awareness as a creative being engaged in an historical process of becoming more human.

Freire's idea of consciousness arises from his view of man as an historical being and the role of man in history. His pedagogy is a pedagogy of the oppressed. His theory of consciousness thus recognizes a need "to make oppression and its causes objects of reflection, by the oppressed and from that reflection will come their necessary engagement in the struggle for their liberation."[9] Freire is talking about a world divided between the rich and the poor, the privileged and the underprivileged, the haves and the have-nots, the oppressor and the oppressed.

Within the system of oppression Freire identifies a view of consciousness that posits a dichotomy between man and the world: "Man is merely in the world not with the world not with others; man is spectator not recreator. In this view man is not a conscious being; he is empty mind passively open to the reception of deposits of reality from the world outside."[10] This static and flat view of consciousness ultimately makes illegitimate any revolutionary change by the poor.[11] It implies that the only way the poor could achieve a place in the sun is by receiving generous deposits of wisdom, or material aid from the privileged. This material and intellectual alms giving is in fact intended to legitimize the oppressor's right to govern in perpetuity. For it is the oppressor's interest to

change the consciousness of the oppressed without changing the material conditions of oppression.[12]

This is a pedagogical task. Through what Freire calls "banking education" the oppressors stuff the heads of the oppressed with their own world view. As Fanon puts it:

> There is a constellation of postulates, a series of propositions that slowly and subtly, with the help of books, newspapers, schools and their texts, advertisements, films, radio . . . work their way into one's mind, and shape one's view of the world and of the group to which one belongs.[13]

The oppressor thus treats the oppressed as the "pathology of the healthy and good society . . . which must adjust (them) to its own patterns, by changing their mentality."[14] In fact the oppressed develop a neurosis of incapability. They lose their own intentionality.

"So often do they hear that they are incapable of learning anything, that they are sick, lazy and unproductive, that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness."[15] Their consciousness having thus been submerged by the exploitative situation they live in, they even begin to fear the creative responsibility of freedom; they become fatalistic about their lives, develop a magical belief in the invulnerability of the master and now view him as a symbol of manhood. Freire calls this alienated consciousness "intransitive."[16] He makes two subdivisions of this group: the magical and the naive consciousness.[17] The former is possessed by men he describes as "living corpses," "shadows of human beings, hopeless men, women and children" victimized by an endless invisible war,[18] the type of men

Marx described as a "stomach."[19] Their idea of their problem is always stated in biological and survival terms. They have no historical sense and do not even see the oppressor as oppressor. They have internalized the culture of the oppressor only as instruments of his will and receive no reasonable share of the structure of exploitation. Those of a naive consciousness have risen above the magical. They too have no historical sense above the system. To them the system is good, but some individuals need reforming. They have internalized the oppressor and his culture and their quest is for greater identification. For them "to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor."[20] Both these types of consciousness present us with man as an object of the historical process and not a subject.

Freire, on the other hand, argues that man should be treated as a subject in the historical process. Against the old misinterpretation of historical materialism that presented the objective material conditions as the exclusive determinants of historical change, Freire opts for a dialectical relationship between objective and subjective factors in history, between man and the world, between consciousness and objective reality. "World and men do not exist apart from each other," he writes, "they exist in constant interaction."[21] And he adds:

> Just as objective social reality exists not by chance, but as the product of human action, so it is not transformed by chance. If men produce social reality (which in the inversion of the praxis turns back upon them and conditions them) then transforming that reality is an historical task, a task for men.[22]

This Freirean view is eminently Marxian. By arguing that "circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances"[23] Marx did advocate the same interdependence between man and history. If both man and the world are historical, then reality is not a given, a completed creation. It is in a state of transformation, transforming man and man transforming reality. "For animals 'here' is only a habitat with which they enter into contact; for men 'here' signifies not merely a physical space but also a historical space."[24] But since without man there is no world[25] there could not be a 'here' without the consciousness to conceive it. Hence consciousness is eminently historical.

Since the essence of man's consciousness is its intentionality, man's humanization must consist of raising the level of his intentionality in the process of transforming the world. That is the meaning of conscientization. Conscientization recognizes not only "that man is the supreme being for man"[26] but also that man as an historical fact carries all the deformities that time and place have wrought upon him. Conscientization raises the consciousness of the oppressed to a transitive level, sometimes called critical consciousness.[27] Rivera compares the emergence of the oppressed into this level with the experience of a man that "gets a new prescription for his glasses and then sees better."[28] Here the individual discovers his historical position as a member of the oppressed, identifies the nature of the system that oppresses him, and in solidarity with others commits himself to the cause of liberation. The man of critical consciousness is thus able to act

as a creative subject who can separate himself from the world, be critical of it, act upon it and transform it to suit the needs of his own humanization. The world ceases to be a

> closed order with pre-determined results laid down by the powers that be for every action taken by men and women. . . . It (becomes) rather a theater of possibilities and problems to be entertained, thought about, worked on and solved, because they are experienced as limit-situations rather than the way things are.[29]

We can now explain some of the profound implications of Freire's view of consciousness and put to rest the criticisms of him we cited in our opening paragraph. The Freirean view is that the physical overthrow of the oppressor does not in itself constitute a revolution. A coup or rebellion can occur without a revolution.[30] A revolution is qualitative change. It is primarily mental and incidentally physical. A revolution alters the peoples' whole outlook on life, society, politics, culture, etc., and above all it alters their awareness of themselves as subjects of the historical process who must strive for their own liberation. And so the claim that Freire is calling for an insurrection against reigning elites, that would bring an immediate utopia,[31] is most unfounded. Freire in fact describes the revolution as a "process"[32] and adds: "In a dynamic rather than a static view of a revolution, there is no absolute 'before' or 'after' with the taking of power as the dividing line."[33] Revolution as a process of conscientization must become a permanent feature of the new society:

> Originating in objective conditions, revolution seeks to supersede the situation of oppression by inaugurating a society of men in the process of continuing liberation.

> The educational dialogical quality of revolution, which makes it a cultural revolution as well, must be present in all its stages. This educational quality is one of the most effective instruments for keeping the revolution from becoming institutionalized and stratified in a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy; for counter-revolution is carried out by revolutionaries who become reactionary.[34]

If indeed there is a dark side[35] to human nature, it is precisely that dark side that Freire sets out to guard against by advocating the theory of continuing revolution.

Freire's theory also implies the birth of the new man before the physical revolution. Viewed against traditional Marxism, where the new man was expected to emerge in the communist phase of a long process of development through socialism, this sounds like revisionism.[36] And Freire sees the need to explain:

> The oppressed have been destroyed precisely because their situation has reduced them to things. In order to regain their humanity they must cease to be things and fight as men. This is a radical requirement. They cannot enter the struggle as objects in order later to become men.[37]

By linking the process of conscientization with humanization, and by viewing the growth of consciousness as a permanent process of becoming, the revolutionary educator must treat the pedagogical work of the revolution as a means for the development of the new man from the start. Herbert Marcuse, who like Freire, is concerned with the conditions that would "precondition man for freedom"[38] writes: "Radical change in consciousness is the beginning, the first step in changing social existence, emergence of the new subject."[39] Marcuse insists that the conscientization process should be such that the uprising of the new radicals ceases to be a question of "choice:

the protest and refusal are part of their metabolism."[40] His view of the new man, however, like that of Eric Fromm,[41] is governed by the need to conscientize not for critical consciousness in the Freirean sense but for an esthetic sensibility that would mitigate against the instincts of aggression in the new man. "The beautiful would be the essential quality of freedom."[42] The esthetical ideals of Marcuse's new man and new society which he visualizes as a "work of art"[43] may be too utopian to be used as a basis for the formation of the consciousness of the oppressed. But it does point to the need for revolutionary art to create "imaginative models"[44] to sustain revolutionary fervor.

Both the Freirean and Marcusean views on the new man are direct developments of the Marxist thesis on the role of theory in revolution. The old argument whether Marx advocated an economic determinism in revolutionary change that excluded the role of ideas[45] was in fact settled by Marx himself when he wrote: "Material force can only be overthrown by material force but theory itself becomes material force when it has seized the masses."[46] The implied translation of theory into practice is possible, however, only when the theory is historically valid, that is, when it truly represents the ripening of socio-economic conditions for revolution. That is the meaning of Marx when he says that "being determines consciousness."[47] But once the society is structurally ripe for revolution theory must take over. "Once the lightening of thought has penetrated deeply into this virgin soil of the people, the Germans will emancipate themselves and become men."[48] The imagery of the

"lightening," that of the people's minds as "virgin soil" and the implications of self-emancipation as humanization represent the very synthesis of the Freirean idea of consciousness. The Marxist-Freirean consciousness is like a procreative agent, matured by socio-economic factors for creative cognition of dialectical realities. But like dry inflammable cinder it must be lit by a generative ideology. And the whole purpose is to humanize man who has been destroyed.[49]

Freire's consciousness lends itself easily to the fundamentals of Marxist epistemology whereby "the idea is nothing else but the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought."[50] This destroys the possibility of looking at knowledge as pre-existent fact to be transferred to the empty heads of students. The reason why existing knowledge exists "is that consciousness in its reflective power can know. Man as a conscious body cannot only know the existing knowledge, but can know new knowledge, or can make new knowledge."[51] Knowledge must thus be looked at as a process and not as a fact. For consciousness itself, the faculty by which man comes to know, is always in a state of becoming. Real knowledge arises from acts of cognition which involve a praxis, which is more than just a unity of theory and practice. Praxis in Freirean thinking is action and reflection. But reflection covers a process that starts with sense perception. Quoting from Husserl's Phenomenology,[52] Freire sees man's act of perceiving as a movement of consciousness toward an object, thus creating an awareness or consciousness of that object. This leads

to reflection, which if combined with action leads to knowledge. The view that sense perception is the origin of all knowledge marks the meeting point between Marxist-Freirean epistemology and theorists of creative writing. It is on this point that my conscientization work through creative writing takes its cue.

What is crucial in Freire's theory of knowledge is the dynamism with which consciousness comes to know.

> He states that consciousness is intentionalizing. Consciousness for him is never static; it is always on the way somewhere, engaged in some project, attaching itself to some object . . . . Freire does not believe that consciousness exists apart from relationships, but that the relationship between consciousness and its object is the stretching forward to the latter on the part of the former. Consciousness is not merely receptive stimuli from the world in which it lives; it is purposive in regard to it . . . indeed to learn about somethins is to change it, for to learn is to appropriate, name, and use.[53]

It is on the role that consciousness is to play in the learning process that Freire goes much further than Progressive and Experimental theorists of child-centered education. In fact, the Freirean approach would define learning in terms of a rise in consciousness from one level to the other: or as conscientization. This, as we have seen, is a project for liberation which becomes enshrined in the cultural idiom of a revolutionary society.

We have now established that consciousness is that dynamic part of man through which he can be humanized or dehumanized; that what happens to consciousness defines the nature of a revolution; that consciousness raising, which involves raising man's intentionality in the ontological vocation of becoming more human can be

tackled as a pedagogical task and that the rise of a sense of historicity in man's consciousness can be used as an index in determining the rise of consciousness to a critical level.

It is fitting for us to move now from the individual consciousness of the person to that of the society in general, to examine how the level of man's consciousness reveals itself through culture and how and why culture thus becomes a target of the process of conscientization. This is the process that has come to be called cultural revolution.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER II

[1]John L. Elias, Conscientization and Deschooling (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), p. 42.

[2]Also see William S. Griffith, "Paulo Freire: Utopian Perspective on Literacy Education for Revolution," in Paulo Freire, A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator, ed. Stanley Grabowski (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), pp. 67-81.

[3]Ibid., pp. 68-89.

[4]Bruce O. Boston, "Paulo Freire: Notes of a Loving Critic," in Paulo Freire, A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator, ed. Stanley Grabowski (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), p. 92.

[5]Elias, p. 132. "Conscientization is the heart of Freire's educational theory. In the past ten years, Freire has been associated more with this term than has any other Latin American educator. Freire tells us that the term was born during a series of round table meetings of professors at the Brazilian Institute of Higher Studies in 1964. Freire does not know exactly who coined the term, but he tells us that when he heard it he became fully convinced that education as an exercise in freedom is an act of knowing, a critical approach to reality. 'It was inevitable that the word became part of the terminology I used thereafter to express my pedagogical views and it easily came to be thought of as something I had created.'"

[6]Friere, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 27.

[7]Ibid., p. 66.

[8]Ibid., p. 71.

[9]Ibid., p. 33.

[10]Ibid., p. 68.

[11]John Elias, in Conscientization and Deschooling, accuses Freire of ignoring the dark-side of human nature. Surprisingly he accuses Friere of believing in the doctrine of original sin because he advocates a revolution. On the contrary, it is John Elias himself who stands for the doctrine of original sin otherwise what would he mean by "the dark side of human nature"? By giving

historicity and dynamism to consciousness Freire in fact makes it impossible to retain the belief in original sin. To him every man is in a state of becoming (p. 40).

[12]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 60.

[13]Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Mask (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1967), p. 152.

[14]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 60.

[15]Ibid., p. 49.

[16]Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness (New York: Seabury Press, 1974), p. 172.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 172.

[19]Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," in Karl Marx: Early Writings, ed. T. B. Bottomore (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963), p. 169.

[20]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 33.

[21]Ibid., p. 36.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Marx and Engels, "The German Ideology," in Marxism and Art: Essays Classic and Contemporary, ed. Maynard Solomon (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), p. 43.

[24]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 88.

[25]Ibid., p. 69.

[26]Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," in Karl Marx: Early Writings, ed. T. B. Bottomore (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963), p. 52.

[27]Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 18.

[28]William McLeod Rivera, "The Changers: A New Breed of Adult Educator," in Paulo Freire, A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator, ed. Stanley Grabowski (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), p. 62.

[29]Boston, p. 84

[30]President Nyerere of Tanzania is an interesting example of a revolutionary leader placed into power without the people having gone through a revolution. He has had to complain to his people: "Sometimes you hear people talk about themselves as being simply ordinary men. They think their leaders know everything. When you talk to them and explain an issue to them, they will simply say, 'What can we say? You leaders know everything.' This is a bad habit. You have been brought up badly." Cited in J. K. Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 139.

[31]Supra, p. 12.

[32]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 132.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Supra, p. 12.

[36]Grandstaff, p. 14.

[37]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 55.

[38]Marcuse, Essay on Liberation, p. 10.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., p. 62.

[41]Eric Fromm's idea of the free man as cited by Freire is a man who is free "to create and to construct, to wonder and to venture," Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 55.

[42]Marcuse, Essay on Liberation, p. 46.

[43]Ibid., p. 32.

[44]Maynard Solomon, ed., "General Introduction," in Marxism and Art: Essays Classic and Contemporary (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), p. 16.

[45]Ibid., pp. 11-19.

[46]Marx, "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," p. 52.

[47]Solomon, "General Introduction," p. 17.

[48]Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," in Karl Marx: Early Writings, ed. T. B. Bottomore (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963), p. 22.

[49]Supra, p. 13.

[50]Cited in John N. Hawkins, Mao Tse Tung and Education (Hampden, Conn.: Shoestring Press, Linnet Books, 1974), p. 9.

[51]Paulo Freire in a TV interview with David Brandes, 18 June 1971, CBC TV.

[52]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 70.

[53]Boston, p. 86.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION, ACCULTURATION AND OPPRESSION

In this chapter we shall attempt to present the Marxist-structuralist view of culture which to me is the basis on which some scholars have come to view the school in an oppressive society as an agency of cultural imperialism. Then I will present my understanding of cultural imperialism, analyze its destructive effects on the people thus educated and suggest the implication of the Freirean idea of the cultural revolution.

Perhaps the most dramatic, effective and most unmistakable form that conscientization takes in the revolutionary process is that of a cultural revolution. Here the revolution aims at changing not just the individual consciousness of the oppressed, nor the political control of the social system, but "it aims at a total transformation of the entire traditional (establishment) culture."[1] It arises out of a need to find a behavioral idiom of communication, expressive of the ideals and consciousness of the oppressed-turned-revolutionary, an idiom of indictment against the universe of domination.

The view of culture upon which revolutionary thinkers base their analysis of its revolutionary potential is holistic. Lukacs calls culture ". . . the root of the whole development of a period."[2]

Marx had viewed the artifacts of culture as forms of consciousness under which he listed virtually all the behavioral productions of the mind like laws, language, morality, religion, metaphysics, art, etc. "Men are producers of their conceptions, ideas, etc., real active men as they are conditioned by a definite development of their productive forces, and the intercourse corresponding to these."[3] Freire, like all the others, shares this holistic view of culture. He talks of the cultural revolution as an attempt to reconstruct the "total society"[4] and describes the Chinese cultural revolution as a transformation of the "intra-structure."[5] A holistic view of culture leads to an inescapable conclusion: culture as a behavioral idiom of a people is historical and must change with the onset of the new revolutionary values. In short, the old bottles cannot hold the new wine.

The term "cultural revolution" has been popularized only recently, but in practice all effective revolutions are of course always essentially cultural revolutions too. The French Revolution of 1789 is inconceivable without the French salon, the religion of the Supreme Being, the Thermidorian calendar, the Marseilles or the paintings of Jacques-Louis David.[6] The American Revolution had its cultural refusal like men dressing in old clothes to demonstrate their rejection of English imports.[7] The anti-colonial revolution in Africa has produced Negritude poetry, a long list of novelists: James Ngugi, Chinua Achebe, Charles Mungoshi,[8] etc.; it has popularized the "dashiki" shirt, and traditional gowns, regal walking sticks, colorful caps, even skin caps. The Black revolution has

created the black power salute, the religion of Islam, Black English, etc. Whatever be the system men revolt against, revolutionary generations have tended to find the old culture inimical to their self expression.

Modern revolutionary thinkers--from Marx to Freire--see artifacts in a socio-economic system that is oppressive as instruments of cultural colonialism that serve to alienate the oppressed from their consciousness as beings for themselves, and transform them into beings for others. In this role the school holds a central place. In modern class societies the educational function of school is according to many thinkers, "to process people who should believe that the system is basically sound and the role they are allocated is the correct one for them to play."[9] The structural hierarchy of the capitalist system is thus legitimized. The school, by functioning on a level of middle class values certifies the inferiority of the working class child who may not make it in an environment different from his own.[10] But our purpose is to examine cultural imperialism in education in a situation of explicit colonialism, subject it to basic structuralist criticism, and appraise Freire's idea of cultural revolution as a form of conscientization.

In British India, the English saw the school as a vital part of their imperial system:

> The natives of India must be kept down by a sense of our power, or they must willingly submit from a conviction that we are more wise, more just, more humane, and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could have. If well directed the progress of education would undoubtedly increase our moral hold over India:

> but by leading the native to a consciousness of their own strength it will surely weaken our physical means of keeping them in subjection.[11]

And the cultural ends of the education of the natives were spelled out thus:

> We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern . . . a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinion, in morals and in intellect.[12]

In situations of internal race-colonialism the school has tended to be a processing plant for race-determined proletarians. "I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends them will know that to a great extent he must be the laborer in this country."[13] And in situations where the resilience of traditional cultures made the task of proletarization difficult, the missionary educator became an essential auxilliary of exploitative settlerism.

> The missionary was the realist. He realized that while he kept to his old customs the native was of little use to the white man. . . . Only cultural change could break through such apathy, and the message of the church had the power to achieve this.[14]

And so the school in the colonial system was intended, through the curriculum, through school rules, through a pedagogical atmosphere that reproduced the metropolitan model, to turn out alienated functionaries of the oppressive order. A more detailed study of the cultural imperialism as it manifested itself specifically in Rhodesia is the task of a later chapter.

A systematic summation of the alienating effects of the colonial school as "cultural invasion"[15] is called for here. Victims

of cultural imperialism develop a split personality; they become men of divided emotional, intellectual and psychical allegiances. Despising their own culture "as something (they) should be ashamed of rather than a source of pride"[16] they develop an admiration for the oppressor whom they try to imitate. These are the "Black faces white masks"[17] of Frantz Fanon, men who Edward Blyden called "Black Europeans" and who W.E.B. duBois described in graphic words:

> One forever feels his duality: being at once both American and Negro, both French and African, English and African, Spanish and African . . . . Two souls, two thoughts, two irreconcillable tendencies; two ideals conflicting in but one black body whose unconquerable spirit alone prevents it from being torn in two.[18]

In reality the evolue "sought identification with the oppressor, whose cultural idiom they had so perfectly internalized." The oppressor has become the model of manhood. "It is not to become free men that they want agrarian reform, but in order to acquire land and thus become landowners, or more precisely, bosses over other workers."[19] This quest for identification with the oppressor that is displayed by the educated leads to their preference of the "security of conformity with their state of unfreedom, to the creative communion produced by freedom."[20] Even when they become leaders, the tendency is to use the banking methods in dealing with the people which Freire denounces as methods of domestication.

Worse than the cleavage between the educated leadership and the masses is a state of "cultural dependency"[21] displayed by the masses upon things foreign. Virtually every writer on the subject has noted a neurotic desire by the oppressed to adopt the clothing

styles of the oppressor. Wilson, in a study of working class Africans in colonial Zambia notes that "European clothes were discussed unceasingly . . . they are tended lovingly and housed in boxes at night . . . . And the search for a status comparable to that of Europeans reached its climax in the European evening dress worn at superior dance clubs."[22] Both Fanon[23] and Freire[24] noted the same phenomena. The love for foreign names falls into the same category. In Rhodesia semi-literate peasants would give their children names like Kennedy, Elvis Presley, Churchill, Wellington, Burke[25]--names that indicate their attachment to the traditions of the oppressor as standards of manhood, achievement and heroism. There are even laughable names like Psychology, Spinster, Providence, Takesure, Desire,[26] names that come straight from the Oxford Dictionary; names that indicate an almost subconscious attachment of a colonized people to a foreign linguistic idiom as an aesthetic symbol of a new manhood.

And this is a crucial point. The dependency complex creates a sense of non-being in the individual. This is being alienated from one's "ontology--the sense of being a man--"[27] a very different form of alienation from that of the worker in the English context that Bernstein writes about.[28] Cultural alienation for the latter happens in an ontological universe to which he belongs. In the case of the Third World worker cultural invasion is the replacement of his ontological universe by a foreign one, usually in a bastardized alienated form.[29] Hence, insists Freire, the recovery of

consciousness for the alienated must mean "discovering themselves as Pedro, as Antonio or as Josepha."[30]

Taken to its logical conclusion, Freire's insistence that people's own "view of the world"[31] or ontology, which in itself is a form of their traditional consciousness, be rehabilitated as a basis upon which to create a revolutionary consciousness is more in line with the thinking of modern structural anthropologists of the Levi-Strauss[32] school than with traditional Marxism. Fanon, for example, ridicules the alienated intellectuals that attempt to re-identify with the people by returning to traditional culture and history. They only catch traditions "outergarments," its "outworn contrivances" its "casts-off of thought" and "its shells and corpses." And he adds:

> the native intellectual must realize that the truths of a nation are in the first place its realities . . . . He must go on until he has found the seething pot out of which the learning of the future will emerge.[33]

This is an elaboration of Marxist thesis of the primacy of being over consciousness that constitutes the kernel of historical materialism. Modern structuralists, however, view every aspect of a people's traditional culture as part of their conceptual idiom. Their customs and traditions from culinary arts to folk myths, stand for a symbolic collection of coded messages, which when properly decoded, reveal profound meanings that constitute the people's philosophical world view. Authentic re-acculturation which is implicit in the people's conscientization must be based on their

authentic, i.e., customary, world view, other than superimposed on an alienated culture internalized from the oppressor.

The superimposition of one cultural idiom over another through education is unsound. Dewey's view of education as experiential growth would imply that such an educational experience would better be called mis-education:[34] and would result in serious distortions in the growth of personality. Edward Blyden once argued that a foreign education for the African would "force him from the groove which is natural to him, where he would be strong and effective."[35] Those who had already got this type of education, he noted, were men of "distorted tastes, confused perception and resultless energy."[36] The whole lot of educated Africans of the west coast appeared to him as "too many men of book-learning but too few of any capability."[37] African literature teams with these pale shadows,[38] men who like Conrad's helmsman don't even have the guts to descend into real hell.[39] At least in that story those who had escaped western miseducation still "had bone, muscle, a wild vitality, an intense energy."[40] If, as Freire has argued, the real essence of authentic consciousness is intentionality, educational thinkers from Dewey through Blyden as well as African novelists have demonstrated how cultural imperialism in education can destroy that intentionality.

To reject cultural invasion is to suggest that transcendental humanism is inherent to every culture however "primitive." It is to reject the view that so called "primitive" peoples represent the child races of the world stuck at the tail-end of a linear scale of

historical progression.[41] The revolutionary educator must heed Father Placide Temple's feelings when he first discovered African philosophy:

> We thought we had great children to educate . . . then all of a sudden we discovered that we were concerned with a sample of humanity adult, aware of its own brand of wisdom, and moulded by its own philosophy of life. . . . We have at length discovered the true point of departure.[42]

The eternal values of the human experience according to Marx were the very goals toward which the reform of consciousness was to be directed.

> Our slogan therefore must be: Reform of consciousness . . . through analysis of the mystical consciousness that is unclear about itself, whether in religion or in politics. It will be evident that there is not a big blank between the past and the future, but rather that it is a matter of realizing the thoughts of the past.[43]

My conclusion is that men as they exist in any society have the basic potential not only to live with each other by those eternal values of love, of understanding and mutual respect, but have in themselves the power to recreate their society to make it accommodate those values. Unlike proselytization, conscientization does not try to import into people's consciousness ideas of human goodness from without. It rather sets out to unearth the power and goodness within a people's cultural idiom and let them discover their own power for good. Their quest for excellence in terms of humane values historically lands them at the same level where they began. "The just societies of the future" writes Levi-Strauss, "like societies

studied by anthropologists will function at a temperature very close to zero."[44]

The need for a cultural revolution arises because the oppressed man is a destroyed creature, alienated from himself, his culture and his species-being by the operations of an oppressive system. Cultural revolution is first of all human rehabilitation. It is intended to restore man "to all the plenitude of his being, the wealthy man endowed with all the senses, as an enduring reality."[45] Such humanization cannot be conducted through authoritarian regimentation. Freire is emphatic that revolutionary cultural action be dialogical. Authoritarian methods would, like the cultural invasion of the oppressor, lead to dehumanization. And so the task of the revolutionary leadership is to send "a clear invitation to all who wish to participate in the reconstruction of society."[46] At the same time Freire insists:

> Cultural revolution takes the total society to be reconstructed, including all human activities, as the object of its remolding action. . . . Cultural revolution is the revolutionary regime's maximum effort at conscientizacao--it should reach everyone regardless of his task.[47]

I think that a movement so total in its operations is unlikely to retain the optional and dialogical approach Freire advocates. The dangers of excessive state control have been amply borne out by disastrous effects of Socialist Realism upon Russian literature.[48] On the other hand giving free reign to the masses to exorcise society of the remnants of the old order can lead to the kind of excesses the Red Guards have committed in the Chinese Cultural Revolution.[49] In

short, Freire has provided a not so satisfactory an answer to the difficult question of the role of leadership in the cultural revolution.

Nevertheless, looked upon from the context of the Third World, where the pedagogical aspect of the cultural revolution involves not matters of literary genres, but issues of basic literacy, Freire's call for cultural synthesis between the revolutionary leadership and the people is most farsighted, and subject to positive interpretations. Tanzania's reacculturation program demonstrates one possible interpretation. By providing the institutional frame-work of seminars, workshops, publishing houses, village museums, and various specialized government departments like those of Swahili Language and Literature, of Traditional Music, of Theater and Drama, of Antiquities,[50] etc., to sponsor these activities, it has proved that a dialogical approach to the cultural revolution after taking power is possible. The people themselves can thus participate in producing the new curricula, in producing new text-books, in suggesting new methodological approaches, that could meet the need to implement theory into practice.

We have now established that the cultural revolution in the context of cross-cultural imperialism demands the rehabilitation of the people's traditional world view as their authentic mode of perception; that it is on this world view that a new culture imbued with a new revolutionary consciousness must be built. Just as the artifacts of the old society engendered the facets of domination, the cultural revolution sets out to create new artifacts or inform old ones with a new idiom of creative freedom. "The new consciousness

leads to the emergence of a new language to define and communicate the new values, language in a wider sense, which includes words, images, gestures, tones."[51] The question of language and its role in domesticating or liberating consciousness is crucial to this study. For it is through language teaching that the work of conscientization described in Chapters VI and VII was carried out.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER III

[1]Herbert Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), p. 79.

[2]George Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness, trans. Rodney Livingston (London: Marlin Press, 1971), p. 4.

[3]Marx and Engels, "The German Ideology," p. 35.

[4]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 157.

[5]Freire, cited by Rivera, "The Changers," p. 55.

[6]Rudolf Rocker, Nationalism and Culture (New York: Polygraphic, 1937), pp. 56-57.

[7]James Truslow, New England in the Republic (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1926), p. 75.

[8]Heinemann Publishers, London, are making roaring business out of their new venture, African Writers' Series, to meet the literary outburst. In spite of stiff competition from Oxford and Longmans, they now have over 200 titles in their series.

[9]Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism (New York: David McKay, 1974), p. 13.

[10]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971). This Study of problems of working class children in middle class schools in London, is perhaps the most definitive work of research done on the subject.

[11]A member of the Bombay Government, J. Farish, 1938, cited by Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism, p. 92.

[12]Lord Macaulay, in a Minute, cited by Carnoy, p. 100. Macaulay came to India in 1934 to push for English education among the natives.

[13]A Minister in the South African Government, 1948, cited by Ian Robertson, "Education with a Political Purpose: The South African Case," a Qualifying Paper (Harvard University, March 1959), p. 31.

[14]James McHarg, "Influences Contributing to the Education and Culture of the Native People of Southern Rhodesia from 1900 to 1961," (ed.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1962), p. 29.

[15]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 150.

[16]Julius Nyerere, cited in L. A. Mbughuni, The Cultural Policy of the United Republic of Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO Press, 1974), p. 16.

[17]Fanon's book published in 1967.

[18]Cited by Herbert L. Shore, "The Magic Wonder: Art and Education in Modern Tanzania," in Revolution by Education, ed. Idrian N. Resnick (Dar es Salaam: Longmans of Tanzania, 1968), p. 194.

[19]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 30.

[20]Ibid., p. 32.

[21]Ibid., p. 160.

[22]Cited in Richard Gray, The Two Nations (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 22.

[23]Fanon, Black Skin, White Mask, p. 25.

[24]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 151.

[25]Names of secondary school students I taught at Nyatsime in Rhodesia, 1965-1967.

[26]From a list of names of children coming to the well-baby clinic at Mt. Silinda, 1970.

[27]Grandstaff, p. 12.

[28]Supra, p. 30.

[29]Grandstaff, p. 12.

[30]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 175. It would appear that Freire here does not go far enough, for these names, which happen to be Jewish, Roman and Christian in origin, would represent a form of cultural imperialism if the author is referring to American Indian peasants. The revolution in names has been very dramatically conducted in Africa. Among the most well known are leading writers: Awanoor Williams changing to Kofi Awanoor, James Ngugi to Ngugi wa Thiogo, and among my own student writers, Bonus Zimunya changing to Musaemura Zimunya, Godfrey Bopoto changing to Nyasha Bopoto, etc.

[31]Variously talked of as "philosophical world view," "philosophical outlook," "conceptual idiom," or "weltanschauung."

[32]Claud Levi-Strauss's book, The Savage Mind (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960) appears to sum up the Structuralists' view better than any other.

[33]Fanon, Wretched of the Earth, p. 181.

[34]John Dewey, Experience and Education (New York: Collier, 1938), pp. 25-26.

[35]Cited in Hollis Lynch, Black Spokesman (London: Cass, 1971), p. 19.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid., p. 234.

[38]It is interesting that the weakest characters tend to have an overseas education, like Obi in Chinua Achebe's No Longer at Ease.

[39]Fanon, to whom I owe this criticism, cites an interesting story. One day St. Peter saw three men arrive at the gate of heaven: a white man, a mulatto and a negro. "What do you want most?" he asked the white man. "Money." "And you?" he asked the Mulatto. "Fame." St. Peter turned to the negro who said with a wide smile, "I'm just carrying these gentlemens' bags."

[40]Joseph Conrad, Heart of Darkness (New York W. W. Norton, 1963), p. 23.

[41]Grandstaff, pp. 6-7.

[42]Placide Temples, Bantu Philosophy (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1959), p. 170.

[43]Karl Marx, in a letter to Arnold Ruge, Marxism and Art, p. 58.

[44]Claude Levi-Strauss, Conversations with G. Charbonnier (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), p. 42.

[45]Karl Marx,"Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," p. 162.

[46]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 132.

[47]Ibid., p. 157.

[48]Henry Arvon, Marxist Esthetics (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), pp. 56-59.

[49]Alan P. L. Liu, Political Culture and Group Conflict in Communist China (San Francisco: Clio Books, 1975), p. 3.

[50]Mbughuni, pp. 54-59.

[51]Marcuse, Essay on Liberation, p. 33.

CHAPTER IV

LANGUAGE AND CONSCIOUSNESS

The role of language as central to the process of conscientization receives great emphasis in Freire's pedagogy. The "subversive" effects of dialogue in teaching according to Freire are limitless. Dialogue implies that the teacher submerges his ego and humbly, faithfully, lovingly, and trustfully discourses with his students on the state of their oppression. "Without dialogue," he writes, "there can be no communication and without communication there can be no education."[1] Since the nature of political education is humanization, the nature of the pedagogy used must permit the emergence of the students' own humanity from the start.

Dialogue is in itself a process of humanization. For dialogue permits the student to express his own intentionality about the world. "Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world in order to name the world."[2] And the only domination allowed is that of the world by the dialoguers.. It is the conquest of the world for the liberation of men."[3] At the center of Freire's whole argument are two basic concepts: that of the "word" and that of the act of naming.

> Human existence cannot be silent, nor can it be nourished by false words, but only by true words with which men transform the world. To exist humanly is to name the world, to change it. Once named the world in

> turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming. Men are not built in silence but in word, in work, in action reflection.[4]

The linguistic activity that involves the act of naming, and the use of the word thus focuses upon the world. All this is directed toward the humanization of man.

The idea that dialogue must be "mediated by the world in order to name it "assumes its full meaning only when examined within the context of the Marxist view of cognition, and the Marxist call for the emancipation of the senses." Cognition is defined as "the eternal, endless approximation of thought to the object"[5] which is virtually what Marx meant when he said that "the idea is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought."[6] Although the dictionary definition of the word "cognize" is given as "to know" or "perceive" it is the implication carried in the third alternative "to recognize" that Marxist epistemology tends to lean upon. That epistemology assumes the existence of the material world, independent of mind indisputably knowable in its materiality when man's genuine perceptual faculties are properly trained on it in order to cognize it. "Men teach each other," writes Freire, "mediated by the world, by <u>cognizable objects</u>."[7] The sources of error cannot lie in the objects of cognition, that is, in the world; but in the inadequacies of perceptual powers.[8] Hence the world need ever be present to mediate at the "scene" of learning while men together help each other to straighten their distortions about it.

The connection between what some call sense-data and conception is fundamental to all language:

> All thinking begins with seeing; not necessarily through the eye, but with some basic formulations of sense perception in the peculiar idiom of sight, hearing or touch, normally of all senses together. For all thinking is conceptual and conception begins with the comprehension of Gestalt.[9]

In the same vein Susanne Langer sets out to destroy the possibility of the idea of the primacy of the senses in the formulation of thinking leading to a theory of a dead uniformity of ideas.

> The activity of our senses is mental, not only when it reaches the brain, but in its very inception whenever the alien world outside impinges on the furthest and smallest receptor. All sensitivity bears the stamp of mentality. Seeing itself is a process of formulation; our understanding of the visual world begins in the eye.[10]

Arthur Koestler, in his monumental study of the creative act, arrives at the same conclusion: "The beholder may be convinced that he is simply perceiving images on his retina, but he is in fact perceiving with the whole of his brain: and what he sees is modified by the perceptual codes which operate in it."[11] In short, seeing is conceiving.

Linguists tend to see man's history, personal or collective, as providing the "perceptual codes" that constitute that tinted material which color his vision. Marxist epistemology adds a dialectical dimension to the whole problem.

> The reflection of nature in man's thought must be understood not lifelessly, not abstractly, not devoid of movement, not without contraditions but in the eternal process of movement, the arising of contradictions and their solution.[12]

The need to identify these contradictions by a people whose varying perceptual codes create differing visions of reality means that no one can get the truth alone. "Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing hopeful inquiry men pursue in the world, with the world and with each other."[13] Dialogue is the only road by which man can attain any level of authenticity in conception.

Freire here goes to the fundamental nature of language as vocal. It is talking rather than writing that constitutes the basic linguistic activity of man. What distinguishes man from the animal is not "language as such, but the special form of human speech, the articulate language shich permits of concepts and so enables man's thoughts to achieve higher results, which distinguish man in this respect from other species."[14] We have already seen that man as a conscious being is aware of his consciousness and intent upon it.[15] It thus seems logical to infer that the need to establish a common referent for his individual perceptual code is a fundamental drive behind the socialization of that perceptual code in form of living speech. "Speech is the living expression of our thought and its existence is rooted in the life of society and conditioned by it."[16]

In dialogue people set out to name the world, that is, realign or re-invent a new relationship between word and object or distinguish between the word that conceals from the word that reveals something. Freire, like many philosophers of language, sees the act of naming as an act of creation. Langer describes naming as "the vastest generative idea that ever was conceived; its influence might

well transform the entire mode of living and feeling, in the whole species within a generation."[17] The name is never a neutral referrential symbol for the object. The name, as word, interpentrates our experience of the object. Hence, the virtual identity of word and object which man creates in magic spells and ritual chants.[18] And this is of course no more primitive than the behavior of a naturalist who does not feel that he is truly in touch with a flower until he has mastered the names of a great many flowers . . . "as though the primary world of reality were a verbal one."[19]

Christian interpreters of Freire view his idea of naming in biblical terms. They pose an idealistic approach to language by insisting that in Freire:

> The word goes before men, that the Word became flesh, that in the beginning was the Word. In the process of liberation men and women speak the word that they would become. Essential to the dialectical process is that we take each other at our word, for only in this way can we become what we might yet be. The act of naming calls forth a new reality for ourselves and for others.[20]

There is nothing here to restrain us from altering Brewster Kneen's initial premise in order to accept the rest of his interpretation. We can as easily remain Marxist existentialists and argue that in the beginning was man, and that it was he who made repetitive syllabic noises conoting certain experiences; noises which when they became fixated to certain experiences and objects came to be called words.

> A word fixes something in experience, and makes it the nucleus of memory, an available conception. Other impressions group themselves around the denoted thing and are associatively recalled when it is named. A whole occasion may be retained in thought by the name of an object or a person that was its center.[21]

And so the interplay of object, symbol and experience, make the true word a praxis: a unity of action and reflection.

The utterance of the word evokes a response (active or verbal) in the hearer, or denotes an action in the speaker himself. The so-called empractic[22] use of language like that of a child who sends off the nurse to the cookie jar by calling out "cookie" is a simplistic illustration of a profound truth.[23] William Smith tested a sample of people in order to classify them according to the Freirean typology of magical, naive and critical consciousness. He discovered that their responses to the question "What is the most de-humanizing problem in your life?" closely corresponded to the types' capacity for action or lack of it in the struggle for their own liberation.[24] The magical named poverty, or hunger or some biological condition over which they could have no control as the fault. The naive type would name things like laziness and bad individual characters as the cause of all troubles. The critical type saw the system as at fault. The magical had to wait for god or better luck to change their condition; the naive sought to reform individual persons in the system; and the critical type set out to conduct a revolution and create a better system. The word uttered by men that have attained critical consciousness is the only word Freire calls praxis, that is, action-reflection. For it is the word with which men "come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation."[25] That is how the word expresses one's intentionality. That is how it becomes praxis.

But there are other words that are not true words. Most of these words are part of the false myths the oppressor creates in order to maintain his grip on the oppressed. Freire lists a few: that an oppressed is a "free society," that the "order respects human rights," the myth of being "defenders of Western Christian Civilization," the myth that violence is a sin against god,[26] etc., myths that have been used with almost ritualistic persistence by oppressive regimes throughout history. Often the oppressed internalize the oppressor's linguistic idiom and accept his naming of them.[27]

The rise of the oppressed to a level of critical consciousness means the falling away of the oppressor's universe of words. But the recovery of language as authentic intentionality, must also depend on the emancipation of the primary senses, the very tools of perception. Marcuse sees this Marxist idea as "the most radical and integral idea of socialism."[28]

Marx's thesis was that the senses of the exploited are deformed and exploited and therefore no longer human.

> . . . to the starving man, it is not the human form of food that exists; but only its abstract being as food; it could just as well be there in its crudest form, and it would be impossible to say wherein this feeding activity differs from that of animals. The care-burdened man has no sense for the finest play; the dealer in minerals sees only the mercantile value but not the beauty . . . he has no mineralogical sense.[29]

The emphasis is on the word "human." The needs that have become animal when operating in a state of exploitation, become human when operating in freedom. They can also be humanized by the process of conscientization. As the objects of the senses become humanized,

i.e., "objects emanating from man for man"[30] the senses themselves become human. Also just as the most beautiful music has no sense for the unmusical ear, all the sensuous in life exist only so long as man's own sensory powers exist, in full flower as human senses. It is not only in thought but also through the senses that man is affirmed in the objective world. This total man that sums up Marx's humanistic program marks

> the definitive resolution of the antagonism between man and nature and between man and man. It is the true solution of the conflict between existence and essence, between objectification and self affirmation, between freedom and necessity, between the individual and the species.[31]

The emancipation of the senses naturally means a complete redefinition of man's outlook on the world, and a new language through which to express that outlook. The growth of a new critical awareness constitutes a rediscovery of the familiar. A new idiom, a new vocabulary, a new and fresh use of old words emerges as the "new language to define and communicate the new values."[32] For if indeed the senses are now free to see what is and not what the world of domination compels them to see, liberated man needs a new language to name what he sees.

Freire leaves unexplored the relationship between the linguistic universe of revolutionary praxis and creative literature. It is my contention that the sharpening of man's perceptual powers implied by the process of conscientization, can be conducted through properly organized dialogical sessions of a creative writing course; and that creative literature must be an essential part of the cultural revolution. It should stand as the crystallization of the

revolutionary consciousness and play a vital role in "keeping consciences that are drowsy by nature alert, spurring men on toward the ever-widening horizon of the future, or revealing to men the ever changing and permanent meaning of their existence."[33] Above all the existence of a new type of man with a new critical consciousness must mean the growth of a sensibility which stands for the new morality of freedom imbued in the ideal of the beautiful.[34] The revitalization of language and the growth of a new idiom to meet the new sensibility, is primarily a task of aesthetics. Language, after all, is primarily esthetic in its original function and not communicative.

> Esthetic attraction, mysterious fear, are probably the first manifestation of that mental function which in man becomes a peculiar tendency to see reality symbolically, and which issues in the power of conception and the life-long habit of speech.[35]

Discursive language is now generally regarded as "faded metaphor,"[36] much lower level of symbolic development in the story of language. The so-called language of communication is thus a pauperization of man's primal language, that is expressive symbolization.[37] Creative literature constitutes a return to that attraction, revulsion, fear, wonder--for the object which restores to language its original role as esthetic symbolism. The reclamation of language from the universe of domination is certainly a task for creative literature.

Marcuse has demonstrated how the new language of the revolution could mean a reversal of traditional idiom.[38] To the Blacks in an era of civil rights uprising, soul is no longer the lily-white image of tender, deep and immortal innocence of the Christian

tradition. "Soul is black, violent, orgiastic; it's no longer in Beethoven, Schubert, but in blues, in jazz, in rock 'n roll, in soul food."[39] That creates a whole new esthetic for the new Black. In Langston Hughes:

> I have known rivers
> ancient dark rivers
> my soul has grown deep
> like the deep rivers . . .[40]

the imagery of salvation abandons the pilgrim's progress to a heaven up high, and assumes the nature of a descent into psychic depths as the true road to human sublimation.

The language of domination could turn into a language of the new consciousness when focused on the realities of the oppressed. Such a process amounts to "de-Anglicization and deracialization"[41] of the English language in some contexts. Chinua Achebe illustrates the nature of the new idiom thus: instead of saying, "I am sending you as my representative among these people just to be on the safe side in case the new religion develops" his priest in Arrow of God says, "I want one of my sons to join these people and be my eyes there. If there is nothing you will come back. If there is something there, you will bring home my share."[42] The first statement is out of character. It is an Englishman talking, or a black man talking like an Englishman. The second statement gives us the voice of an African using English words to express his own reality, steeped in the idiom of his traditional philosophy.

The new language also "tells it like it is," for it is a language of indictment, a language that sets out to capture the raw

realities of exploitation with a concreteness that gives new freshness to old words. Thus, Mungoshi, exploring the nature of land discrimination in Rhodesia, writes:

> Not until you cross Chambara River into the old village with roofless huts and gaping doorways and the smell of dogshit and burnt rags are you at home. And then the signature of time truly appears in the work-scarred body of an abandoned oxcart with its shaft pointing an accusing finger at the empty heavens, and the inevitable stray dog--all ribs and the fur worn down to the sore skin--rummaging for something to eat among the ruins.[43]

It is the new way of seeing things, or of experiencing things, that makes this language so interesting. The new consciousness appears in the way the object has ceased to represent "things as they are" but has become historical, "a signature of time," a symbol of exploitation which constitutes a limit-situation that must be overcome.

Mungoshi is writing of the nature of exploitation in Rhodesia. Since the conscientizing work that is described in this exposition was carried out in that country, it is necessary that we examine the role that formal education has played in Rhodesia to facilitate the exploitation of the blacks.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER IV

[1]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 81.

[2]Ibid., p. 76.

[3]Ibid., p. 77.

[4]Ibid., p. 76.

[5]Lenin, cited in Mao Tse Tung and Education, p. 10.

[6]Marx, cited in Mao Tse Tung and Education, p. 9.

[7]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 67.

[8]The inadequacies arise from the fact that we see conceptually. As we see, we interpret, and usually according to conceptual tools given to us by society. So if society tells us that peasants are ugly, our eyes are likely to distort the most beautiful peasant face into grotesque proportions, like a cartoonist does.

[9]Langer, p. 266.

[10]Ibid., p. 90.

[11]Arthur Koestler, The Act of Creation (London: Hutchinson 1964), p. 367.

[12]Lenin, cited in Mao Tse Tung and Education, p. 10.

[13]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed.

[14]Rocker, p. 284.

[15]Supra, p. 13.

[16]Rocker, p. 284.

[17]Langer, p. 142.

[18]Edward Sapir, Culture, Language and Personality (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), p. 8.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Brewster Kneen, "Pedagogy of the Oppressed," a review in The Canadian Forum (July-August, 1971), p. 29.

[21]Langer, p. 135.

[22]Ibid., p. 131.

[23]Ibid., p. 136.

[24]William A. Smith, "The Meaning of Conscientizacao, The Goal of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy" (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, Center for International Education, 1976), pp. 41-90.

[25]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 71.

[26]Ibid., p. 135.

[27]Gray, The Two Nations, pp. 164-170. The author records many African organizations that called themselves "native" like the "Native Women's League," or the "Rhodesian Native Association," in spite of the fact that whites used the word "native" to mean a "member of an uncivilized race." See the Oxford Dictionary.

[28]Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt, p. 64.

[29]Marx, cited in Istvan Meszaros, Marx Theory of Alienation (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 201.

[30]Ibid., p. 202.

[31]Marx, cited in Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1970), p. 34.

[32]Marcuse, Essay on Liberation, p. 33.

[33]Arvon, p. 117.

[34]Supra, p. 20.

[35]Langer, p. 110.

[36]Ibid., p. 140.

[37]Sapir, Langer and several creative writing theorists concur with this view. When my professor writes "wow" at the end of a startling line, he is engaged primarily in using expressive language, which is connotative rather than denotative, and I believe this was the primordial function of language.

[38]Marcuse, Essay on Liberation, p. 35.

[39]Ibid., p. 36.

[40]Cited in Fanon's Black Skin, White Mask, p. 127.

[41]Ali Mazrui, World Culture and the Black Experience (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), p. 99.

[42]Ibid., p. 100.

[43]Charles Mungoshi, Waiting for the Rain (London: Heinemann, 1976), pp. 40, 44.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION AND OPPRESSION IN RHODESIA 1953-1970

Introduction

African education in Rhodesia represents, to a remarkable degree, the facets of the Freirean-Marxist model of exploitative education. According to that model which a host of modern educators accept,[1] education in an exploitative system is only an arm of oppression with which the oppressors process their victims for a servile role in the economic system. There are two types of exploitative systems: one explicit and another implicit. The former obtains in imperial old time colonial, racial or settler ruled communities; and the latter obtains in one-race class ruled societies. In a society of explicit exploitation the oppressors state their intentions loud and clear. In the latter societies the oppressors cover up their exploitative designs in more subtle and innocuous language.

Rhodesia is a country of explicit racial exploitation. Although at no time in its 80 year history did the population ratio of white to black ever get better than 1 to 16 (see Figure 1). Political and economic power has always been held by white men sworn to rule forever. The inequities created to retain such an unjust order are great. In land distribution (in 1969), for example, each of the two races had one half the land mass of the country allotted to them separately in spite of the fact that Africans outnumbered

TABLE 1.--Population Growth in Rhodesia.

Year	Europeans	Africans	Proportion of Africans to Europeans
1901	11,032	500,000	45:1
1911	23,606	740,000	31:1
1921	33,620	860,000	26:1
1931	49,910	1,080,000	22:1
1941	68,954	1,400,000	20:1
1951	135,596	2,170,000	16:1
1961	221,504	3,550,000	16:1
1961	228,044	4,818,000	21:1

Source: A.K.H. Weinrich, Black and White Elites in Rural Rhodesia (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), p. 15.

whites by 21:1.[2] In the wage structure, the average white wage in 1969 was pounds 1,361 as against the African wage of pounds 138.[3] Likewise education for the white child has been compulsory and free since 1930 but for the African child it is neither.[4] The problem for white men in Rhodesia has always been how they could create an education system for blacks that would keep the latter in a state of permanent servitude when the injustices perpetrated on them are so clear.

Three approaches were attempted to resolve this problem. The first set out to process the African child into an efficient laborer for the white man.[5] The second approach sought to offer a few black men opportunities to high level academic education, form an

alliance with these in order to exploit the rest. The third approach set out to use the school as a processing plant for the alienation and domestication of the African child, thus turning him into an obedient, pliable and worshipping servant of things white and western.

Yet beneath the appearance of white solidarity against blacks there were class divisions. Always working beneath the surface it was this unseen hand of production relations that became the main determinant of the historical process. The educational system meted out to the African people was a function of the turbulent swirl and eddies of the class struggle translated into the historical idiom of Rhodesian racism.[6]

The Kerr Commission and the Epoch

The Kerr Commission 1953 made far-reaching recommendations on all aspects of African education. But these recommendations, and indeed the Commission itself, can be understood only in the context of the period. The Commission was set up in response to socio-economic needs that had emerged during and soon after the war. The wartime period experienced an unprecedented economic boom. This was a result of factors like rapid industrialization to produce goods otherwise available from overseas, encouragement of agriculture to meet increased demand for foodstuffs overseas, sudden rise in the tobacco trade, the rerouting of international capital from South Africa to Rhodesia when the Nationalist victory of 1948 threatened widespread nationalization of foreign capital, etc.[7] The boom

resulted in the emergence of a large class of white bourgeousie and manufacturing capitalists. Their interests lay in the growth of a class of skilled and semi-skilled Africans earning a reasonable wage, to supply the manpower requirements of the expanding economy and to serve as a ready market for their produce. Vocational education for the African thus became a major concern of the Kerr Commission and of the period.

There was another consideration. The operation of the race laws of the 1930's led to a progressive proletarization of the African peasantry.[8] The peasant drifted into town where he lived under the most gruesome exploitation. Said one old man:

> I have grown up under white people . . . . My wish is that . . . we get better treatment in the way of wages. Today I am getting older and I have nothing. I have not saved anything. I might die and do not know how my children are going to manage.[9]

There was a powerful growth of a workers' consciousness. In the 10 to 15 years from 1940 there was an unprecedented upsurge of workers movements: e.g., the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, Rhodesia Railways African Workers Union, Bantu Benefit Society, Joint Industrial Committee for Railway Workers Union, Bantu Congress, Industrial Welfare Society, African Workers Trade Union, Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, Waiters Association, African Workers Voice.[10] Protests and strikes become endemic, leading to the violent nationwide strike of 1948. Huggins, the Prime Minister, like Todd, his successor, saw the meaning very clearly. "Our experience is not unique," he said. "We are witnessing the emergence of the proletariat and in this country it happens to be black."[11] Being a

representative of the white bourgeousie, Huggins, like his successors saw the need to create an African middle class as a buffer against the proletariat. "We shall never do much with these people until we have established a native middle class,"[12] he said. The Kerr Commission was intended to suggest educational processes for doing this.

Education for Labour Exploitation

The Kerr Commission's Report 1953 made some epoch making recommendations on vocational education for the African. Their significance, however, can only be understood against the background of the traditional white attitudes on the subject.

Before the second world war the majority of white Rhodesians, who are generally men of working class backgrounds from England, saw any form of technical training or artisan training for the African as anathema. "Educate the natives by all means," said one Legislator, "but don't teach them trades. What position would our sons have to face at this rate."[13] Hence all types of non-academic education for the African took the form of industrial training and community development. It was made clear that "the simpler forms of industrial training were intended."[14] This meant that the training must produce "a better workman and a more useful servant to the European,"[15] or enable a boy to "build stables, outhouses, or under white supervision, plain cottages, but would not fit him for working in a municipality or on first class buildings."[16] Taking their ideas from the industrial education movement in America[17] the Rhodesian Government pioneered with two institutions, Tsolotso 1922 and Domboshawa 1921.

Several Mission stations followed suit: Mt. Silinda, Tegwani, Waddilove, Gokomere, etc., training the African in rudimentary skills in agriculture, hygiene, brick laying and smithing to be used in his own village,[18] or to "fetch and carry for the European worker"[19] in industry. White criticism had to be allayed with the assurance that the type of training given in these institutions was equal to only one year of apprenticeship training.[20]

White workers were nevertheless not satisfied. In 1933 they forced the government to pass the Industrial Conciliation Bill which gave them power to determine who will be accepted for artisan training.[21] That stopped the possibility of industrial schools becoming real technical colleges or any form of on-the-job technical training for blacks. And by the time the Kerr Commission reported, the racist framework set up by the white working class was still the worst obstacle they faced. The Commission condemned in no uncertain terms the equivocation of the industrial conciliation act that in one breath permitted employment of African artisans on the same pay with whites and in another denied him training.

> Yet we need the unbounded confidence of the African in order to mould his character successfully and to educate him properly. A bar that is imposed in such circumstances therefore becomes a major obstacle to successful African education.[22]

The Commission admitted that the government had difficult problems in this regard. But the demands for more technical and vocational training for blacks were overwhelming. "In view of the rapid industrial growth which has gone on within the colony during the past decade the demands are reasonable and only to be expected."[23]

The existing system of two year industrial training in eight institutions after primary school was "totally inadequate both in content and extent for the times in which we are living."[24] Finally, they strongly recommended changing existing trade courses to three years, introducing new courses, and establishing further training facilities for graduates of these institutions so that they could rise to the level of fully qualified journeymen. They further recommended that commercial courses in bookkeeping, typing, business methods and commercial arithmetic be introduced.[25] At the bottom of the whole problem the Commission referred to the occupational color-bar as the greatest obstacle to progress.

The Commission, like the Government that appointed it, represented the voice of the national bourgeoisie and national capitalism, the class, as we have seen, whose interest lay in creating a class of artisans and professionals. The uneasy coalition between the national bourgeoisie and the working class established by Prime Minister Godfrey Huggins since 1933[26] still held. But it was too fragile for the government to take bold steps like repealing the Industrial Conciliation Act. Yet this was what was needed. "If we are to produce a multiracial society in this country and provide sufficient trained manpower to meet the growing needs of industry--we must educate and train the African for skilled employment."[27]

In spite of the current myth that the black worker was lazy, irresponsible and incapable of competing with the white man, the white working class knew that they were threatened. It took much persuading and cajolling on the part of the government plus five

years of parliamentary bickering and manouvering (1954-1959) to get the Industrial Conciliation Act amended. The central point in the amendment was the inclusion of the African worker in the definition of employee. This gave him a legal voice in the industrial conciliation machinery.

It meant that apprenticeship conditions would now no longer be decided by white unions that had so successfully kept Africans out of the artisan training. Fear of "African-controlled unionism was the most powerful consideration behind the opposition."[28] The compromise arrived at was that only multiracial trade unions be included in the industrial conciliation machinery. That way the whites could still act as senior partners of the organization and control it. It was a most unsatisfactory compromise which, as we shall see later, virtually left the technical and artisan education of the African still in the hands of the white working class, the class most unwilling to permit it.

Meanwhile, in areas less directly concerned with the question of training artisans, the Kerr Commission recommendations were carried out to the letter. Commercial courses were opened in commercial practice, business, calculations, bookkeeping, typewriting, shorthand, commercial English in a few schools to meet manpower needs of industry. The aim was never in doubt. "No shortage of good employment for the stable, skilled African clerk."[29] Domestic Science courses were opened for women. The old industrial courses were upgraded. From two year training they became three year[30] courses and later four year.[31] More subjects were added including a health

demonstrators' course. The terminal diploma was upgraded to the National Technical Certificate Part I and Part II.[32] The ultimate aim was to meet the Kerr Commission's recommendations that graduates of these institutions be dovetailed into real apprenticeship training.[33] But for a while they appeared to serve the old Huggins policy of the dual pyramid, a policy of non-competitive parallel development by each race.

> The fact that the training given at Domboshawa and other centers has produced good solid citizens cannot be denied as such persons are met in all districts playing their part and exerting a steadying influence on the local community.[34]

In spite of the fact that these courses were very much lower than real apprenticeship, the demand for admission to industrial schools was very high. In 1958 Mzingwani had 862 applicants for 100 places, Domboshawa had 796 applicants for 100 places; in 1960 Domboshawa had 915 applicants for 95 places.[35] For the student it was a matter of grabbing at whatever was available.

The trend was clear, however--more and more openings for blacks into the forbidden world of industrial and technological know-how were on the way. But there was one important variable: the alliance between the white working class community and their capitalist and bourgeoisie partners must hold. The capitalists and bourgeoisie elements that ran the country since 1933, in the persons of Huggins, Welensky, Todd and Whitehead, must continue to carry working class support with them, by calming their fears of the black threat and this they tried:

> No white trade unionist worth his salt (Wellensky told the trade union congress) need fear for his leadership in he field of labour . . . the growth of African skill, slow though it undoubtedly is and inevitably will be, can only mean one thing: a greater level of consumption throughout the whole country, the expansion of industry and so a greater demand for skilled men. Far from taking away the white man's leadership it will, in fact, provide an ever increasing sphere into which that leadership can be extended.[36]

The fact that it was thought necessary to keep preaching this theory of domesticating the enemy shows how uneasy the alliance of the white classes was becoming.

Before that alliance finally broke down in 1962, the most dramatic changes in the government's vocational training policy took place. As indicated earlier the repeal of the Conciliation Act opened doors to apprenticeship for Africans. In 1960 the Apprenticeship Act placed African apprentices on par with whites. Meanwhile a full scale technical college was opened at Luveve opening opportunities for four year standard training and full apprenticeship. In the same year junior technical schools were opened, and the question of closing down the old industrial courses was mooted.[37] With full scale technical education opportunities available at all levels, these handyman courses were deemed unnecessary. But just as these new courses and programs came into the system, so also were they closed down. The handyman courses were ended in 1963.[38] Simultaneously, the junior technical schools, which had started to replace them, were also closed. The Ministry had argued that these schools were a necessary preparation to full scale apprenticeship training.[39] Now they stated the opposite:

> There is no doubt that general basic training is the correct pre-requisite to vocational training. A student entering a vocational course is unlikely to undertake it save for the reason that he wishes that kind of employment.[40]

And so after only three years in existence, the technical secondary school closed its doors. In that same year, 1963, a parliamentary committee was appointed to consider "whether Luveve should continue in its present role."[41] The committee was of course window dressing. The Secretary of African Education actually made it clear that the aims for which Luveve was built were either totally fulfilled in the three years of its existence or were no longer necessary, especially since apprenticeship was now non-racial.[42] And so just as hundreds of African youth were getting down to take the first full time technical educational opportunity ever devised by the Rhodesian government, they were informed that "Luveve had done the job for which it was established,"[43] and the doors were now shut. Its masses of equipment was shared between the all white Bulawayo Technical College and the quasi-multiracial polytechnic in Salisbury.

But we get an idea of the real reason for the sudden shut-down of these institutions when the Principal of Luveve talks of the "trade unions' delay in welcoming African students into the work-shops,"[44] and his remark that "the admission of student apprentices requires whole-hearted support of the trade unions before such training can be successful."[45] As late as 1965 the Secretary for Education could still write: "We still await some satisfactory solution to the problem of African apprenticeship and the provision of technical training outside apprenticeship."[46] This is five years after the

passing of the Apprenticeship Act. These two remarks bring us back to the cause of the problem: the class struggle among the whites. The opening and closing of these institutions represent the shift of political power from one class to the other; from the national bourgeoisie and capitalist class to the working class and rural petty bourgeoisie. In 1962 the Rhodesia Front, a coalition of working class and petty bourgeoisie elements, ended the era started by Huggins in 1933. The uneasy alliance between the high and working class elements in the white community came to an end. The typical Rhodesian, a lower class Englishman and a large horde of uncouth farmers, mostly with south African parentage, won an election. "The R.F. whose case rested on the belief that Europeans should and must continue to rule were prepared to use all the powers and authority of the government to resist those who challenged this belief."[47] Hence the sudden and unceremonious closure of all institutions opened for African advancement, especially technical advancement which directly threatened the white working class positions. After that it was back to the '30s. Said one of Ian Smith's precedessors:

> Government must stop this ridiculous policy of theirs, this policy of appeasement, masquerading under the name of partnership, for to African nationalists it simply revealed weakness. British liberalism is all very well behind the English Channel, but we have got to be more realistic . . . we have got to be a great deal firmer and a great deal harder and take a lesson from those down south (i.e., South Africa).[48]

When Ian Smith took over he made it clear that he did not expect the country to be ruled by Africans in his lifetime. The previous government had thought the African under the new economic

circumstances could best be exploited by dividing him and fraternizing with his more enterprising brethren. To the new regime every African was an enemy, a potential pretender for the high seat and he must be reduced to servitude or kept in his own tribe.

The community development aspects of industrial education all returned. In 1966 was presented a new Education Plan: 37.5% of primary school output--regardless of ability--were to enter a two year terminal secondary school whose curriculum is "directed towards the probable type of employment which will be available . . . . It is in commerce, industry and agriculture that work must be sought."[49] Unlike the technical secondary school of the previous government, this new secondary school did not lead to apprenticeship. Unlike the academic secondary school it could not lead to university or higher institutions of learning. It led only to a life of unskilled and semi-skilled labour. The Government stated that it was seeking "the establishment of a relationship between the school and the area in which it is situated. The schools should be able . . . to provide the labour to meet the demands of industry. In rural areas . . . it will be essential to link the two final years of schooling to agricultural activities."[50]

The role of the African in the economy must lie in his own segregated reserve, unproductive, unindustrialized though it is. His training for this peasant existence must thus remain rudimentary. And his relation to the major growth sectors of the economy lies in providing "both an efficient labour force and a growing domestic

market. He is not conceived of as setting up alongside his European compatriots in managerial, administrative or capitalist roles."[51]

Vocational education for the African has, over the years, taken many twists and turns and much restructuring according to the varying political strategies of the ruling classes in the white community. To the capitalist and bourgeois class it aimed at producing much needed skilled personnel for expanding industry. To the working class and petty-bourgeois it aimed at training the African into an efficient, obedient and unskilled servant who would "pull and carry" for the white artisan. To the African masses vocational education was always a system of exploitation. And their understanding of the white man's meaning of vocational training for the black man was typified by Tendai Training Centre opened in 1953 in Umtali. Its aim was to train African women in Domestic Science so as "to enable them to take up domestic service (in white homes) with some knowledge of what is expected of them."[52] Indeed as soon as it was opened:

> Enquiries about the centre have been received from all over the country and it may be that this experiment in Umtali will be the beginning of a large-scale effort to train African women to run European households and so release male labour for work in farming, commerce and industry.[53]

The Educational Pyramid

Whereas vocational education was tailored to exploit African labour to the best advantage of the whiteman, academic education was so structured to create an African elite, divorced from the rest of the masses and allied to the white oppressor in his exploitation of

the masses. The most outstanding device used to achieve this was the pyramid structure of the system itself. The Kerr Commission epoch saw the growth of the pyramid system into full stature.

The movement of educational reforms of which the Kerr Commission was a part, meant a clear shift in government policy. Up to the outbreak of the war most current white opinion preferred that Africans be educated only to an elementary level for service in their village, or as Bone puts it, "Within their communities, within their way of life, within their culture."[54] It was not intended that the "ultimate target . . . be the uplift of the African until he could take his full responsible role in the social, economic and political life of the country as a whole."[55] Missionaries who shouldered most of the burden required only basic literacy for evangelization and other whites supported them because they saw the educated black as a challenge and a spoiled servant. "If you want to spoil a good nigger send him to school. He is casual and approaches you as an equal."[56] But it was competition with the blackman that whites feared most.

> Who wants the native to buy a pair of black trousers to cover his black legs? His black legs are infinitely preferable as a worker and as an individual. The native will continue to be honest if you leave him with his beads and blankets . . . . If we could clear out every mission station in this country and stop all this fostering of higher native education and development we would much sooner become an asset to the Empire. We are simply committing suicide.[57]

And so for the first fifty years of white rule in Rhodesia, there was not a single secondary school in existence although there were about 95,000 children in school by 1939.[58] This policy rationalized by Atkinson, intended to reduce elitism and its attendant evils

suited the white's desires for a servile race of semiliterate workers in their mines and industries and on their farms.

Changes to this policy were first signalled in 1938 by the new Director of Native Education who outlined the "primary objectives of African education as mastery of the three R's and character training to prepare Africans to meet the rapid changes of the urban industrial society they were fast entering."[59] In 1942 a school council was inaugurated for a secondary school and in 1946 Goromonzi Government Secondary School was opened. One mission secondary school, St. Augustines, had already been founded in 1939. In the 1950's and 1960's more secondary schools were opened by the government and by missions or African Councils. The University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland opened its doors in 1953.

The pyramid structure of African education meant the opening of the greatest amount of educational opportunities at the elementary or primary school level, and the progressive restriction of opportunity as one climbed up the ladder to university.

The full impact of the system can easily be understood by looking at a table of enrollments in the period under study (see Table 2). The diagonal line running through the figures enables us to trace the fortunes of the Grade I class of 1952. It shows that of the 84,444 children entering grade I in 1952, only 10,921 reached the last grade of the primary education segment and of those only 1,919 went to secondary school; of those only 386 reached O-level and of those only 56 reached the pre-university upper-sixth form. A simple piece of arithmetic will show that only one out of every eight

TABLE 2.--Enrollments (Actual) 1952-1968.

Year	Grade 1 Sub A	Grade 2 Sub B	Grade 3 Std. I	Grade 4 Std. II	Grade 5 Std. III	Grade 6 Std. IV	Grade 7 Std. V	Std. VI	Grade 8 Form I	Grade 9 Form II	Form III	Form IV	Form V	Lower VI	Upper VI	Totals Primary	Totals Secondary	Totals Grand
1952	84,444	57,444	40,540	26,975	18,732	9,371	5,644	3,727	1,190	950	209	86	31					
1953	90,646	61,164	44,128	29,553	20,321	9,632	6,113	3,878	1,686	1,160	530	100	24					
1954	104,525	70,003	52,308	34,446	25,171	11,268	7,317	4,429	1,542	1,313	531	183	109					
1955	107,716	78,439	56,877	39,216	29,076	12,955	8,347	5,311	2,108	1,428	735	135	49	11				
1956	116,567	85,992	64,522	45,186	35,270	14,737	9,659	6,434	2,201	1,653	947	223	29	18	10			
1957	124,954	91,283	69,391	48,851	38,495	15,926	11,576	7,051	3,216	1,889	894	107		60	13			
1958	124,153	102,975	77,206	54,931	41,945	18,319	13,186	9,503	3,010	2,462	949	379	26	13				
1959	112,608	102,420	84,555	60,077	45,077	19,367	14,881	10,921	1,506	1,163	318	278		17	18	449,806	3,335	453,141
1960	113,941	103,387	91,235	69,816	54,214	21,343	17,136	13,227	1,919	1,415	413	325		52	15	484,299	4,206	488,505
1961	118,453	105,287	96,233	78,456	66,456	26,033	19,081	15,424	2,539	1,617	444	364		71	34	525,423	5,174	530,597
1962	126,919	107,054	99,235	81,904	75,590	29,388	22,434	17,832	2,819	2,200	439	352		56	56	560,356	6,084	566,440
1963	123,710	113,518	102,061	85,434	81,065	35,827	27,219	21,962	3,407	2,447	724	386		45	36	580,795	7,129	587,924
1964	117,736	111,807	106,179	90,256	85,160	40,979	33,011	25,140	4,108	3,041	949	655		58	35	610,268	8,939	619,207
1965	119,934	108,595	105,071	93,575	89,701	45,137	36,737	29,056	5,479	3,720	1,255	876		110	56	627,706	11,661	639,367
1966	122,590	110,365	102,672	93,535	94,772	48,456	41,380	32,938	6,137	4,800	1,319	1,081		156	94	660,555	13,837	674,392
1967	124,465	113,308	104,537	93,737	95,397	53,219	43,781	36,262	6,699	5,644	1,712	1,282		155	148	664,706	15,943	680,649
1968	126,854	115,842	108,941	96,088	95,772	55,804	47,225	37,904	6,754 353	6,021 108	2,062	1,602		188	139	684,430	16,766	701,196

Source: R. C. Done, "Educational Development in Rhodesia," Rhodesia Journal of Economics 2, No. 4 (December 1968), p. 27.

pupils entering grade one ever finished primary school; one out of every 42 pupils entering grade one went to secondary school and one out of 1000 pupils in grade one stood a chance of ever going to university.

This remarkable rate of attrition was attained through a number of devices. Every grade up the ladder had an examination that had to be passed if one were to proceed. Its purpose was to weed out as many pupils as possible. Structurally, the system had specified major barriers generally described as "bottlenecks"[60] that restricted opportunity in the next sector of educational advancement (see Table 3). The dotted lines mark the bottleneck restriction points. They show that within the primary school system you had two restriction points, in secondary school you had three restriction points and between primary and secondary school you had a major barrier. Each successive segment of the ladder had fewer places than the one preceding it.

The practical operation of this segmented system has been demonstrated by many analysts. Aristone Chambati writes:

> In Chiweshe Reserve, where the salvation army has 23 lower primary schools, there are only three upper primary schools. In Urungwe Reserve, there are eight lower primary schools and only one upper primary school. In Magonde Reserve, the salvation army has three schools that do not go beyond standard three. In Chihota Reserve, Marandellas in 1957, there were 25 Methodist Church run lower primary schools catering for 7,000 pupils, but only three upper primary schools with a combined intake of 500 pupils.[61]

To go through the primary school was a great personal achievement but to enter secondary school is to demonstrate that you are a chosen breed. Going through the secondary school was a hazardous adventure.

TABLE 3.--Pupil Distribution on the Educational Ladder.

Southern Rhodesia		United States	
Standard		Grade	
Sub A		1	
B		2	
I	Lower Primary School	3	Elementary School
II		4	
III		5	
IV	Upper Primary School	6	
V		7	
VI		8	
Form			
I		9	
II		10	
III	Secondary School	11	High School
IV		12	
V			
VI			
V			Junior College
VI			

The student who survived it all and was finally crowned by getting a place at one of the two university preparation schools, Goromonzi and Fletcher, was indeed unique. The development of an elitist sensibility was built into the structure of this system. If these young African intellectuals became members of bogus political liberal movements like Capricorn Society[62] and the Inter-racial

Association of Southern Rhodesia,[63] or some liberal white political party,[64] part of the reason was to be found in an educational system so explicitly designed to create an African elite who could be enlisted to support the established order.[65] The white Rhodesian Prime Minister actually said:

> If only these men would appreciate that . . . as their people advance, class distinctions, which in truth they themselves desire to see introduced, are already appearing among them, the more readily would common ground be found on which to compromise with them on their aspiration.[66]

The government always revealed its clearly conceived intention to retain a segmented pyramid structure in African education by the vigour with which it resisted self initiated action by African communities and missionaries to build and finance their own schools. Reports of Directors of Education and school Inspectors are full of praise for the willingness of the African parent to pay for his child's education. The 1957 Report talks of Native Council's undertaking to finance 17 out of 30 new schools.[67] In 1958 they contributed 1,500 pounds on a parity with the government to build new schools.[68] The new scheme, whereby the Government would give a pound for every pound African councils would use in building new schools, we are told "caught the public imagination and warmed and cheered the hearts of parents in areas which without the scheme could have little hope of upper primary classes."[69] In 1959, 50 new primary schools were built on the pound for pound scheme.[70] At the same time "a change in government outlook" with the onset of right of centre regime of Whitehead in 1958--"led to a reduction in the speed of development and instructions were sent to mission schools to reduce the intake of scholars to certain classes."[71]

In 1960 government grants were withdrawn altogether. The building cost and maintenance became the responsibility of the people and the churches.

> As over 90% of the schools are aided schools (i.e., mission or schools run by African councils) the capital costs borne by the people and churches are very considerable and the withdrawal of the grants . . . has added a further financial burden on the people residing in the rural areas. Their willingness to shoulder these responsibilities is an indication of their desire to see that their children have schools no matter what the cost.[72]

In the same year the Regional Inspector of Mashonaland found it disturbing to have to say no to so many self initiated schemes of school building. Community deputations coming to him

> . . . state that they have been told by their managers that if they put up the required school buildings they will be granted a standard 4 class the next year. It is distressing to have these people come into this office to impart the information that they have spent hundreds of pounds on buildings as a result of this promise only to be informed that their school is not one of those approved to open standard 4 the following year. It is even more distressing and embarrassing when they have to be told that their school is not one of those chosen or allocated land to proceed to upper primary status.[73]

In 1962 the government acknowledging that "the desire of these communities to do something to help themselves was one that the government could hardly refuse,"[74] allowed the creation of a new type of school--the unaided school. This would be built, financed, maintained entirely by missions or private bodies like Afircan Councils, who would also pay the staff. That year the government reported 158 more schools, primary and secondary built entirely by councils and missions.[75] In 1963 in spite of further cutbacks from the aided system 90 new aided schools were built by churches and communities

and 215 unaided upper primary schools were built, and staffed by communities.[76] Three years after the government had withdrawn all capital grants to the aided schools a note of exasperation began to appear more frequently in numerous reports by Directors and Inspectors. "This is a situation which cannot continue indefinitely . . . the burden of expansion of both the aided primary and secondary schools is too great a burden to be borne by the parents and missions alone."[77]

And describing the contribution of parents and voluntary agencies as "tremendous," he added:

> There must be a very few systems where before the government grant for the teachers' salaries is made available, the applicants for the school have to erect the school building and the teachers' homes, equip the school and buy the books and classroom requisites. All this though is done with willingness and enthusiasm, so great is the desire for education.[78]

In 1965 missions and parents built 96 new primary schools, 104 upper primary schools, and 10 secondary schools and shouldered almost half of the whole African educational budget of the year.[79]

The African parent and the missions were so determined and committed to financing African education that the new Rhodesia Front government decided to introduce permanent structural impediments to their initiative. The 1966 New Education Plan restricted all academic secondary education to 12.5% of all students finishing primary school.[80] That permanently legalized the bottleneck at that point. It also stated that missions and councils will not be allowed to open new academic secondary schools after 1970.[81] That will be left exclusively to the government. From January 1, 1967,

> . . . new primary schools in underdeveloped areas would be opened only under the authority of community boards or local government authorities and from January 1, 1968 no new primary schools or additional stream in existing primary schools would be authorized unless local government already existed in the areas and had assumed responsibility for the new schools.[82]

The effect of these new regulations was to expropriate the missions and African councils of their schools, to place them in the hands of a new breed of African councils created on government initiative or place them completely in the hands of the government. This halted any future educational expansion by missions or African initiated councils except in the field of junior secondary schools,[83] a glorified industrial school of low calibre. Finally, the educational budget for African education was permanently pegged at 2% of the gross national product. This means the government spent 8 pounds on each African pupil as against 120 pounds on each white pupil in 1967.[84]

The Ian Smith government, representing as it does the working class and petty bourgeosie elements of white society, virtually reverted to the dual pyramid policies of Huggins' first decade in power. But this time it was called Community Development. It meant that African educational progress was to be limited by head office to the quota of needed personnel in the African area to man professional, agricultural, and industrial services. But within the national economy the African was to provide "an increasingly efficient labour force."[85] In a country where European education has been compulsory and free since 1933,[86] where land distribution legally relegates Africans to the arid part of the country, where all commerce and

industry is in white hands, the new community development policy and its corollary the 1966 Educational Plan would place black men at the hands of white exploiters indefinitely.

The pyramid theory in structuring African education was initiated by the capitalist-bourgeosie regimes of Huggins, Todd and Whitehead. It was as I have shown intended to create a middle class African who would join in partnership with the white bourgeosie to exploit the African proletariat. The end of the capitalist bourgeosie and white working class compact in 1962 meant that the new working class and petty bourgeosie regime had in its hands an elitist African educational system that it did not want and a dynamic African community that was prepared to pay anything to provide for their children's education. After closing all technical institutions opened by the previous government, it was decided to control future educational progress, to channel parental energies to primary schools and junior secondary schools and to leave the government in sole command of the academic secondary school.

Table 4 (p. 82) illustrates the effect of the pyramid system in terms of educational achievement ratios between black and white.

Education as Cultural Imperialism

The exploitative purposes of Rhodesian African education are finally illustrated by the nature of the curriculum. The Kerr Commission thought that the purpose of African education "hinges on the formation of good character."[87] To them good character meant

TABLE 4.--Percentage Distribution of Educational Achievement.

Education in Years	Europeans*	Africans**
1- 5	None	78.13
6- 7	None	19.58
8- 9	11.2	1.81
10-11	52.4	0.44
12-13	36.4	0.04

*Annual Report on Education for Year 1967, p. 66.

**African Education 1967, pp. 21-22.

"loyalty to the state and its constitution and to the commonwealth."[88] It was also "the task of good character training to convince the African that steady and good work is a social obligation."[89]

Unless we accept Paulo Freire's view that exploitation is dehumanizing to both exploiter and exploited it is hard to understand the insensitivity of the whites toward black suffering implied in these aims. Whereas whites had an average working class wage of 77 pounds a month,[90] at least two servants per household, only 8.8% of working class families among blacks earned 4 pounds 15 shillings or more a month, a wage that E. Batson and the Howman Committee called a starvation wage.[91] The African worker had to revert to illegal expedients like illicit liquor brewing, concubinage, gambling, petty theiving and pilfering often from European employers, even begging to continue to survive as a city worker.[92]

Said the Prime Minister: "We cannot exist for five minutes without the native today. He is absolutely essential to our wage structure if anything else."[93] The exploitation of the African worker was thus nakedly sought with cynical frankness. And it was with equal cynicism that so many white witnesses to the Kerr Commission insisted that "in all native education the prime importance and dignity of manual labour should be continually stressed."[94] Likewise, the most persistent complaint against the African was his laziness and unreliability. "They must be watched all the time. They have no sense of responsibility. Their one object is to do their employer down." "They have a complete lack of pride in their work. They are horribly lazy. It is one thing I am trying to train the boys--to train their characters not to be lazy."[95] Having been destroyed as persons by the workings of exploitative production the African workers were to be reprocessed through the school into docile and efficient labour armies. And so "practical training (manual work) given in schools (academic schools) must be used to inculcate in the pupils principles of accuracy, neatness and pride in work well done."[96] Primary schools were urged to set aside some time to do some "extra subjects like leatherwork, elementary building, carpentry, agriculture and woodwork." And "criticism (was) levelled at those centres that (did) not include those specialized subjects."[97]

There were no objective grounds for treating the African race as basically a degenerate species which is what the Kerr

Commission and many whites implied. Those that worked closely with the African knew the truth. Writes one government inspector:

> The children of these schools are amazing. They live in cramped surroundings, they have no parks or playgrounds or gymnasia, they are not taken by their parents for holidays at the coast or picnics in the country. Their parents, one at least, but often both are out of work all day. One would expect these children to be like the gutter gamins one could see a generation ago in East End of London--but they are not. They are well behaved, keen friendly little souls with shining morning faces and clean school uniforms. On two occasions I have had all 2,700 of them massed together for a ceremonial occasion and on neither have I had the slightest doubt that they would behave impeccably. Organized crime is completely unknown among these children. One hears of occasional naughtiness but very seldom of serious misdemeanours.[98]

Another Government inspector wrote:

> One cannot be but impressed by the natural charm and courtesy of the pre-adolescent African child. Often these children come from over crowded and poverty-stricken homes, yet how seldom does one encounter the street urchin type of child to be found in the under privileged homes of the industrial towns of Europe. Discipline problems in the classroom are almost unknown.[99]

Michael Gelfand, the leading white authority on Shona (Rhodesian) culture has described the African people in Rhodesia as "highly civilized as any other people I know. In my opinion, his (the African) manner and behavior are in many respects of a higher and more refined quality than those prevailing in Europe."[100]

The idea that African peoples needed the regenerative influence of a western christian education was at best an unwarranted generalization arising from the behavior of those few proletarians whom white exploitation had destroyed; at worst it was a cynical fabrication intended to rationalize the existence of the school as the spiritual arm of white exploitation.

In this regard Christian missions, whatever their individual purposes, tended to function as allies and aides of the exploitative designs of the white settler. Cecil Rhodes had viewed them as agents of pacification when he founded the country. "One missionary in his influence for good is worth 50 policemen."[101] For seventy years the government and Christian missions functioned as allies with regard to African education. The compact was explained thus:

> It may be said that the missions exhibit the ultimate motive, the government the secular organization and resources and the African as the subject concerned has good life as his object, his mind and conduct being the ground and showing the results of the whole effort.[102]

The Ministry of Education expected this to mean that the African student would be exposed to those influences which would mould his character in such a way that "he may become a loyal and responsible member of the community."[103] Many missionaries explicitly accepted this role: "(Religion) will in day to day relationships impart to them (students) the sense of being valued and respected and this in turn will ellicit and develop their own sense of loyalty."[104] Missionaries like Rev. Mac Harg[105] (already quoted) were committed to pacifying the black man so that their settler brethren might exploit him more easily.

This is not to deny the existence of well meaning missionaries, who in their teaching careers helped the growth of a revolutionary consciousness. These did exist and among them unwitting fellow travellers. But this is to present the functional role of the mission as the government sought and largely succeeded to use it. The settler saw the missionary as a pacifier and as an agent of

cultural imperialism. The idea was that the African students must internalize western or British values for him to remain loyal to the system:

> The central primary school has done and is doing a great deal to impregnate the minds of the African youth with the tenets of christianity and ideals of western civilization. The daily contact with Europeans of high character and the good habits acquired through continuous residence at mission stations over a period of years has left an indelible imprint on the minds and character of many Africans of both sexes and has I believe, laid the foundations for a stable and civilized African society . . . . The secondary school will in future take over the cultural function of the central primary school.[106]

Secondary schools and Teachers' Training Colleges throughout the country (except in towns) were residential boarding schools. They were thus most suitable institutions to instill the cultural values of the oppressor. Obsolete British values were strictly enforced. In all institutions school uniforms were enforced and in elite government institutions more was demanded. For example one rule at Gwelo Teachers College reads: "Formal dress will be worn at dinner and on other formal occasions. Such dress for men will consist of a suit or blazer jacket and long trousers, collar, tie, socks and shoes."[107] Even small details like English table manners were made items of education.[108] It was the Englishness of an institution so many headmasters used as a yardstick to measure success or failure of their teaching. So read one principal's report:

> One girl has been winning gold medals at Gloucester Hospital in England, another is on tour of Britain under the auspices of the British Council, an old boy is now touring the art galleries of Britain, Holland and America. Perhaps the most notable achievement is that of an old boy who though only a freshman, captained his university in Britain at golf and won a match against the previous Welsh champion.[109]

These students were distinguished because they had adapted to the world the oppressor had created. The adaptation of the student to British values is pursued to a point of obsession. Thus memorization passages assigned for Standard V[110] pupils included Francis Bacon's famous passage "Studies serve for delight, for ornament and for ability."[111] Shakespeare's "All the world is a stage and men and women merely players"[112] and W. H. Davies' poem: "Leisure."[113] It does not matter whether students know what it is all about. It is British and therefore good for them! In high school, students sit for an external British examination, the Cambridge School Certificate. The Cambridge Syndicate prepares the syllabus, sets and marks the examination.[114] And here there is no pretense of relevance. Geography syllabus (1960) assigned two thirds of the course to British Isles, British Empire and Commonwealth.[115] In Literature the list for junior high school consists almost exclusively of simplified versions of British literary classics like Oliver Twist, Treasure Island, Monte Cristo, Coral Island, Jane Eyre, etc.[116] For high school the British examiners present a strictly British literature course.[117] In history you have four possible choices of British and European History and three choices of British Empire and Commonwealth.[118] The pre-university sixth form schools and the University College itself are even more faithful copies of their British models. And the University College was a college of the London University system offering London degrees up to the end of the period under study.[119] This insistence upon things British was calculated to instill into the child the outlook

of a world spinning on a British axis. Children were to be impregnated with ideas of British heroism, British valour, of British generosity and charity[120] to a point where they could begin to see the British as models for emulation.

One of the major approaches taken by the colonizer to alienate the oppressed from their culture so as to keep both the individuals and society concerned from self definition, is distancing the subject matter of school away from the home, the culture and the country of the oppressed. "The history which is taught him (colonized) is not his own. Everything seems to have taken place out of his country. The books talk to him of a world which in no way reminds him of his own."[121] The Rhodesian whites have stuck to this model with remarkable consistency. "Any syllabus represents a choice of interpretation,"[122] and just a sample of Rhodesian syllabus explains for itself what is aimed at.

The Geography syllabus in junior high makes no mention of the country the pupils live in, and it states its aim quite clearly:

> Pupils should develop an appreciation of the world's major national regions through a series of case studies of contrasting environments. By judicious sampling pupils will be enabled to acquire an appreciation of the world's principal types of environments.[123]

The natural regions referred to are listed as Tundra, Coniferous forests, temperate grasslands, cool and warm temperate margins (British, Lawrentian mediterranean and China type), tropical monsoon, desert Savana and equatorial. The order is significant. Rhodesia is Savana and comes next to last. The list obviously places a greater significance on the world than on Rhodesia. The same

syllabus demands that the child study in detail one country, i.e., Canada not Rhodesia. The improved 1968 syllabus demanded that Africa be studied, though in its list of African countries to be studied, Rhodesia came sixth and last. The high school syllabus 1960 has two parts. Part One covers general geography, i.e., map-work, physical and human geography. Part Two consists of (a) Monsoon lands, (b) British Isles, (c) British Empire and Commonwealth. Once again the focus is either on the general or distant. Distant knowledge like the soils and crops of Canada, sheep farming in New Zealand or even the palm oil industry in West Africa were what the child was intended to know, and value most. But he could remain ignorant of his particular environment, its soils, its crops, its potential, its diversity of human responses in an attempt to adapt to it, or man's attempt to harness it.

The books of F. G. French CBE,[124] used as primary school English texts were notorious for their insistence on distant contexts. The Standard V 1959 text was appropriately captioned "Windows on the world." On the title page was quoted some wisdom from Marcus Aurelius: "He who knows not the world, knows not his place in it."[125] The whole text stuck to articles on China, Greece, Egypt, Eskimos, or events like The Retreat of the Ten Thousand or Hannibals war with Rome. In one full year's English course the child thus never had a reference to his own people or culture in the text book. For background reading to the junior high English course[126] already cited, the ministry stated: "It is expedient to study simple books dealing with such topics as the structure and

behavior of standard western society and for classical folk lore of ancient Grecian and Roman culture."[127] The child must be made drunk with the exploits of distant heroes and the happenings of strange and alien cultures but must never view his own culture, its heroes and its values with any sense of admiration. The Ministry of Education often forbids the use of relevant literature, that raised topical real life issues of local import from being studied. When the Cambridge Syndicate included To Kill a Mocking Bird,[128] an American book with a racial theme and a black protagonist, among its sets for 1968 the Inspectorate sent out a circular to the schools: "To Kill a Mocking Bird is not considered a suitable school text."[129] When African contexts were used there was a tendency to present Africa through white eyes of the foreigner, which ossified it into something dead and distant. Thus F. G. French's book for Standard III (1960) is based on the journey a missionary, John Brand, undertook from Natal through the Transvaal, Rhodesia up into Malawi virtually "discovering" African life to his African servant. At one place vultures are seen flying off. The servant is made to ask, "Please, sir, what are they?" "They are vultures," Mr. Brand answers, "and this bad smell means that somewhere near the road there is a dead animal."[130] And Mr. Brand goes on lecturing his servant born and bred in the tropics on the subject of vultures. It would be breaking the cannons of cultural imperialism to let an African man do the lecturing to white youths about his country.

History is a particularly sensitive area. There is a pattern about the history syllabus that has assumed the regularity of a

ritual. The student in secondary schools starts with early man, and moves over to ancient Mesopotemia, Ancient Egypt, Ancient Greece and Rome and proceeds through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution which leads on to European exploration and colonization and that brings him home to Africa.[131] The idea is first to arouse the students' admiration of distant, especially European, peoples and heroes whom he must grow to treasure as standards of achievement. Second, the student gets instilled into him the traditional European view of history as a progress. By the time he returns to his own history he can look at it according to a given interpretative tool. He can much more likely accept his own people's inferiority by placing them at the tail end of that linear developmental scale.

That these considerations have been carefully thought out, is clear. The so-called alternative syllabus[132] prepared by the Cambridge Syndicate 1968, suggesting a significant concentration on modern southern African History was given a rough reception by the Ministry. The Chief Inspector advised schools against opting for it[133] and argued that there was a need "to extend pupils' knowledge beyond the local scene"[134] that the syllabus was so contemporary that it would "tend to militate against the objective treatment of the subject," and advised schools that insisted on taking it to omit A(f) Modern Nationalist Movements and the Winning of Independence B(k) the Rise of Modern African Political Consciousness (L) The Struggle for Independence and (J) Growth of Modern African Political and Social Consciousness.[135] These sentiments were further explained

by the Secretary of Education thus: "The Inspectorate was not trying to suppress politics but to avoid certain interpretations."[136] The secretary was even clearer. He would prefer history to be well away from the present time. He was even in favour of dropping history altogether.[137]

History, in this exploitative society then, cannot be allowed to teach a sense of self awareness. It is not to lead to any sense of self definition. It must not attempt to solve the child's basic personality problem: Who am I and how did I come here? It must be museum history, a purely academic play on distant names and distant events. The child is to be a detached spectator of spectacle that does not belong to him. Even the interpretation of his own history was deposited from on high. The child's own consciousness, his own self-initiated judgment, his inward development, the awakening of his creative faculties as a subject and not just object of the universe, capable of making and remaking the world--these aspects were demonstrably inhibited. The almighty government inspector, a representative of the white man's interests, guards the portals of African knowledge and understanding.

The value system of African education was designed to complement the socio-economic imperatives of white domination. Its emphasis on Christian values, on habits of disicpline, neatness, punctuality, devotion to manual labour, its insistence on things British and alien to the child's experience were all intended to process out of an African a loyal labourer and a loyal middle class.

This cultural invasion always leads to cultural inauthenticity of those who are invaded.

> They begin to respond to values, the standards and the goals of the invaders. For it is necessary that those who are invaded come to see their reality with the outlook of the invaders rather than their own; for the more they mimic the invaders, the more stable the position of the latter becomes.[138]

The inferiority complex thus implanted, the docility and dependency mentality of individuals thus educated become a feature of society as a whole. And even if such a society is given independence it will not develop independently because its "political, economic and cultural decision-making is located outside themselves in the invader society . . . the latter determines the identity of the former."[139]

Revolutionary education in this society meant that (1) the student turn his attention from distant and British themes to his street, his home, his tribe, his history and his folk-lore as legitimate subjects of study; (2) that he liberates himself from the domesticating epithets and concepts of white domination, like "primitive," "lazy," "dirty," "savage," "native," "backward," etc.; and (3) that he develops the creative self-confidence to decide that he will remake his society: its industries, its socio-economic structures, its cultural artifacts, its very ethos. The project that follows was one man's attempt to utilize the school in an oppressive society to raise students' consciousness to a critical level as an essential step in meeting the goals of liberation just

explained. It was hoped that at the end of the course the student would be mentally free, and ready for the physical revolution.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER V

[1]Ivan Illich, Jonathan Kozol, Martin Carnoy, etc.

[2]A,K,H, Weinrich, Black and White Elites in Rural Rhodesia (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), p. 15.

[3]Ibid., p. 24.

[4]Ibid., p. 28.

[5]The story of this policy goes back to 1899 and is the most persistent and unchanging feature of African education until today.

[6]See Giovanni Arrighi's classic work, The Political Economy of Rhodesia (The Hague: Mouton, 1967).

[7]Ibid., p. 40.

[8]Ibid., pp. 28-35: the Land Apportionment Act, 1931, restricted the African to the poorer part of the land. Land hunger and unproductivity forced the peasant to sell his labour to white farmers and mining and manufacturing capitalists--the desired effect; (b) the Native Registration Act tightened pass laws, thus enabling the white employer to pay low wages without fear of his African worker leaving him; (c) the Maize Control Act, 1931, created a differential price system on maize between white and black producers thus outselling the African farmer, and making him poorer; and (d) the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1934, gave white artisans authority to restrict the flow of black men into apprenticeship training. It also excluded blacks from its definition of employee, thus making their trade unions illegal.

[9]Ibid., p. 23.

[10]Gray, The Two Nations, pp. 210-222.

[11]Ibid., p. 294.

[12]Ibid., p. 319.

[13]Cited in J. B. Mnyanda, In Search of Truth (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1954), p. 108.

[14]Southern Rhodesia Government, Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the matter of Native Education in all its bearings on the colony of Southern Rhodesia (Hadfield Commission), 1925, para 325.

[15]Southern Rhodesia Government, Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Enquiry, 1910-1911, para 97.

[16]Hadfield Commission, para 336.

[17]African Education Commission 1920-1929, Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922), emphasized industrial education.

[18]R. C. Bone, "Educational Development in Rhodesia," Rhodesia Journal of Economics 2, No. 4 (December 1968), p. 6.

[19]Gray, p. 104.

[20]Norman Atkinson, Teaching Rhodesians (London: Longmans, 1972), p. 101.

[21]Supra, p. 61.

[22]Kerr Commission, para 50.

[23]Ibid., para 167.

[24]Ibid., para 168.

[25]Ibid., para 177.

[26]Gray, pp. 151-152.

[27]Government of the Federation on Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Report of the Survey of Facilities for Technical Education in the Federation, F. Bray, Chairman (Salisbury, 1958), p. 1.

[28]Colin Leys, European Politics in Southern Rhodesia (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 118.

[29]Southern Rhodesia Government, Annual Report of the Director of Native Education, 1959, p. 8.

[30]Ibid., p. 7.

[31]Ibid., p. 8.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid., p. 11.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Annual Report 1958, p. 4; 1960, p. 6.

[36]Leys, p. 282.

[37]Annual Report 1960, p. 11.

[38]Annual Report 1964, p. 11.

[39]Annual Report 1960, p. 11.

[40]Annual Report 1963, pp. 8, 30.

[41]Ibid., p. 7.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Annual Report 1964, p. 6.

[44]Annual Report 1959, p. 9.

[45]Annual Report 1960, p. 9.

[46]Annual Report 1965, p. 10.

[47]J. Barber, Rhodesia: The Road to Rebellion (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 205.

[48]Ibid., p. 148.

[49]Bone, p. 8.

[50]Minister's statement cited by Bone, p. 8.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Annual Report 1954, pp. 46-47.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Bone, p. 6.

[55]Ibid., p. 7.

[56]Gray, p. 138.

[57]Ibid., p. 143.

[58]Atkinson, p. 115.

[59]Cited by Franklin Parker, African Development and Education in Southern Rhodesia (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960), p. 90.

[60]The term is so widely used that students write poems on it.

[61]Aristone Chambati, "The Lost Generation," Central African Examiner, Salisbury (March 1961), p. 21.

[62]Leys, p. 12. The Capricorn Society was a reformist multiracial organization in the 1950s, whose aim was the creation of an East and Central African non-racial patriotism and founded by a white visionary called Colonel Stirling.

[63]Ibid., p. 124. Founded in 1953, in Salisbury the Interracial Association had 300 members by 1956 and published a journal.

[64]Ibid., p. 288. Lord Malvern's United Federal Party had a handful of Africans that even got elected into parliament.

[65]Gray, p. 325.

[66]Leys, p. 288.

[67]Annual Report 1957, p. 1.

[68]Annual Report 1958, p. 4.

[69]Ibid., p. 3.

[70]Annual Report 1959, p. 3.

[71]Grace Todd, "Explosion in Education," Central African Examiner, Salisbury (March 1961), p. 20.

[72]Annual Report 1961, p. 4.

[73]Ibid., p. 14.

[74]Annual Report 1962, p. 3.

[75]Ibid., p. 4.

[76]Annual Report 1963, p. 7.

[77]Annual Report 1964, p. 6.

[78]Ibid., p. 9.

[79]Annual Report 1965, p. 3.

[80]Government of Rhodesia, African Education, R. Taylor, Chairman (Salisbury, 1970), p. 12.

[81]Annual Report 1967, p. 4.

[82]Atkinson, p. 187. The new community boards were government creations that replaced peoples' own school councils.

[83]Supra, p. 70.

[84]Weinrich, p. 27.

[85]Bond, p. 10.

[86]Weinrich, p. 28.

[87]Kerr Commission, para 53.

[88]Ibid., para 54.

[89]Ibid., para 56.

[90]Leys, p. 86.

[91]Gray, p. 215.

[92]Ibid.

[93]Leys, p. 86.

[94]Kerr Commission, para 52.

[95]Ibid., para 46.

[96]Ibid., para 158.

[97]Annual Report 1961, p. 14.

[98]Remarks of a white Inspector of Schools in Umtali, cited in the Annual Report, 1957, p. 8.

[99]Remarks of an Inspector in Matebeleland, cited in the Annual Report, 1963, p. 11.

[100]Michael Gelfand, African Crucible (Cape Town: Juta, 1965), p. 36.

[101]Cited by Leslie James, Racialism and Education (Dayton: Brown and Kroger, 1965), p. 23.

[102]Annual Report 1959, p. 42.

[103]Annual Report 1958, p. 5.

[104]Father Hughes, "Discipline in African Secondary Schools," appendix to Secretary for African Education's Circular No. P(AE) 1, 19 November 1973.

[105]Supra, p. 31.

[106]Annual Report 1956, p. 8.

[107]Revised rules for 1971, Gwelo Teachers' College, para 2c.

[108]The author's experience at Tegwani Secondary School, 1959.

[109]Annual Report 1960, p. 7.

[110]F. G. French, New Oxford English Course for Standard V, (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1960).

[111]Ibid., p. 21.

[112]Ibid., p. 72.

[113]Ibid., p. 123.

[114]Cambridge School Certificate, generally treated as equivalent to the General Certificate of Education.

[115]Overseas Syndicate of the Cambridge School Certificate, 1960.

[116]Guidance Notes RJC English Syllabus, 1968.

[117]1962, 1963 and 1964 list Shakespeare, George Elliot, George Orwell, John Buchan, etc.

[118]Cambridge School Certificate Syllabus 1960.

[119]Atkinson, pp. 153-155.

[120]Emphasis was placed on subjects like the Humanitarian Movement and the work of missionaries in the Abolitionist Movement.

[121]Carnoy, p. 7.

[122]Van Cleve Morris, Existentialism and Education (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 124.

[123]Rhodesia Junior Certificate, 1968.

[124]These Oxford University Press publications by F. G. French were the basic English texts for all primary school English for about two decades.

[125]New Oxford English Course, Standard V (1959), title page.

[126]Supra, p. 89.

[127]Notes on the RJC English Syllabus, 1968.

[128]CSC Syllabus and Regulations, 1968.

[129]Chief Inspector Circular No. P/27/2, 4 August 1969.

[130]French, New Oxford English Course, Pupils Book, Std. III, p. 40.

[131]RJC Syllabus, History, 1956 and 1962; CSC Syllabus: Development of Tropical Africa, 1958.

[132]CSC Syllabus, 1960, No. 242.

[133]Chief Inspector's Circular No. 27, 1969.

[134]Ibid.

[135]Ibid.

[136]Minutes of the Conference of Headmasters of African Secondary Schools held in 1971.

[137]Ibid.

[138]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 60.

[139]Ibid., p. 160.

CHAPTER VI

LIBERATION AND THE CREATIVE EXPERIENCE

Interlude

I joined the African educational system as a teacher of history in 1965 and stayed on teaching English and drama until 1973 when I came to the States. I rejoined the system in September 1975 and stayed on until June 1977, this time teaching only English. I was all the time working with high school or post-high school students in teacher training. The project I am about to describe was therefore confined to students whose ages ranged from 16 to 40.

To these students too, English is a second language which they first met at school. But they use it as a medium of instruction for most of their schooling and in due course it ceases to be a foreign language to them. It is, in fact, the official language of politics, of the media, of commerce and industry, and of course, of education.

The methodology I used in teaching creative writing was not a product of my reading of Paulo Freire. I only read the Pedagogy for the first time in 1974, when most of the works I quote here were already written. I was prompted to do this work, however, by more or less the same realization that prompted Freire: that literacy without a growth of consciousness only legitimized a state of

oppression. An educational system like ours cries loud for liberating approaches. What I found in Freire was a very satisfactory theoretical framework within which my own practice in teaching creative writing for liberation could find more satisfactory explication.

In this chapter I shall divide my report into three major sections. First I shall make a presentation of the problem of alienation in the curriculum as it reveals itself through the creative imagination of student writing. Second, I shall present briefly one approach I used to reintegrate these pupils' conceptual imagination with their cultural traditions. Since this aspect of the work does not, strictly speaking, belong to the creative writing projects of this study, it will only be touched in passing. The third major aspect of this chapter will deal with creative writing proper. This will be presented in three parts, first definition, second methodology, and third samples of student writing that achieved my expectation of critical consciousness.

The Problem

Thr Rhodesian African student in high school tends to display in his imaginative writings the tendencies that are engendered by his curriculum. There is a preoccupation with (a) Western and distant settings and subjects, or (b) with subjects of a general nature, and (c) there is a tendency to present African life as grotesque and unrefined. To me this is the inevitable result of the curriculum we have examined. What we have here is the display of alienated imaginations. The following samples from student writings illustrate the point.

COLD BLOODED SERPENT - George Chitapi
(Fletcher High School, 1969)

Chuck Hammers locked the door of the garage. It was eight p.m. He was holding a bunch of flowers. Today was their second anniversary and he wanted to surprise his wife Juliet. He ran quickly across the garden towards their square stone house.

The door was wide open and Chuck stopped at the steps and started to laugh loudly to himself. Then he called out, "Juliet!" There was no answer.

Chuck Hammers, puzzled, quickly walked in and surveyed the sitting room. His heart began to pound. Where had she gone to? And even then why had she left the door open? He walked quickly towards the bedroom and pushed the door wide open and he held his breath.

What he saw was not a person but a body. Juliet was lying on the bed and a knife was stuck in her chest and her eyes were protruding. She was quite dead. Chuck thought that this was a nightmare and was quickly awakened when he heard the bunch of flowers he held fall with a soft thud on the floor. Los Angeles at that time of the day was very much awake.

CAUGHT BY CANNIBALS - Charles Majange
(Fletcher High School, 1969)

The earth "rushed" up at me as I descended in my multi-coloured parachute. The thought of the others comfortable in the Russian air-craft made me sick. Anyway, I looked forward to an eventful time on the Island of Duro, savage as it was. My mission was to explore the island and see if it would be worth making a Communist dependency. I was quite heavily armed with the complicated Communist weapons, which gave me a feeling of safety.

I landed with a slightly heavy thud, but not hard enough to break one's skull. Just as I was folding my parachute, an arrow swished past my ear, making me jump nervously. Before one could say "knife," two muscular natives attacked me. Despite my Judo and Karate, I was knocked down and became unconscious.

When I recovered, a searing pain invaded my head. I was in an awkward spot. Five men with heavy chests surrounded me, holding red-hot spears. Occasionally, one of them would tap me with his red-hot spear point, making me yelp in

agony. I regretted having joined the army. I was then completely disarmed, and securely tied with some tough fibres. I was as helpless as a newly born baby.

A SMILE - Mtendi
(Umtali Teachers College, 1964)

A smile is very much the opposite of laughter:
To smile at somebody is to esteem him;
To laugh at somebody is to ridicule him.
Be sure that you are not laughing at anybody
But be proud that you are smiling at everybody.

THE BEER DRINKER - N. A. Magondo
(Waddilove Teacher Training College, 1972)

Sunrise found Jemedza standing at the door of his house. His eyes which looked as if they wanted to dart out were fixed on the road to Mr. Magaba's village where there was going to be a beer party. His flat large nose had the nostrils so open that he seemed to be taking in the scent of beer from such a distant place. Half an hour later, Jamedza was at the beer-party. He bought beer for fifty cents and sat there secluded from the rest. He had a slit-like mouth which was hidden by the long, black beard that covered most of his face.

Underlined in these extracts are key words and sentences that reveal the manifestation of alienated imaginstions. George Chitapi, a simple peasant boy from a poor family living in small round huts pitches his characters in Los Angeles, gives them unAfrican names, Chuck Hammers and Juliet, involves them in an unAfrican celebration--a second marriage anniversary which Chuck depicts with the unAfrican symbolism of a gift of flowers; and he is startled while crossing this unpeasant-like house--with sitting room and bedroom--by evidence of a traditionally unAfrican murder.

Charles Majange, living in a country where perhaps not more than .5% of the population ever read Marx, is victimized by government propaganda that claims to see the Russian menace behind every bush. That and the exotic savagery depicted in white propaganda about old Africa grip his imagination, and he finds himself captive of savages with his communist arsenal of weapons, dreaming hopelessly how to beat them off with karate or judo, again foreign weapons. Mtendi sees smiles all over but he cannot rivet his creative genius on a single particularity. He generalizes. And Magondo, who turns to his people, discovers in the disproportionate eyes, the nose, the mouth and the bushy beard of his hero, a grotesque monstrosity.

This failure among these students to come to grips with the work-a-day realities of their lives--its beauties, its joys, its sorrows and its squalor--this is what first struck me in students' writing. It looked like I was dealing with sick imaginations, the epicenter of whose operations lay outside their culture, in fact, outside their heads. So I decided that one of the creative activities my students should do was the gathering of their own oral traditions.

Oral Tradition

Nature of the Projects

Projects included family histories, tribal histories, folk tales, studies of traditional customs, religion, etc. Students were not allowed to copy the material from written texts but to collect data orally from the people of their home area. It was their duty to seek the most knowledgeable people in their area, learn how to

approach them properly, engage them in conversation that would draw them into giving the information sought. The students would then write up their findings into a paper, giving the names of the people interviewed and presenting all the information they gathered. Excerpts from four projects by the following students are included in the Appendix:

Chiripo Mayahle	--	Ndau Customs
Godfrey Bopoto	--	History of Muzembo People
Gilford Muhloyi	--	Tribal History and Customs of Mtema People
Jennifer Mutamba	--	On Folk Tales

Pedagogical Value

What I was aiming at in this aspect of my work, I am sure is obvious. (1) Students would at least spend some part of their school time focusing their attention on their traditions which as we have seen the curriculum gave them no chance to do. (2) They would learn that old illiterate men and women they live with are, in fact, moving archives, with perhaps more profound knowledge of life and the world than they do. This kind of learning for these students intended to turn out as elites and leaders of tomorrow would be a humbling experience. (3) They would in the process of their researches, learn the "hows" of their society, i.e., the manners and etiquette of their people--how to talk to illiterates, chiefs, headmen, and the most ordinary people. This would help to eliminate the communication barrier experienced by most modern African intellectuals with their people. (4) I hoped above all that they would arrive at a point of self-definition, self-discovery and develop a pride in their own

culture and an understanding of its world view. And this gave the students much needed traditional symbolism and subject matter for their short stories and poetry in creative writing. The following poem illustrates the point:

THE DRUMS - Bonus Zimunya
(Chikore Secondary School, 1967)

Listen!
To the thud of the big drum
falling heavily
And bellowing along the earth
like a bull's uncastrated,
but more rhythmic;
to the tenor drum
with a higher tension
whose razor-sharp din
cuts the strong strings of air
which contract and bounce
upon the mountain boulders
to release a duplicate
of the traditional sound
inviting harvesters of drink
with proud nobility
to the traditional sanctuary

The difference between this poem and "A Smile" is interesting. Unlike the generalized "Smile"--Bonus's poem is particular and focuses on the symbolic meaning of the drum as an artifact of traditional African culture. Bonus did a remarkable oral history project on the Nguni and attempted to rework it into an historical novel, which he did not publish.

Creative Writing

The bulk of my conscientization work, however, was carried out through creative writing sessions proper. I will divide this

report into three major sections: (1) Definition, (2) Methodology, and (3) Samples of work produced by my students.

Definition

The most consistent point found in most definitions of creative writing is that of the close relationship between experience and language. Burton calls creative writing "a statement of deeply felt experience movingly expressed."[1] Moss says virtually the same thing when he calls creative writing "the controlled product of feeling and rational or objective experience . . . ."[2] Creber, in his study of the philosophy of creative writing, suggests that "the relationship between language and experience will be ideally . . . a very close one."[3] He fortifies his argument with numerous quotes from men like Ted Hughes who talks of the "poet's capture of an experience"[4] and Raymond Williams who refers to the purpose of the art as "the transmission of valued experience . . . ."[5] This insistence on experience as basic to creative writing leads to the crucial problem of definition that Dewey was confronted with.

In creative writing, the most obvious experience involved is sensory experience. Raymond O'Malley would have the child taught "to use and trust his five senses."[6] Ted Hughes' advice to the young writer summed up the preliminary attitude of the writer to his object thus: "Just look at it, touch it, smell it, listen to it, turn yourself into it."[7] Creber, who devotes a large part of his book to sensory perception, sees the cause for inarticulateness in adolescents as "a blunted sensibility. Children appear to grow up without really

seeing anything . . . ."[8] It is through the five senses then that man experiences the world. But as we have shown earlier, there are other senses like the musical sense, sense of movement, sense of speed, etc., that man has and can develop. Nor do the five senses enable man to experience those other inner experiences of the human psyche which are reachable only through symbolism and metaphor. David Holbrook sees creative writing as a "manifestation of the integrative forces of the ego."[9] The conscious and unconscious minds functioning in harmony and in cooperation issue in artistic symbolism. But Holbrook's analysis being a-historical leads dangerously toward psychologism. Nevertheless, the kind of experience that creative writing deals with must also include psychical experience as well as emotional and imaginative experiences.

My criterion for judging whether a student wrote work that was creative or not was thus based on whether he effectively made me "experience" what he experienced. Did he make me see what he saw, touch what he touched, taste what he tasted, smell what he smelled, feel what he felt, etc. That ability to capture the raw experience in words depended on his ability to describe. I agree with Raymond Williams:

> . . . The struggle is to communicate successfully by describing adequately . . . . Unless the description is adequate, there can be no relevant communication. Genuine communication depends upon this absorbed attention to precise description.[10]

The choice of accurate detail, the kind of detail that makes the experience live on the mind of the reader was deemed vital to the work. This was, of course, not detail for detail's sake but detail

informed as Coleridge would put it "by a predominant passion."[11] Only details sufused by a predominant mood, atmosphere or feeling can transmit an esthetic experience. This emphasis on detail was a rejection of the old habits of traditional teachers that tended to look upon the use of flowery language and "impressive words" as evidence of creativity. In my approach "the object comes first and the right word can be used only after the object has been properly seen."[12]

In short, for me, creative writing did not have to consist of writing a poem or short story or a play. It could involve writing a travelogue, a diary, or short dialogue. Even an expository essay could be creative, as long as it successfully conveyed, through the writer's choice and depth of detail, his personal experience so well that the reader partook of it. Definition was important. Each student was supposed to be able to identify what is creative from what is not even from a casual first reading. Otherwise, the methodology used would not have worked so well. The following excerpts from student writings on housing illustrate the distance between writing that is non-creative from that which is creative:

Non-Creative:

> *HOUSING - Solomon Dteliqayo*
> *(Chikore Secondary School, 1968)*
>
> *The housing of my community is very poor. The houses are old and some parts are crumbling. Whenever it rains, pools are formed in the floors of many houses.*

Creative:

> *HOUSING - Beauty Chigarara*
> *(Gwelo Teachers College, 1977)*
>
> *The dilapidated house stood quite a distance from the rest of the other houses. There were cracks all over the wall of the house. Two grubby yellow curtains were on the window. The floor of the verandah was matted with dust. In a corner was a grey table with one of the legs broken. Under the table lay two tins with dirty rags hanging by their sides. A black dog as thin as a rake, slept in one corner, under the crumbling table. A swarm of flies were circling the dog. The yard looked as if it had been deserted. Brown leaves--changed by weather--lay scattered all over the yard. The barbed wire fence with the rust was broken, and from it, a path had developed.*

In the first sample we are told about poor houses in general. Our senses of sight, smell, taste, touch, hearing, are not allowed to experience any bad house. What we end with is abstract knowledge, passed on to us as a report, that houses are poor. In the second sample we do more. We single out a house and are made to see (a) cracks on the wall, (b) grubby yellow curtains, (c) a mat of dust, (d) a grey table, (e) dirty rags, (f) a black dog, (g) flies, (h) brown leaves, etc. Details of sight show us the poverty of the home. This is not a report but an attempt to create a pen picture of the item described so that the reader can experience through the sense of sight what the writer experienced.

Nevertheless, this description is at a very low level of creativity and by drawing up a simple table of details one can appreciate how much more is possible (Figure 1). In addition, a sample of a professional piece of creative writing was selected and studied. One such sample we used quite often was the following from a leading African writer:

	SIGHT	SMELL	TOUCH	HEARING	TASTE
GIVEN	yellow curtains cracks dusty floor grey table dirty rags black dog brown leaves broken fence				
POSSIBLE	black soot dark smudges grey walls colors of windows colors of door shapes and sizes spiders and cobwebs broken glass	smells of garbage and neglect of rotting stagnant water neglected sinks dog attracting flies stench from toilet	rough walls greasey door handles slimy floor	buzz of flies creak of a chair or rickety door frame in the wind rattle of tile croak of frog	Not Applicable

Figure 1.--Five Senses.

THINGS FALL APART - Chinua Achebe

> But before this quiet and final rite the tumult increased tenfold. Drums beat violently and men leapt up and down in frenzy. Guns were fired on all sides and sparks flew out as matchets clanged together in warriors' salutes. The air was full of dust and the smell of gunpowder. It was then that the one-handed spirit came, carrying a basket full of water. People made way for him on all sides and the noise subsided. Even the smell of gunpowder was swallowed in the sickly smell that now filled the air. He danced a few steps to the funeral drums and then went to see the corpse.
>
> The drums and the dancing began again and reached fever-heat. Darkness was around the corner and the burial was near. Guns fired the last salute and the cannon rent the sky. And then from the centre of the delirious fury came a cry of agony and shouts of horror. It was as if a spell had been cast. All was quiet. In the center of the crowd a boy lay in a pool of blood. It was the dead man's sixteen year old son, who with his brothers and half-brothers had been dancing the traditional farewell to their father. Okonkwo's gun had exploded and a piece of iron had pierced the boy's heart . . . (p. 112).

In the analysis that followed it became clear that the passage owes much of its power to Achebe's use of four senses together: sight, smell, touch and sound, to achieve his basic mood of intense

excitement followed by shock. Defining creative writing is of course a process that was not exhausted by the type of preliminary exercises reported here. There is so much more to creative writing that definition was an ongoing process as the courses developed. So the definition presented here showed us where to start and how to move forward; it did not exhaust the issue of where to do.

Methodology

In Freire's methodology emphasis is laid on what he calls codification of generative themes. The themes represent the dominant "ideas, values, concepts, and hopes" as well as obstacles that impede man's humanization in an historical epoch. The themes tend to be mythicized by the oppressive order. For instance, the theme of racial exploitation in Rhodesia has been mythicized into what is called "maintaining high standards," which has never been defined. The oppressed must overcome this perceptual barrier. The dialogical sessions where they unveil the reality of oppression, focus upon codifications of the thematic universe of oppression. A codification could be a photograph, a painting, a film, a film strip or poster or even a recording or a person walking across the street. What matters is that it is an artifact of the concrete existential reality of oppression.

My approach made use of codifications of oppressive reality without calling them so. But the initial exercises in creative writing were exclusively confined to the task of sharpening the senses. Freire tells us of a dialogical session in New York City

where garbage appeared in a coded picture. The participants, asked where the photograph was taken, suggested some distant third world countries because it could not possibly happen in the biggest city of the greatest nation in the world. Of course the coded picture came from New York City. The oppressed usually have eyes that do not see the pervasive raw realities of an exploitative order. To sharpen the perceptual powers of the oppressed is thus an essential step in liberation. That gave me the first task of my creative writing lesson.

The objectives of these lessons generally read like this: students will be able to observe and describe vividly a photograph, a scene, a dramatization, etc., picking out details of color, size, shapes, texture, etc. The objectives of each lesson could be stated in great detail to retain the highest possible clarity in the procedures of the lesson and to make the dialogical aspect of the lesson easy for students to conduct on their own. The objectives would be worded according to the sense the group was dealing with. Sometimes it was the sense of smell, taste or hearing or touch or movement, etc., or all the senses together.

Class Organization and Activity.--Virtually all the work was done in small groups of four or five. Each group was presented with a picture, or taken to a country scene, or presented each with an orange to eat, or placed in a room to listen to sound effects or to a wood where they could smell diverse smells. In short, the group was supposed to experience something. Clarity of instructions was

important. They were told first to look at a scene, eat the orange, smell some smells, etc., and then describe what they saw, tasted, smelled, etc., in their individual notebooks. After that the students would each in turn read to the group their own descriptions while the rest of the group discussed with the individual student the ommissions he made, the vague non-descriptive use of words like "beautiful," "lovely," etc., instead of concrete words that give the actual colours and structure of the object, etc. It is at this point that the Freirean nature of this methodology becomes clear.

The discussion is conducted on the scene of perception. No banking approach is possible because neither the teacher nor the student can claim to have any superior perception of the subject both are perceiving. In the visual exercises, for example, each piece of writing is analyzed on the basis of what the others see, in other words, students and teacher teach each other mediated by the world, by the cognizable objects, on location.

After the primary senses have been dealt with separately, a "combination exercise" is attempted. Students are brought into a place where all the senses stand a fair chance of being used like the dining hall at lunch time or a restaurant. They can do the writing and conduct dialogical discussions right there if possible or work from notes later.

Out of these most elementary exercises in sharpening the senses begin to appear interesting pieces of description that indicate the growing interest in accuracy of observation and choice of words.

YOUNG SCIENTISTS IN BULAWAYO - Luke Zunga
(Mt. Silinda, 1971)

In the huge crowded hall the exhibits were arranged in rows each in its own compartment. The compartments were arranged according to classes ranging from class one which was composed of kindergarten pupils up to class seven for university graduates. The hall rumbled with voices of people from all over Rhodesia: Blacks, whites and coloureds. The squeaking of shoes on the black floor, the throbbing of machines and the voices of the people produced a chaotic clamour of noises.

The man who attended us was a smart gentleman with long floppy hair. His cat-like eyes went roving up and down our charts and graphs and he appeared to display an unmatched sensitivity to every bit of scientific error.

BINGIRI VILLAGE - John Hlatwayo
(Chikore, 1969)

Basking in the hot sun are old frail men and women. Their arms are bony. Their fingers are long and bare skeletons. Look at their faces and see brown winking eyes that are sunk in bony eye-brows. Their cheeks have shrunk into their bones. Deep trenches of wrinkles run down their faces. Streaks of dust cross the ridges on their faces. Their lips shiver from time to time. The dusty bony legs that seem long and heavy for them lie stretched on the goat-skins before them, as if they had their own independence. Around their waists, the women wrap heavy, smelling, dirt-laden blankets. When one stands and shuffles her feet for a change, because a tree shade has jealously fallen over her, a swarm of buzzing flies joyfully accompanies her to her new place.

A THIEF - Anna Masamba
(Waddilove Teacher Training College, 1972)

The glittering eyes shone
Ran over the little cottage searchingly
Heavy black hands gripped the window bars (steel)
Huge strong, dirty feet stamped the floor
With eyes wide open, I stared
My lips dried and trembled
Dumb-stricken I lay motionless

With great effort I screamed
I heard a breeze run all over me
He was gone!
And the blankets! Gone!

THE AFTER HARVEST SCENE - *Rueben Mtisi*
(Mt. Silinda, 1971)

Under the late winter sun
trickling down from the blue sky
brown country dotted with bruised trees
sad despirited pale branches
empty husks rustling in the dirty wind
all dull and dumb
gloomy as the silent grave
dead to the forlorn cry of the wood pecker.

The capture of sound effects in Luke Zunga's passage with words like "rumbled," "squeaking," "throbbing," "chaotic clamour," and visual effects like "floppy hair," "cat-like eyes" indicate a rise in sensitivity to detail. John Hlatwayo's "Bingiri Village" captures the raw details of poverty and unhygienic living with brutal accuracy. His preoccupation is with what is seen--except for the "smelling blankets" and "buzzing flies" in the last line. The last two samples illustrate the poetic possibilities of this approach to creativity through sensory detail. In Anna's poem the visual and the emotive detail meet in the glittering eyes that search, "the heavy black hands that gripped," the "dried" lips that go "dumb-stricken" and the suddenness of the "blankets! Gone!" The detail of sound and sight make us virtually relive the poet's experience. Rueben Mtisi employs more imagery in personifying the trees as "bruised" and "dispirited" and "gloomy." Yet again it is as details of what is seen that the images, which deepen the meaning

of what is seen, owe their power. These exercises were only concerned with preparing the tools, i.e., with sharpening the senses, although there is potential even here for profound reinterpretation of the artifacts of oppression.

All this work leads the student to a rediscovery of the familiar world he is used to; but which he has always viewed or thought of through customary cliche. Now that his sensibilities have been cleansed, the world seems different and in fact an exciting subject for exploration. There seems to be new meanings in every ordinary thing. And here a second and most exciting part of the course is introduced: that is, the exploration of the human condition in this newly discovered world.

The Human Condition.--In this part of the course, students were to explore human behavior through the analysis and description of the incident. Students again worked in small groups. Before the groups went out on their own, however, a class discussion established the themes each group would like to tackle. I insisted on local themes, especially those arising from incidents happening in the school at first. Later on students could tackle other themes from incidents happening outside school but within their experience. Ideally, the incidents were limited to little moments, characteristically phrased as such: the moment of being loved, the moment of being rejected, the moment of arrest, the moment of being expelled from school, the moment of receiving examination results. The most usual way of picking up thematic moments was to get the students to

tell personal stories to each other, then single out thematic-incidents from the story. Each group had to decide for itself what incident they would like to study. That done, they had to get one or two of their members to act it out before the rest. It was necessary to restrict the acting to one or two main characters at this level, so that the study of the characters' expression of feeling could be done with the greatest possible detail. The rest of the group helped out with the directing. Since the incident was to be confined to just a moment, what mattered was (a) mood or feeling projected by the actors involved, (b) body expression of that mood and feeling, and (c) the total effect of mood progression. If the incident is the moment of reading a love letter, the group would spend much discussion on small details like movement of hands and fingers when opening the letter, the eyes when reading, the posture, the frown lighting up into a smile, the little whistle of self-congratulation at the end, etc. These details are listed down in note form before, during and after the acting. They form the basis of the written description that every student produces for the group discussion that follows. The discussions are in situ and rewriting might go on and on until the student is pleased that he has captured the mood of the scene in relevant concrete details. Karakadzai Kanda's description became a model for students in his class:

STEALING FRUIT - Karakadzai Kanda
(Mt. Silinda, 1971)

Ham could in fact hear their voices. But this was the last orchard and he did not want to go hungry. He took off his shoes lest they made too much noise and tip-toed over the few patches of ground to avoid the rustle of leaves. He remembered that he had on a white shirt that was easily visible. He took it off, folded it and hid it under a bush, studied the place for a short time and broke a twig, so that he may recognize it. A door slammed. He fell flat onto the ground, his heart beating rapidly. No one appeared. He went on all fours lifting his head now and again to inspect the surroundings. When he reached the tree, he held the trunk and slowly pulled himself up, his eyes fixed on an open door of a house facing him.

He started climbing up but the tree was thorny. He used all his effort to avoid shaking the tree. When he came within reach of the juicy fruits his mouth began to water. As he slowly stretched his arm pushing it through the spaces between thorns, he was stung by a wasp. He pulled it back quickly; it was caught in the thorns and disturbed the whole nest of wasps and they attacked him. In the struggle to beat them off he slipped and fell. A dog barked. A man came out smoothening a lump of sadza in his right hand. He suspiciously looked round the whole village for any sign of cattle. Failing to see any he gave the dog a nice kick in the belly. It yapped painfully and sought refuge in a nearby thicket.

To the bare narrative description of the incident, the group, in dialogical sessions, will now add new elements to enrich the writing. The list my groups usually dealt with consisted of (1) setting or atmosphere, (2) characterization of the individuals involved, (3) dialogue, the nature of effective dialogue and its structure, (4) introspection comprising the thoughts of the characters, their memories, flashbacks and hopes, fears and expectations, and (5) suspense, etc. Each of these items would be cumulatively added to the incident through group discussion after which a rewriting session followed. The incident soon became an agent

through which students were rediscovering the meaning of human behavior, reinterpreting it, reflecting upon it and hopefully, learning to act upon it.

Details of Setting:

A MOMENT OF FEAR - L. Mutetwa

The air was heavy and hot. Sweat trickled down John's face. The forest and the pass ahead of him frightened him. The darkness was complete now since the sun had set two hours before.

He stood like a black question mark and decided whether to go on or retreat. He wandered in a wilderness of thoughts. Finally, John made up his mind to continue.

A babboon barked behind him on a lonely hill. It sounded distant--as things sound to a man with a fever. He reached the pass. An owl hooted in the tree. There was death in its sinister cry. A black log lying on the ground reminded him of a coffin in which they had laid a dead neighbor, two days before. His heart missed a beat as his eyes landed again on a ghostly shape. He stood rooted to the ground. He picked up his courage and trudged past that dark shape. "Oh! It's a stump," he realized with a wan smile which soon disappeared on his dry lips.

Issues discussed were the suitability of setting to mood described; the symbolism of setting, and its suitability to the character described.

Details of Characterization:

VENGEANCE - Regiment Tavengwa

He fell in a confused heap in one of the corners of the dimly lit little dining-room. He was as furious as a cornered rat. As quick as lightening, he picked himself up. Susu was four years older than Faro. Susu, bold but active had his hair white in the temples. His face was gleaming with fury. The forehead was broad and flat with bushy eye-brows which jutted out almost covering the eyes. These eyes were packed in deep hollows. But they were alive,

flashy and a wicked glint could be seen in them. These were eyes that flickered and did not miss a single movement made by Faro. The nose was broad and flat. Thin light lips that needed a sharp knife to part them and a most conspicuous mark of a scar made by a knife which ran from the left ear down to the cheek bone. He was tall and thickly built. They were circling like two karate men about to leap at one another.

Characterization is viewed as causal to incident. Certain characters do certain things and descriptive revelation of character becomes part of description of the incident.

Fundamentals of Dialogue:

We emphasized brefity, informality and that the speech suit the character. Hence a westernized girl speaking to her father driving her to school spoke a different idiom from an old villager:

GOING TO SCHOOL - Beauty Chigarara

"But it's eight miles away!" I wailed
"You'll be studying at one of the finest schools in the country," dad said.
"I'll never see anybody."
"You'll make new friends. Why girls from some of the best families go to school there!"
"Girls!" I said scornfully.
"Oh, Sarah, don't you ever think of anything else?"

TWO WORLDS COLLIDE - S. W. Sonai

"That's what breeding does," Mubango, James' uncle broke out. "What was your aim of sending him to school? Why did you not refuse to accept the overcoat he brought with him. You accepted all he brought. Now it is your duty Chereni, to accept the message he brought with him."

"Do you think you are talking? It is because he is not your son. As long as I am alive, I won't tolerate that rubbish. Even if I die, my spirit will be on him; he will not do it. You! You James . . . ."

Details of Introspection, Thoughts, Memories, Suspense, etc.:

The questions of discussion went thus: what sort of thoughts are likely to come to a man or woman in that situation? What sort of memories? What sort of associations, disturbing or encouraging sights, sounds and signs, worries and anxieties, etc.? This was a most exciting part of the course because here the sensory experience became only a ladder with which to scale into the deeper complexities of human behavior.

THE MOMENT OF EXPECTATION--GIRL EXPECTING HER BOYFRIEND
- Dzokai Ndlovu (Gwelo Teachers College, 1977)

Maureen looked at her watch. It was 12:30 already. "Surely the bus should have arrived by now!" She looked at the sun shining high up in the sky and pouring forth its hot rays of midday. "What could have happened?" she wondered. "Supposing the bus arrives anyway and he isn't in? What will the people at home say." Her thoughts continued to race from one possibility to the other. Some thoughts horrified her while others made her smile to herself. "Anyway, it will come and my Mike will be in," she finally consoled herself.

But come it didn't seem to. Time dragged by. Everything was slow and dull. Only the cooing of a dove perched up a tree somewhere in the distance seemed to confirm she would surely get what she was waiting for. She continued to sit on the smooth rock. She picked a small pebble and began tapping on the smooth rock on which she sat, in some kind of rhythm. She shifted about in restlessness and anxiety. She was thinking hard and couldn't even feel the little beads of sweat that were forming on her face. One tiny one rolled down her nose and landed on her lips announcing its arrival by the salty taste she couldn't help feeling. She took a clean white handkerchief and carefully wiped the sweat.

Then suddenly she jumped up, her heart thumping. A cloud of dust and the sound of an oncoming vehicle! "The bus," she thought and heaved a sigh of relief. She pulled her skirt into shape and straightened the collar of her blouse. She ruthlessly plucked a branch from a nearby bush and swept the dust off her shoes. She quickly took out her

mirror from inside her handbag and looked at herself. Lips parted into a smile of self-admiration and satisfaction she listened again. Nothing!

Maureen's face elongated with despair. Her jaw dropped. She sat down once more on the smooth rock. Her thoughts continued to wonder, "I know Mike only too well, he'll be in that brown suit and those shoes I like so much. He'll be neat and clean shaven except for the sideburns he knows I love to see and touch. But supposing he doesn't turn up!" The thought frightened her. She looked up with a start. Another sound. And now it was the bus. She stood up stretching herself and yawning. As she moved closer to the road, her umbrella skirt ballooned about her in the wind. Her eyes strained in an attempt to see Mike although the bus was still a distance off. Her heart beat faster and faster and at one time it actually missed the beat. The bus slowed down as it neared the spot Maureen was at. Would Mike be in?

Description of incidents led naturally to work on the complete short story. All that was necessary was to link two incidents with complementary moods. The simplest types that groups easily worked on were moods like sorrow to happiness, expectation to disappointment, worry to joy, love to hatred, etc. From there students seriously interested in writing just took off on their own.

In my teaching of creative writing I avoided introducing verse in structured teaching on the level I did prose. I reverted rather to a person to person approach and only with those few who had taken to verse on their own and one or two whom I could judge to be poetically inclined from the nature of their prose. Nevertheless, the poets that emerged from my classes have been of much greater success as writers than short story writers--three have won prizes in nationwide or university poetry competitions. The depth of their poetic sensibilities stem from the inspiration, the skills of

accurate detailed observation and artistic symbolism cultivated in the dialogical sessions already discussed.

MOUNTAIN MIST - Machbanai Zuze
(Chikore, 1969)

There like a pangolin he crouches
Grips the victim tight and gently stretches
His body over the mountains green carpet
With his colour a lovely cream

Then for a time he hesitates
Save his tender rooty legs
That below do perfectly shove
Like feet aware of breaking eggs.

His head with oceanic tranquility rests
But tail and leg shyly caress
The mountains loins and hips
Like the millipede's wheels

Arched slowly he remains
Like a pangolin during a mating season
And the green carpet white he stains
Until mystery dissolves him.

Zuze here heaps a wealth of interpretative imagery on one simple incident: the movement of a mist cloud over a mountain. The luscious beauty and tranquility of the erotic imagery remains rivetted to its central object by words like "grips," "hesitates," "rooty legs," "rests," and with all its weakness of larded romanticism the poem does succeed to deepen our experience of a mountain mist.

THE CROW AND THE BAT - *Elias Mabika*
(Chikore, 1969)

A bat hung from his hook-like legs
And dangled under a thin finger
Of some thickly-leafed arm
Of the Mushuma tree.
All was dark there
And a soft cool breeze
Sifted sighingly into the quiet home
And the great flying rat
Slumbered head down
With his umbrella-wings
Folded in.
The tired black bird
Pushed into the abode
With mad instusion
And rested all his weight
Upon the arm of the tree
On whose finger hung the bat.
The swing of the arm
Shook the bat from sleep
And he shot out
In a wild escape
Followed by the black crow
Drumming the air
With his wings
And trying hard
Croaking quickly and greedily
For here was a weak prey,
And the bat winged his eyes
And saw an open Spanner
of blunt beaks in front of big flappers
And he scrambled hastily
With his umbrellas to vanish
Into the blue, never to return,
Leaving the heavy black cloth
To be beaten down by the wind
And perch on a dry arm
Of a naked iron-wood tree
Casting one eye up
At the vanished bat;
With muffled despair.

Again the specificity of this survival of the fittest game between the bat and the crow brings the animal world into our home. By personification branches become arms, wings become cloth or umbrellas,

a beak becomes spanners transforming these creatures of the wilds into human comrades. Focus still is on a single incident.

AILEEN - J. Mujura
(Nyatsime College, 1965)

I wished the sun would wait
a little longer
The earth,
With a frown as that of an owl
was swallowing it like a bitter pill.
I turned.
I was taken by surprise.
The sun's segment had strung
the earth's lumpy forms faces
with a golden ribbon.
Down an avenue lay long shadows of trees
whose perspective was fading with the day.

I saw Aileen beside a wall by a soccer-field
I heard a tennis ball bounce
wall to racket like a light percussion
accompaniment
to the shrilling birds
In the whining pines.
I saw her long hair fly
Her young face and exposed limbs looked incorruptible,
Gold.
I stood in the darkness, asking myself what I would remember
about her
If I developed emotions that are sustained by memorey.
In the darkness, things of the world
Were equally near
(their faded perspective made them so)
In the opaque atmosphere,
But I saw her as before
A distance away reflecting gold
I saw her through my eye-lids
I dreamt of her with my mind wide awake.

I opened my eyes;
The aspirant was gone.

The transparent, glassy beauty of this elusive poem again focuses on a specific moment one evening. The insubstantiality of Aileen in spite of all the concrete musical detail of her tennis playing is announced

in the first line--it was only a "wish"--a day dream. But the concrete immediacy of detail is most effective.

PASS, PASS, PASS - *Elias Mabika*
(Chikore, 1968)

To the fringes of my grave
I desire you not.
Really when I leave this playground
Do not water my grave
With your cheating tears
Do not stagger to my relatives
With a shrinking face.
Do not be a windbreak
To the sympathetic air
That will descend with lamentations
To sweep all the unwelcome refuse
Which, with disease will come
To contaminate all the soil
surrounding my corpse
Will it be lying frowningly?
Your immitations I did see
When with pretending words
You came to my hut
And greeted me with a lightened voice
Then your pretence to me
Did impregnate me with a desire to duel with you
So pass, pass on
With your burden of evils.

Even this very amateurish declaimer functions on a level of specificity of incident, representing the annoyance of one moment.

Creative Writing and Revolutionary Consciousness.--It will be obvious from the foregoing description of my creative writing work that much of it was not directly concerned with conscientization. A major reason for this is that the official conduct of a creative writing lesson had to be made as politically innocuous as possible. The teacher in Rhodesia is officially barred from any political activity of any kind. His work is regularly inspected by government inspectors and checked for political content.

My particular task in conscientization was thus more complicated than Freire's. Creative writing involves lots of written work. Students' growth to critical consciousness had to be noticed in their writing. But this had to be done in such a way that the regular inspections would not reveal that such work was actively pursued by the teacher. This was achieved through the dialogical sessions where sutdents and teacher dialogued on the aspects of a creative writing subject--whether photograph, a scene or incident. The generative themes of the discussion were arrived at through class discussions.

The stages of the growth of consciousness went like this: First the students set out to describe a subject as it is on a chosen theme like poverty:

OLD GRANNY - Bonus Zimunya
(Chikore, 1970)

A little freezing spider:
Legs and arms gathered in her chest
Rocking with flu
I saw old Granny
At Harare market;
It was past nine of the night
When I saw the dusty crumpled spider -
A torn little blanket
Was her web.

THE BEGGER - Lewis Ntuli
(Mt. Silinda, 1971)

Covering its journey inch by inch
Here comes the thin and small figure
On four like a monkey
Children cannot detect its sex
With neither a snort nor dress
But a network of rags over the body

Then the fore limb is lifted
Mark how clumsily the fingers open
The sign for "HELP" is shown
Mother moves for some left overs
Now sorrow fades from its face
The sunken eyes come out with joy.

After three mouthfuls the plate is empty
Then a smile like a cry for a "thank you"
The endless journey starts again.
May be heading for the next village
Knowing not where to sup or sleep
Oh nature; why such a life?

These students are probably functioning on a level of intransitive consciousness. To them the world is a flat completed creation. Things are what they are.

Second, the groups in a dialogical discussion probe the subject deeper for the why's of the poverty presented in these writings. What is sought is to go beyond the visible concrete fact of poverty to its meaning, its deeper implications and its underlying causes. Are the people poor because they are lazy, because they are mentally inept; because the country has no resources; because the soil is unproductive or because the socio-economic system is unjust?

In the third step, one approach to handling these and similar questions was to suggest that students tour the country during the holidays and observe things like land distribution, job allocation, housing, etc., and bring back writings that sought to probe deeper into the theme. The writings they would bring back were freely their own choice: poetry, short stories, travelogues, descriptive sketches, etc. But they represented a diversity of interpretations on the

theme of poverty. Another approach was that they go ahead and do their next writing tasks after the dialogical sessions.

TRAVELOGUE - Zorodzai Mlambo
(Mt. Silinda, 1973)

My eyes ventured for mile upon mile of open land, with a few misasa trees under whose shades cattle lay, chewing the cud. In the far west again stood a big house surrounded by trees. Near where the cattle were, a windmill beat the air as water poured into the numerous tanks. The distance from one residence to another one of a similar fashion took one hour to travel. It pained my feelings. At home we had two homes, one hundred feet apart, yet here it was miles apart! Only one man occupying this whole earth! Take four or five families at home and let them occupy it and they can have enough land for fields; homes, cattle kraals, save alone for hunting grasslands for no wild animal can dare living on such an open land.

Ahead of us people stood at the station, but the bus did not stop because it was overloaded. I later learnt that the place was Beatrice. As we neared Enkeldoom, the fence disappeared and the asbestos-roofed houses were replaced by simple buts. These were built of bricks and then roofed with grass. Two or three huts stood on each home. A sign of 'chronic poverty' I thought as I compared the huts to the "palaces" I had seen earlier. A few children stood at the door ways and waved at us. For dress, they had nothing but a piece of string tied around the waist and then a piece of cloth hanging from the front, down through the "valley" and then back again to the string. Only the reproductive organs were covered. Such a picture represented the suffering of the general mass in that area.

TWO WORLDS COLLIDE - S. W. Sonai
(Chikore, 1971)

Chereni was a Zulu-like, tall, stocky and majestic-looking man. Though in his seventies, he was still very boastful of his strength and skill in fighting. During his manhood, as was told by men of his age, none was to stand him if a quarrel broke out. Nevertheless, he proved a trustworthy neighbour. He was very rich. His wealth lay in cattle, sheep, goats and grain. He had five wifes, all betrothed to him by their parents. Many more lasses were still bestowed to him even though he was old. These were

definitely waiting for his sons. He did not want his sons to marry educated girls. He always hammered this idea into them. Accordingly, his sons had grown in favour of his policy. He had good experience about educated women.

ON THIS SIDE - Sam Chimsoro
(Nyatsime College, 1966)

Alone and cold
At the factory gate
By a sign-post
"No work"
In flapping rags
Flags of want
Yet invisible
As meanness frosted
Lenses of charity
I shake my head
Perplexed.

I stand
Alone at the council's gate
My heart spilling
Into broken tubes
Blue Blood.
Through teeth
Chewing counts of chances
of my survival
I pray:
"Open your hands sinners
And give good gifts,
Open your wings brooding hens
Count me among your chicks
Or if you would rather
Open your mouths
And shout through the shutters
of your closed cottages,
The truth of my plight:
'He gave me life
Withholding love
Beyond my mother's milk'"
I shake my head
Perplexed.

PRAYER UP HIGH - Sojar Male
(Mt. Silinda, 1973)

For while salty tears drip down our cheeks
in this cold gloom
the sons of Beelzebub lie warm and cushioned
cushioned with the sweat and blood
of these shrunken hands.
Their days cascade happily
in rivers of sweetened wine.
Their sinfulness they dance away
in brightly lit posh hotels
while our righteousness is strangled
in crowded ghettos.
"The earth is given to the hand of the wicked"
The innocent you condemn to eternal pain.

A GIRL GOING WITH SOME RICH THUG BECAUSE SHE WANTS TO HELP HER SICK FATHER - D. Dothwart (Gwela Teachers College, 1977)

Tendai walked slowly towards old Timba's house. She stopped for a moment in a sort of dilemma whether to go into the house or not. Then a flicker of the image of her father struggling, moaning and kicking frantically on the bed came to her mind. She threw away her hands in despair. Tendai shouted loudly. "I must do it! I must! I must . . . I" then she stood in violent sobs. Anyhow she knew she must save her father but the thought of Timba holding her nearly made her throw up.

Tendai did not really know how she arrived at the door of Timba's house. She thought of turning back and going straight home but the thought of losing a father overwhelmed her. She shouted aloud, "It's enough to lose a mother not both of my parents."

A grating voice came from the house. "Who is there?" "Tendai," she managed to answer but sobbing. "Alright! Alright! Come right in! You are most welcome!"

Tendai stood there as though rooted. She could not even half raise her legs. The door swung open. The first thing that hit Tendai was the stinking smell of a man who seemed not to have washed for more than six months. This was followed by a more stinking smell of beer and tobacco and she nearly threw up.

Instead of smiling the man grinned from ear to ear. He spread his arms wide and beckoned Tendai to come in the house. Tendai just stared at him. Irritated, the man said, "Damn you if you don't want to come in, get the hell out of here!"

"No! No! No! Please! let me come in! My father is really dying."

"Then come right in bird! and let's get through with it."

She entered the house. One step in she stepped on a plate. The whole room was just like a pigsty. Plates were scattered everywhere; also on the floor was a mixture of papers and of food. The corners of the house were full of spider cobwebs. A smell of decaying meat lingered in the room. Tendai felt very cold in the room. The room was dead silent. Timba's raucous voice hummed through the house. It echoed and re-echoed "You can sit on the bed." He sat beside her. Timba raised his hands to hold her. Tendai tensed and cringed away from the man. Timba was both surprised and exasperated.

"Come on babie," he hummed.

"It won't hurt you," he remarked.

"You want the money, isn't it? Here is the money. You can count it if you want. $50 in cash."

She knew she had to take the money and give herself up to this thug. The man made to grab her and she stiffened. His touch made her shudder violently and she made a faint cry. She closed her eyes and contemplated about the man's deeds. She thought about the man's brutality, he was a thief as well as a cheat. He never washed and was a heavy smoker and drinker. She wished she was not born. The touch of this thug was too much for her.

The lustful man made to kiss her. She cried and turned her head aside violently.

"No!" she shouted.

"Why!" he growled.

"Please!" she pleaded.

"Hell! Give me back my money and vamoose!"

Again she visualized her father struggling on the bed.

"You can do what you want."

Timba began caressing her and she was completely paralyzed. All her limbs stiffened. Tendai knew she had to give in in order for her to retain the money. At last the man had her. She closed her eyes, tears streamed down her cheeks. The constant twitching of her face muscles exposed the pain the brute was inflicting in her.

At last it was over and she went home staggering as though she was drunk.

It is obvious that students are moving toward a stage of transitive consciousness. They no longer see the problem of society as abberations of individual wills only but as historical problems bred by a system that enslaves man. In Zorodzai Mlambo's travelogue the point of unfair distribution of land is made explicit and given as a major factor contributing to peoples' poverty. In Sonai's adulation of Chereni, as a rich and heroic symbol of old Africa, we feel a silent protest against the paupering and dehumanizing conditions of the present. Chimsoro's poem sees unemployment as the major hurdle to prosperity but ends on a rather naive note pleading for charity from the rich and blaming God for poverty. Sojar's "Prayer" on the other hand, is explicit in its recognition of white exploitation. This is critical consciousness. And the girl in Dorthwarts' story marks a noticeable rise in the writer's recognition of the Marxist thesis, that men are made by their circumstances, they are not born ready made.

Still there is no clear indication that the students' new awareness of the world around them has led to a commitment on their part to the cause of their liberation. That kind of commitment could

not be acknowledged in written exercises that were periodically inspected. In fact, at this level of consciousness (excluding poetry) a government inspection brought out the following comment: "The first year group had produced some generally good examples of creative writing marred sometimes by the expression of extreme and not always logical views on controversial issues . . . ."[13] It also earned me the honour of a two-hour conference with the inspector concerned who sought to extort from me an admission that I taught politics in my classes.

And so conscientization work tended to proceed from here in two directions. In class it tended to confine itself to the cultural aspect. The intention was to get the student to eject the oppressor they had internalized culturally, to develop a sense of self-esteem in their culture; to seek for black men as heroic models and hopefully seek to replace white values with black ones. A formula to express these aims harmlessly was always easy to get. The second part of the work had to be done out of formal class in extra-curricular clubs called Young Writers Clubs. Clubs are never inspected and what was written here never became part of the official record. So here conscientization work went further. The aim was critical consciousness. Individuals must reflect upon their state of unfreedom, see themselves as anti-thesis of the oppressor, see the oppressor not in terms of evil individuals but as a system: rules, events, procedures, structure that systematically institutionalize injustice, and commit themselves with the people to work for their liberation.

The methodology in both these approaches was the same. It was based on a short story, an incident or a poem written by one of the students and distributed to everyone a week ahead. Each student was to prepare comments which were to be framed in form of questions for the idea was to generate discussion. The focus was on the societal meaning of human motivation or the wider implication of symbolism. All this of course was a development of the cause of the cause approach. The works I am presenting here represent a few personal collections of a whole host of writing my students have produced over the years. They mark the high point of my efforts. Most were written while in school but some works by the poets were written later. But I include them to show how far one's commitment to what is learned in a conscientization course can take him. For the sake of convenience, the samples are divided into two sections: one dealing with culture and the other with political consciousness.

Samples

Culture

THE BRIDE THAT NEVER WAS - Rueben Mtisi (Mt. Silinda, 1971)

It was a great wedding. The relatives, friends and neighbours, from far and near were invited. They all came and there was great happiness in Puza's village that day. Tafirevhu, Puza's tenth born was getting married that day.

It was a festive occasion. All the five barns of Puza's five wives were bursting with pots and pots of strong frothy beer, expertly prepared. "It is a tough one," commented a man after a sip. The floors had been thoroughly polished till they gleamed like new pins. The walls had been thoroughly scrubbed with red, yellow and white earth friezed with new triangular patterns. The yard was spotlessly clean. The children wore clean clothes and their hair was beautifully plaited into criss-cross patterns. Young

ladies and mothers alike wiggled about elegantly, gracefully swinging their red striped skirts, heavy with beads sewn in triangular patterns at the bottom. While hens cackled and beat their wings in protest, goats wailed and lashed out with their hind legs as they were being dragged out to the slaughter for the big feast.

As the sun rose higher into the cloudless sky, more people streamed into Puza's compound crowding the shades of thirty barns and huts that surrounded the big tree already buzzing with crowded humanity. Sadza was served to every new arrival before he had a chance to drench his soul with the tasty beer. The people sat in two separate groups. The elders sat on their side talking of their greatness. The Chief Matokonye himself was there. He sat majestically on an elevated chair covered with a lion's skin. He was talking about plans for the coming harvest festival, with his elders who sat in a half-moon about him. In the group of the youth were those that had come from Johannesburg only recently. They were boasting of their courage and prowess in complex situations down there. Meanwhile one could easily notice little glances and stealthy winks being shot at opposite sexes. Then there were the usual longing eyes cast at random by lovers and the low tones of those sitting close to each other. Beer was being served and people were drinking to their fill. Everyone was happy. There was singing and dancing in the different groups.

They were eager to receive their kinsman's bride, a beautiful girl that knew the white man's magic of making tea.

Most of the guests were blissfully drunk by the time Puza stood up to address them. After giving them his welcome, interrupted repeatedly by shouts of praise from the crowd, he explained the purpose of their gathering ending with the words "I am called: "What-does-the-child-Miss? So rejoice! Sing! till your throats ache and dance with all your might! I have everything you want here: meat, beer, sadza, everything! For my name is for-What-Does-the Child-Cry?" He staggered to his hut leaving the crowd in a frenzy of applause. A few followed him brushing his feet and sweeping the ground with their clothes.

- - - - -

The moon was high up in the sky. Everything gleamed in its silvery sheen. The elders sat around the blazing log fires talking and drinking. Elsewhere people were singing, but in low tones, for now they were tired. Suddenly there came a frightening roar of a big manly voice followed by a series of violent noises created by the beating of dry sticks

on the ground. The bride was coming. Tafirevhu and all his relations ran helter skelter into hiding else they would be thrashed by the enraged in-laws who were "mourning" the departure of their daughter. It was the custom.

"Where is he? Where is the head? Where is he? shouted the enraged voices all over the compound.

"He is here" came a voice from one of the elders. The big man came to the knot of elders encircling Puza, dropped a bag of coins in front of him and raced back to his followers. Puza took up the bag and counted the coins.

"One dollar," he announced.

"That's it," commented the elders nodding their heads in approval.

At the edge of the compound there appeared a huge cluster of ghostly figures. The women were all dressed in white and their clothes shone in the moonlight. Their angry mens-folk now returned to them. They burst into song. The bride was right in their midst. She was not supposed to be seen until tomorrow when she would present herself to her husband in the eyes of everyone.

The go-between, Maponese, Tafirevhu's uncle, began to act immediately. He led the procession into Tafirevhu's mother's hut. The women went in first and the men last to sit at the door so as to allow only the go-between, father-in-law, mothers-in-law and relatives of similar rank to enter and greet the in-laws.

The bride had now come. All those in hiding now came out. The village went mad with songs and dance. The relations of the bridegroom sang the praises of Puza and his whole family. The in-laws sang gloomy songs. Their daughter had gone and they were left alone.

Puza you have pierced our hearts,
You've pierced our hearts
You've pierced our hearts.
That child is the only one at home.
The only one at home
The only one at home.

Some abusive songs were sung as well but nobody minded. It was all in the game. Rudo cried bitterly and her sisters and aunts joined her. But they were all happy inside for she had married a son of a rich man. The whole night was spent in feasting and singing. More feasting filled a large

part of the morning until the crucial hour. This was the ceremonial handing over of the bride to the bride groom.

Everyone was anxious. The news had reached them that she was an angel, she was a goddess come to life; she was a gun of a woman. But they had not seen her. They were anxious. They wanted to see her with their own eyes.

So a big crowd of anxious peering faces sat in the shade of the compound tree in front of Tafirevhu's mother's hut. The elders drew their stools closer. Some had not gone to their homes; others had returned in the morning. They wanted to see the bride. People streamed into the compound. Those who had gone to the rivers to wash hurried back. Some thought they were late. They ran and joined up the crowd, wiped their anxious sweating faces, sat up panting and waited anxiously. They wanted to see the bride. The crowd thickened and faces became more and more expectant. The drunkards lying prostrate in the verandah raised their heads curiously. Secing the crowd they woke up as if startled and wobbled clumsily to join them. They wanted to see the bride.

The children left their playing. They skipped up to the crowd and leaned over their parents' shoulders, watching the door of the hut peering expectantly into its darkness. They wanted to see the bride. "I will see her first," they argued in whispers. "The one that will see her first is the son of a chief." The general excited murmur was brought to a halt by the appearance of a figure from behind the hut. It was Tafirevhu's eldest sister, a middle aged woman full of power and authority. She had been preparing the oil and soft red earth with which the bride would be rubbed--as a mark of her virginity--before being presented to her husband. The girl was to be stripped for the examination and rubbing. And so the lady entered the hut.

The lady was first struck by the changed appearance of the bride. She looked pale and frightened. Her beautiful dark eyes seemed to be drawing back into their sockets. But she did not notice that the girl became breathless as she removed her clothes one by one. Outside the eager anxious crowd waited silently. The elders cleared their throats and fidgetted in their seats. They drew closer still. The youth sat stern and still. Tafirevhu himself was seated on an elevated stool right in front of the crowd, and behind him were craning necks and peering faces eager to see the bride.

And now there was only one cloth left. The game was up. The lady went on to remove the last cloth. It was like plucking out the bride's own soul for she gradually fainted

and lay flat on the mat, unconscious. The lady could not believe what she discovered. Indeed it nearly took her breath away, but she managed to throw herself out of the profaned airless room. She staggered out, bumped against one of the doorposts and sat down dejectedly leaning against the wall. But she managed to whisper out the news, and it flew from ear to ear like a wind, spreading shock all over the whole crowd. It was unbelievable. The news hung there in the air. But people could not believe their ears. So they craned their necks straining to hear better but it was the same news. It rotated back and forth among more and more anxious faces. Nobody spoke. Some stood up and walked away in disbelief. How could they believe such nonsense? It was unheard of. And yet the truth hung there in the air, unrepentent: the girl was long pregnant, and all reports agreed--by another.

TWO WORLDS COLLIDE - S. W. Sonai (Chikore, 1968)

. . . That night James did not sleep well. He thought of how he could stand the next morning's drama.

"How can I convince my ignorant father?" he asked himself. "Am I going to marry this ignorant Masodzi? No. Marry both? Am I going to take Masodzi to Goromonzi? What can I do . . . ?" The next morning was exceedingly bright. The sky was naked blue. When James got out he noticed that the yard was tidily swept. Masodzi and others had swept it very early in the morning. James soon joined his father and brothers at a fire.

"Good morning?" his father broke out.

"Good morning father; how did you spend the night?" He also greeted his brothers and so did his youngsters. After that came every woman. Following these were the neighbours who had heard of the arrival of James. Then came Mubango and James' aunt led by Dadai who had been sent to call these two. After greetings they went into the shrine. Soon, Chereni, Tie and Dinner followed in. James was called last.

The shrine was a wide round hut which was used on special occasions. The people gave this hut the greatest reverence they could command. On one side of the hut was a platform where fearful looking baskets of medicines were kept. Beside these were axes, spears and a bow and arrows. Covering these were a leopard's skin and a lion's respectively.

James sat beside his brothers. Chereni was close to the platform together with Mubango and his brothers. The women sat on the opposite side facing the door. In front of the women sat Masodzi dressed to her best. She wore a pitch black, silk skirt heavily and beautifully worked with large white grains two pieces of cloth: one was orange yellow and the other was pink, and was further adorned with pictures of peacocks. She loosely tied her waist with a glowing beautiful handkerchief. On top of all these, she put a long black, red and white cloth. Her neck was richly decorated with gorgeous strings of beads of many different colours. Some beautiful flat beads ran obliquely across her forehead. Hanging on her ears were circular and star-like pieces of glittering metal all supported by strings of beads. Her arms and legs were wet with oil. In front of her, she put a pink dish thoroughly washed. Inside the dish was placed a cup gorgeously ornamented with the most beautiful beads she knew of. Beside the dish was a silver coloured tin above its lid crossed a semi-circular copper handle. There was in the room, a heavy reverent silence.

"Now, aunt, I think you have already guessed why I have called you here," Chereni broke the silence. "Your nephew, James, has become a man, and fortunately Masodzi is also fully grown." He said, pointing at Masodzi who was uneasy and shy. Her head was tilted to the right, her face fixed to the floor, though it was crystal clear that she saw nothing. She was by then in her twenty-first year.

"Now, tell Masodzi to fill her cup with water and show her husband," Chereni continued. "Tell her what she is supposed to do. I need not tell you all, aunt, you know it."

Masodzi did all she was told shyly, sluggishly and rather ignorantly. She was conducted to the husband and she slowly and carefully walked on her knees. She placed the cup quite close to James and sheepishly clapped her hands as she, like a very delicate piece of material, sat down.

"My nephew I am glad to see you back. I am happy to say, here is your wife given to you by your father."

James, whose look was venomous and black, rose on his feet and stammered, "Thank you father, but . . . , but I am engaged to Engelina the only one I want to marry. I am sorry . . . ." He was shaking; his heart pounding hard; and his voice quivered timidly.

"Aunt, tell him that he is now at home. He is given that wife by me, Chereni, his father."

"I know father I am wrong. I am acting against my promise. But I will have to. I told you I am a teachers. It is better to die a bachelor than to have an uneducated wife. It is good for you to marry uneducated women because you are not educated. It is awkward for you to marry an educated woman. Your interests do not go hand in hand with hers. It is hard for you to understand this, but that is how life is. Is it not logical that a Zulu should marry a Zulu, a Hausa a Hausa and I am a Ndau, she has similar education with me. I don't . . . ."

"What . . .? You! You Mutumeyi, I told."

Chereni could not form words properly. He sprang at him with an axe. But Mubango and others grabged him. He tried to attack James, but the grip was too strong. He roared, growled, snarled, but in vain. All the women were in tears. Masodzi in particular was bathing in bitter tears. James remained standing. The hut was in tremendous chaos. After a long time silence was restored, save for the sobbing which Masodzi made.

"That's what breeding does," Mugango, James' uncle broke out. "What was your aim of sending him to school? Why did you not refuse to accept the overcoat he brought with him. You accepted all he brought. Now it is your duty Chereni, to accept the message he brought with him."

"Do you think you are talking? It is because he is not your son. As long as I am alive, I won't tolerate that rubbish. Even if I die, my spirit will be on him; he will not do it. You! You James . . . ."

His anger rose again. He struggles to release himself so that he could fix James.

"That whore will not set foot in my village here. You stand there like a champion of wizards and say, Goromonzi, Goromonzi, you won't go there. I swear by father Shumba who is in that ant-hill. As long as you use Chereni as your second name, you don't go anywhere, you baneful fool . . . . If you run away and I follow you to your Goromonzi, you will tell me what makes a dog not laugh, yet it can reveal its teeth. "For me to have a happy life, let me have a prostitute who has the same education with me." You think that is talking? Surely I think you are using your hind opening. You mean to say we, your parents, are uneducated, and therefore do not interest you? I wish I killed you when

you were a kid . . . " James stood rigid, dumb-founded, pained with thoughts . . . Masodzi lay in Mutemeyi's hands almost fainting.

In the two stories "The Bride that Never Was" and "Two Worlds Collide," we have a glimpse of the meaning of reaculturation for these young students. From their researches they apparently had learned about traditional customs especially as regards marriage. Rueben Mtisi's evocation of the festive atmosphere of the wedding scene, with an open ended liberality on the part of the host, and good humored music-filled joviality on all sides is a tribute to the rich and full blooded humanity of the communal past. Likewise Sonai's portrayal of the towering heroic personality of Chereni enriched by the grace and charm of Masodzi, the bride, illustrate how the focus of the writer's admiration has shifted decidedly to his forefathers. In both stories it is the new breed, the evolue--"the bride that has learned the white man's magic of making tea," and the school teacher James--that infect the body social. The bride Rudo, desecrates all cannons of good breeding by getting pregnant. The ceremony of virginity, and the shock with which her state was received illustrate how highly sexual purity was regarded. Students who could explore tribal lore and custom so deeply and efficiently and examine issues of their peoples' adjustment to new realities with such candour were indeed part of the Cultural Revolution.

TETEGURUWEE [BIG ANCESTOR] - Bonus Machbanai Zimunya (Chikore, 1969)

Teteguruwee!
I will cry out
Like the night-jar. No.
Restless lungs are not welcomed among the elders
I am soft.
Now this is the cave. It's black in there.
Silence. This is the cave. Yes.
They know I am here now. Talk . . .
Vakuru woye, I am your blood, your sapling.*
They can see me, Ancestors.
Forgive me that I smell of the white man.
You saw how they came.
Great grandfather Munyarari was alive then.
You know more than I do.

Teteguruwee!
I did not burn the skin-clothes.
I did not burn the charms.
I was not born when the medium was bought
with sugar and pieces of silver. Who burnt
*the things of Mudzimu?** Wasn't it*
Chigodora who lost the Drum of the Spirit?
Your own sons broke away to worship
other gods and spirits. How then
do you shut your ears against me?

Whose sin is my birth?
The tender bud emerges from the bark.
The bare tree strives to become new,
the little bud shivers into life,
a little red lip, doubtful at first,
greets life with sudden realization.
Tete, I am your son
You gave the sap, you took it away. And now

leaf in the wind
I am a spiritless soul, spinning
and flickering in the swirl.

Whose sin was it?
Like the empty tree, you stare at me
too light to resist, blown away. You
know where you are. I know not where I go
though I can feel the brute whirl.
Pop! Pop! Pop! Pop! I clap my hands . . . .

---

*"You Elders" **Ancestral spirit

leaving you . . . . But (gushing tears) . . . even
the hen gives the chickens warmth under its feathers
and fights the taloned hawk to protect them!

A BLACK MURUNGU* - Julius Chingono
(Nyatsime College, 1966)

I am a black murungu,
A little bird
Wearing plastic wings,
Flying over bleeding plains
Squatting mountains
And aging rivers.
The disheartening scenes
I see are ruins
That once stood as
Our temples and shrines.

TO YOU POWERFUL - Julius Chingono
(Nyatsime College, 1965)

Black coated mediums**
Spirits that prophecy after sniffing snuff
Tribes of the east
Known controllers of thunder and lightning,
Bone throwers reputed
For your clothed breathing charms,
You witchdoctors
With turtles that are known to converse,
Drum beaters whose palms
with notes rub anthills
Where the dead lie
Behold the bloody sun
Spraying us blood!

---

*"Murungu" is the Shona word for whiteman.

**The traditional spirit mediums are seers who can fore-tell. The eastern part of the country is reputed to have the most powerful ones.

TO MOTHER: A SONG - Grey Mahaka
(Mt. Silinda, 1973)

Mother sing to us yet again
We the sedatives of your labor pains
Sweet lullabies from your luxurious lips
Fit dessert to sweeten
Our bitter daily dish.

Light your priceless ivories
Let us bask in the warmth
Your ebony heart exudes
Darker, yet glowing warm,
Warmer than Wankie coal.

Feed us on stories
Of those times when hearts
Came from heaven, carrying hearths
When no weary traveller's teeth
Clattered about cold nights.

Tomorrow will be dark.
I see pain restive in the confines
Of your boundaries
Seeking to lengthen his tether more.
Give birth again before you succumb
As fecund day bears sunshine
Before each night arrives.

I hear life's turnkeys jingling
Their keys not far off
Before they close their massive gates
Tell us more, Mother, more:
Of days when Modesty's knives
Were sharp . . . .
Before mothers suckled papas.

Go not far:
But leave us your skirts
To hold on to . . .
In our memory.

Drink more of Africa's sun
Fear not cancer
Nor sunburn
But grow tall
And let us sit in your shade.
Forever.

In "Teteguruwee" the poet sends a traditional prayer to his ancestors. He needs forgiveness "for smelling of the white man." He was however born and brought up when "the system" was already established. The quest for return to his ancestral fold is thus a personal leap against a gulf built by his elders, a reconversion. This is the high point of self rediscovery. In "A Black Marungu," Julius Chingono repeats the alienation theme, imputing artificiality--plastic wings--to the new "Black Englishman," and a complete hopelessness about retrieval of old traditional culture--"the ruins/ that once stood/ our temples and shrines." His evocation of the traditional seers reiterates his sense of despair, ending as it does with "the bloody sun/ spraying us blood." Grey Mahaka's prayer "To Mother" falls in line with Zimunya's "Teteguruwee." The quest must continue into the meanings and secrets of the past. Even if we are to remain with "her skirts" there is ultimately something there the present cannot provide. And so the poets and short story writers go on and on searching for greater and greater meaning in their past discovering a new idiom of expression, learning of their loss and struggling to adjust new realities to an old understanding.

Political Consciousness

The following poems appear to me to present that level of consciousness that Freire called critical. At that level a man is ready and committed to revolution. In Rhodesia it is a perilous undertaking to write, let alone publish such poetry as this. Except for Ernest Moyana's "To You Rhodesia" and Rueben Mtisi's "Fear of

the World" the obliqueness of whose criticism of the system saved them from government notice, none of these poems have ever been published. But it is important to note that of these poets Bonus Zimunya has served a term in jail for his political activities, Sam Chimsoro has lost two jobs, Rueben Mtisi and John Sandure went to Mozambique, presumably to train for the guerrilla war some years ago.

Our interest, however, centers on the concreteness of sensory detail selected mostly from artifacts of exploitation. The freshness and individuality of language increases with the immediacy of concrete detail employed. One sees the big difference between Ernest Moyana's poem and Rueben Mtisi's last stanza, the abstract borrowed imagery of the former and the concrete immediacy and linguistic freshness of the latter. Ernest Moyana was never a member of the Young Writers Club. Bonus Zimunya, Samuel Chimsoro and Rueben Mtisi were.

TO YOUR RHODESIA - Ernest Moyana

Like a grain of mustard
I fell to the ground
that never was to care for me
Where without your arms shall
I find shelter
without your springs water
Without your corn bread

The young seedling dies
Tender leaves wither
where then shall I HARBOUR!!!
they bow down and surrender
to the merciless sight above them
death is creeping behind me
there is no love in your face . . .

This is muted protest against a system that has no place for an educated young black. There is a note of despair. But the poet is aware of his plight as a member of the oppressed.

FEAR OF THE WORLD - Rueben Mtisi

The tide has splashed ashore
To cast us on lands unknown
on the beach we lie
And the lucky ones shall retreat with it
To the happy days far at sea
School bells tinkle driving off that morning mist
and in my worried gaze
is spread a nest of troubles
Trapping my return to the swollen seas.

All these exciting school days . . .
Mtombeni with his batallion sailing the speedy track
Banxa with his squadron attacking the bouncing ball
Colorful nights at the Hamilton Hall, full of
fancy butterflies
flattering to a record . . .
Shall they be nothing but a nest of memories
Hanging loosely down the branches of my brain
And nothing more?

For here before me stands that ugly animal with choosy hands
That savagely parts friend from friend
And I can hear the clock ticking away my chances
my fountain pen refusing to spit out my salvation on paper
and my hand stiffens and sweats from the "fever."
And outside is the clogged traffic
Roaring down the street
A typewriter in skillful hands tap-tapping in the office
a shovel on the road sweltering in perspiring hands
and a twisted hoe rioting in reddening hands
And I fear . . . .

This poem written at the point of writing final examinations reiterates the insecurity of the educated black in a world meant to keep him in a servile role. The "ugly animal with choosy hands," the examination, in the pyramidal type of educational structure relegates some to a life of "reddening hands." What will be the

poet's fate? This is a poem about a whole system and the wealth of detail it employs consists partly of artifacts of exploitation.

A PROSELYTES DECLARATION - John Sandure

Dear friends
I am being tossed like a float
At the confluence of great needs
I need your advice
On my dream-bestowed ideal
To wipe out this long-suffering reign of apathy
I now pronounce the same "tchick" as they
About blank pages in children's notebooks

About idle syringes in a culture of virus
About empty pantries and graineries
About blank registration certificates
About intense taxing on your sweat
Calling the being that I used to be "Kaffir"
Using words esconced with coinc behind bleeding swords
By which some were massacred.
I will try the foe and bury him
In a pyramid of empty beer mugs
From which he administered my prescription
For back-aches born of forced labor
For sore eyes fogged with tear drops.
I shed the foible of the enemy
And walk on naked feet
Braving to leap over the consonance of your blood and weeping
Try me later if you will
For now I must lead
Till irons bleed.
Let them let me lead the dance
In the fog of gunsmoke
In the mud of loam and plasma
Till hell sickens!

There is obscurity in some lines. But Sandure here demonstrates effectively how the concrete artifacts of exploitation are the real subject matter of protest poetry. We are in the presence of a live perceptual mind in touch with concrete realities. The word "tchick," properly spelled "cheeky" is used by whites to describe a black man

that appears rebellious. The registration certificates are pass books; if they are blank the owners are unemployed.

SHORT-CHANGED - Sam Chimsoro

I smoked to blend fumes
From smoking tills
And brewing sewers.

I drank to flood with sweat
The dimensions of
Ducts and drains.

I counted change like fingers
To confirm my height
Against paymasters' doors.

I shook my head knowing
That great-grand pa nodded
And grand dad sang 'sankiyoo!' (thank you)

My father acquiesced and got
A bonus of a booted bottom
Besides the short-changed love.

I say 'NO!' to burying
My tall, labour-rich body
In a sandy trash pit.

I am for the ant-hill
Where I will rise, clothed
When the hill grows.

This is the statement of a rebellious generation. The indignities implied in the first three stanzas were tolerated by his forebearers but he says "NO" and would rather die fighting so that freedom might grow. Concreteness of detail again makes the poem almost too dense to penetrate in the first three stanzas. Sam Chimsoro has in fact become one of the most reviewed and publicized poets in Rhodesia. He won a nationwide poetry contest in 1976.

THE OPERATIONS - Sam Chimsoro

The sights
milk condolences
that spill like blood
to wash the black clots
with OPERATION COMFORTS
flowing after
Operation MASSACRE
and amputation of fingers
that we may not point
at the devil
disguised by plastic surgery
and draped
in 'western' civilization.

A tremendous indictment of what Freire calls "false generosity." In the present guerrilla war, the Rhodesian government has special military units that commit horrific atrocities, sometimes involving large scale killings, while disguised as guerrillas. Then the government launches a big propaganda and relief campaign, depicting the guerrillas as nihilistic monsters intent on destroying western civilization.

ACCORDING TO THE GOSPEL - Sam Chimsoro

The sun glared
Upon the barren
Constitution.

Sweaty hands held
Hoes and sickles

Sand-blindedness hid
The devil's week
Under acquiescence
And left pestilent
Famine and frustration.

White-washed lips
Chanted a tale.

Ears heard
Echoes of toil
Cracking whips at a commune,
Tilling arid opportunities
Whose fertility lay in oblivion.

Sweaty hands held
Hoes and sickles

The sun glared
Like the Christmas star
Upon half burnt tree trunks
That scanned the gospel
And shook guans & eagles
From their shoulders.

Sweaty hands held
Hoes to axes
Sickles to spears

And bundled them
*Into Chimurenga**

CORRIGENDA - Sam Chimsoro

I

They called this
Separate development
When they pushed us to face
The integral of inhumanity
While they tipped on themselves
The budget of blessings.

II

They called us
The silent majority
When we became
The murmering majority
Tired of sending
Meaningful memoranda.

**The local name for the guerrilla war.*

III

They called him,
My black brother,
So they called everybody
Terrorist,
But we all know
It is the spirit
Of the murdered innocent
That terrorize the killers

IV

They call this
Sounding the trumpet of a revolution!
Yes it is,
Only if, only if,
You want it to be.

THE FIRE THING - Bonus Zimunya

One thing the department
Could not see
Inside this bottle-bald-head
Which they shaved weekly
to hold on to
a recalcitrant victory
is the nuclear thing:

Under this screen of fear
under the child's pain
and suffering marked
in my eyes
in my disrupted thought
and brittle speech
grows a fire-thing
whose rage
could call Vietnam
just a sizzle in the pan.

At this stage I feel the poet can speak for himself. The revolutionary is born.

THE PRISONER - Bonus Machbanai Zimunya

Beast in the zoo
These eyes
Are smoky remnants
Of burnt out hopes
Yawn, you yawn
But I feel no relief
Save empty salivations
Dripping from mouth edges,
You feel the hot hunger
Coming through a full stomach
From the seared soul.

Lying here,
Brother, the pain of it
Surpasses toothache
Surpasses a boil in the eye -
even a wound in the heart.
I know freedom is here,
here behind this fence;
there is a lorry full of singing people
They are going to a wedding;
and these are lovers lost
in the shimmering sun of October.

That is naked freedom,
blood running free
joy screaming in the song
laughter touching the sky
and this fence, this ironwork
is the main difference between it
and me.

The poet wrote this while in prison, arrested for his political activism at the local university. Notice the concreteness of language, the simplicity of diction and the ability to see the abstract in the concrete.

Summary

In summary to this chapter it is best perhaps to point out the key Freirean aspect of my methodology. That key is the situationality of the dialogical sessions. These were all conducted within a

situation, real or simulated. In case of incidents, students had to act the scene and then conduct the dialogical sessions within the context of the acting. Their discussion on how a certain character would act or feel if placed in a particular situation, meant in fact asking themselves how they would feel if placed in that situation. This, to Freire, leads to the men concerned reflecting on their situation. "Men will tend to reflect upon their own situationality to the extent that they are challenged by it."[14] The process of reflecting and dialoguing upon their situation leads men to discover its historicity. "It ceases to present itself as a dense enveloping reality, or a tormenting blind alley."[15] These students through the dialogical sessions came to realize their historical plight as the oppressed. Like a group of peasants, Freire says, who saw in a drunken peasant a man useful to society, working for little pay and worried how to feed his family, these students began to see in the prostitute, in the tramp standing before the factory gate, in malnourished little children with pot bellies, in the student frightened of a coming examination--victims of an historical situation that must be changed. Historical awareness of a situation is a vital step in the growth of consciousness.

Oppression to these students also appeared in simple things like: tea and sugar, writing an examination, a registration certificate, drinking a beer, a hoe, a sweating hand, a prison fence, a windmill, the size of one's house. The oppressive reality now reached the students in the sights and sounds of everyday. Their

own senses registered that reality. The revolution was now in their very biology.

Instead of admiring the manhood of the oppressor, these students now lauded the humanity, heroism, masculinity, and greatness of their own forefathers. The quest was how to recapture what we once had. This obviously helped to liberate these students from the de-humanizing cliches of white domination.

It now remains to integrate this practical report into my idea of revolutionary esthetics, and place these students' writings within the revolutionary tradition of African writing in general.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER VI

[1]S. Burton, "Approaches to Creative Writing," English in Education, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Autumn, 1969), p. 19.

[2]Peter Moss, "Creative Writing in a College of Education," English in Education, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Autumn, 1969), p. 35.

[3]J. W. Patrick Creber, Sense and Sensitivity (London: University of London Press, 1965), p. 10.

[4]Ibid., p. 13.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Raymond O'Malley, "Children's Writing in Transition," English in Education, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Autumn, 1969), p. 73.

[7]Creber, p. 12.

[8]Ibid., p. 23.

[9]David Holbrook, "Creativity in the English Programme," in Creativity in English, ed. Godffrey Summerfield (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1966), p. 4.

[10]Creber, p. 11.

[11]Ibid., p. 48.

[12]Ibid., p. 27.

[13]From inspector's Report on the author's teaching of Creative Writing at Mt. Silinda, 1973. See appendix.

[14]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 100.

[15]Ibid., p. 100.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION, LIBERATION AND THE CREATIVE ACT

It will be obvious at this stage in our study that the crucial point that links Freire's method with that of the teacher of creative writing is the role played by perception. Freire's method, unlike that of other progressive educators, makes man's observation of social phenomena and its artifacts, the starting point in conscientizing learning. Quoting Edmund Husserl at great length, Freire accepts that perception of a chosen object is set in a context of a background awareness of other objects. But in the act of sharpening human perception "men begin to single out elements from their "background awareness" and to reflect upon them."[1] From the darker recesses of intuitive awareness these objects or facets of objects begin to stand out assuming the nature of a problem, and therefore of a challenge. That is why he calls his methodology problem posing. The world newly perceived reappears as a problem to the student which he is challenged to solve.

Many writers on creative writing agree with Freire's view. A sense of "heightened awareness of exciting mental exploration and extension of experience"[2] implies the rediscovery of reality as a problem. A tree, a home, a mode of behaviour one knew yesterday is no longer the same. To the perceiver this newness demands a new

attitude toward the object. This new attitude expressed in the need "to grapple with experience"[3] can be inward looking, self-satisfied escapism or positively outward looking. The first leads to a self-fulfilling psychologism. David Holbrook typifies this school. To him, creativity represents "the processes of symbolism by which human beings seek to deal with their inward life."[4] While admitting the existence of an outward experience Holbrook insists that the inner experience is primary. The dynamics of personality function ahistorically in the human psyche, an indefinable subterranean quantity reachable only through symboism rendering the conscious mind incapable to control man's hates and loves. The creative dream becomes the perceptual idiom by which a man successfully grapples with experience, that is it enables him to cooperate with his indefinable inner world. What he calls "triumph over experience"[5] is not triumph over the object experienced but triumph over ourselves. The creative act is a solution not of a societal problem but that of a personal problem.

Creative writing can in fact be a most negative movement. It can prepare the child to live with the "realities of adult life" and that can mean "an innoculation against those realities . . . . Its purpose is to help people to accept the complexity of adult life and its inequality (the joy alongside the tragedy) and still remain people."[6] Or in the words of Nancy Martin, "we need the poetic (language) to adjust to new experiences."[7] That adjustment is often viewed as resulting from a form of creative catharsis making it

easier for us to tolerate the intolerable. Thus Maurice Sendak sees some children's games as

> the creative and imaginative ordering of a frightening and disordered reality . . . . Emotions such as fear, anger, hate are to a large degree controlled in the imagined world of fantasy. And this world becomes the battlefield of disturbing emotions where the child hopefully emerges the victor. His prize is the attainment of a measure of tranquility and self-assurance. It is through fantasy, the creative use of the imagination, that children achieve this catharsis . . . .[8]

Confronted with the realities of a world of exploitation and oppression men of this school of thought would define a good poem as that which should "look out on a fresh and beautiful world full of magic and wonder."[9] Coleridge said of Wordsworth that he proposed as his object, "to give charm of novelty to things of everyday by awakening the mind's attention . . . to the loveliness and wonders of the world before us."[10] How much beauty and wonder one may ask do we have in the world of T.S. Eliot's "Wasteland" or in Charles Mungoshi's

> Home . . .
> A heap of dust and rubble
> White immobile heat on the sweltering land
> Home . . .
> The long-nosed vulture
> Already smells carrion
> The ancient woman's skirts
> Give off an odour of trapped time.
> Home . . .
> External creak-crack of ox cart wheels against gravel.[11]

Beauty there is no doubt in this poetry but beauty of a different kind. There is beauty in the words but not in the world portrayed. The psychological approach to creative writing, therefore,

is both inadequate and dangerous, raising as it does, the possibility of adapting students to an oppressive order.

The approach to the creative act I subscribe to sees "grappling with experience"[12] as primarily an outward movement into the world. It stresses the idea of Raymond Williams that creative writing arises from a desire to communicate valued experience. Viewing man as primarily a social creature it stresses the sharing of the experience as the humanizing factor.

> Initially there is the obsession--the thing has you hooked, and you have to work your way free. And you work your way free by externalising, by getting it "out there where you can, if the relationship is good, share it with others. In effect, you say, 'This is how it was' or "This is how it seemed to me.'"[13]

To the perceiver, the reality suggests new meanings, as his sensibilities grow. "Creativity essentially consists in a recognition of meaning in a given material by an observer--a meaning which is not predictable from a mere examination of the elements presented."[14] This is a rejection of the notion of creation from nothing; referred to by Keats as "negative capability."[15] Out of nothing man invents but to be creative must basically mean a recognition of new meanings and possibilities in an existent object. It is in the continual discovery of new meanings in the daily reality that the creative act's potential for conscientization lies.

One major Freirean idea is that with the growth of critical consciousness men "begin to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation."[16] Indeed historicity of incident, photograph, scene or any other artifact

used for creative description is decisive in judging the conscientizing aspect of a work of creativity. Any kid could play around with a piece of cast away metal. But Sam Chimsoro's "Ghost of the Dumping Grounds" raises this simple act to a scandal by keeping a mocking contrast between the haves, and have-nots, "they" and "we," i.e., by giving it historicity.

THE SOLILOQUY OF THE GHOST OF THE DUMPING GROUNDS
- Sam Chimsoro

Aha! Here you are
No. It should be: "Here I am . . . prancing . . ."
To maintain my well nourished self esteem,
Flourishing in a fertile trough,
Full of greasy bins, glossy litter and dusty rags
Torn among rusty pins, screws and wiry rods
Whose black crusty scales are pealing,
To shed lustre on our improvisation.
Look my fingers look the same.
For they rake deep into the trough's loam
For fortune, such as this.
Here I am with this one
That needs just a bit of tinkering
On this corner to remove that
And leave everything smart.
This is something to be dusted
And glass-paper polished.
As there is no one around
Who can explain to me . . . to us . . .
Why so and so threw this away;
I say: that one does not see
The jigsaw that makes our life interesting.
If that one knew that we mime their
Nerve wrecking common market issues,
This place would not be there.
Now that it is here, I picked this,
To put it under my sticking overall
Without any fear of devaluation or duty
In our monetary unit; innocent monopoly practices
In which purpose prices the putrescent trash here
The last object I picked,
Apparently paltry, may be
A child's pallette to hang in a gallery
A cigar of nifty, leafy nicotine
But not a steel spade or a silver spoon.

I know I will rid it later
Like lumps, crumbs, twines and wires
To match myself with the class
That affords factory-fresh fashionables.
There is a loaded half ton again,
Lifting a curtaining couplet of choking dust
To enclose us in this stinking trough,
Yet to keep us alive in this rut,
By bringing goods processed finally
For caricaturing economic-change
Whirl wind without. Wait while
I dash to book rubbish bins.

The sarcasm, the irony, the sickly humour and glee of the little urchin, the uncertain pronoun "I", "we" and the complete concentrated absorption in futility is a crying indictment of man's devaluation by man. The poem is starkly concrete and raw as dirt in its uncompromising portrayal of the ghetto urchin yet structurally beautiful as an esthetic creation. The objects portrayed are ordinary, the meaning is profound. Both the urchin and the pieces of metal he is picking up become artifacts of an oppressive order. So also is the incident. The poet must have experienced some form of catharsis when he wrote this poem. But the definitive quality of that catharsis was not to adapt him to the system but one more step in the growth of his consciousness of the human meaning of oppression.

We must not overlook, however, the traditional western idea of the beautiful as having ethical and cognitive value or the beautiful as the way of the truth. The act of creation subjects the apparently discordant and violently contradictory realities of sensual perception into esthetic form. "Form is the negation, the mastery of disorder, violence, suffering."[17] The esthetic order so created subjects content to its own laws transcending the elements,

transforming their meanings to establish a new order where the "beautiful is the truth of art." The pain and suffering in reality are sublimated by esthetic necessity. "The horror of the crucifixion is purified by the beautiful composition . . . and in this esthetic universe joy and fulfillment find their proper place alongside pain and death--everything is in order again."[18] A form of catharsis is achieved. But since the reality art has so well decorated with beauty continues to be ugly, violent, unjust and oppressive, we must recognize an inherent contradiction in art "the self-defeat built into art."[19] Yet this is no fault of art. Art is perception. And just as a revolution in perception is unreal, so also is art. Even in its unreality, however, art can and does present a level of consciousness attained by the artist.

Nevertheless there is something basically liberating in the act of creation. The distance between the popular image of the African held by the white exploiter in Rhodesia contrasted with the image of his traditional past held by the student that underwent creative writing courses is most instructive. To the white man the

> African has never developed for himself a high civilization of his own, as have other peoples of the world who were presumably, created at the same time. He has remained in his primitive state until invaded by the white man's civilization which he is now eager to imitate.[20]

The evocative power of the creative writing student suggests a different image:

- B. Zimunya
(Chikore, 1971)

At the whisper of dawn, thudding drums tore the silence into tatters. The din was heard unto the sea. A few chosen women could be heard ululating and singing lazily into the waning darkness of that dawn. As the sun emerged, as if the birds were heralding the birth of a great prince of the tribe, a sudden music filled the air. Long before this, men and women had awakened to prepare for the day. Men and women had filtered into the kraal like a thousand working ants, dancing and swaying to the music. Back in this hut, nestling his youngest wife, Mpungu lay listening. He hated to think that he had been in prison. He hated to feel that the old music of the Fathers was slowly eroding away with new foreign cultures. He waited for a time till they would call him out of the hut. In the midst of the drums, he heard ancestral voices calling him softly. They were soft but incessant in their need. They wanted him to wake up and come home; yes, they wanted to see him home. But was he not at home? Then he saw Sohlangana himself, the real Mahokuza who had, with his impi, swept the whole land of the Svina at heels of Zvangendaba until he turned back at the Zambezi River; the Great King who had established the Nguni Kingdom that stretched from the Zambezi to the Limpopo, and then to Aba Swazi. He also saw uMzila, Nyamande, his own father, laughing at him and his brothers. Had he not told them that the country, "the whole country would be taken by the swallows that come from the sea?"

On the one hand the white oppressor insists that the African does not possess "the familiar attributes of the civilized which enable the civilized to acquire those useful powers which enable them to manipulate a knife and fork or to use a handkerchief . . . ."[21]

The creative writer sees a different image:

- R. Tavengwa
(Waddilove, 1972)

The hour had come. Red bright streaks of sunlight pierced the white and yellowish clouds. Slowly, slowly, the sun was disappearing in the west. Raiza was busy in her little kitchen. She sat cross-legged on a hairy sheep-skin half blinded by the smoke. She was twisting the cooking stick from left to right expertly. Suddenly,

> *she heard the faint beating of a drum. She became alert, her mind darting swiftly to Gomba's home. She knew that very soon she will be with him, at the dancing place a few metres from her home. Smiling gently, revealing strong white teeth, she thought how dearly he loved her. Her mouth broadened and the thin lips parted slowly . . . .*

The oppressor mythicizes the reality of oppression through concepts like "high standards," "civilizing mission," "modernization." The creative writer unveils the myth by bringing himself to the scene of the suffering individual, identifying with him and reconstructing his spiritual metabolism, caught in the exploitative nest of pain and sorrow. This he contrasts with the dignified full blooded life of his forefathers. This is possible because any act of creation arises from the individual's use of his own senses, his eyes, ears, taste, smell, etc. Even if that creative vision must come to him imaginatively, the act of creation involves an act of "seeing for himself" on the part of the creator. The imagination is in fact a vital element in this process. For as Shelley once put it:

> A man to be greatly good, must imagine intensely, and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pain and pleasures of his species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination; and poetry administers to the effect by acting upon the cause.[22]

The act of creation involves the writer in reconstructing the conceptual idiom and behaviours of his peoples past and present. This makes him less vulnerable to the linguistic idiom of deprecation and depreciation with which the oppressor labels the oppressed. The act of creation in fact leads to the "recovery of the true voice"[23] of the individual. The creator is speaking his own authentic word,

which according to Freire is a crucial aspect in the recovery of consciousness by the oppressed. In the works of these students, it is generally possible to trace their personal recovery of the authentic voice. Bonus Zimunya is an outstanding case. The following two poems were written three years apart.

TIRED (1969)

For my eyes fail
To keep their stare
Once pure as the full moon's
I feel drowsy
As a night-jar by day
In the sun's piercing rays
Or as an all-night-reveller

This steaming heat
Pierces this living carcass
Deadening every fresh cell:
My neck droops
As if I were boneless
And I sink, weak as
distilled brine
Into this springy sofa
Deep, as in a nest

My eyes close in despair
To see this vacant vision
Devoid of natural meaning.

CONQUERED (1971)

I sit down
and listen grit-grit
to the jovial sound-grit-grit-grit
of stainless steel-clip-clip-clip
cutting through at the scalp
of my hair
the frizzed black crown
my crown and only one.

Like a lunatic
I hold it in my hands
watching the breeze
spin the dandruff
Only wishing they knew
this innocent crown
would not crush the cell bars
or break the giant doors
and least . . .

"Put that blurry hair down!"

Nor break the giant doors
and least the Jericho walls.

The words underlined in "Tired" re-echo the linguistic traditions of Shakespeare, the Romantics and T. S. Eliot. Their predominance tends to muffle the individual voice and one feels that the poet has not really spoken his own word. In "Conquered," however, there is hardly any tradition to hang the words on but the writer's own experience. At the end of the poem we are left with very little of the words and a great deal of the experience. There is very little

that is "poetic" about "clip-clip-clip" or "stainless steel" or "dandruff" or "put that blurry hair down," but nothing could have conveyed the raw realities of the experience better. A man functioning on the linguistic level of "Tired" can easily be satisfied with the cliches of the linguistic universe of the oppressor. But one who functions on the linguistic level of "Conquered" has got his perceptual idiom too well earthed upon realities to be that easily deceived. The scales have fallen off his eyes and he is free.

The argument that creative writing is liberating goes beyond what is created to the creative experience itself. Creativity has been defined as the

> Capacity to innovate, to invent, to place elements together in a way in which they have never before been placed such that their value or beauty is enhanced . . . . Contrasted with conformity it is the capacity to transcend the usual ways of dealing with problems or objects with new, more useful and more effective patterns.[24]

Accepting Foote and Cottrell's characterization of evidence of creativity as "the actor's quality to free himself from established routines of perception and action."[25] Natalie and Morris Haimowitz further draw up the following list of attributes that have been imputed to creative persons in contrast to those of the non-creative types.

Creative: Intelligence, flexibility, spontaneity, humour, originality, ability to perceive a variety of essential features of an object or situation, playfulness, radicalness, eccentricity, freedom, marginality and secularity.

Non-Creative: Neatness, rigidity, control, thoroughness, reason, logic, respect for tradition and authority of a tendency to routinize and organize tasks.

The attributes of the creative individual presented apparently cut him out for a revolutionary role. For our purpose the significance of this lies in the initial premise of the authors which I share that creativity "is not inborn but is a product of experience."[26] The students that undergo a series of creative experiences are undergoing a unique type of growth, a growth into freedom. The long list of renowned persons cited by the two authors coming from broken homes suggests that the climate of non-domineering leadership is conducive to creative growth.[27] That confirms Freire's dialogical approach. Hallman argues that it is not even the nature of the subject being taught that promotes creativity. "The problem is to teach whatever we have at hand in a creative manner,"[28] the kind of teaching that continually engages the student in acts of creation. He goes further, "These concepts--creativity, freedom, initiative responsibility--are logically related. The creative imagination functions as an instrument for achieving freedom . . . (the individual) initiates his own encounters, and he takes responsibilities for what he does."[29]

Much of Hallman's analysis arises from his reading of educational psychologists like Carl Rogers. His ideas of the liberated, creative man is more psychological than social. There is, however, no boundary line between the growth of the individual into a well integrated self and a socially creative personality. In fact, our study of consciousness and alienation suggests that self actualization

is an essential part of the individual's growth to critical consciousness. The creative process is intrinsically in itself a liberating act--psychologically, socially, intellectually, etc. It always involves a revolt, a rejection of the status quo and an abandonment of what is accepted. The creative act forces the student to reinterpret existence, redefine reality, refashion what is known into novel form: it demands that the students remake the world.

> Problem-posing education bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality, thereby responding to the vocation of men as beings who are authentic only when engaged in enquiry and creative transformation.[30]

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER VII

[1]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 70.

[2]Creber, p. 24.

[3]Ibid., p. 39.

[4]Holbrook, "Creativity in the English Programme," p. 1.

[5]Ibid., p. 13.

[6]O'Malley, p. 72.

[7]Cited by Denis Watson, "Children's Writing in Transition," English in Education, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Autumn, 1969), p. 80.

[8]Maurice Sendak, "On the Importance of the Imagination," Readings on Creativity and Imagination in Literature and Language, ed. V. Kosinki (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1968), p. 17.

[9]Creber, p. 29.

[10]Ibid., p. 32.

[11]Mungoshi, p. 52.

[12]Creber, p. 24.

[13]Godffrey Summerfield, ed., "A Few Examples of Creative English," Creativity in English (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1966), p. 37.

[14]Reginald D. Archambault, "Education and Creativity," in Readings on Creativity and Imagination in Literature and Language, ed. V. Kosinki (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1968), p. 37.

[15]Burton, p. 19.

[16]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 71.

[17]Marcuse, Essay on Liberation, p. 43.

[18]Ibid., p. 44.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Letter from "Oppressed White" cited by Leyw, p. 259.

[21]Ibid., p. 261.

[22]Creber, p. 73.

[23]Holbrook, p. 39.

[24]Natalie Reader Haimowitz and Morris M. Haimotiz, "What Makes Them Creative?" in Readings on Creativity and Imagination in Literature and Language, ed. V. Kosinki (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1968), p. 25.

[25]Ibid., p. 26.

[26]Ibid., p. 25.

[27]Ibid., p. 31.

[28]Ralph Hallman, "Principles of Creative Teaching," in Readings on Creativity and Imagination in Literature and Language, ed. V. Kosinki (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1968), p. 25.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 71.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

Freire sees the colonized man as the uncreative man. The colonized are "the silent, castrated in their power to create and recreate, in their power to transform the world."[1] Likewise the purpose of banking education is to minimize or annul the students' creative power and stimulate their credulity."[2] This reduces man to a "spectator not recreator,"[3] of the world. It leads man "to adjust to the world and limits their creative power."[4] It is through the process that Freire variously describes as "indoctrination," "depositing," "prescription," "banking," "issuing communiques," that colonial education achieves this. The student is turned into an imitator.

Since Africa in general, has gone through the period of colonial rule with its exploitative education, there is abundant evidence that the concientizing processes we have advocated for liberating the Rhodesian black are sorely needed for most of black Africa.

The colonized imitators are found even on Kenya's independence day singing,[5]

> Bobby Shaftoe's gone to sea
> Silver buckles on his knee
> He'll come back and marry me
> Bonny Bobby Shaftoe

In his study of the cultural revolution in independent Africa,[6] Okot P. Bitek complains of black leaders "that wear tailed coats and striped trousers for their weddings and cover their wives with mosquito nets," and have the "inevitable tea party after the ceremony when it is so hot."[7] Then there are the judges and lawyers who come in dressed in medieval robes and wigs to awe their peasant clients. Educational institutions themselves more often remain centers of a cultural apemanship. Wrote one critic: "African scholars train the youth in their own image. They suffocate in their gowns, say grace in Latin, quote Shakespeare or Racine/or indeed Nkrumah and Castro while the masses remain illiterate."[8]

Our advocacy of creativity as a way to liberation does not mean, however, that every creative African will ipso facto have enough African consciousness to shift the epicenter of his creative operations from Europe to Africa. Our analysis of the alienated imagination[9] has demonstrated that we cannot equate creativity with consciousness. Creativity gives us a handle with which to develop a people's consciousness. But it remains a fact that some creative individuals, although they may be individualistically free have not overcome the psychical damage of a foreign myth; they have not been able to see their creative acts as part of a collective movement in a cultural revolution. For us to validate the claim that the literature produced by our creative writing courses indeed belongs to Africa's cultural revolution it is essential to identify that African literature which qualifies for that role from that which does not.

African writers fall into three broad categories: the eccentrics, the romantics and the realists. The eccentrics, led by the Nsuka-Ibadan poets, are a very famous few in international circles. These include such stalwarts as Wole Soyinka, Christopher Okigbo and Michael Echeruo. The romantics generally called Negritude writers, come mostly from former French Africa. The realists, the bulk of African writers, are identified by the historicity, situationality and perceptual immediacy of their works.

The eccentrics display all the muddle-headed indirection of an alienated elite. They have been criticized by African critics for "old fashioned, craggy unmusical language, obscure and inaccessible diction, a plethora of imported imagery and a divorce from African Oral tradition."[10] In his little blurb on "Heavensgate," Christopher Okigbo reveals this indirection in his poetry thus:

> Heavensgate was originally conceived as an Easter sequence. It later grew into a ceremony of innocence, something like a Mass, an offering to Idoto, the village stream of which I drank, in which I washed as a child; the celebrant a personage like Orpheus is about to begin a journey.[11]

The poet is obviously not in control of his work. He is a victim of Christian, African and Greek mythological traditions that he cannot handle. In the very first stanza that muddled perception is confirmed:

> Before you Mother Idoto
> naked I stand
> before your watery presence
> a prodigal
> leaning on an oilbean
> lost in your legend
> Under your power wait I
> on bare foot

Watch man for the watchword
at Heavensgate
Out of the depth of my cry
give ear and harken.[12]

Basically this is an unAfrican and Christian quest. The legend of a prodigal savant standing contritely before some saintly Mother (Mary) or what have you is a Catholic symbolism of the quest for human regeneration. So what is Mother Idoto with her "Oilbean" doing there? The traditional African quest for salvation is not an act of abnegation, but affirmation; its not standing naked and contritely before a god but saying "Ya" to life jumping into the stream Idoto and feeling the exhilerating regeneration of holy waters. Okigbo's "Heavensgate" shows the lack of perceptive clarity of the alienated writer. Later in the poem you meet lines like "Singeth Jadum the minstrel/Singeth Jadum from Rockland." Latinisms abound: Lustra; Lacrimae Christi; Lumen mundi . . . .[13]

The same emphasis on exotic imagery is noticeable in Michael Echeruo's poetry. In his "Sophia" you have references to "Chaos," "Eve," "Adam," the "Virgin," "Martha," "Sophia," and Latinisms like "vita nuova" as the key functional imagery of the poem. Decoding the poem is a puzzle. One must quary through Judeo-Christian, Greek and Roman mythology to make sense of it. In the end it is the "cleverness" of the poet one gets and not much new understanding of the historical reality of his African existence. In fact, it is the foreign western critic that finds this writing meaningful. The argument against these poets is that (1) the alien images become the reality of the poem, and the external perceivable reality virtually

disappears; (2) that an overload of alien symbolism becomes the tinted lenses through which one should view the African reality--as if our own African eye--unchristianized and unwesternized is incapable of seeing right, which is what colonialists taught us; and (3) the alien symbolism acts as a barrier to our experiencing any concrete reality that should be the subject matter of the writing.

Wole Soyinka described by Western scholars as an "inconvestable genius"[14] and holding professorships in Western universities like Shefield, Cambridge, Columbia and M.I.T. is indeed the problem child of African literature. While the American scholar Bernth Lindfors finds his language "impeccable" African critics find it "obscure and tired."[15] His novel The Interpreters, described by a white critic as "one of the most impressive pieces of African fiction published in the last few years"[16] is denounced by an African critic "not only because, as some might say, it is faulty in its form but because it is not really there--it does not belong to the society."[17] Both in theme and in language Soyinka's work means very little to the African reader.

In The Interpreters he writes:

> Metal on concrete jars my drink lobes. This was Sagoe, grumbling as he stuck his fingers in his ears against the mad screech of iron tables. Then his neck was nearly snapped as Dehinwa leapt up and Sagoe's head dangled in the void where her lap had been. Pandele's arms never ceased to surprise. At half-span they embraced table chairs, pushed them deep into the main wall as dancers dodged long Chameleon tongues of the couldburst and the wind leapt at them visibly, malevolent. In a moment only the band was left.[18]

Soyinka's language is mystifying to most readers. What are "drink lobes," why choose the word "void" or "half-span" or "embraced" why "chameleon tongues of the cloudburst," how does a wind leap? etc. At any rate, what is happening here? What is the incident? Soyinka is vague, imprecise, abstract and downright bewildering to the reader. If he is writing in the manner of the absurd, and his "famous" plotless, meaningless plays suggest this--so much the worse. For the nihilism that informs that western school is meaningful only in a highly industrialized, impersonal and individualistic society, which Africa is not. Africa's metaphysical view of the world is still largely cohesive. Wole Soyinka seeks to impose on us a cultural absurdity we have not yet experienced. Soyinka thus fails to portray African life with such concrete specificity and perceptual immediacy that would qualify his work to be viewed as artifacts of the cultural revolution. The type of consciousness revealed by the eccentrics is what Freire called naive.[19] They show no sense of history and write as if the system is basically good, as if it is the individuals that need reforming. Hence much of their writing depicts individualized quests for a personal salvation. But the literature that will contribute to Africa's cultural revolution must function on the level of critical consciousness.

Our students, learning to write through basic exercises in the use of their own senses on the concrete historical reality around them, escape dangers of producing meaningless eccentric and colonized literature. With the need to convey meaning to their dialogical comrades as part of the training they grow to realize

that a work of creative literature must not only be--it must say something to somebody. And if they should borrow a foreign symbol, it should only serve to enrich their own meaning of their own historically perceived reality. It must be domesticated. Such a borrowing was attempted in the following poem by Sam Chimsoro:

NIOBE

For as long as the Zambezi
River remains a river,
The Victoria Falls will be falls
Bound by a luxurious vegetation
That issues mist moistened
Nose-dilating perfumes,
That flow opposite to the cascade
Through rainbow archways
To some smiling tourist standing by,
Unaware of the river-bed's plight.
No one prevents pebbles from falling
From the bed when water-shed waste
Flows past wealthy tourists
Interested in rainbows and fragrance
Which are expensive products
Of an exhaustive industry.
As no city architect will rebuild
Niobe's retreating and deferring bed;
As no carpenter will fill
All nicks made on Niobe's table
By ivory-handled table knives
In the hands of satisfied guests:
While Niobe sobs behind curtains
Hoping to fall asleep and
Find shelter in a dream world;
But in seemingly calm pools of slumber
Shapeless amphibians attack her
In much the same manner
As in the prolific vegetation;
While film producers follow the species,
With none of them observing her wrung face
That has two untamed springs
Whose water's splashing is
Her only voice against frustration,
Until she is petrified
In that nightmare.

This is borrowing, but what dominates the poem is not the legend of Niobe but Chimsoro's favorite theme: the difference between the "haves" and the "have nots." The "haves" with their money tour beauty spots like Victoria Falls, eat well, make films on the beauties of nature, while the have-nots bear the burden of keeping the rich happy but for themselves reap only a feast of tears. And the thrust of the poem is the indifference of the rich to the fate of the poor. The tone is personal, the diction simple, and the details local and historical.

The focusing of students' attention on day-to-day artifacts of their existential realities also inhibits the growth of tendencies that appear in the works of writers we have called romantics. This school of writing, called negritude, presents an extreme reaction to the denigration of the African personality in colonial and western thinking. It is the "black is beautiful" movement that sets out to present the positive side of black culture. In doing so, it places an undue emphasis on the "innocence, the purity and the artless primitiveness"[20] of Africa:

> I love the days of long ago
> Great days of virtuous chastity
> When wild men and wilder beasts
> Kept close company.
> I love Africa as herself
> Unsophisticated queenly Africa
> That previous pearl of the past.

The Africa of negritude poets is a generalized[21] Africa located in the imagination and suffused with nostalgic dreams. For the movement was born not in Africa but in France. Started by West Indian poets who felt keenly the state of their cultural alienation, it was joined

by a large number of blacks from French West Africa. Both had long been assimilated into black Frenchmen and when they realized they had to return to African culture, the Africa they wanted to return to was now only a dream to them:[22]

> Africa my Africa
> Africa of proud warriors in ancestral savannahs
> Africa of whom my grand mother sings
> On the banks of the distant river
> I have never known you.

Being removed from the experience of living in Africa they had to recreate what they viewed to be the unique qualities of the African personality and these provided the theme of some of the most lyrical and moving verse ever produced on the continent. The African was presented as loving, innocent, passionate, musical, rhythmic, trusting but not gifted with much intellect. He could also mystically communicate with nature. Senghor, the leader of the movement sums it all up in "Nite of Sine."[23]

> Woman, rest on my brow your balsam hands, your hands
> gentler than fur.
> The tall palmtrees swinging in the nightwind
> Hardly rustle. Not even cradlesongs,
> The rhythmic silence rocks us.
> Listen to its song, listen to the beating of our dark blood,
> listen
> To the beating of the dark pulse of Africa in the mist of
> lost villages.
> Now the tired moon sinks towards its bed of slack
> water,
> Now the peals of laughter even fall asleep, and the bards
> themselves
> Dandle their heads like children on the backs of their
> mothers.
> Now the feet of the dancers grow heavy and heavy grows
> the tongue of the singers.
> This is the hour of the stars and of the night that dreams
> And reclines on this hill of clouds, draped in her long
> gown of milk.

Of course Negritude was also powerful protest poetry. Diop, in the poem "Africa" writes

> . . . Your blood flows in my veins
> Your beautiful black blood that irrigates the fields
> The blood of your sweat
> The sweat of your work
> The work of your slavery
> The slavery of your children.[24]

But with all its passionate protest and lyricism negritude functions on the level of the general not particular. It arises not from perceptual reality but from abstract assumptions that are capable of easily getting out of touch with concrete historical realities. Compare, for example, these lines from Senghor's romanticized description of "Harlem" with lines from Chimsoro's "Dumping Grounds":

> Harlem Harlem! Now I saw Harlem! A green
> breeze of corn springs up from the
> pavements ploughed by the naked feet
> of dancers
> Bottoms waves of silk and sword-blade
> breasts, water lily ballets and fabulous masks.
> At the feet of police horses roll the
> mangoes of love from low houses.
> And I saw along the sidewalks streams
> of white rum streams of black milk in the
> blue fog of cigars . . . .[25]

Of course if black must always be beautiful anything goes. But for my students it was the realistic approach that mattered. They had to recognize that a dumping ground in the ghetto is a hobby place for children of the poor although it is

> *Full of greasy bins, glossy litter and dusty rags*
> *Torn among rusty pins, screws and wiry rods*
> *Whose black crusty scales are pealing*
> *To shed lustre on (their) improvisation . . . .*[26]

The protest does not lie in black men declaring themselves to be angels but in the exposure of the inhuman existence they are compelled into.

The type of consciousness on which negritude operates has been defined by Freire as fanaticized consciousness. Men falling into this trap are "disengaged from reality . . . the distortion of reason makes men irrational . . . they follow general formulas and prescriptions . . . their creative power is impaired.[27] The effect of this development can only be greater dehumanization as the people concerned alienate themselves from human realities by clutching at abstracts.

My creative writing students were producing a form of literature that has been called critical realism.[28] The founding father of this type which now dominates African fiction, poetry, and drama is the Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe. His Things Fall Apart (1958) inaugurated an era of literary production on the African continent that has become the most powerful single factor in the African cultural revolution uniting the diverse peoples of that continent. Today an old woman in a Rhodesian audience falls into tears as her personal sorrows are explored on the stage through an English idiom that sounds like her own native language in a play written in Ghana:[29]

Barren:
If it is real barrenness
My stranger girl
Whom I do not know
I weep for you.
For I know what it is
To start a marriage
With barrenness
You ought to have
Kept quiet
And crouched by
Your mothers hearth
Where ever that is
For the world you have
Run in to enter
Is most unkind
To the barren
With your machines that cook
And your machines that sweep
They want people
My people have
A lusty desire
To see the tender skin
On top of a child's scalp
Rise and fall with human life
Your machines stranger girl
Cannot go on an errand
They have no hands
To dress you when you are dead
You need one machine now
That which will weep for you
Yes stranger girl
You need that most . . . .

Similarly Nigerian critics go ecstatic over the work of a Ugandan poet describing it as "the best rounded single work of African poetry in English."[30] Throughout the continent whether it be an Achebe creating scenes of the cruel and cynical destruction of a rich African civilization by colonial powers, or Ngugi Wa Thiogo depicting atrocities of Kenyan war of independence or Charles Mungoshi depicting the gross inequalities created by racial exploitation in Rhodesia this crop of writers, by situating incident within concrete realities, by depth of descriptive power, by evocative

effects--bringing into life real men and real experiences--and by a language that uniquely retains the burden of an African idiom, are bearing the torch of African cultural revolution.

The idea of presenting a realistic African tone and atmosphere forced these writers to domesticate the English language. Achebe says: "I feel certain that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its African surroundings."[31] We have already noted what this means in traditional dialogue.[32] But the link between much of this linguistic innovation and traditional folklore should be illustrated. This praise poem appears in Godfrey Bopotos project on oral tradition.[33]

> *Thanks to you*
> *The Mwendamberi in Rukodzi*
> *. . . The Mbiri Muzembe himself*
> *Those who demolish and devour authills*
> *Chirau, the waters that have been stirred*
> *The first drinkers of river water . . .*

The influence of this can be traced to the same student's attempt to recapture the tone of the praise poetry in a traditional wife's request to her husband, in a short story:

> *Makai, my daughters only father*
> *My sole lord upon this world*
> *You are the lion that trembles with rage*
> *And whose presence razes the voices of women*
> *Look now, the barn is nothing but an empty stomach.*
> *Does the lion see his wife and cub safe anymore?*[34]

This is not English English. This is African English, English domesticated by an African consciousness at a moment of revolutionary awakening.

The modern city African, however, would speak a different language. In West Africa there is a pidgin English, a kind of workers lingo that developed much earlier than the African revolution. The rest of Africa has no special English dialect. The revolutionary nature of the modern African writers depicting city life lies therefore in the perceptual clarity and immediacy of word to meaning.[35]

Critical realism is thus the school of writing that in my view fulfills the demands of Africa's cultural revolution. These as we have shown throughout this work are that the work be situated in a real historical context, that the context be a recognizable socio-economic and political system, that through descriptive power, clarity and detail the work reveal the workings of perceptive tools liberated from the oppressive cliche, that the work be faithful to African traditions and world view, that it has sufficient evocative power to make the reader feel present at the scene of the action.

The critical realist writer achieves that desirable level of consciousness Freire has called critical.[36] The individual incident or artifact is part of a larger system. And the quest for regeneration is not just directed to a "private transformation of individuals,"[37] but more importantly it points to the need for the transformation of the larger society.

The critically transitive consciousness is characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems; by the substitution of causal principles for magical explanations; by the testing of one's findings and by openness to revision; by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analyzing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility; by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to the new for reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old just because it is old; by accepting what is valid in both old and new.[38]

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER VIII

[1]Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 33.

[2]Ibid., p. 60.

[3]Ibid., p. 62.

[4]Ibid., p. 64.

[5]Sung by a school choir at Kisumu, June 1960, during independence day celebrations. See Okot p'Bitek's Africa's Cultural Revolution (Nairobi: Macmillan, 1973), p. vi.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., p. 4.

[8]Pierre van den Berghe, "European Languages and Black Mandarins," Transition 34 (December-January 1968), Vol. 7(iii), p. 21.

[9]Supra, pp. 104-107.

[10]Chinweizu, Onwuchekwa Jemie and Ihechukwu Madubuike, "Towards the De-colonization of African Literature," Okike, No. 7 (April 1975), p. 7.

[11]Cited in Kofi Awanoor's The Breast of Earth (New York: Garden City, 1975), p. 218.

[12]Gerald Moore and Ulli Beier, Modern Poetry from Africa (Middlesex: Penguin, 1965), p. 133.

[13]Ibid., p. 136.

[14]Cited in Ossie Onuora Enekwe's "Wole Soyinka as Novelist," Okike, No. 9 (December 1975), p. 72.

[15]Ibid., p. 76.

[16]Ibid., p. 72.

[17]Ibid., p. 76.

[18]Wole Soyinka, The Interpreters (London: A. Deutsch, 1965), p. 7.

[19]Supra, p. 16.

[20]Ezekiel Mphahlele, "A Reply," in African Literature and the Universities, ed. Gerald Moore (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1965), p. 23.

[21]Cited by J. P. Clark, "Poetry in Africa Today," Transition 18 (Kampala, 1965), Vol. 4, p. 21.

[22]David Diop, "Africa," in Modern Poetry from Africa, eds. Gerald Moore and Ulli Biere (Middlesex: Penguin, 1965), p. 63.

[23]Leopold Senghor, "Nite of Sine," in Modern Poetry from Africa, eds. Gerald Moore and Ulli Biere (Middlesex: Penguin, 1965), p. 48.

[24]Diop, p. 63.

[25]Ibid., p. 57.

[26]Supra, p. 165.

[27]Cited by William Smith, p. 39.

[28]Chinweizu, et al., p. 77.

[29]Mrs. Cele wept while watching my production of Dilemma of a Ghost by the Ghanaian playwright, Ama Ata Aidoo, in which appear the lines quoted. Apparently she was herself barren, and had been forced to break up her marriage, according to traditional African custom.

[30]Chinweizu, et al., p. 27.

[31]Cited by Kofi Awanoor, p. 257.

[32]Supra, p. 53.

[33]From Godfrey Bopoto's research project, see Appendix.

[34]Godfrey Bopoto, "Unbroken Ties," unpublished short story.

[35]Supra, p. 54.

[36]Supra, p. 18.

[37]Chinweizu, et al., p. 81.

[38]Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 18.

APPENDIX

EXTRACTS FROM A PROJECT ON

KOREKORE LEGENDS AND HISTORY OF THE SHONA PEOPLE

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MUZEMBE PEOPLE

by Godfrey Bopoto

The Location and Measurement of the Length of the Land

There is a legend which explains why and how the land of Rukodzi was given to Muzembe.

The land of Rukodzi was chosen because the land was fertile and received good rainfall. There was also a big mountain which came to be called Manyimiro Mountain. This mountain had a lot of tunnels into which the Shona people found refuge during the Ndebele raids. The caves and tunnels also provided burial places for the Muzembe elderly people.

Muzembe had a small gourd in which he kept a string made of fibre. He asked the soldiers of Mangwende to pull the string out of the gourd by its end. Where the string ended was going to be the end of the area that Muzembe wanted to be his and for his people only.

Mangwende's soldiers pulled the string along until they had gone so far that they began to doubt whether or not the string's other end had come out of the small gourd. After travelling for kilometres and kilometres, they sent other soldiers to check whether the end of the string was still in the gourd or was being pulled along as they travelled. The soldiers brought back the information

that the end of the string was still in the small gourd. The leader of the party of soldiers and the others who had not satisfied their eyes went to check the correctness of the information. The others who remained behind were told to keep on pulling the string. The leader and his soldiers went back to Muzembe and found the information to be true. They returned and found out that the other party had travelled for many more kilometres. Together the two parties kept on pulling the fibre string.

The Mangwende soldiers grew tired and decided to stop at the place they had come to. For the continuation of the travelling would lead to Muzembe's occupation of too large an area. They went back to check on the gourd and still found the string's other end in the gourd.

The soldiers marked the extent of Muzembe's land and reported their work to Chief Mangwende. Mangwende was astonished and told them to let the Muzembe land extend to where the soldiers had marked. Muzembe agreed to let the soldiers define the boundaries of the land because he was never an aggressive man.

All the other people of Mangwende on Muzembe's land were evicted so that Muzembe's people would have their land to themselves.

That was how the Muzembe's area called Rukodzi came into being.

The Legend of Muzembe's Magic with The String and Gourd of Mysteries

All the people around Rukodzi feared the Nondo people of Muzembe. Even Mangwende himself became a very close friend of Muzembe because he was a man who had the powers of even commanding the trees to move.

Once in every year, Muzembe was known to go to heaven and get back into his mother's womb. The surprising thing was that he never became rejuvenated.

Early in the morning, Muzembe would take hold of the end of a string. The string was said to rise into the air and it took him to the upper layers until he disappeared. This took place and was witnessed by all the people of the Rukodzi area. After his disappearance beyond the clouds, the string would fall back but he never reappeared.

For some days Muzembe was wherever he had gone. After the period of his mysterious disappearance had expired, some beer was prepared to welcome our forefather Muzembe who had to return to his people from heaven. It was said that he collected more herbs and powers on his return.

For days the people celebrated his coming. The proof of his coming back was that his mother's breasts became filled with some fresh baby's milk.

Muzembe's Death in a Cave in the Bowels of Manyimiro Mountain

Muzembe was a great hunter. He had several dogs which were always beside him. He was given the name "Chirau Wembwachena," i.e., "Chirau of white dogs."

Chirau had two wives as it was allowed during those days to have as many wives as one could have. (This was because our old ancestors wanted the perpetuation of the tribe.)

One of Chirau's wives was very beautiful and young. Chirau or Muzembe had three sons. They were Chikuse, Shunje, and Chavanji. (All the other daughters were taken to be unimportant in our history because they were said to "enrich other people" when they got married.)

Chavanji was attacked and killed by a lion (and that was the end of him).

Chikuse, like most of the Nondo people, loved beautiful women very much. He proposed love to his father's (Chirau) youngest, glamorous and sweet wife. They fell in love and ran away secretly together. He died somewhere without anybody's knowledge of his whereabouts. He later came back as a "mudzimu" (spirit) to inform his people about what had happened to him. So at last, his people knew that he was no more alive.

Chirau was terribly angered. The son Chikuse had derided him. He had been made a figure of shame and derision. He thought of a way of getting rid of himself.

One day in the morning, he told his only remaining wife to remain home while the people of the village went to work in their fields. His wife had brewed many pots of beer. Chirau told his wife to carry her baby on her back and follow him. The two of them took the pots of beer into a cave called "ninga" in Shona. Chirau told his wife to follow him into the cave with her small child on her back. The woman protested but Chirau said that he was trying to trail an animal that had entered the cave after he had maimed it. The wife complied with his request.

In caves, when one goes further into the interior, one gets lost and never comes back. Chirau and his wife died in the cave after their beer got finished. Nobody knew where they had gone.

Chirau loved his woman so much that he preferred dying with her in a cave rather than leaving her behind for other men to take over.

For a long time the Nondo people in Rukodzi did not know where he was and what had happened to him. They discovered what had happened to him only after he came back as a spirit. This spirit since has appeared through six mediums (homwe) and today (29th of September, 1976) the spirit uses the seventh medium (a woman, Auntie Misodzi) who is very old.

EXTRACTS FROM A PROJECT ON

FOLK TALES

by Jennifar Mutamba

The Owl--King of All Other Birds

Long ago all the birds lived together and they were very happy. They all had one king and that was the owl. The owl had lice all over his body, so all the birds were supposed to go on duty picking out the lice from their king's feathers every day. Each day the owl sat up in the tree dozing while the bird on duty removed the lice from his body. The birds were very afraid of the owl so they had to do their duties whether they liked them or not.

They were so afraid of the owl because he had told them that he had horns and not ears, so that every bird who was stubborn was going to be pierced to death with the owl's horns. To hide the fact that he had no horns but feathers, the owl never allowed the bird on duty to remove the lice near his ears. They could remove lice from all over his body except his head.

Then one day a certain little bird was on duty. He removed the lice and scratched the owl's body so softly that he went to sleep. While he was asleep, the little bird began to look and touch the owl's horns, and all he found were feathers and no horns. After discovering this, the little bird went away quietly without waking

the owl and all the other birds that were deceived by the owl were told the truth. The owl had feathers and no horns.

On hearing this, all the birds were very angry with the owl, and they went to him and started to bite him and chase him away. Then, from that day on, the owl began to stay alone, away from the other birds.

Even today we can still see the owl staying all by itself and moving only during the night when other birds are sleeping. This is because he is afraid of what he did long ago. If the owl moves during the day, the other birds will bite him and chase him away.

Why People Laugh at the Hyena

Once upon a time, all the animals in the forest were of the same colour. All the animals were brown. The leopard was brown, the zebra was brown, and the hyena was brown.

The hyena was a very, very bad animal. He was unkind. He used to take the small tortoise with the small short legs and put him high up in a tree. Then he laughed and went away leaving the little tortoise with his short legs in fear of falling down from the tree and dying. Later the leopard came and the tortoise called to him: "Please, leopard, help me to get down." The leopard looked up and saw the poor little tortoise high up in the tree. The leopard was kind and he helped the little tortoise to come down.

Then the tortoise said to him: "Because you were kind to me, I will make you very beautiful." So the tortoise took his box

of colours and made beautiful black spots on the leopard's head and back. The leopard said, "Thank you," to the little tortoise and went away. Soon the zebra saw the leopard and asked him where he got those beautiful spots. The leopard answered, "I got them from the little tortoise." So the zebra went to the tortoise and said to him, "Little tortoise, you made the leopard very beautiful. Please make me beautiful, too." The tortoise took his box of colours and made beautiful black lines on the zebra's head, back and legs. The zebra said, "Thank you," and went away. On the way he met the hyena who said, "Zebra, you are very beautiful, and I saw the leopard and he is beautiful, too. Where did you get your beautiful stripes?" The zebra said, "Go to the little tortoise and ask him."

So the hyena went to the tortoise and said, "Tortoise, you are making all the animals beautiful. Please make me beautiful, too. If you don't make me beautiful, I will put you up in the tree." The tortoise did not answer. He took his scissors and cut the hyena's hair so that it was long here and short there. Then he took his box of colours and he put black spots here and black stripes here and there. So today, the hyena has long hair and short hair and has stripes and spots; and if one only says his name, everybody laughs because a hyena looks very ugly.

Tug-of-War

One day the hare met an elephant in the forst and said, "Elephant, will you have a game with me?" "What game can I play with you?" asked the elephant. "You are so little," he added.

"Well, I want to have a tug-of-war," said the hare. "You will hold one end of the rope and I will take the other and then we will pull and pull and we'll know who is stronger than the other." To this the elephant laughed and said, "You are so little!" "That does not matter," said the hare. "I will go and get a rope from my house."

So the hare went to his house and got a rope. Then he went to the river and there he met a hippopotamus. The hare asked him again if he would play a game with him. "What game will I play with you? You are so little," the hippo said in disgust. "That does not matter," said the hare. "We'll have a tug-of-war. You will hold this end of the rope and I'll hold the other end; and we will begin to pull apart, then we will see who is great and stronger." "Very well," said the hippo. "You go and get ready."

The hare ran off to the elephant and said, "Here is the rope, take this end. My end is over there. Now I'll go over there and get ready. When I shout, we'll both begin to pull."

The hippo held his end of the rope and the elephant his end, but they did not see each other. Then the hare ran to the middle of the rope and shouted, "Are you ready? Pull!" Then the elephant pulled and the hippo pulled. They pulled and pulled and pulled. All the morning they pulled. Finally, in the evening, the hare who

was lying in the grass laughing called out, "Hippopotamus, shall we stop? I am very tired." So the hippo dropped his end of the rope and went to sleep. At the same time the hare called out, "Elephant, shall we stop? I am tired."

"Yes," said the elephant strongly. "I am very tired. I did not know you were so strong." But the hare only said, "I am not at all tired."

EXTRACTS FROM A PROJECT ON

THE CHIEFTAINSHIP OF CHIEF MUTEMA, A MAN WHOSE QUALITIES HAVE RESISTED THE TEMPTATIONS OF TIME

by Gilford Mhloyi

It is a paradox that it took generations and generations for many European governments to come to a democratic rule; yet Africa, which by historians has always been termed as "The Dark Continent," has been having chiefs who ruled their people democratically and who never exploited their people. Historians have overlooked and tramped these things under their feet. Possibly they were just informed by biased explorers whose information might have been restricted to a small area where they might have been ill-treated and hence looked at everything around that area as bad or, where he was well received by some excited Africans, then the history of that area and every system of government around that area was regarded as an Israelite's Canaan. There are, however, chiefs like Chaka termed by historians as "Chaka the Cruel" or "Chaka the Destroyer"; but there is also Napoleon Bonaparte, there is also Hercules and Hitler--all these four were heads of armies and a leader of an army can be nothing else but a dictator, nothing else but a megalomaniac. (Of course, all these are military factions.) But Chief Mlozi, the last of the slavers in Malawi, the then Nyasaland,

is one of note as he is a good example of those Africans who were so absorbed, not in the ruling of their people, but in enriching themselves to cope with the outside world, economics-wise.

But to me, there is one whom I call an ideal African chief who to the eye of my mind appears as "A man whose qualities have resisted the temptations of time," a man who despite his low education has tried to look at the government that acts as a bridge between his people and happiness and has tried to reject the government's ruling in many spheres and has come to unite his people through nothing else but his resisting qualities.

This pamphlet does not, however, seek to go deep down into his political beliefs or rather the political beliefs of his people but would touch such items if they have any effect on his position. So my aim is to try and paint a picture of how he came to be where he is, his duties and how chiefs before him and he himself have been annointed, scrubbing the top layer of the cultural and social life of his people.

Chief Mutema's kingdom stands aloof on a princely splendour and it's as sensible to ask how he came to occupy that place as it is unsensible to ask the origin of man.

It was only the rain making magic* that started the whole thing. At Mbire, where the whole Ndau tribe is said to have come from and settled to where it is, Chief Mutema (his predecessors) was

---

*Medicine kept in calabashes to do unknown arts.

married to Musikavanhu's daughter. Through man's folly of revealing every secret to his wife, Mutema fell into the same trap and revealed where he kept his medicine which was responsible for rain-making. Mabota plotted with his daughter to steal the "gona" which she did, and he with some admirers and family ran away and settled in Mhungura. Chief Mutema and his men trailed after them, passed via a place called Runzeererano where Mabota, during his escape, had fallen in love with a beautiful, young girl who during the escape remained at Runzeererano and gave birth to a child named Chedoo whose later story, adventure and rise to kingship makes me feel that some people are born to be kings. Mabota settled at Mhungura and Mutema's people went and circled his kraal a few weeks after his settlement. Mabota, seeing that his life was counted in minutes, called his sister and gave her some directions to tell to the only son, Chedoo. She is told to behave like a monkey and escape with medicine to give to Chedoo, whose later story would be fitting were we writing on Musikanvanhu and whose life is so interesting based on boldness and the help of ancestral spirits and magic.

When Mutema's emissaries reached the place to where Mabota had settled, they killed Mabota himself; and for the sake of proof, they carried his head to show to their chief.

As they were on the way, it is true they admired the places they passed through. When they were about to reach Mbire, Mabota's

head fell and there started the Sabi River. To their disappointment, they were scolded by Chief Mutema.

After that most memorable incident, rain began to be scarce. These emissaries told of the very fertile places they had passed through and within two years, there began an Exodus.

The real name of the Mutema, when the Ndau people settled to where they are, was Shiriedenga, and under him were his sub-chiefs whom he called Matumburanzou (elephant dissectors: named thus because when an elephant died, instead of the chief himself giving consent to its being dissected, it was his subchiefs who took that responsibility). When Chief Mutema reached his destination he divided his kingdom among his Matumburanzou and he acted as an overseer. Shiriedenga's Matumburanzou were, according to priority, Chikwanda, Munyokowere, Mwafaune, Chivunze, Mwendeka and Maunganidze.

When the white man came to Africa, as the books reveal, it seems as if the place they are said to have discovered had seemed not to have been settled. When Shiriedenga and his people came, this place was by no means unsettled. There was a tribe which had already settled around where Chipinga is now. This is the Mamhure tribe. When the Ndau came, they swallowed this tribe. Since the rule of Shiriedenga there has been a great problem from these people who claim to be the rightful rulers of Mutema's kingdom. This seems analogical with the coming of the white man. Their claim rather is listened to with a deaf ear because when they came, they had no chief above them and the settlers don't recognize them as a tribe because the Ndau don't consider a tribe to be a tribe without a head,

just as good as a man without a head is no man. This problem is flickering because of the many problems being encountered since the coming of the white man; the real Ndaus seem to have worse problems to think of than the Mamhure problem. In any community, men have to first face problems that seem to destroy their own existence.

EXTRACTS FROM A PROJECT ON

NDAU CULTURE

by C. D. Mayahle

Ndau people are now specifically spread in the area now termed "Gazaland" in Chipinga district. These people adopted this name from a certain phrase they uttered before chasing the Marozwi from fertile areas. Should they happen to get at a place they needed, they would say these words with might and force: "Vhukani madhodha le Indau yethu yonke," which would stir up fear and panic in their opponents. These words meant, "Wake up, this is our place." Every time the Marozvi saw them come they would with great fear shout, "Aba Ndau bafikhile, ngasihambe," which meant "Those people who claim this place to be theirs have come. Let's go away." They would run away in terror. "Ndau" in this case means "a place." Therefore, in the long run they came to be called "Ndau" people.

The Ndau people were a very peculiar people. They were five or six feet tall, strong, healthy and muscular people. The women were also very strong, vigorous, hard-working and black in complexion but beautiful.

Much like the Hottentots, they wore elaborate skin clothes. Men wore an apron-like skin from the waist supported by a rope belt to cover the front. Women prepared the tubers of a "danda" tree for their clothing.

They dug the danda tubers, washed them first to clean off the soil, crushed it between stones and then washed the crushed tubers. Best fibres were selected to knit blankets and clothes called "Iswa."

On special occasions they put on wigs prepared from sisal fibre, painted red by a certain soft river rock. Permanent designs were made from ashes in their faces, stomachs, hands and legs; all were meant to attract men, it was a very romantic tribe.

Birth and Marriage

There was no specific age said to be the best and most suitable time for marriage. A newly born baby could be assigned to a husband, either a young man or a gray-headed man. This was often done in times of famine, and on failure to pay bail money. However, the child could stay with her mother until her breasts bloomed into maturity. Marriage took a very ceremonial procedure.

But should she wait without being assigned to a husband, she could normally attain the age of twelve and a man eighteen onwards.

Their marriage procedure was very formal and circuituous. If a boy loved a girl he was not supposed to go straight to court the girl. Instead he was expected to appeal to the sister of the father of the girl or to the grandmother of the girl he wanted to court. Here he would disclose his wishes to either of the two who would call the girl in the absence of her spouse-to-be to inquire whether she was amenable to the proposal. If, however, she needed time to consider she was granted. The results would be disclosed to the young man through the same people again. These two also added

much essence to the proposal; they needed to know you and approve you to marry their so-called daughter.

Each time a young man wanted to visit his girlfriend he would arrange with that aunt or granny. Their homes were their meeting place. In the long run the young man would be introduced to the whole family. Delicious food was prepared for him on his first visits and the same was the case upon the girl's.

Parents played a major role in this. If they disapproved of your choice, you could do no better than follow them and start afresh. Should they be satisfied with your choice then lobola could be happily presented. At this time money was not used. Stone hoes or iron hoes, beads, a goat or a cow could suffice for lobola. What was necessary was just that symbol of unity.

After the paying of lobola the girl left her home to live permanently with her husband. Men had all prerogative to marry more than one wife.

Before giving birth several herbs would be taken to form a good passage for the child to pass through. If the child refused to suckle her mother's breasts, the mother was expected to reveal the bad that she had done. It might be that she was a witch or the child's father is not the real one the mother claims to be. The child would die if the mother refused to reveal the truth.

MOUNT SILINDA INSTITUTE

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST IN RHODESIA

Telephone 0-0311
Chipinga

P.B.2 Mt. Silinda
Rhodesia

EST.-1893

14th July, 1976

MR. T. MOYANA'S REPORT, 1973

Mr. Moyana returned to teaching this year after a break during which he obtained his P.C.E. In his handling of the two lessons observed, he displayed a high degree of professional skill and an unusual depth of background and feeling for language. His usage and diction are accurate and precise. As he is not involved in criticism or assessment he has no opportunity to observe his students teaching English in the primary classroom. The first year group had produced some generally good examples of creative writing marred sometimes by the expression of extreme and not always logical views on controversial issues. One question whether, as Mr. Moyana seemed to suggest, the application of the basic rules of logic would inhibit creativity. This apart, it is considered that Mr. Moyana's departure, if it materialise, at the end of the term will create a gap at the school difficult to fill.

The above is an abstraction from the overall Inspection Report on the Mt. Silinda T.T. College conducted by a Team of Government Inspectors in June, 1973. This is the actual portion which indicates Mr. T. Moyana's actual performances during the exercise, and I here certify it as a true copy of the Report of what transpired.

Yours faithfully,

[illegible]

HEAD
(MT. SILINDA T. T. C.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Achebe, Chinua. Things Fall Apart. London: Heineman, 1958.

Arrighi, Gionanni. The Political Economy of Rhodesia. The Hague: Mouton, 1967.

Arvon, Henry. Marxist Esthetics. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970.

Atkinson, Norman. Teaching Rhodesians. London: Longmans, 1972.

Awanoor, Kofi. The Breast of the Earth. Garden City: Doubleday, 1975.

Barber, J. Rhodesia: The Road to Rebellion. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Berghe, Pierre van Den. "European Languages and Black Mandarins." Transition 34 (December-January 1968), Vol. 7 (iii).

Bernstein, Basil. Class, Codes and Control. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.

Bone, R. C. "Educational Development in Rhodesia." Rhodesia Journal of Economics 2, No. 4 (December 1968).

Bottomore, T. B. Karl Marx: Early Writings. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.

Carnoy, Martin. Education as Cultural Imperialism. New York: David McKay, 1974.

Chambati, Aristone. "The Lost Generation." Central African Examiner, Salisbury (March 1961).

Chinweizu, Onwuchekwa Jennie, and Ihechukwa Madubuike. "Towards the Decolonisation of African Literature." Okike, No. 7 (April 1975).

Clark, J. P. "Poetry in Africa Today." Transition 18 (1965), Vol. 4, p. 21.

Conrad, Joseph. Heart of Darkness. New York: W. W. Norton, 1963.

Creber, Partick J. W. Sense and Sensitivity. London: University of London Press, 1967.

Dathorne, O. R. The Black Mind: A History of African Literature. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1974.

Dewey, John. Art as Experience. New York: Capricorn Books, 1958.

_____. Experience and Education. New York: Colliers, 1963.

Elias, John L. Conscientization and Deschooling. Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1976.

Enekwe, Ossie Onuora. "Wole Soyinka as Novelist." Okike, No. 9 (December 1975).

Fanon, Frantz. Black Skin, White Mask. New York: Grove Press, 1967.

_____. Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press, 1963.

Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Seabury Press, 1968.

_____. Education for Critical Consciousness. New York: Seabury Press, 1974.

French, F. G. The New Oxford English Course (Southern Africa), Standards 1 to 6. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1956-1965.

Gelfand, Michael. African Crucible. Cape Town: Juta, 1965.

Fromm, Eric. Marx's Concept of Man. New York: Frederich Angar, 1970.

Grabowski, Stanley, ed. Paulo Freire: A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator. Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1972.

Grandstaff, Marvin. "Education and the Revolt of the Third World: The Context of Freire's Pedagogy." East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1975.

Gray, Richard. The Two Nations. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.

Hawkins, John N. Mao Tse Tung and Education. Hampden, Conn.: Linnet Books Shoestring Press, 1974.

Illich, Ivan. Deschooling Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

James, Leslie. Racialism and Education. Dayton, Ohio: Brown and Kroger, 1965.

Jones, Jesse Thomas. "African Education Commission 1920-1929." New York Phelps Stokes Fund, 1922.

Kneen, Brewster. "Pedagogy of the Oppressed." The Canadian Forum (July-August 1971).

Koestler, Arthur. The Act of Creation. London: Hutchinson, 1964.

Kosinki, Leonard V. Readings on Creativity and Imagination in Literature and Language. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of Education Publications, 1968.

Kozol, Jonathan. Death at an Early Age. New York: Bantam Books, 1975.

Langer, Susanne. Philosophy in New Key. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. Conversations with G. Charbonnier. London: Jonathan Cape, 1969.

_____. The Savage Mind. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Leys, Colin. European Politics in Southern Rhodesia. London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Liu, Alan P. L. Political Culture and Group Conflict in Communist China. San Francisco: Clio Books, 1975.

Lukacs, George. History and Class Consciousness. Translated by Rodney Livingstone. London: Marlin Press, 1971.

Lynch, Hollis. Black Spokesman. London: Cass, 1971.

Marcuse, Herbert. Counter-Revolution and Revolt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1972.

_____. Essay on Liberation. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

Mazrui, Ali. World Culture and Black Experience. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974.

McHarg, James. "Influences Contributing to the Education and Culture of the Native People of Southern Rhodesia from 1900 to 1961." Ed.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1962.

Meszaros, Istvan. Marx's Theory of Alienation. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

Mhughuni, L. A. The Cultural Policy of the United Republic of Tanzania. Paris: UNESCO, 1974.

Mnyanda, J. B. In Search of Truth. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1954.

Moore, Gerald, and Beier Ulli. Modern Poetry from Africa. Middlesex: Penguin, 1965.

Moore, Gerald. African Literature and the Universities. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1965.

Morris, Van Cleve. Existentialism and Education. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

Mungoshi, Charles. Waiting for the Rain. London: Heinemann, 1976.

Nyerere, Julius. Freedom and Socialism. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Parker, Franklin. African Development and Education in Southern Rhodesia. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960.

p'Bitek, Okot. Africa's Cultural Revolution. Nairobi: Macmillan, 1973.

_____. Song of Lawino. Nairobi: Afro Press, 1968.

Resnick, Idnair H. Revolution by Education. Dar es Salaam: Longmans, 1968).

Robertson, Ian. "Education with a Political Purpose: The South African Case." Qualifying Paper, Harvard University, 1959.

Rocker, Rudolf. Nationalism and Culture. New York: Poligraphic, 1937.

Sapir, Edward. Culture, Language and Personality. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.

Smith, William A. "A Meaning of Conscientizacao, the Goal of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy." Amhurst: University of Massachusetts, Center for International Education, 1976.

Solomon, Maynard, ed. Marxism and Art: Essays Classic and Contemporary. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973.

Soyinka, Wole. The Interpreters. London: A. Deutsch, 1965.

Stratta, Leslie, ed. English in Education, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Autumn, 1969).

Summerfield, Godfrey, ed. Creativity in English. Champaign, Ill.: National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, 1966.

Taylor, R. African Education. Salisbury: Government of Rhodesia, 1970.

Temples, Placide. Bantu Philosophy. Paris: Presence Africaine, 1959.

Todd, Grace. "Explosion in Education." Central African Examiner, March 1961.

Truslow, James. New England in the Republic. Boston: Little Brown, 1926.

Wasberg, Per, ed. The Writer in Modern Africa. New York: Africana, 1969.

Weinrich, A. K. H. Black and White Elites in Rural Rhodesia. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973.

Primary Sources: Southern Rhodesia Government

Chief Inspector's Circular Minute No. 27, 1969.

Chief Inspector's Circular No. P/27/2, 4 August 1969.

First and Second Report of the Select Committee on Education, 1967; Third, 1968.

Guidance Notes for RJC Syllabus, 1968.

Minutes of the Conference of Headmaster of African Secondary Schools held in 1971.

Overseas Syndicate of the Cambridge School Certificate, all Syllabuses, 1953-1970, and Regulations.

Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the matter of Native Education in all its bearings on the colony of Southern Rhodesia, 1925 (Hadfield Commission).

Report of the Director of Native Education for the Years 1953 to 1961.

Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Enquiry 1910-11. Southern Rhodesia Government.

Report of the Native Education Enquiry Commission, 1951-1953 (Kerr Commission).

Report of the Secretary for African Education for the Years 1962 to 1970.

Report of the survey of facilities for Technical Education in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1957 (The Bray Report).

Revised Rules for Gwelo Teacher's College, 1971.

RJC Syllabus, 1956, 1962, 1972.

Secretary for African Education's Circular Minute No. P(AD)1, 19 November 1973.