INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT LIBERATION: THE RELEVANCE OF FRANZ FANON'S DIAGNOSIS OF THE POST-COLONIAL AFRICAN STATE TO CONTEMPORARY KENYA

By

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DECLARATION

This Research project is my original work and has not been presented to any other university examination or award of degree.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to all those valiant men and women who fight for the dignity and emancipation of the people of Africa.

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ABSTRACT

Almost sixty years after Kenya obtained independence from the British, the perception that the fruits of liberation have yet to manifest, despite decades of self-internal rule has spurred debate in regards to the crisis of independence without liberation, and in particular has led to the resurgence of the study of Franz Fanon's works to understand the crisis of the post-colonial state. This study, therefore, set out to assess the relevance Franz Fanon's diagnosis of the post-colonial African state, with regard to the problem of independence without liberation to contemporary Kenya. The study had the following objectives: a) to examine the relevance of Franz Fanon's diagnosis of the post-colonial African state to contemporary Kenya; b) to examine factors that can account for Independence and liberation within a framework of decolonial theory; c) **t**o assess the relevance of Frantz Fanon's decolonial critique of the nation state and the national bourgeoisie to contemporary Kenya; and, d**)** to apply Franz Fanon's delinking approach to contemporary Kenyan society. The study objectives were interrogated by employing decolonial theory to understand why Kenya obtained independence but has yet to achieve liberation, with intent on demonstrating the extent to which Franz Fanon's decolonial approach is relevant to contemporary Kenya**.** Decolonial theory offers a critique of the perceived universality of knowledge from a euro-modern perspective, and the attendant in authentic superiority of western culture. Through philosophical reflections, the findings of the study include: a) that while independence is a concept used to endorse for the emancipation of a new social class, the bourgeoisie, and puts forward proposals of internal reform within the logic of euro-modernity, liberation, provides a wholesome context of freedom that encompasses non-western peoples that Europe colonized; b) the instruments used by the British colonisers to enforce imperial rule created a system of power that is the foundation of the Kenyan state; c) since the dawn of independence, the national bourgeoisie have controlled formally authorized knowledge, institutions, violence, and important connections to the outside world by linking themselves to the colonial matrix of power; and, d) that delinking from this colonial matrix of power means the use of hidden histories, forgotten memories and social organisations to advance a new political society, and to introduce new concepts into the economic, political, philosophical and ethical debates in order to create a new humanity. The study recommends that Fanon's delinking option can be useful for the Kenyan context because within the context of euro-modernity and its attendant logic – coloniality, full liberation cannot be attained. Furthermore, the study also recommends for the development of other possible imaginaries for human existence outside of euro-modernity, in particular further developing Fanon's idea of a new philosophy of man in the creation of a new humanity.

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CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction and background to the study

This research project seeks to assess the relevance of Franz Fanon's diagnosis of the post-colonial African state to contemporary Kenya. This chapter explores the background of the study, statement of the problem, study objectives, research questions, significance of the study, scope and limitation of the study, operational definitions, literature review, theoretical framework and methodology employed to conduct the study.

In 1884, the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck called on representatives of 14 nations from the western hemisphere to take part in a conference. The agenda for the conference was to deliberate on how to de-escalate the growing tension and talk of war among the European powers (Steinberg, 2013). The Berlin conference – as it would later be christened - decided that it was in the interest of the western nations to look for resources and lands outside of the west to benefit their populations and countries. Africa, through a process of scramble and partition, became the site in which this would take place and the war tensions within Europe would be de-escalated among the major super powers (Césaire, 1950). These new territories became sites of extraction of raw materials, labour and prestige to the European superpowers

In East Africa, for example, the Berlin conference brought the East African protectorate, which included Kenya and Uganda, under the British sphere

of influence and domination with all the brutality and horror that characterised imperial domination. To consolidate their imperial powers, the British established a mechanism of exercising their political power and proceeded to reorganise social, political and economic life to suit their own interests (Kinyatti, 2019, p.13).

However, this attempt to conquer East Africa was met with fierce resistance. The Africans fought back to defend their lands, people, and freedom but were defeated by the British. The colonial system that was established by the British sowed the very seeds of struggle and liberation by the people (Kinyatti, 2019, p.15).

The resistance to colonial rule went through several stages. The first stage (1884-1885) was that of primary resistance to the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule. The second stage (1920 – 1940) involved African's struggling for their freedoms within the British political framework. This involved the creation of labour unions, political organisations and cultural resistance as means to fight for liberation. The third stage (1940 – 1952) was that of compromise, expounded by the liberal faction of the petty bourgeoisie who wanted petty reforms that would allow them growth and accumulation of wealth and to overthrow the racist colonial system through electoral politics. The fourth stage (1952 – 1963) was that of armed resistance through the formation of the Mau Mau movement which sought to eradicate the colonial system altogether (Kinyatti, 2019, p.16).

In 1963, after ten years of armed resistance, the British colonisers conceded, and Kenya attained its independence on 12th December 1963. As a new nation, its leaders pledged to fight to eradicate poverty, disease, and ignorance. Today, however, after almost 60 years of independence, the dreams and

aspirations that were set by the leaders upon Kenya attaining her independence have yet to be realised. In fact, statistics reveal that Kenyans have become poorer, the colonial system has become more venal and the plight of Kenyans more dire than they were during British colonial rule (Truth, Justice & Reconciliation Report, 2013).

It is within this context that there have been debates in the past several years on Franz Fanon's predictions and decolonial approach to understanding contemporary Africa. Indeed, these debates (Mireille, 2011; Mignolo et.al. 2018) have led to the re-emergence of scholarly interest, in particular, the works of Franz Fanon as a philosophical guide to understand the current context within Kenya and other African countries.

Franz Fanon (1925- 1961), a political philosopher and psychiatrist, was an important figure in the age of anti-imperial liberation struggle. Fanon was born in the Island of Martinique then occupied by the French. Fanon, like most of his peers within the black bourgeoisie of Martinique, entered into the French education system and learnt French culture and history in his journey of assimilation. However, his journey was interrupted by an encounter with negritude, taught to him by Aimè Césaire, who would later become his mentor and the biggest influence on his intellectual pursuits. Radicalised and unable to synthesise the assimilation system and the ideology of the negritude movement, at the age of 18, he left Martinique to fight with the French army in the European war of 1939 to 1945 (Reiland, 2015).

After the war, Fanon joined the University of Lyon to study psychiatry and medicine. It was at Lyon that he would later engage with existential philosophers

and Marxist ideas that would inform his radical departure from the assimilation-negritude dichotomy that proposed that black assimilated citizens could gain independence and recognition within the French empire. He later attained Algerian citizenship and joined the Algerian revolution in the struggle for liberation. In fact, his involvement in the Algerian armed resistance shifted his philosophical worldview from Marxism and blackness to a wider more ambitious idea of decoloniality, anti-colonial struggle and visions of a humanistic civilisation to offer a critique of the Eurocentric view of humanity and progress (Reiland, 2015).

During and after the Algerian liberation struggle, Fanon would also engage in other liberation struggles across the African continent, participating and writing in academic journals and magazines advocating for the end of colonialism in Africa. He would go on to participate in the all-African organisation for liberation movement, and interact with the Africans who were pushing for the end of colonialism. It was from his interactions with such leaders pushing for independence that Fanon would predict that the intellectual and ideological laziness, spiritual penury and moral bankruptcy of what he called the "national bourgeoisie"- the ruling elite that made up the dominant social class in the nationalistic political parties that was left to rule African countries after independence - would fail the young African countries (Fanon, 1961, p.119).

Fanon would further note in his seminal work, *The Wretched of the Earth,* that this class in its self-interest thought that it would replace the bourgeoisie of the colonial countries. However, since it had no financial power, and did not understand the workings of colonialism, it would be unable to put in place a

humanistic program in spite of high sounding sloganeering largely borrowed from Eurocentric political and moral treatises devoid of their applicable contexts and meaning (Fanon, 1961, p.120).

Instead, bereft of ideas and economically disempowered, the national bourgeoisie would find its historical purpose of engaging in "activities of the intermediary type", scheming as an assured route to elite class formation, but entrenched deeply in the role of local watchmen of foreign masters (Aceda, 2019). This venal class and its ideological formation, Fanon predicted, would be the single greatest existential crisis facing the peoples of Africa in general (Fanon,1961, p.120). Due to the failure of the bourgeoisie to put forward a liberative plan of action for the masses, the bourgeoisie phase in the history of the third world nations would be a purposeless one (Fanon, 1961, p.120).

Today, after almost sixty years of independence, the people of Kenya have become hostage to this class that persists on empty sloganeering as a method to enclose Africans in these colonial state borders for their own self-interests (Serumaga, 2018), while the struggle for liberation (economic, social, political and epistemic) still remains a pipe dream for the majority of the population. This study therefore assesses the extent to which Franz Fanon's decolonial theory sheds light on the problem of independence without liberation in the contemporary Kenyan context.

1.2. Statement of the problem

On 12th December 1963 Kenya obtained independence from the British. However, after almost sixty years of independence the plight of the people is still

atrocious Corruption has ravaged state and public institutions, the economy is in distress, and the majority of the population has been marginalised, alienated and dispossessed (Truth, Justice & Reconciliation Report, 2013). Indeed, the fruits of liberation have yet to manifest. Instead, what we have is a case of independence and not liberation.

Most of the scholarship on the problem of independence without liberation has mainly focused on the political institutions and actors. Consequently, little has been done to understand the epistemic foundations of the colonial experience and how it affected political actors and the nature of the colonial state within a decolonial framework. This study, therefore, sets out to examine the relevance of Franz Fanon's diagnosis of the post-colonial African state to contemporary Kenya with regard to the problem of independence without liberation.

1.3. Research questions

1. Which factors can account for Independence and liberation within the framework of decolonial theory?

2. How can Franz Fanon's critique of the post-colonial state and the national bourgeoisie be applied to contemporary Kenya?

3. In what ways can Franz Fanon's delinking approach apply to contemporary Kenya?

1.4. Objectives of the study

The overall goal of this study is to examine the relevance of Franz Fanon's diagnosis of the post-colonial African state to contemporary Kenya.

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To examine factors that can account for Independence and liberation within a framework of decolonial theory.

2. To assess the relevance of Frantz Fanon's decolonial critique of the nation state and the national bourgeoisie to contemporary Kenya.

3. To apply Franz Fanon's delinking approach to contemporary Kenyan society.

1.5. Justification and Significance of the Study

Political theorists have reflected on the problem of independence without liberation since the dawn of the independence of most African nations in the 1950's and 1960's. This discourse, however, has yet to yield fruit in terms of the full emancipation of African peoples because the effects of the cold war on the continent stifled knowledge production. This study therefore examines the relevance of Fanon's idea of the problem of independence without liberation, and assesses the relevance of his decolonial approach to contemporary Kenya. Recently published scholarly works, in particular, Mbembe (2020) and Mignolo (2018) have provided new insights into the crisis of independence without liberation of Africa. This study utilizes insights from these works to assess the accuracy of Fanon's predictions to the crisis of the postcolonial state, with specific reference to Kenya. This study will hopefully contribute to the body of knowledge on African political philosophy, and specifically to the discourse on postcolonial reconstruction.

1.6. Scope and limitations of the Study

This study will investigate the problem of independence without liberation, applying Franz fanon's diagnosis of the post-colonial African state to contemporary Kenya. The researcher recognises that the problem of independence without liberation occurs among populations in various parts of the world that were once subjugated by western imperialism. However, the socio-political milieu that the researcher studies is independent Kenya. The study has relied primarily on historical texts. The researcher, however, recognises that some of these texts have been erased, distorted or have disintegrated.

1.7. Operational Definitions

Bourgeoisie: a group of people who own the means of production, placing them in the upper class in society. Their status comes from accumulation of financial resources and not from aristocratic political origin.

Decolonial theory: the philosophical school of thought that emerged out of Latin America, which focuses on disentangling knowledge production from a primarily Eurocentric epistemology.

Delinking approach: The deployment of alternative knowledge traditions and alternative languages to the Euro-centric ones.

National Bourgeoisie: the post-colonial ruling elite which constituted the dominant social class within many of the nationalist parties that was left to run African countries after the physical departure of the imperialists.

Post-colonial state: term applied to the states that emerged out of the process of decolonisation in the post Second World War period.

State: a territorially bounded entity with a central command that claims to have authority over a people.

1.8. Literature review

Over the past few years, new scholarly work and events locally and around the world have spurred the desire to revisit the issue of independence without liberation, particularly focussing on Fanon's analysis. Getachew (2020), in her seminal work, *world making after Empire,* notes that the black Anglophone political class were not concerned with national self-rule and the transformation of the colonial state, but were rather committed to "worldmaking". She notes that it is paramount that scholars move beyond the Westphalian ideas of the state and international society in order to understand how imperial formations define the world today. Nevertheless, her criticism of John Rawls and other liberal approaches is focussed on Western epistemologies. Worldmaking after Empire calls for a "postcolonial cosmopolitanism" to revive the project of anticolonial worldmaking (Getachew, 2020). Yet, some issues remain unresolved. Getachew places the bourgeoisie at the centre of her discourse, thus maintaining her epistemic logic through a modernity lens – which is still an imperial logic. This study will therefore assess Fanon's delinking approach whose framework decentres Euro-modernity.

Mahmoud Mamdani, in *Neither Settler Nor Native* (2020), argues that the nation-state and the colonial state created each other and have since been maintained by a bourgeoisie elite through the use of violence as a means of managing their populations. Mamdani (2020) notes that the model creates a permanent native underclass whose attempts of seeking justice and freedom are stymied either through violence or by the creation of ideological spaces in which a

certain kind of independence without freedom is curated. Mamdani, like Getachew, places the nation state and the bourgeoisie at the centre of his remedy to resolve the problem of the state and its attendant imperial logic. This study will not only analyse the imperial foundations of the state and the bourgeoisie but will also investigate the idea of liberation outside of the state/bourgeoisie framework.

The first president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah notes, in his magnum opus, *Neo-Colonialism: the Last Stage of imperialism* (1965) that the African state, which is subject to the international order, in theory, is independent with all the outward markers of freedom and justice as espoused by Westphalian standards, but in reality its political and economic systems are externally controlled. Langan (2018) reaffirms Nkrumah's position by exploring the interplay of neo-colonialism and Africa's development through the lens of foreign governments, development partners and corporate interests. This study evaluates the difference between Independence and liberation within a framework of decolonial theory and its relevance to contemporary Kenya.

Nkrumah (1965) also notes that neo-colonialist domination is brought into play by economic control and a manufactured class who play the role of middlemen/women of western powers. Ngugi wa Thiong'o concurs with this in his short story*, I will marry when I want* (1970) were he notes that in Kenya, a class of colonial chiefs were deployed after the physical departure of the British to be local watchmen for foreign interests and powers. Similarly, the first vice president of Kenya, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, in his autobiography, *Not Yet Uhuru*, that when independence was declared, instead of putting in place a minimum political program of transformation, the national leaders sort to engage in activities that would only benefit themselves and their cronies (Odinga, 1967,

p.314). This study re-examines the claim that liberation has not been forthcoming because of the nature of the Kenyan state and the country's bourgeoisie.

Frantz Fanon (1961) aptly described this African elite as a bourgeoisie of the civil service. "A racketeering class of individuals that has immersed wealth, power and status through its proximity and access to the public purse." Gideon Mutiso (1975) and Colin Leys (1975) both echo this in their works, *Kenya: Politics, Policy and Society* and *Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism* respectively that the Africans who were appointed to Kenya's civil service were liberal minded, had higher educational qualifications and were more conservative than their counterparts who participated in the Mau Mau struggle. They did not want to dismantle the British colonial system, but only to participate in it. It was for this reason that they were no threat to the British after Kenya attained independence hence advanced in the civil service and perpetuated neo-colonial rule through sustaining the colonial matrix of power (Mutiso, 1975, p.47; Leys, 1975, p.272).

Githuku (2021) echoes Leys and Mutiso's views, arguing that the colonial state merely masked itself. It perpetuated the structures of control through the logic of law and order created to protect the economic interests of the African national bourgeoisie and foreign powers. For the imperial project to succeed in Kenya, it needed local allies who would aid in bringing to existence a new economic and political colonial order. However, this arrangement brought into being a new moral nihilistic framework that irrevocably corrupted indigenous African systems of power and leadership and created a class of collaborators whose allegiance was to the British colonisers (Githuku, 2021).

The experience of British imperialism elsewhere can also shed light on the Kenyan experience viz. a viz. decolonial theory. Empire was in many ways the means through which European dominance and hegemonic control was extended to the new colonies. In India, writes Shashi Tharoor in his book, *Inglorious Empire What the British did to India*, that the British constructed their empire primarily reflecting 12th and 13th century Tory England, where governance was a purview of those of high social standing and ruled by an established landed gentry. The English in their colonial hubris searched for social arrangements similar to Old England, and when this was not possible, they created an approximation to theirs in their colonial conquests. Thus was born the indirect rule, through out the British Empire, with power decentralised to an entire hierarchy of greater and lesser imitations of "gentlemen", many given British-invented names or even knighted (Tharoor, 2017). This was the template that the British colonialists used to create the bourgeoisie in Kenya and in their other colonies. This study will therefore examine how this model was contextualized in the creation of the bourgeoisie in Kenya.

Achille Mbembe (2021), in his philosophical treatise *Out of the Dark Night*, focuses on how the European imperial project devalued emancipatory ways of thinking and being. According to Mbembe, liberation can only be sort when we imagine a future that fashions the structures of power, class, race, geography, economy and technology in a more emancipatory alliance (Mbembe, 2020). Mbembe offers an alternative trajectory out of the impasse of the Westphalian state, globalisation and the national bourgeoisie elite, thus providing a remedy to the problem of independence without liberation. He argues that a decolonised future portrays the continent and the peoples of Africa as a site of re-imagination

of the global matrix of power, imbued with the daily-lived experiences of the African people. It is these experiences, he concludes, that open different pathways to what he calls "Afropolitanism" - a politics that uses the history and present of Africa to think about global emancipation. For Mbembe, the colonial matrix of power was not only left in Africa, but also spread to the rest of the world. For this reason, the re-enchantment of politics is also a repudiation of the violence that came with coloniality, and his work carries with it a new lexicon of repentance, sacrifice, redemption, and renewal, and, like Fanon, Mbembe's work provides decolonial options and pathways to African liberation.

V.Y. Mudimbe in his seminal work, *The invention of Africa* (1988, p.14), defines colonialism and colonization basically mean organisation and arrangement respectively, having been derived from the latin word *colere*, meaning 'to cultivate' or 'to design' (Mudimbe 1988, p.14). Mudimbe notes that the colonists (those settling a region), as well as the colonialists (those exploiting a territory by dominating a local majority) have all tended to organize and transform non-European areas into fundamentally European constructs. These constructs, Walter Rodney had earlier pointed out, in his seminal work, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1972),* stifled Africa's development. Rodney opines that before the coming of the Europeans in the 15th Century, African peoples were developed and had their own ideas of progressive societies. Rodney emphasised the need to reconstruct the nature of development in Africa before the coming of the Europeans (Rodney, 1972, p.40).

In his ground breaking work, the *Darker side of western modernity (2011),* Walter Mignolo moves the needle forward in relation to Rodney's work, and states that decolonisation was a historical reaction to European colonialism which

ended white imperial rule through the independence of the colonies, but that decolonisation did not contest the colonial matrix of power and uproot coloniality. Instead, the independent nations fell trap to western epistemologies of civilisation, modernity and development. Mignolo's principal argument is that any variety of argument that focuses primarily on western thought and practice internal to Europe, for example Marxism, misses the forms of power that came through European cultural and epistemological domination.

For Mignolo (2011, p. 3), decoloniality rejects Western epistemologies as a purported universal forced on much of the world through imperium, and instead embraces non-western epistemologies as the only way out of European domination. Mignolo insists that decoloniality, unlike decolonization, breaks out of the traps of the nation state, national bourgeoisie elite and globalisation. Mignolo's idea of decoloniality is rooted in the work of other decolonial scholars on the history of the Americas, and acts as a model for the global south and the rest of the globe —a template of politics that seeks to replace the colonial matrix of power with a politics of harmony with nature, coupled with the equality among all humans. Mudimbe's, Rodney's and Mignolo's analyses provide insights into coloniality within contemporary Kenya that have informed the reflections in this study.

Scholarly work around decolonial theory has primarily focussed on the imperial outlook of global international systems, the history and the formation of the Americas, and the relationship between the global south and the rest of the world. Scholarly work has also focussed on the racial dimension of the plight of African Americans in the USA and the inner workings of the post-colonial states in Africa. This study will hopefully contribute to this discourse by examining the

relevance of Fanon's diagnosis of the post-colonial African state to contemporary Kenya.

1.9. Theoretical framework

This study employs decolonial theory to understand why Kenya obtained independence but has yet to achieve liberation, with intent on demonstrating the extent to which Franz Fanon's decolonial approach is relevant to contemporary Kenya. The theory, which emerged out of Latin America, focuses on a non-Eurocentric epistemology. It offers a critique of the perceived universality of knowledge from a western perspective, and the attendant in authentic superiority of western culture (Mignolo, 2011; Quijano, 2010, p.22). The Peruvian philosopher and sociologist Anibal Quijano propounded the concept of decoloniality in the late 1980's (Mignolo, 2011).

Decoloniality comprises of analytic and non-theoretical options of challenging and delinking from the "colonial matrix of power" (Mignolo, 2011, p.4) rooted in western domination. It considers imperialism as the central logic of Western civilisation that begun in 1492, although this foundational narrative has been distorted, forgotten and even erased (Mignolo, 2011, p.6). Decolonial theorists refer to this as the colonial matrix of power or coloniality of power (Mignolo, 2011, p.6), which is what Mudimbe (1988, p.17) calls the colonialising structure.

Although explicit and formal western domination ended with the emancipation projects in the Americas in the 18th and 19th centuries, and the independence projects in Africa and Asia in the mid to late twentieth century, the colonial matrix of power perpetuated inequalities engendered by Western imperialism through western dominated epistemologies. The colonial matrix of

power codified racial, class, state, ethnic, national social hierarchies according to specific geographical, social and historical contexts. Decolonial theory, therefore emerged as a continuing confrontation of and delinking from Eurocentric hegemony (Quijano, 2010, p.24).

Decolonial theory problematises the concepts and histories of power emanating from the western world that underlies the logic of Euro-modernity (Quijano, 2010, p. 28). Thus, decolonial theory refers to the conceptual approaches and socio-political and economic practices in opposition to the logic of Euro-modernity, namely, coloniality, and modernity. This, as argued by Mignolo (2011, p. 253), makes decoloniality both an epistemological and political project. As opposed to decolonisation, which is predominantly political and historical, that is, the end of physical subjugation and spatial domination by the west, decolonial theory contends that western imperialism did not disappear with decolonisation and the subsequent independence projects, and thus the importance of problematising the epistemic effects of decolonisation through a decoloniality framework.

Decolonial theory, therefore, observes that although coloniality, meaning racialised, gendered and socio-political stratification according to a fabricated Eurocentric yardstick was standard practice to all forms of colonisation, it challenges these Eurocentric hierarchies that preceded the epistemologies of decolonisation. Franz Fanon was an example of a decolonial theorist who preceded decolonisation. In this sense, Fanon's works transcended the historical epoch of decolonisation, and were therefore forerunners of contemporary decolonial theory. Quijano, a leading decolonial scholar, states that the objective of decolonial theory is to recognise that the instrumentalisation of thought by the

coloniality of power created skewed frames of knowledge and stifled the liberating promises of modernity (cited in Mignolo, 2011, p.6).

1.10. Methodology

This is a work in political philosophy, and as such deploys philosophical reflection as its methodology (Maritain, 1979, p. 88-89; Njoroge and Bennaars 1986). Information was obtained from academic journals, memoirs and books. The descriptive technique was used to gather information on which to undertake philosophical reflection, and to ensure that the reflections of this study do not occur in a vacuum (Oduor, 2010, p. 101-105). The study also deploys the critical technique of philosophical reflection for the purpose of determining the truth and/or applicability of claims about the relevant phenomena to the greatest degree of objectivity attainable (Oduor 2010, p. 85). The analytic technique has also been used to clarify concepts such as "the national bourgeoisie", "decolonial theory", "liberation", and "independence".

CHAPTER 2: DECOLONIAL THEORY, LIBERATION AND INDEPENDENCE

2.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the factors that can account for Independence and liberation within a framework of decolonial theory. It provides the historical context and conceptual framework of decolonial theory drawing from the major scholars of this school of thought, before distinguishing between independence and liberation within decolonial theory.

2.2. Decoloniality

As explained in the previous chapter, Quijano shed new light on the nature of colonialism in contrast to how it was conceptualised during the Cold war in respect to the idea of decolonisation, and the liberation struggles in Asia and Africa (Mignolo, 2011, p.4). Coloniality according to Quijano exposes the pillars of western civilisation, which begun in 1492 - when Pope Alexander VI divided the world into two parts, categorising a zone of non-being and a zone of being, thereby institutionalising modernity and its attendant logic of coloniality.

Quijano connected the coloniality of power in the socio-political and economic spheres with the coloniality of knowledge in what he called the colonial matrix of power. The colonial matrix of power comprised four interlinked spheres: control of authority, of the economy, of knowledge and subjectivity, of gender and sexuality buttressed by patriarchal and racial foundations of knowledge (Quijano, 2010, p. 22).

The historical foundations of the colonial matrix of power, notes Quijano (2010, p. 24) was theological and a false appropriation of Roman and Greek Knowledge (Quijano, 2010, pp. 24- 26). Indeed, in Medieval Europe, it was Western Christian theology that stratified the Islamised Moors, Christians, and the Jews by using "the blood of Christ" as a distinguishing and superior marker among the three Abrahamic religions. Noteworthy to mention that although religious prejudice existed in the history of humanity, it was reconfigured and codified in 1492 within the colonial matrix of power against the background of two important socio-political events in history. First, this was when the European Christians got rid of the Islamised Moors and the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula. Second, the discovery of the "New World" and the subsequent genocide of indigenous peoples in the Americas by the Spanish and the enslavement of the Africans during the Atlantic slave trade configured and codified the racial and patriarchal foundations of the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2011, p.6). Thus, racism as defined by the institutionalised subjugation of the other by means of negating their humanity was created (Ramon, 2013).

Theology in the west was superceded by secular humanism in the 18th Century and secular racism would be grounded on the ego-politics of knowledge (self-centred knowledge). Moreover, the systems, the institutions and the agents that incorporated ego-politics of knowledge were from the same cosmology as those who occupied the theo-politics of knowledge, mostly Christian, white European men (Dussel, 1977). The socio-political landscape that this trajectory took place in was the formation of the Westphalian nation state system and the creation of the bourgeoisie who were contesting the legitimacy of the monarchy

and the church, albeit within the linear global history and sustaining the colonial matrix of power.

Mignolo observes "in both cases, geo –and body – politics, understood as the biographic configuration of class, religion, gender, ethnicity and language of knowledge configuration epistemic desires were hidden. Thus, was the proclamation of Western epistemology configured, and therefore was the structure of the holding together the colonial matrix" (Mignolo, 2011, p.14).

Quijano's intellectual enterprise focussed on the idea of the 'coloniality of power', proposed to move in two pathways: Analytic and programmatic. The analytic approach has created a pathway for the restoration of distorted and silenced histories, subjugated subjectivities, subalternised languages and epistemologies discharged by the Totality represented under the jurisdiction of modernity and rationality (Quijano, 2010, p.25). Quijano notes it is important to undertake a comprehensive critique of coloniality and not only the critique of post-modernity (Quijano, 2010, p. 25), because, although postmodern theorists have already critiqued the notion of Totality, their critique is limited to Euro-centric ideas and histories..

The second pathway as conceptualised by Quijano is programmatic that he displayed as a de-linking project. According to Quijano, de-linking presupposes the rejection of geo- and body politics of knowledge and denounces the assumed universality of white, European and male epistemologies, where euro-modernity developed as a consequence of imperium (Quijano, 2010, p. 28). Both this pathways go beyond the post-colonial and institute a split with both the post-colonial project and the post-modernity European project. Moreover, these two projects are profoundly reliant on post-structuralism as far as Michel Foucault,

Jacques Derrida, and Jacques Lacan have been recognized as the grounding of the post-colonial canon of Edward Said and others (Mignolo, 2011, p. 230).

In my view, decoloniality from an African perspective is well articulated by Cheikh Anta Diop's (1976) analysis that centres the Egyptian civilisation as the starting point for the African thinker, and by Walter Rodney (1972, pp. 40 - 83) in his reconstruction of the nature of development in Africa by looking into some of the advanced African societies in the subsequent 200,000 thousand years of history before the coming of the Europeans in the 15th Century. Following this frame, decolonial theory emphasises that the colonial matrix of power, and Western modernity in general, are an aberration to African history and thought. In a sense, therefore, we can argue that the past five hundred years were Africa's dark age, and if Africans want to move on, they must look elsewhere besides Europe and its attendant logic of modernity. They must rejoin themselves to the 200,000 years of African history (Rodney, 1972, pp. 40 - 83), and continue their journey with the rest of humanity in developing other ways of liberative thinking and new ways of being in the world (Fanon, 1961, p. 255).

2.3. Liberation and Independence

Western Modernity entails a rational concept of emancipation, which within the context of Africa took the epithet of independence. However, for Mignolo (2011, p. 65), Western modernity simultaneously advances an irrational myth to justify genocidal violence. He contends that while the postmodern theorists criticize modern reason as a reason for violence, he criticizes it because of the salient irrational myth that it advances and conceals.

Let us consider the following example in an attempt to shed light how liberation differs from the rational concept of independence. The concepts of

independence and emancipation, used interchangeably, belong to the discourse of European history and ideas of enlightenment, renaissance and liberal bourgeoisie democracy. Today, they are still used within that same heritage (Dussel, 2001), thus the reason why Dussel (1977) chose to use the word liberation instead of independence when referring to the political and social movements of national liberation in the non-western world. Thus, the notion of liberation was imbued out of the process of de-centering the self-imposed emancipating universal claims of the European enlightenment projects (Dussel, 1977).

In the history of European ideas, the concept of independence was based on three historical events: the independence of the American colonies from the British in 1776, the English Glorious Revolution of 1668, and the 1789 French Revolution (Mignolo, 2011). The three historical experiences were all successful in achieving the meaning of independence, yet the English Glorious Revolution was led by the British bourgeoisie. Likewise, the main actors of the US Revolution of 1776 were British settlers, and the French bourgeoisie controlled the French revolution (Mignolo, 2011, p.85).

While independence is a concept used to endorse for the emancipation of a new social class, the European bourgeoisie translated independence into the universal term of 'humanity', and thereby orchestrated the exporting of independence throughout the world. Liberation, however, provides a wholesome context that encompasses non-western peoples that European imperium colonized. Independence in the discourses of the European enlightenment puts forward proposals of internal reform within the logic of euro-modernity but does not question its darker side, that is, coloniality. Therefore, both 'liberation' and

'decoloniality' point towards de-linking from the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2011, p. 11).

Liberation means changing the frames of the discourse, and challenging the hegemonic concepts of what the organisation of society is and should be. It is paramount to split and interrogate the pillars of knowledge that have been dominated since 1492 and through euro-modernity by what we understand here as the theo-logical and the ego-logical politics of knowledge as created by the western civilisation (Mignolo, 2011, p. 18). What liberation in Africa, and in Kenya in particular, shared with the Haitian revolution of 1804, was the aspiration to 'liberate' and sever ties with the European imperialists. The efforts of the Kenya land and Freedom Army, also known as the Mau Mau, was an example of a liberation movement, while the independence project that was curated by the native elite (bourgeoisie in Kenya) was an emancipation project as the project did not challenge the colonial matrix of power. In this case, while liberation was clearly the goal for the masses, independence was the priority of the native elite. Decoloniality thus did not take root, and the processes of delinking with euro-modernity did not take place.

Decoloniality is a larger project that encompasses both independence and liberation. Decoloniality is revolutionary in that it turns the tide and shifts the politics and ethics of knowledge. For this reason, as Mignolo states, "decoloniality, as ethically oriented, epistemically geared, politically motivated and economically necessary processes, has the 'wretched of the earth' as its central philosophical and political idiom" (Mignolo, 2011, p.22). Mignolo goes on to observe that decoloniality simultaneously involves both colonised and coloniser, although ratified from the position and viewpoint of the 'wretched of

the earth' (Mignolo, 2011, p.22). The wretched of the earth would otherwise be denied their right to liberate themselves and would have to wait for the generosity of Western modernity. Yet, clearly, the coloniser cannot be the proper agent of decolonisation. Thus, the independence projects across post-colonial Africa failed because they were curated by the native elite using the bourgeoisie-led nation-state, and employing the language of decolonisation as a means to self-aggrandizement while enacting the irrational myth that justifies genocidal violence (more on this in Chapter 3).

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter has sought to illustrate that decoloniality means working toward a vision of society that is not reliant on or designed by the forced imposition of one ideal of human life over those that do not agree with it. This is in sharp contrast to the independence project that sustains the colonial matrix of power. Decoloniality, therefore, is full liberation, and must begin with the decolonization of the mind. The aim of the struggle for liberation is therefore to challenge and change the terms of the discourse (Mignolo, 2011, p. 295). In the next chapter, we examine Franz Fanon's decolonial critique of the African colonial state.

CHAPTER 3: THE ROOTS OF THE KENYAN STATE

3.1. Introduction

In line with the second objective of this study, this chapter assesses the relevance of Fanon's decolonial critique of the nation state to the contemporary Kenyan experience. The chapter provides a historical analysis of the creation of the Kenyan state in 1885, the instruments the British used to enforce their imperial rule, and the epistemic effects of these actions on the nature of the Kenyan state.

3.2. The making of the Kenyan state

The standard narrative of the inception of the Kenyan state has been traced to its independence from the British in 1963. The departure of the British put an end to colonial rule, and the peace settlement established a status quo in which western powers would refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the Kenyan state. Kenya would adopt the Westphalian state system model reflecting a practical accommodation that relied on a structure of sovereign countries states abstaining from impinging each other's local matters, and putting a systems of check and balances to curtail each other's ambitions. Kenya was assigned the attribute of sovereign power over its territory, and so joined the international system of states. The Kenyan state was therefore both a product and a guarantor of tolerance – among states and within them (Mamdani, 2020, p.6).

At independence, the Kenyan state imposed "peace", and all the people were subordinated by the law in the interest of peaceful coexistence (Hornsby, 2011, p. 14). However, this is only a partial account of the series of events.

Indeed, it is told from a modernity framework based on the cosmology of Western Europe, and ignores the dark underbelly of modernity which is coloniality.

To avert growing tensions due to increased conflict among the western nations to compete for scarce resources within Europe for the growth of European industries at the turn of the 20th century, the western nations, in a conference in 1884, later to be called the Berlin conference, agreed to look for resources and lands outside of Europe to benefit their populations and countries. Africa, through a process of scramble and partition, became the site in which this would take place and the war tensions within Europe would be de-escalated among the major super powers (Césaire, 1950). European powers created arbitrary borders without consulting the inhabitants in these new colonies. In fact, the Africans had no idea that they were living in these newly formed colonies, for both the name and the mapping were fictions of the west. It was a western invention, pure and simple, which presupposed a centre in Europe advancing a project to civilise and dominate the world (Kinyatti, 2019, p. 3). The British, one of the European superpowers, created the East African protectorate, which included Kenya and Uganda, under the British sphere of influence and domination. The British established a mechanism for exercising their political power, and proceeded to reorganise social, political and economic life to suit their pursuits (Kinyatti, 2019, p. 4).

First, the British crown granted the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEACO) a charter to rule on behalf of the British and develop African trade networks and routes in British spheres of influence. The IBEACO created an environment in which British subjects had immunity from persecution under English law while in Kenya, regardless of their actions. Too, they were allowed to

collect taxes from the native Africans, administer justice on behalf of the crown, make laws and impose treaties as the government of the area. In 1893, by means of a royal charter from the British crown, the British government took the administration rights from the IBEACO. Their first administrative act was to divide the territory to form the Uganda Protectorate in 1894 and the East Africa Protectorate (later Kenya) in 1895 (Hornsby, 2011, p.6).

The British colonisers thereafter built institutions to put into force a system of oppression and exploitation. Thousands of European settlers, missionaries, game hunters and criminals were brought to Kenya, given special privileges to kill the native populations and to loot and plunder the wealth and labour of the country for British interests. Asians, who had been under British rule, and understood British imperialism, were given the opportunity to assist in the colonisation of Kenya. Capitalism and Christianity were imposed on the country to assault indigenous culture. White supremacy became the law of the land (Kinyatti, 2019, p.10).

To control the movement of the African people, the British passed and enforced all sorts of racist laws. These included the Vagrancy Ordinance law of 1896, African Passes Ordinance of 1900, Native Porter and Labourers Ordinance of 1902; Crown lands Ordinance of 1902 and 1915, and the Native Registration Ordinance of 1915. The last ordinance above introduced the *Kipande* system, which imposed a rule which required all adult African men to carry identification documents at all times. This was to ensure that the British could control their movement within the colony. The Kipande system was imposed to enforce the colonial state labour policies so as to ensure that all African men worked whether they wanted to or not; that African male workers did not leave the colonial

employer before the contract was terminated. The African worker who quit his job was arrested, flogged and imprisoned. The wages remained low, and racial segregation laws were ruthlessly enforced (Kinyatti, 2019, p. 17). The labourer Ordinance Act was enacted to provide the British with an abundant supply of cheap labour. Through these oppressive laws, two types of taxation came into being: Poll tax and breast tax. All African men above the age of 16 years of age paid the poll tax regardless of their employment status. The breast tax, also known as hut tax, was incumbent upon married men. Under the Labourers Ordinance, deserters from European plantations were viciously pursued by colonial police, arrested and dragged back to the plantations. The provincial administrations and colonial chiefs worked in concert to enforce these laws (Kinyatti, 2019, p. 20).

The confiscation of land deprived Africans the right to their lands and made them tenants at the will of the British. To assert complete sovereignty over the Africans, British imperialism dissolved the East African protectorate –which allowed internal self-governance – and made Kenya a crown colony in July 1920 (Kinyatti, 2019, p. 21). British rule became harsher after Kenya became a colony. Africans were reduced to a subhuman status from which the colonial laws forbade escape. Conditions of life alienated thousands from their homes and families and shattered cultural bonds. The fatal blow to African traditional and cultural institutions came with the enactment of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1919, which turned virtually all African functionaries into slave raiders of their own people. African heritage and culture – religion, dance, dress, food and history were condemned as primitive. Africans were described and depicted as mindless childish savages (Kinyatti, 2019, p. 23).

Kinyatti (2019) has outlined key strategies of the British colonisers. He points out that the European missionaries constructed schools and religious centres as vehicles of spreading the gospel of docility and servility among the colonised people, thus weakening their spiritual and patriotic resistance. Apart from the systematic destruction of cultural institutions, the colonial church played a significant role in supplying the colonial rulers and the settlers with "well trained" and submissive African workers for maximum exploitation. Teaching the gospel of the beauty of capitalism and imperialism to their servile African pupils, the European missionaries railed against African history, traditions and culture as blasphemy, the work of Satan.

In addition, notes Kinyatti, in the name of Jesus and Christianity, they committed cultural genocide by imposing European culture on African peoples, and justified the inhumanity of colonialism in the name of civilisation. Parallel to the construction of police administrative centres and military bases, the British occupiers appointed puppet chiefs, village headmen, and pastors who functioned as an extension of the colonial state machinery. They were appointed to collect colonial taxes, supply forced labour to European plantations, police the native reserves and cooperate with the missionaries in spreading European culture among African populations. Through corruption, these indigenous collaborators became very rich and powerful allies of British imperialism in the country, thus setting in motion the embryonic capitalistic class stratification within the African population (Kinyatti, 2019, p. 25).

3.3. The Colonial matrix of power

Against the backdrop of this socio-political history a system of power emerged that rooted the Kenyan state. Mignolo (2011) conceptualises a global matrix of power which applies to all peoples and spaces that were subsumed to European colonial dominance including Kenya. The domains of this matrix of power were: control of leadership and authority, of gender, of the economy, and of knowledge and subjectivity (Mignolo, 2011, p.9). What supported the four domains of power are the racial and patriarchal foundations of knowledge - the enunciation in which the matrix of power is legitimised (Mignolo, 2011, p.10). The historical foundation of the colonial matrix of power within the Kenyan state was theological. It was Western Christian theology that fabricated the difference between the African native and the civilised European (Mignolo, 2011, p.10). The early European Christian missionaries who came to east Africa managed to expel the Arab slave traders and enforced conversion on Africans with the aid of the British forces. Simultaneously, the racial configuration between Europeans and Africans that had taken shape in the 15th to 17th centuries in the Atlantic and the "New World" was imported to the continent by the British (Mazrui, 1986).

Secular philosophy and sciences would later work in concert with theology to help the cause of imperialism with the aggressive implementation of scientific racism entrenched by the hordes of eugenicists driving the colonial project in Kenya (Campbell, 2012). In the minds of the British, Africans would occupy the bottom of the racial pyramid, with Europeans at the very top, and Asians in the middle (Campbell, 2012, p.29).

On its part, secular racism came to be based on self-centred knowledge (ego-politics). However, in both cases, geo- and body – politics (understood as

the biographic classification of ethnicity, religion, class, gender, class, and language of knowledge configuration were embedded within the logic of the Kenyan state, based on the two foundational pillars of western Christianity and scientific racism thus together comprising the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2011, p.10).

The Kenyan state – glued together by the four realms of the matrix of power- within the history outlined above would go through different stages dispensed in the rhetoric of modernity: specifically, in terms of salvation and the civilising mission, modernity and development, and liberal democracy. The first stage located the rhetoric of euro-modernity as salvation and the civilising mission. Salvation was focussed on abolishing Arab slave trade in the east African coast and saving African souls through their conversion to Western Christianity. The second phase comprised the domination of African populations through the formation of the Kenya colony in 1920. The third stage, which continues today, began with the independence project in 1963 characterised by the domination of bourgeoisie liberal democracy, free market economics, and the rhetoric of Westphalian state centric development (Kinyatti, 2011).

3.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have illustrated how the instruments used by the British colonisers to enforce imperial rule created a system of power that is the foundation of the Kenyan state. This colonial matrix of power holds the Kenyan state intact through a sequence of interrelated diverse historical meeting points crossed by colonial and imperial differences, and by the undergirding logic that glues those connections, namely, the logic of coloniality (Grosfoguel, 2013). Thus Mignolo's (2011, p.10) observation that the historical foundation of the colonial

matrix of power was western Christian theology, making the difference between the "civilised" colonisers and the "uncivilised" natives who did not subscribe to western Christianity, applies to Kenya. Secular philosophy and sciences would later work in concert with western Christian theology to help the cause of imperialism with the aggressive implementation of scientific racism entrenched by the hordes of eugenicists driving the colonial project in Kenya (Campbell, 2012). In the next chapter we examine Franz Fanon's decolonial critique of the national bourgeoisie.

**CHAPTER 4: KENYAS BOURGEOISIE AND THE PITFALLS OF
NATIONAL CONSCIOUSSNESS**

4.1. Introduction

This chapter assesses the extent to which Fanon's decolonial critique of

the national bourgeoisie is relevant to contemporary Kenya in line with objective

two of the study. The chapter provides a historical analysis of the emergence of

Kenya's bourgeoisie, the nature of this class, and how it has perpetuated itself by

sustaining the colonial matrix of power.

4.2. Kenya's national bourgeoisie

Since the scramble and partition of Africa circa 1885, Africans have

devoted their time to fighting for their liberation and ending human right abuses

imposed on them by the imperialists during colonial rule. The fight for freedom

and democracy against the oppression of the African peoples gradually left the

bewilderment of neo-liberal universalism to emerge as a claim to independence

(Fanon, 1961, p.119). However, what Fanon said about the national bourgeoisie in

former colonies is true of the Kenyan context, namely, that the lack of preparation

of national bourgeoisie, and their isolation from the masses, gave rise to tragic

mishaps (Fanon, 1961, p.120). This weakness, which is the central character flaw

to the national psyche of Kenya during independence, is not simply the effect of

the mutilations of the Kenyan people by the British imperialists. Rather, it is also

the result of the moral emptiness, intellectual sloth, and spiritual poverty of the

national bourgeoisie (Fanon, 1961, p.119). This class, Fanon predicted, would be

the biggest deterrent against the African dream of liberation. Their principal occupation has been to promote themselves over the interests of their compatriots, regardless of the plight of the people (Fanon, 1961, p. 120).

The Western project, euro-modernity and its attendant logic - the colonial matrix of power - was no mean feat. The great transformation of the 15th century – in the Atlantic that destroyed civilisations, enslaved Africans, spurred European dominance, and comprised the violent genocide in the Americas from 1492 - was the emergence of a structure of dominance that was led by Europeans, both in the internal conflicts within Europe and in their colonization of land and peoples outside of Europe (Cuguano, 2006).

Domination of the vested interests within the African slave conquest and internal struggles within Europe led to a process where imperial internal differences among European states created a particular historical trajectory. These socio-political conditions led the way to the advent of the colonial matrix of power and racial categories within a new international order controlled from the western hemisphere.

The establishment of the transatlantic trade curated within the colonial matrix of power created an economic class of African middlemen/women with a predatory posture. This kind of "African middleman/woman" came in three general groupings. The first were local self-appointed middlemen to foreign economic interests who transformed domestic slavery into a violent and weaponised trade (Serumaga, 2018). By the 19th century, an estimated nine to fourteen million people had been enslaved in the east coast of Africa during a period of one century. Most were shipped to the port of Luanda to be transported

to the Americas through the sea ports of Zanzibar, but smaller markets existed along Lamu, Malindi and Mombasa (Khamisi, 2016, p.11).

The second group were the local merchant classes who had previously been traders in other things responding to the geo-politics of the times. Among the most disreputable African slavers in East Africa were the Nyamwezi. A close-knit community, the Nyamwezi started off as porters working on caravans, but graduated to slave trading because of its economic benefits. The Nyamwezi traded with slaves from the western part of Congo, modern day Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. As for the Yao, they had initially dealt in animal skins, hoes and tobacco, but moved into the bigger, more valuable ivory and slave trade, becoming the most notorious slavers of all indigenous East African people (Khamisi, 2016, p.13).

The third group was warlords disguised as local leaders so that it would be possible to gain legitimacy to engage in the African slave trade. Of note was Hamad bin Muhammad also known as Tippu Tip, who was a slave and ivory dealer and operated mainly between Zanzibar and Tabora. He was considered a gangster and a pirate of the most brutal kind. In May 1867, Tippu Tip seized the encampment of chief Nsama of Tibwa between Lake Mweru and Lake Tanganyika, captured a large consignment of ivory and took possession of hundreds of slaves. The story goes that it was in Tabwa village that he acquired his name "tip" because of the sounds of guns. Tippu Tips mantra was simple: slaves cost nothing; they only require to be gathered (Khamisi, 2016, p.41).

This new social class, endorsed and propped up by the then imperial forces, fashioned the template for the Kenya we live in today, where social stratification and extractive predatory behaviour are the defining characteristics.

What is perhaps different is how this new social class and the western powers faired up until the scramble and partition of Africa. Europe and the class it created used this particular historical trajectory and built on it creating wealth, an international order and a European bourgeoisie (Arendt, 1973, p. 225). The port city of Liverpool is an example of how European imperial powers benefitted from slavery. In his seminal book, *A Circumstantial Account of the True Causes of the African Slave Trade by an Eye Witness, 1797*, Genuine Dicky Sam (2013) opines:

> …Since the price of slaves on the coast varied little and was seldom exorbitant, their food on the Middle Passage reckoned at ten shillings per head, and their freight at £3.5s. The gain on each slave sold in the colonies was well over thirty per cent. Thus, in the years 1783 to 1793, the net profit to the town of Liverpool on an aggregate of 303,737 slaves sold was almost three million pounds per annum." (£1 then would be worth about £137 today (Sam, 2013).
> The description indicates that the impact of the slave trade on the port of

Liverpool increased the riches of the merchants and the explorers, and significantly contributed to the increased rise of livelihood to almost every abled man in Liverpool. The slave trade also brought immense wealth to the British crown (Rodney, 1972, p.103). One account described how the wealth that Britain obtained through the trans-Atlantic slave trade was a kind of gift from heaven (Royal Museums Greenwich, 2016). Another account went further to indicate that even the riches of the Kings in Europe could not be compared to that of the British merchants (Tharoor, 2016, p. 91).

The traditional British view of wealth was based on land gentry and support from the church. However, this changed with the advent of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, whose wealth led to the rise of the new mercantile classes in England which made wealth by escaping the traditional sources of wealth curated by the monarchies and the church (Tharoor, 2016, p. 53). In other words, slave traders and their money were changing British politics. In 1786, a famous British

magazine reported the growing number of a new sort of gentleman, who was obtaining wealth from imperial exploits across the British Empire, and buying a new place for themselves in British society (Tharoor, 2016, p.53). Through the wealth they obtained, the mercantile elite of British imperial powers would later lead the industrial revolution and cement their role as the emergent British bourgeoisie (Arendt, 1973).

Unlike their British counterparts who cemented their role as the new bourgeoisie in Europe, the African slavers disappeared, leaving their descendants to become part of the colonised masses of Africans inhabiting a continent that had been ravaged by 400 years of slavery and resource extraction. Africa was left with the seeds of a nimble socio-economic class characterised by a culture of hubris, greed, venality, and intellectual and spiritual penury (Serumaga, 2018).

4.3. Fanon's "Pitfalls of National Consciousness" in the Light of the Contemporary Kenyan Experience

The descendants of the African slavers later re-invented themselves under the British, who perceived that for the colonial project to succeed in Kenya, they needed native collaborators local who would give the newly created colonial order legitimacy. This arrangement irrevocably re-invented the collaborating class of Africans, whose loyalty was to the newly established colonial government, produced en masse through the civil service and the mission schools, and later rise to political dominance in post-independent Kenya (Githuku, 2020).

The new centres of chiefly power to men such as Karuri wa Gakure, Koinange wa Mbiyu, Owuor Kere, Muhoho wa Gathecha, and Michuki wa Kagwi, consequently led to a tailor made social class to whom the independence

project could be handed to after 1963 (Githuku, 2020). It is therefore not by accident that the top echelons of power within the civil service have been occupied and led by the descendants of this class. These include men such as Simeon Nyachae, Eliud Ngala Mwendwa, Kitili Mwendwa, Josiah Njonjo, John Njoroge Michuki, and Peter Mbiyu Koinange (Githuku, 2020).

Thus, at the attainment of independence, coloniality remained in Kenya through the control of the state by men (mostly) and women whose worldview was based on euro-centric standards of knowledge. Euro-centric based education *(both theologism and egology)[1]* became a hiding place of the colonial matrix of power. Western education became a social marker of class and intellectual superiority and Africans who had attained western based education considered themselves superior to their fellow Africans (Mutiso, 1975, p. 51).

Opportunistically, members of the national bourgeoisie sent their children to study in Europe in order for them to cement their relationships with former colonial powers after independence. Moreover, as Fanon observed, instead of putting itself at the service of the masses, this class pursued its own self-interests and followed the path of decadence, greed and self-destruction (Fanon, 1961, p. 121). In Kenya, during the clamour for independence, the nationalistic parties, that is, Kanu and Kadu, mobilised the people with slogans. Kanu, which later merged with Kadu, articulated a vision of eradicating poverty, disease and ignorance from the country. However, the leaders of Kanu had no real liberative agenda for the majority of the population. Instead, as Odinga (1967) and Mutiso

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[1] Geo- and body – politics (understood as the biographic configuration of gender, religion, class, ethnicity and language of knowledge configuration and epistemic desires were embedded within the logic of the Kenyan state, based on the two foundational pillars of western Christianity and scientific racism thus together created the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2011, p.10).

(1975, p. 53) note, those in government were obsessed with acquiring land and other material things for their own personal aggrandisement.

The Kenyan economy – racial capitalism -which was a key pillar of the colonial matrix of power, had developed outside the limits of the knowledge of the national bourgeoisie. Africans were not involved in the global designs of the colonial matrix of power. They were merely victims of it through the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Rodney, 1972, p. 103). For the Kenyan national bourgeoisie, what Fanon (1961) said about the bourgeoisie of former colonies proved true - they had little understanding of the actual potential of the country, so they could not transform the economy on a new footing (Fanon, 1961, p. 124). Rather, it was concerned with maintaining the colonial matrix of power. For instance, the trickle down policy articulated in Sessional paper No.10 of 1965: African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya to develop high agriculture prone areas and neglect other areas continued the racist capitalist model (Oginga, 1967, p. 315. and Mutsoso, 2018) as espoused by the colonial matrix of power.

In the 1960's, the national bourgeoisie in Kenya was demanding the Africanisation of the economy. This was because from their point of view, Africanisation did not mean changing the whole economy for the benefit of the people. It also did not mean changing the social and political arrangements and contesting the colonial matrix of power. Instead, for them, Africanisation quite simply meant transferring to them the privileges of the colonial political economy (Fanon, 1961, p. 126). The national bourgeoisie also insisted that all foreign companies pass through their hands if they wished to do business in Kenya (Leys, 1975, p.272) becoming an intermediary between foreign interests and local resources (Thiongo, 1982) who depended not just on the non-withdrawal of

foreign capital but also (leys, 1975 p. 272) on its "continued inflow", therefore, legislated policy to maintain this investment climate.

Mutiso (1975) notes that after Kenya attained its independence, the British collaborators replaced the British and controlled the civil service by putting in place measures undergirded by euro-centric standards. In particular, western based education became that of hiding the ideology of the colonial matrix of power and imperialism. Africans who had western education considered themselves to be like British gentlemen/women and thought themselves superior to fellow Africans who did not have western education, and worse, the colonial system remained intact and more venal (Mutiso, 1975, p. 49).

Observed through this lens, the mission of the national bourgeoisie had nothing to do with transforming the nation; rather it discovered its historic mission as the business agent between the country and capitalism. For instance, in 1971, senior government officials in Jomo Kenyatta's regime complained to the executive of the existing human resources policy forbidding state officers to conduct private business. In hearing the grievances, President Jomo Kenyatta decided to appoint a body called the "Public Service Structure and Remuneration Commission" to recommend reforms. Christened after its Chairman Duncan Ndegwa, the Ndegwa Commission recommended radical changes in conduct of civil servants, most importantly; it recommended that civil servants be permitted to engage in private business. As a result, government bureaucrats could engage in private business. The net effects of this commission were devastating to service delivery and the conduct of government in Kenya. Civil service became a bastion of corruption, public goods were inefficiently provided because civil servants were away conducting private business, civil servants demanded bribes, and sold

information and confidential government plans to private businesses and citizens. Looting and embezzlement of public resources became the main stay activity of the civil service (Kobuthi, 2019).

During the 1960's and 1970's, Kenya built a tourist industry which, until the mid-2000's was the country's highest foreign exchange earner. Western tourists enthusiastic for the exotic, for big game watching, for white sandy beaches at the coast, flooded Kenya. Nevertheless, as Fanon (1961, p. 128) noted, tourism would have grave effects on an underdeveloped country. In fact, at the Kenyan coast, drugs, prostitution, poverty, unemployment, crime and other vices are a manifestation of the depravity of the national bourgeoisie: "Because it is bereft of ideas," Fanon would note, "because it lives to itself and isolates itself from the masses, characterized by an innate inability to think in terms of the plight of the people and their problems, the national bourgeoisie follows its creators' path to decadence and obliteration" (Fanon, 1961, p. 126).

In line with the prediction of Fanon (1961, p. 124), the bourgeoisie which took power after independence used its influence to occupy the positions formerly held by British foreigners. By the early 1960's, anger towards the Britihs settlers was high among the Africans. To calm the waters, the British colonial government in 1962 introduced a land reform policy known as the Million Acre Settlement Scheme. The intent of the policy was the settlement of 35,000 landless, smallholder African families on 1,150,000 acres of land previously obtained from the White Highlands at a cost of twenty five million sterling pounds (Khamisi, 2018, p. 23). The Commonwealth Development Corporation, The British government and the World Bank financed the scheme, and African natives who purchased the land were offered loans repayable over five years. However, the

policy did not allow co-operatives or land buying companies to purchase the plots, thus, only individuals could purchase land in the scheme. This glitch in policy left the scheme open to abuse by the well-heeled African elite and the salaried middle class (Khamisi, 2018, p. 25). The one-million-acre scheme cemented exclusion reflected in the ethnic structure and geographic settlement pattern, laying a basis for inter-ethnic conflicts that frequently erupt in Kenya.

The acquisition of wealth, and the monopolisation of power would continue through out Kenya's history. Privileges would multiply and corruption triumph, while morality declined. For instance, the Goldenberg and Anglo Leasing scandals were enabled by this impunity. During Daniel Arap Moi's imperial presidency, the Goldenberg scandal entailed the government paying Goldenberg International Special compensation for fabricated gold and diamond exports. It is estimated that the heist cost taxpayers up to 10 per cent of Kenya's Gross Domestic Product (Khamisi, 2018, p. 295). Between 1997 and 2003, the Anglo leasing scandal which entailed the payment of $36 million to a British organisation under the pretext of investing in Kenya's national security for "tamper-proof passports", naval ships and forensic laboratories.

The fact that this and other scandals are spread out through Kenya's post independent history is revealing that impunity in the nation is endemic and is therefore systemic (Khamisi, 2018, p. 298). Alluding to the endemic and horrific nature of corruption on the country, John Githongo, an anti-corruption czar and public intellectual observed on May 2, 2019, in a public personal statement that:

> "The Anglo Leasing model of misappropriation of resources from the Kenyan people has continued unabated since 2001. . . . Over the past six years in particular the plunder of public resources has accelerated to levels unprecedented in Kenyan history since independence. Increasingly the economic, political, social and very personal cost of this plunder by

officials in positions of authority has been borne by the Kenyan people directly" (quoted in Khamisi, 2018, p. 298).

To maintain its grip on power, the national bourgeoisie have used force, intimidation and physical violence, and have exhibited an affinity for authoritarian rule. In fact, since the regime of Jomo Kenyatta, Fanon's prediction has been proved true, namely, that government officials would consistently claim that in under-developed countries, heavy-handed direction of public affairs is a necessity (Fanon, 1961, p. 134). Once former Attorney General Charles Njonjo stated that it was treasonable to imagine the president dead (Kaufman, 1976). Kanu's role in this authoritarian rule was to keep the masses at bay. Party propaganda and songs exalting the party were created for this purpose. This dictatorial impulse was not for the benefit of the country; rather, it was the means through which the bourgeoisie can govern Kenya for their own self-interests (Fanon, 1961, p. 136).

Fanon (1961) had pointed out that the masses have always been seen as a threat that must be consistently put in check, either by propaganda or by the brutal force of the national security apparatus. The national bourgeoisie fears the masses because of its illegitimacy (Fanon 1961). Therefore, the imperative has always been to co-opt, marginalize or silence all dissenting voices in society. This is an undertaking that the political class since the presidency of president Jomo Kenyatta have fulfilled to the hilt (Githuku, 2020). Opposition leaders in postcolonial Kenya have been arrested on arbitrary charges. In 2020, amidst a global pandemic, the national bourgeoisie reportedly engaged in wanton theft and unprogressive politics that have in fact led to the spread of the coronavirus (Igunza, 2020).

4.4. Conclusion

The present chapter has argued that the independence project as curated by the Kenyan national bourgeoisie cannot liberate the masses. Since the dawn of independence, the national bourgeoisie have controlled formally authorized knowledge, institutions, violence, and important connections to the outside world by linking themselves to the colonial matrix of power. This is what Frantz Fanon warned us about in his essay "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness" (Fanon, 1961, pp. 148 - 205). In the next chapter, I explore the extent to which Franz Fanon's delinking option (the deployment of alternative knowledge traditions and alternative languages to the Euro-centric ones) is relevant to contemporary Kenya.

CHAPTER 5: FANON'S DELINKING OPTION AS AN EXPRESSION OF DECOLONIALITY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the extent to which Franz Fanon's delinking option (the deployment of alternative knowledge traditions and alternative languages to the Euro-centric ones) is applicable to contemporary Kenya in line with objective three of the study. It outlines Fanon's remedies to the problem of independence without liberation, before undertaking an evaluation of the relevance of his prognosis to contemporary Kenya.

5.2. Fanon's predictions 60 years on

As Fanon (1961, p. 119) notes, the national bourgeoisie does not even excel in obtaining favours from former imperial powers, or setting up an industrial base in the country." Instead, corruption and plunder has been the main policy priority of the Kenyan national bourgeois. Indeed, just as Fanon (1961, p. 254) predicted about former colonies, the national bourgeoisie in Kenya have consistently talked about development and democracy, while consistently showing themselves parsimonious where the plight of Kenyans are concerned. Indeed, when this class disappears, devoured by its own internal contradictions, it will be seen that no real meaningful progress was achieved since the proclamation of independence and everything must be started from the beginning (Fanon, 1961, p. 119).

As we observed in the previous chapter, Kenya's national bourgeoisie lack of deep engagement with the masses of the people has led to massive failures in the history of independent Kenya. The majority of the population still lives in abject poverty, cultural and intellectual institutions have been obliterated, and this class curates agendas that only seem to benefit itself (Serumaga, 2018). Indeed, for the bourgeoisie, they have only enriched themselves their links with the western nations and proximity to the state coffers. It is therefore important to note that the liberation of the Kenyan people will only come by destroying the conditions necessary for the existence and growth of the national bourgeoisie (Fanon, 1961, p. 119). Consequently, the change will not come from the systems and structures set up by the bourgeoisie during its reign, but by the emerging political society.

5.3. Fanon's Decolonial Option

Today, in the age of COVID-19, the national bourgeoisie in Kenya has not put in place a minimum program of political change for the benefit of the majority of the population. Instead, following the path towards negation and decadence **(**Fanon, 1961, p. 253)**,** they have become the biggest deterrent to the progress of Kenyans. The emerging political society in the third world must try to resolve the problems to which the national bourgeoisie has unable to find the solutions (Fanon, 1961, p. 252). To be clear, what is of importance is to stop mimicking the national bourgeoisie and their obsession with Euro-modernity. This is not a question of returning to Nature or to pre-colonial Africa; rather, it is simply a concern to fashion a future away from the colonial matrix of power to one which values all of humanity. It is simply to respond to the expectations of the Kenyan

people by providing them with an opportunity to enjoy dignified lives. To paraphrase Fanon, we must recreate a new humanity and change the course of history by developing a new way of thinking (Fanon, 1961, p. 255).

Fanon was proposing decolonial thinking which is, to paraphrase Fanon, to join the rest of humanity, and to leave Europe in its fast pace towards the path of decadence and destruction. Decolonial thinking is a relentless effort to challenge the logic of coloniality - the structure of domination that emerged out of the great transformation in the Atlantic after 1492, the restructuring of the global economy, and the leap in western epistemologies that happened in the local history of Europe and in between Europe and the rest of the world (Mignolo, 2011, p. 38). To do what Fanon was proposing, we must first embark on a delinking process that give on to an epistemic decolonial shift, and brings to the fore other other ways of knowing, of being and of sensing. Furthermore, de-linking presupposes to moving away from the assumed pretended universality of white, male, Christian European thought and practice (Mignolo, 2011, p. 329).

Delinking presupposes border epistemology, that is, the deploying of alternative knowledge traditions and alternative languages of expression outside the dominance of Euro-centric ways of thinking, but still being cognizant that epistemologies imbued out of Euro-modernity on one hand are unavoidable, and on the other limited and violent. To de-link from the colonial matrix of power, it is necessary to engage in border epistemology, because there are many other stories beyond the dominance of Western civilisations, and many other foundational languages. There are different concepts of beauty, and of economic organisation, among others, beyond mainstream thought and divergent conceptions of life that

lead to philosophical practices independent of Euro-modernity's canonical dictums in matters of thought and practice (Mignolo, 2011, p. 329).

Delinking recognizes that the philosophical and ethical conceptualisations based on euro-centric principles are necessary but highly insufficient. Therefore, If delinking means abandoning the hegemonic ideas of what knowledge is, and, consequently, what knowing, being and sensing are and should be, it is of paramount importance to break the hegemony of knowledge that have dominated since 1492 and through the modern/colonial world, by what I referred to in previous chapters as the theo-logical and the ego-logical politics of knowledge (Mignolo, 2011, p. 329).

According to Mignolo (2011, p.329), de-linking "cannot be performed, obviously, within the frame of the theo-logical and the ego-logical politics of knowledge. It cannot be performed within the framework of the euro-modern epistemology. For one cannot de-link *within* the epistemic frame from which one wishes to disassociate. Delinking is the reverse of 'assimilation' because to assimilate means to embrace the status quo" (Mignolo, 2011, p. 329). Fanon's work should be read through the same lens and movement of delinking away from Euro- modernity in a process called border thinking, that is, the link between the diversity of local epistemologies that were subjected as colonies by euro-modernity modern empires (Mignolo 2011, p. 330). Border thinking is grounded, not in European thinkers, but in the colonial wounds and imperial subordination, or, as Fanon aptly referred to it, the wretched of the earth, and, as such, it should become the connector between the diversity of subaltern histories and corresponding subjectivities (Mignolo, 2011, p. 330).

Secondly, this delinking of the totality of Western epistemology relates closely to the idea of the communal. Communal should not be confused with Western ideas such as "the common wealth" or "the common good" and of the "commons": The first is liberal, the second Marxist. The communal is neither liberal nor Marxist, but decolonial. The communal is a way to advance decoloniality (Mignolo, 2011, p. 331).

Decoloniality works towards building epistemologies and debates that move away the current domination of euro-modernity. This is the struggle for the control of knowledge. The communal means, then, the adoption and cultivation of non-euro-modern forms of economic organisations and non-western epistemologies that have co-existed with modernity, but that have been marginalised (for example, corporative nonwestern economies) or stifled by capitalist mentalities. Because neither state nor the market has taken care of them, the global political society has organised itself in very many ways. It is important to note here that the re-emergence of spirituality plays a significant function in the delinking process. Many players of religions, and different religions are joining the political society without leaving their religious pillars and foundations but delinking from the influence of Western modernity (Mignolo, 2011, p. 331).

The communal in the history of Africa was a socio-economic organisation dismantled by the Atlantic slave trade and settler colonialism. However, the communal has quietly survived alongside the colonial and current ruling governments have made many attempts to destroy the communal. The communal works in tandem with border epistemology - thinking from non-euro-modernity classifications of thought. Decolonial "delinking" begins first with re-inscribing in contemporary discourse and moving towards the future, social organisations and

economic conceptions that were stifled and silenced by the discourse of Western modernity and the ideas tied to the history of Europe. To be clear, there is no one singular model of the communal- the communal is inscribed in all non-modern African memories that, since 1500, have been silenced, dispossessed and marginalised and juxtaposed as "backward", "the past", "native" or "archaic" in relation to Western ideas of modernity. Finding the communal, or the *New Man* as Fanon called it, is a process of investigation, inquiry and uncovering the silenced, suppressed and marginalised from the emerging political society (Mignolo, 2011, p. 331).

Finally, the communal is not an idea to be universalised. Rather, it is what we come across when we delve into the history of different African societies and civilisations prior to 1500. These non-euro-modern societies and communal organisations are thriving, although constantly being destroyed by the expansion of euro-modernity and its attendant logic: coloniality. For instance, the concentration of mega-cities as rural life disappears absorbed by western modernity's thirst for land and water is eroding the communal. The communal as a pathway for human existence is already a global concern, expressed in different languages and vocabularies. If we are cognizant that the communal is a legitimate vision for the present and the future, we should expect that parallel contributions would come from other local African histories that had been suppressed by imperialism and colonization. The future is open beyond liberal democracy, socialism, and euro-modernity. We are moving towards a pluriversal world where euro-modernity will have its place, but where universal claims are unsustainable and hubristic (Mignolo, 2011, p. 333).

Today, epistemic reconstitution is taking place in many places and in many forms from the emerging global political society. People are taking their destinies in their own hands because the Westphalian state system, as well as international institutions are not able to serve the people, but are maintaining the colonial matrix of power. We are also seeing the rise of the civilization state as a delinking project that is contesting the Westphalian state system. The political theorist Pabst, (2020) observes that countries such as China, Russia and Turkey are emerging with their own distinctive political institutions and cultural values drawing ideological succor from pre-euro-modernity empires from which they claim origin. They are transforming their social and political institutions, and contesting the colonial matrix of power.

By delinking from that global structure of knowledge in order to engage in an epistemic reconstitution in ways of thinking, in languages, ways of life is the only path to full liberation of the people of Kenya. The re-emergence of the Swahili civilization is an example of a delinking project taking place at the level of the political society, which seeks to re-think the Kenyan project. Indeed, since the 7th century C.E., the East African region represents one the continent's more closely matched regions (Goldsmith, 2021) that has been tethered to the Swahili coast through the Swahili civilization, the Swahili language (A bantu language) and Ubuntu (the humanistic philosophy which derives its core with deep human relationships) have been linked to the Swahili seas (Indian ocean). Drawing ideological succor and creating distinctive political institutions and cultural values from the Swahili civilization could be one delinking option for the full liberation of the Kenyan people.

5.4. Conclusion

In the foregoing reflections, we have indicated that delinking means the use of hidden histories, forgotten memories and social organisations to advance a new political society, and to introduce new concepts into the economic, political, philosophical and ethical debates in order to start over, and try setting afoot a new philosophy of man (Fanon, 1961, p. 255).

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Summary and Conclusions

This research project has endeavoured to assess the relevance of Franz Fanon's diagnosis of the post-colonial African state to the contemporary Kenyan context, with specific reference to the problem of independence without liberation. Chapter one laid the groundwork of this project by exploring the background of the study, statement of the problem, study objectives, research questions, significance of the study, scope and limitation of the study, definition of terms used in this study, literature review, theoretical framework and methodology employed to conduct this study.

In Chapter two, I sought to reflect on the difference between independence and liberation by providing a historical context and conceptual framework of decolonial theory, drawing from the major decolonial theorists. In this regard, I argued that decoloniality means working toward a vision of human life that is not dependent on or structured by the forced imposition of one ideal of society over those that differ from it. This is in sharp contrast to the independence project, which sustains the colonial matrix of power. It is on these grounds, namely, that decolonial thinking leads to full liberation. To do this, we must begin with epistemic reconstitution, which is to delink from the colonial matrix of power in order to re-link with our hidden histories, forgotten memories and social organisations prior to the incursion of western imperialism inorder to re-exist (Mignolo, 2011, p. 229).

The struggle for liberation, therefore, entails changing the terms and content of the discourse (Mignolo, 2011). Within the Kenyan context two important factors must be considered: the nature and history of the Kenyan state and the origin and nature of the class that operates the state.

Chapter three of this study observed that the instruments used by the British colonisers to enforce their imperial rule created a system of power that comprises the foundation of the Kenyan state. This system, known to decoloniality scholars as the colonial matrix of power, glues the state through an interconnected system, namely, the logic of coloniality. The manifestation of this system entails western epistemologies as tools of dominance, namely western Christianity and secular philosophies. These two work in concert to suppress native thought and practice, and thereby curtail the full liberation of the people.

In chapter four of this study, we revealed that the transatlantic slave trade curated within the colonial matrix of power created an African economic class that acted as middlemen for western powers in their search for slaves and raw materials from Africa. This class disappeared with the end of direct slavery, but re-emerged with the colonisation of Africa. In Kenya, this class found its relevance as collaborators to the British colonisers. It perpetuated itself through the missionary schools and civil service, and made up the majority of the leaders of the independence project. Since 1963, the national bourgeoisie in Kenya has monopolised formally sanctioned knowledge, state institutions, technical skills, violence, and useful links to the outside world by linking themselves to the colonial matrix of power, thereby sustaining the coloniality of power, thus hindering liberation.

In chapter five, I argued that since liberation cannot be achieved through the lens of euro-modernity, we have to look at other options. For example, we are seeing the rise of the civilization state that is contesting euro-modernity, that is, the global international system, the Westphalian state system and bourgeoisie liberal democracy. I sought to illustrate that Franz Fanon's delinking option is relevant to contemporary Kenya. Fanon argued that to understand the crisis of independence without liberation, one had to consider an epistemic reconstitution. In other words, humanity had to find another path of progress outside of Europe through a delinking process.

Delinking means the use of hidden histories, forgotten memories and social organisations to advance a new political society and to introduce new concepts into the economic, political and philosophical debates in order to turn over a new leaf, and to try to set afoot a new philosophy of man (Fanon, 1961, p. 255). It entails looking at African histories, cultures and philosophies, prior to 1500 C.E. The re-emergence of the Swahili civilization is an example of a delinking project taking place at the level of the political society (Adhiambo, 2019).

6.2. Recommendations

This study has illustrated that Fanon's delinking option is relevant to the Kenyan situation because within the context of euro-modernity and its attendant logic (coloniality), full liberation cannot be attained. Furthermore, since the Westphalian state system, bourgeoisie liberal democracy and the international order are part of the colonial matrix of power, the study recommends the development of other possible imaginaries for human existence. However, the

study does not delve deep into Fanon's delinking option, and therefore recommends further research on it with a view to developing his idea of a new philosophy of man in the creation of a new humanity.

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