

A POSTCOLONIAL READING OF AIME CESAIRE'S PLAYS
Cengiz KARAGÖZ

Yüksek Lisans Tezi
İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı
Danışman: Hasan BOYNUKARA

2014

**T.C.
NAMIK KEMAL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
İNGİLİZ DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI
YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ**

A POSTCOLONIAL READING OF AIME CESAIRE'S PLAYS

Cengiz KARAGÖZ

İNGİLİZ DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI

DANIŞMAN: Prof. Dr. Hasan BOYNUKARA

TEKİRDAĞ-2014

Her hakkı saklıdır

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Dr. Hasan BOYNUKARA for inspiring and encouraging me to choose such an interesting and scholarly subject. His lessons and comments laid the foundation for this research, and his expertise on this area was exactly what I needed to complete it. I am grateful and indebted to his support and guidance from the beginning of this thesis till the final draft. I would also like to express my thanks to my colleague Özgür Atılım TURAN for providing me with the basic materials of this research. Finally, I would like to thank Namık Kemal University English Linguistics and Literature Department for supporting my academic endeavours and for their contributions to my academic knowledge during the lectures I took from them.

ABSTRACT

Aime Césaire is one of the most prominent literary and political figures in the postcolonial period. He always tries to express his criticism against colonialism and the colonialist nations with his both theoretical and literary works. But he also aims to create awareness among the black colonized nations and warn them of the risks which are possible to emerge in their land after colonialism. Césaire openly stimulates the black societies to establish unity and brotherhood and directs them to get rid of their inferiority complex imposed on them by the colonialist countries. In the plays such as *The Tragedy of King Christophe* (1969), *A Tempest* (1969) and *A Season in the Congo* (1969), he deals with colonialism in terms of its economical, political and racial consequences. According to him, the colonizer attempted to create slaves for their own benefits instead of bringing civilization and advantage to the colonized land. Although colonialism seems to be ended formally in some countries, the colonialist nations keep on their colonization by means of different ways. One of the potential dangers for the new independent countries is that they can get into a political chaos or inner war for the sake of political power. Césaire has been able to recognize this and argues that these nations have to remember their own past in which they were tortured and exploited if they want to constitute a system devoid of the colonial effects.

Key Words: Aime Césaire, Césaire's plays, colonialism, post-colonialism, anti-colonialism, political crisis, racism, anti-racism

ÖZET

Aime Cesaire sömürgecilik sonrası dönemdeki en önde gelen edebi ve politik şahsiyetlerinden birisidir. Cesaire sömürgecilik ve sömürgeci uluslara karşı eleştirisini hem teorik hem de edebi eserleriyle sürekli ifade etmeye çalışmaktadır. Fakat o ayrıca sömürgeleştirilmiş siyah toplumlar arasında farkındalık oluşturmayı ve sömürgecilik sonrasında ülkelerinde ortaya çıkması muhtemel riskler konusunda onları uyarmayı da amaçlamaktadır. Cesaire açıkça siyah toplumları birlik ve kardeşlik kurmaları için teşvik eder ve sömürgeci ülkeler tarafından onlara kabul ettirilen aşağılık kompleksinden kurtulmaları için onlara rehberlik eder. *The Tragedy of King Christophe* (1969), *A Tempest* (1969) ve *A Season in the Congo* (1969) gibi oyunlarda sömürgeciliği ekonomik, politik ve ırksal sonuçları açısından ele alır. Ona göre sömürgeciler sömürgeleştirilmiş ülkeye medeniyet ve fayda getirmek yerine kendi menfaatleri için köleler yaratmaya çalıştılar. Bazı ülkelerde sömürgecilik resmi anlamda sona erdirilmiş görünse de sömürgeci uluslar sömürgeciliklerine farklı yollarla devam etmektedirler. Yeni bağımsız olmuş ülkeler için potansiyel tehlikelerden birisi politik güç uğruna politik kargaşaya ya da iç savaşa girmeleridir. Cesaire bunu fark edebilmiştir ve eğer bu uluslar sömürge etkilerinden yoksun bir sistem kurmak istiyorlarsa işkenceye uğradıkları ve sömürüldükleri geçmişlerini hatırlamak zorunda olduklarını ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Aime Cesaire, Cesaire'in oyunları, sömürgecilik, post-sömürgecilik, anti-sömürgecilik, politik kriz, ırkçılık, anti-ırkçılık

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ÖZET	iii
CONTENTS	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1	9
1. CESAIRE’S THEORETICAL KNOWLEDGE	9
1.1. Cesaire’s Negritude Movement	9
1.2. Cesaire’s Anti-colonial Stance	21
1.3. Cesaire’s Contemporaries	30
CHAPTER 2	43
2. POLITICAL CRISIS	43
CHAPTER 3	65
3. CRITIQUE OF THE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION	65
CHAPTER 4	77
4. ECONOMICAL DETERIORATION	77
CONCLUSION	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY	82

INTRODUCTION

Post-colonialism is a broad term which is nearly impossible to define exactly and restrict to a very narrow description. The theoretical and literary writers' notions in the post-colonial period take in a variety of viewpoints regarding the colonialist nations and the colonized ones. Since post-colonialism is an interdisciplinary area which makes use of other scientific areas, the scholars who are concerned with this area generally consult to one or several other disciplines. If necessary to define post-colonialism in a general sense, it can be said that it has to do with mainly what colonialism has left especially in the colonized land. When considered with other disciplines together, the effects of colonialism can be explored in terms of psychology, economy, politics, social and cultural structure, religion, linguistics and literature.

In order to understand post-colonialism better, colonialism must be taken into account thoroughly. Colonialism simply means the capture and following domination or suppression of a country by another one and encompasses not only the enslavement of its indigenous population but also the management of its regime, economical and productive force (Hiddleston, 2009: 2). A lot of people who tried to go up against colonization in the native countries were killed and tortured by the colonizing nations lest they should pose as the potential danger for them. A great number of the native people were turned into slaves who were treated by the colonialist people as though they had not been human beings. Countless colonized people were taken to Europe by ships in order to be made to work for the benefit of the European population and employers. The native people's underground sources and raw materials were stolen and brought to Europe so that the European population could have wealth and welfare. Possibly, the most tragic aspect of colonialism is that the native people's freedom and lands were taken from their hands by the colonizing countries although they could not assert any reasonable excuse for their brutal invasion. The Western countries claimed that they are civilized people who deserve to rule the native people and to be the owners of the native territories.

The economical conditions of the colonized have become worse after the colonialist nations invaded the native countries. The raw materials and other vital sources in the colonized land were grabbed by the European colonizers, and these contributed to the development of the colonialist societies' economies while leaving behind the poor people of the native societies. Although the colonized land was rich in raw materials and underground sources, the native population has become impoverished, being unable to benefit from these riches. Even after formal colonialism ended, the native societies have been dragged into being dependent upon the Western countries since their economical structure has been shaped by the colonizing people. They have had to demand monetary help and economical investment in their countries from the colonial powers.

Colonialism has also altered the religious beliefs of the native people, making them converted into the Western religions and causing them to abandon their own religions. By means of opening churches and missionary activities, the European colonizers have succeeded in converting the native people into especially Christians. They indoctrinated into the colonized people's minds the idea that if they wanted to become civilized people, they had to change their religious notions and adopt the beliefs of the civilized nations. Thus, being subjected to permanent propaganda of the Christian missionaries at schools and churches, the native people began to be influenced unconsciously and to show interest for this new Western religion. Day by day, the number of the native people becoming Christians has increased, and most of them abandoned their native religious beliefs, supposing that they have to modify their religion in accordance with their changing views and lifestyles which have been formed by the influences of the colonizing people.

The psychological effects of colonialism on the colonized people have been felt deeply even for ages. Particularly the black people were exposed to the racist attitudes and put into a lesser species that were accepted as non-human beings. The white colonizers expressed their contempt for the black citizens arrogantly, attributing despicable features to these people. This led many black people to feel that they are backward and inferior human beings who have to imitate their white masters. Therefore, they did not display any opposition against the claims of the

white colonizers, believing in the supremacy of these people and thinking that the only possible solution to reach the level of real civilization is to be subservient to the colonial instructions.

The political outcome of colonialism for the colonized societies has turned out to be not beneficial on the grounds that it has dragged the native people into the political struggle for the ruling power of the country even though the colonial powers drew back their military forces from the colonized land. Instead of consolidating and celebrating their freedom, the native people began to make ethnic discrimination between each other as to which ethnic group will preside over the country. As was in the colonial period, a large number of people have been killed in the inner war again. The Western colonizers did not miss this opportunity, and they offered higher positions, monetary wealth and cooperation to the native leaders who would become dictators and did not tolerate any objection. Owing to these dictators who were eager for working together with them, the colonial powers have achieved in retaining their colonization informally without making the colonized people feel and be aware of this. Moreover, the ex-colonized nations fought each other with the purpose of protecting or enlarging their political boundaries. These boundaries were drawn and determined by the colonialist countries which took into account merely their own profits. Therefore, colonization has brought about only political crisis and chaos in the colonized countries.

Colonialism has also left behind linguistics effects in the colonized countries which can be seen even today. The colonialist nations have founded schools in which the colonized have had to learn new prestigious languages such as English and French and so on. The colonized people began to feel that the only way of reaching a high position and career can be succeeded through learning a dominant language. Their native language lost its former value since it could not make its sound heard abroad, especially in Europe. In some countries, the colonial languages have begun to spoken outside the school as a means of communicating, and the native language has borrowed many words from the colonial language. Even some states have declared that their formal language is English or other dominant languages. The

colonial languages have been used in every phase of formal and social lives of the colonized societies.

In the post-colonial period, there have emerged three viewpoints concerning colonialism. One of the views incorporates the total refusal of colonization, arguing that it has brought about only devastation and harm for the colonized nations; thus, it cannot be legitimated because it is not rooted in any reasonable support. It includes the refusal of the black people's values and civilization, claiming that they do not reveal any humanistic qualities but inhumane characteristics. Colonialism asserts the idea that they do not merit any tactful attitudes in that they understand only brutal responds. According to this viewpoint, the colonialist nations merely exploited the native people, so there is nothing advantageous for the native societies, and the colonial powers were not generous or helpful but selfish and malevolent in their attempts to colonize. It has obliterated each part of the psychological, social, financial, political and cultural lives of the native people and caused disruption and decadence in their land. Consequently, the colonialist nations cannot absolve themselves of their menace and crimes which they committed without hesitation. According to the other approach, colonialism was necessary to be attempted as its discourse was logical and accurate. The colonized societies had to be colonized so that they could be introduced the European civilization and values; therefore, they could be nothing without the Western colonizers. Because they were backward and savage race, they needed to be trained and instructed by the civilized Western powers. For this viewpoint, the world nations must be divided into categories in accordance with their racial roots. While the black race is located in a lesser and marginal position, the white race must be placed in a superior and genuine human position. The black people are like children and students who require and wait for the assistance of their white masters. They can reach the level of the civilized nations and authentic human qualities only if they conform to the commands of the white race. Also, their unique function in this world is to serve the white people and to satisfy them. They must be enslaved by the colonialist countries so as to have responsibility and meaning for their existence. The third approach towards colonialism does not form an opinion which accepts it as entirely harmful or

beneficial; instead, this viewpoint argues that colonialism has introduced both advantages and harmful effects into the colonized nations. For this approach, one of the bad sides of colonialism caused many people to be killed and tortured by the Western colonizers. They destroyed the deeply ingrained values of the indigenous people, making them lose their peculiar identities and historical facts. The colonized people have become psychologically damaged and confused. The Europeans have succeeded in bringing and selling commercial goods in the colonized land, thus enhancing their wealth day by day. Colonialism has also given way to the political disorder or chaos in the colonized country, making its people kill each other with hatred. On the other hand, this view takes in the idea that colonialism has led the colonized people to know the European lifestyle and thoughts. The colonized people have had the opportunity to encounter with the new and distinct cultural values of Europe, by means of which they can be more modern and civilized. Since the European countries are and technologically or scientifically more advanced, they have introduced these developments into the colonized people. Moreover, the colonized people have met new ways of wearing, eating and living which have enriched their culture.

Regarding the effects of colonialism on the cultural identities and psychology of the colonized societies, the viewpoints can be divided into two categories. Critics such as Homi Bhabha claimed that the colonialist nations have not been able to remove the cultural values of the colonized societies and that it has put them into blurred conceptions which have obvious lines. He proclaims that “It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciations that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity...” (Bhabha, 1994: 37). According to him, cultures do not have any unchangeable features which make them reveal static and standard entities; rather, they are unsettled or fluctuating because they can be susceptible to the outer pressures and impacts coming from other cultures. “The term ‘hybridity’ has been most recently associated with the work of Homi Bhabha, whose analysis of colonizer/colonized relations stresses their interdependence and the mutual construction of their subjectivities ...” (Tiffin, Griffiths & Ashcroft, 2001: 118).

From the standpoint of culture, “hybridity refers to the fact that cultures are not discrete phenomena; instead, they are always in contact with one another, and this contact leads to cultural mixed-ness.” (Huddart, 2006: 4). The cultural structure of the colonized people has been transformed into a blurry existence since it has been caught between its own essential features and those of the colonialist societies. As a result, the cultural impacts of colonialism cannot be deleted from the lives of the native people, compelling them to feel that they are in a stalemate as it is emphasized by Homi Bhabha as “ambivalence: it is “... almost the same, but not quite does not merely rupture the discourse, but becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a ‘partial’ presence.” (1994: 86). Even though the colonized people have striven to adopt the cultural features of the colonizing countries, their native culture has not abandoned them, having always sought after them. This confirms the fact that colonialism has led to the incurable outcomes for the colonized societies, which they will have to carry with them throughout their lives. On the other hand, critics such as Frantz Fanon and Aime Cesaire proclaimed that colonialism has not offered any in-between path or choice for the native people. It has hauled them into following one of the two ways: either clinging strongly to their traditions and cultural values or fully giving up them by embracing the identity and psychology which the colonialist nations have chosen and determined. According to Fanon, the black colonized people who wish to accept the dominant culture of the European countries try to resemble the white colonizer, which he articulates: “The black man wants to be like the white man. For the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white.” (2008: 178). Thus, the Western colonizers have erased the native values from the minds of the colonized people and made them abandon their indigenous civilization totally. Notwithstanding they have black skins, their identities have gained a new dimension without any print of their earlier characteristics. Without any suspicion or uncertainty, they have begun to comply with each argument which the white colonizers set forth. Nevertheless, it does not seem improbable for them to recover from the stigma of colonization, and they can rebuild their own order and system independent of the colonialist nations. They can recognize and remember their own native culture and civilization which do not bring out any inferior feature as the European colonizers have often argued. The

responsibility of the native people is then to assemble and establish unanimity and unity among themselves leaving aside their differences.

This study aims to discuss the post-colonial attitude of Césaire in relation to colonization and the Western colonizers. Having been exposed to colonialism since his childhood, Césaire conveys his notions regarding colonialism directly and honestly. Both his theoretical approach and literary works discuss the harmful effects of colonialism on the black colonized nations in detail. Instead of being ashamed of being a black person, he is proud of his blackness and black civilization which he claims does not bear any inferior aspect. He dedicated his life to protecting the rights of the black colonized people wherever they live and to uttering their trouble or suffering because of colonialism and the colonizer.

The first part of the study reflects the theoretical approach of Césaire to colonialism. In this part, Césaire's concept of negritude movement, the conditions in which he decided to build such a movement and the similarities or differences between him and his contemporaries are brought up.

In the second part, the study argues the political legacy of colonialism in the colonized land by referring to Césaire's *A Season in the Congo* (1969) and *The Tragedy of King Christophe* (1969). It is conferred that colonialism has paved the way for the inner conflict and dictatorship in the colonized nations in the post-colonial period.

The third part of the study discloses Césaire's criticism of the racist approach of the Western colonizers against the black colonized people through his play *A Tempest* (1969). Césaire wants to uncover the respond of the black colonized which he must give against the colonizer with self-confidence.

The fourth part deals with the economical destruction of the colonialist countries which they have caused in the post-colonial period in relation to *A Season in the Congo* (1969).

In the last part, the study aims to impart the general perceptions of Césaire's both theoretical and literary argument in respect to colonization and its consequences for the colonized nations in the aftermath of colonialism.

Although several studies exist in respect to one of Césaire's plays and his theoretical notions, there is no study which incorporates more than one of Césaire's plays and his theoretical ideas regarding colonialism. For instance, Howell (2012) brings forward the theoretical foundations of Césaire's negritude movement, the factors and atmosphere which gave rise to this movement by comparing and contrasting the conceptions of Césaire's negritude and those of Senghor's. Also, Sarwoto (2004) deals with one of Césaire's characters in *A Tempest* (1969), Caliban who is a black slave, in terms of the post-colonial discourse by contrasting this character with Caliban in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1600 or 1611). And Shabazz (2007) presents the response of Ariel, a mulatto slave in Césaire's same play, towards colonialism in comparison with Shakespeare's Ariel and this character's approach to colonialism. Tomich (1971) submits the perceptions of Césaire in relation to negritude movement, the roots of this movement, colonialism in Césaire's homeland by referring his work of poetry, *Return to the Native Land* (1969).

This study aims to raise awareness concerning the effects of colonialism in the post-colonial period by referring to three of Césaire's plays and his theoretical notions about colonialism. It is expected to reflect Césaire's anti-colonial stance in detail, which has not been studied so openly so far. Césaire is a significant literary, political and intellectual figure on the grounds that he declared his criticism of colonialism and the Western colonizers while attempting to prove the fact that being a black person does not attest to inferiority because the black civilization points out its own values and contributions to the world nations.

CHAPTER 1

1. CESAIRE'S THEORETICAL KNOWLEDGE

1.1. Cesaire's Negritude Movement

Aime Cesaire is one of the few leading figures in history who was able to understand the malevolent characteristics of colonialism and who spoke out with severe criticism against the colonial acts of the European powers. But his distinguished features cannot be limited to these since he was a versatile individual writing poems, plays and theoretical writings about colonialism; in addition, he was involved in the political arena in which he took on an outstanding political career. He also achieved a remarkable status in many scholars' writings as one of the renowned initiators of negritude movement.

In order to comprehend the source of Cesaire's inspiration which played an effective role in shaping his views about Africans and colonialism, the policy of French as a colonizer country needs to be made clear as it functioned as one of the most tremendous factors that contributed notably to the world view of Cesaire. The French empire, appearing as a Republic in the nineteenth century, undertook a mission of civilizing other nations which incorporated the belief that the French civilization is superior to other civilizations (McLeod, 2007: 33). Seemingly, the French colonial policy of assimilation looked like differing from Britain's distinguishing colonial acts of racism, but the French assimilation policy in fact espoused an essentially racist approach in assimilating Africans into its superior culture (Edmondson, 2008: 93). Its policy was based on the racist notion that human beings can be classified in accordance with their skin colors which include certain distinctive characteristics. According to this policy, any person, not being French and from whatever nation, was accepted a Frenchman, and he had to be gained the usual rights of every French man (MacQueen, 2007: 83). However, the error in this seemingly promising approach was that it proceeded as the colonized people were French and their culture had a marginal status in comparison with that of the French

(MacQueen, 2007: 83). The French policy in colonialism attempted to generate native black people who had to be alienated and adopt the white man's cultural features and civilization. In periods when conservative rulers governed France, the rights of the colonized people in citizenship were disregarded, thus causing them to encounter with every kind of highly drastic obstacles from economical and educational aspects (MacQueen, 2007: 84). The black colonized citizens felt the deep oppression inflicted upon them by the colonialist French society, thus being forced to have a lesser status instead of equality and respect. The remarkable fact regarding Caribbean in the aftermath of the fifteenth century, Cesaire's birthplace, is that it was fundamentally discovered through mainly the increasing and strengthening burden of the "transatlantic" slavery of Africans and ingraining models of the Western imperialist spreading out, which mostly eliminated the local natives; therefore, minor Caribbean islands like Martinique, being susceptible at that time, were in the noticeable scope of the "globalizing" Western colonialist attempts as well as being basically affiliated to Africa initially (Edmondson, 2008: 92). The fact that France exploited Caribbean for ages between 1635 and 2008 was based on both the economical and "political" supremacy of France and its "cultural" hegemony which encompassed its "colonial" undertaking (Edmondson, 2008: 93). However, as time passed, the French colonialism policy had to be changed in accordance with the needs and profits of the French politicians. Although French Caribbeans adopted the assimilation policy, the colonial strategy of France in the period of the "Third Republic" was changed into "association", which provided nominally more freedom in "local" decisions while assimilation calls for the colonized to adapt themselves to entire French benchmark (Helenon, 2011: 71, 72). They were quick to decline this evolve since they thought that the unique fitting progress had to grant them the whole civil rights and divest themselves of the colonized standing (Helenon, 2011: 72). On the surface, it seemed for the black citizens that they gained their freedom, and the colonial order or system came to an end. As it was essential that the Caribbean people should be reformed without being enslaved, new prospects were offered for them after the law ending enslavement, and placing them in the administrative positions in African colonies meant a basic occupation (Helenon, 2011: 121). In this system, the French colonizers did not have to send ships full of weapons and soldiers

to the colonized territories in order to fight the native people due to the new native leaders who tended to preserve the previous colonialist order. This new status bestowed them with an in-between standing where they not only assumed the role of the colonizer for Africans but also the role of the colonized from the French viewpoints (Helenon, 2011: 122). Thus, France like other colonialist powers aimed at dissolving other nations' collective identities or cultures within the center of their own civilization, producing stereotypes that must feel it necessary to consent to the impositions of the French colonizers and sweep out their native memories from their minds enduringly.

The atmosphere of Paris and his experiences there were the milestones which would make him one of the most prominent Africans in Anglophone and Caribbean history. Similar to Cesaire, most of the most gifted people from the islands like Martinique abandoned their homelands in order to use the prosperity of France which it offers for their work life and education (Stovall, 2009: 45). During the colonial period, the native people were imposed on the idea that the Western cities and their opportunities were necessary to be made use of if they wanted to get a higher career and status. In a period between the two World Wars, the increase of a limited but dominant group of emigrants from Africa and America contributed to the aura of France as a state of freedom for Africans and as a crucial corner of the African population in diaspora (Stovall, 2009: 45). Cesaire encountered with the prominent writings of the "Harlem Renaissance" and met with other black people in Paris, where different cultures of "exile" communicated with each other and people began to have the consciousness of their native land and culture because of being enclosed by foreign people and a different land (Stovall, 2009: 45). He was able to realize the real face of the colonialist approach of France and its people against the black people who arrived there with different dreams and hopes. He was able to observe increasing African American oppositions to the racist approach such as the "Harlem Renaissance" and the "Garvey movement", which shaped his viewpoint about racism (Edmondson, 2008: 94). Being considered a danger equal to "communism" in the 1920s in America, Garveyism had a strong role in forging nationalistic feelings within Africans (Bush, 1999: 120). As well as in Europe, the black citizens were also

denied and scorned in America, thus being put into an inferior position nearly in all of the Western nations, but this movement tried to provide them with a higher status which they are thought to merit. Garvey cultivated the awareness of “race” that was essential to “pan-Africanism” by declaring black self-confidence and the significance of diasporan Africans going back to Africa (Bush, 1999: 14). “Garveyism” and “Pan-Africanism” played an essential role in enabling Africans in America to obtain their “civil rights”, the liberation of the Caribbean regions, the liberation of Africa and surfacing of the “Organization of African Union” (OAU), now the “African Union” (Thiong’o, 2009: 37). Both Césaire’s *negritude* and other black movements of America aimed to fulfill the same ambitions in relation to the suffering and oppression of the black people whose rights were overridden by the white colonizers. Like “*negritude*”, the “Harlem Renaissance” also stimulated Africans both exposing to diaspora and spending lifetime in Africa to “critically” recognize together the most serious socio-political predicaments afflicted on their nations and lands (Rabaka, 2009: 113). Throughout the first decades of the nineteenth century, Paris, possibly more than any location across the world, served as the hub of the creative potentials of the African diaspora brains, encircling three of the most prevalent trends which were the “Harlem Renaissance” (supporters of which gathered in summers in Paris), “*negritude*” and “jazz” music (Stovall, 2009: 45). Thus, the black intellectuals wanted to create an atmosphere which served as the source of inspiration for their anti-colonialist and nationalist feelings. The only means of preserving and activating their nationalism and patriotism was the meeting and interacting with each other in their discussion occasions. Unsurprisingly, this characterizes one of the “paradoxes” of that time since the authors and composers who produced such tendencies got there from roughly utterly different territories, and Paris played host to a little “black” populace (Stovall, 2009: 45). These newly coming and foremost black intellectuals in Paris seized the opportunity of exchanging their ideas in such backdrops as the “Caribbean club” and the “Nardal sisters’ salon.” (Stovall, 2009: 45). The French assimilation policy did not achieve in making the black intellectuals like Césaire become alienated and forget their native values; rather, it led these scholars to think deeply about seeking solutions and responds against assimilation. The policy of the French assimilation led to the underpinning of discerning “*negritude*” in diverse

ways such as generating the effect of culture by means of “surrealism” and by way of “educational” policy, which gathered scholars from distinct regions of the French colonies that suddenly became aware of their shared submission (Kohn & McBride, 2011: 28). The assimilationist policy involved the fact that the most brilliant and promising figures of the colonized territories of France at hand arrived in Paris with the aim of studying; however, this arrival induced the full realization of the limit of that assimilation (Kohn & McBride, 2011: 28). Although their approach and strategies differed from each other as to details and niceties, their common purpose was to fire up nationalistic struggle against each sort of racist attitudes directed to the black civilization. And perceiving the variety and collective experiences of the French colonialist enterprise paved the way for an aspiration of a “unity of identity.” (Kohn & McBride, 2011: 28). As its assimilationist strategy, France did not build a university in Martinique, hoping that scholars in Martinique would have to travel to France for their university education, which would assimilate them truly, but the French hopes did not become true as these blacks became disappointed after their arrival in France, trying to fashion organizations which embraced a wish for a distinct personality (Cesaire, 1969a: 19). This desire for an identity that is completely different from the disdained one produced negritude movement.

Being enraged against the “Orientalist” approaches of the French directed to them and stimulated by the high-brow ambience of Paris, Cesaire and Senghor answered back to this racist and prejudiced comprehension through their poems and theoretical works that considered blacks highly dignified (McLeod, 2000: 77). Whereas the colonizers often identified blacks with savage and primitive characteristics are not blessed with any cultural values, these authors wrote their works with the aim of praising the creditable features of blacks and their civilization (McLeod, 2000: 77). They attempted to prove the idea that racism against the black societies cannot be accepted, so all of them have to realize that they have to fight back the racist approach of the white colonizers. “Negritude” evolved out of the backdrop in Paris in which Africans being exposed to diaspora and having resided on the African land, then especially in Paris, such as Aime Cesaire, Sedar Senghor and Leon Damas, mainly representing it (Thiong’o, 2009: 52). These intellectuals perceived this

movement as they cooperated on the journal *L'Étudiant Noir*, but in spite of some shared subject matters and imagination which they dealt with in their poems and the emphasis of Césaire on the fact that Senghor played an influential part in inspiring him to notice the African distinctiveness, their traits of “negritude” designated distinguishable meanings which are nearly in conflict regarding “African memory” (Thiong’o, 2009: 52). Since each black intellectual gathering in Paris had distinguishing memories, past events and traditions in relation to their homelands, it is natural that they asserted different types of negritude, particularly Césaire and Senghor. While recounting the acknowledged memories of Leopold Sédar Senghor and himself in their higher education period in Paris, he asserted that this movement divulged dissimilar implications from the viewpoints of Senghor who is a Senegalese poet, deep-seated in a distinctive nation, land and past (Scharfman, 2009: 99). As teenagers questioning their existence, identities, roots and main concerns, Césaire discerned that his perception about his personality as tortured and abused arose out of the fact of his deprivation in African indigenesness, which is a truth in an apparent conflict with Senghor, who is embedded in “Africanness” (Scharfman, 2009: 99). While Senghor had the chance to be in a deep contact with the native African culture and civilization, Césaire’s ancestors were forced to leave Africa due to colonialism, making Césaire long for his original native black culture. The difference between the negritude of Césaire and that of Senghor in common sense is due to the fact that Césaire was brought up away from African land not only “physically” but also “imaginatively” since he was born in Martinique, but his pedigree is originally Africans who were deported to Caribbean in order to perform forced labor through enslavement, and he did not grasp Africa as Senghor did because he did not spend his life there (McLeod, 2000: 79). Whereas Césaire’s native language is French, Senghor’s mother tongue is African and originated from an African speaking society, so Senghor’s examination of the profundity of Africa retained a distinct aim like denigrating the production of African languages to supplement the French tongue (Thiong’o, 2009: 53). The reason for their difference concerning their mother language was due to the fact that Césaire grew up in a surrounding where the French language was thickly imposed on the blacks in Martinique whereas Senghor was able to learn and use the original African language throughout his years in the African

land. Césaire's desire to restore a fragmented and ruined self-understanding seeps aggression into his poems whereas such violence is not observed in Senghor's "negritude" (Howell, 2012: 45). While Senghor's negritude stems from a soothing intransience of black culture and identity, expecting to inspire a corresponding harmony in the African "diaspora" and at last with the European thought, Césaire's perception centers on violence and oppression, inducing his seeking to supplement an obvious empty space (Howell, 2012: 45). Since Césaire lived away from his original African culture with craving for it, this might have caused his missing to reveal itself within his rage and loathing of colonialism. In spite of these differences, they nevertheless advocated humanism passionately, which has not been recollected recently, and the permanent mission of "negritude" was to emancipate not only black nations but also all of the whole humanity whatever their races are from their servitude to the colonialist notion; on the other hand, the provisional aim of this movement was to bring together black nations and to flout their reflection in the colonialist assertions, which was thus advocated by its exponents (McLeod, 2000: 81). The aim of Césaire's writings was to uphold "universal" liberation; likewise, Senghor's fundamental desire was that the "dynamic" fusion of all civilizations would be reached someday without the unwanted hierarchical attachments of the colonial thought (McLeod, 2000: 81).

"Negritude" is a movement founded to protect the black people's rights and demonstrate these people's worth in opposition to the Western racism. It can be regarded as a consciously established struggle against the colonial acts and claims that colonizers were culturally and racially more superior than the colonized (Murdoch: 2011: 67). To define "negritude" is not very uncomplicated as it has encompassed diverse approaches due to the experiences and outlooks of its precursors (Kohn & McBride, 2011: 24). Since colonialism cannot be claimed to have the same impacts on every society and territory, then the reactions put forward by the colonized nations cannot be expected to be alike from every aspect. It has been proposed in a range of ways as a stature, arena, protest, approach and influence in respect to politics, culture, biology, universalism and psychology (Kohn & McBride, 2011: 24). It stands out as a leading movement in African scholarly and

artistic chronicles since it succeeded in integrating a variety of innovative perceptions of blacks and whites and in passing down an arguable heritage for the upcoming generations' radical protests in anti-colonialism, anti-racism and anti-capitalism (Rabaka, 2009: 112). But it does not argue that each white individual or society is racist and deserves to be condemned because of their whiteness. Its aim is not either to fight the white race or to assert them as contemptible since this could have been wholly the same practice of whites who treated blacks with racism and segregation (Howell, 2012: 6). The advocates of "negritude" rather aim to contend with the inferior patterns of Africa proclaimed by the Western colonizers (Howell, 2012: 6). They strive to disprove the colonial discourse that all of the black citizens carry the permanent features which make them non-human beings with no value. Rather than belittling other populations and races, it is much more occupied with enhancing the popularity of blacks and victims of the diasporan Africans (Howell, 2012: 6). This movement claims that the blacks have their peculiar cultural, societal and indigenous achievements and that all the black Africans have been exposed to a system that does not accept their "cultural" and "intellectual" values (Cesaire, 1969a: 20). Thus, it cannot be said that the black people do not have any significance and meaning for the world nations, and they are not able to produce any useful ideas or projects for humanity. According to Cesaire, "negritude" was based on the awareness that the colonized used a versatile framework of politics, culture, discourse and philosophy that supported the servitude of the blacks and "racism" which encouraged the colonial attempts (Murdoch: 2011: 66). Instead of being "abstract", "negritude" is a "concrete" concept, and it developed out of the conditions in which African people were assimilated and rejected, which made them feel embarrassed about themselves by creating an "inferiority complex" (Cesaire, 2000: 91). Being subjected to a variety of oppressive attitudes and torture against themselves for ages, Africans began to believe in the delusions of the colonizing people by embracing their superiority. Cesaire claimed that black people were seeking a personality, so they must be concretely aware of their own existence, their own historical events that cover their valuable cultural essentials and their blackness if they demand their own values back (Cesaire, 2000: 91). The "negritude movement" attempts to integrate "racial" consciousness, imaginative productivity and "poetic" achievement in a

moral call against the colonialist beliefs in the aftermath of slavery trade and in the assumption that each society of human beings has their own humane qualities (Kemedjio, 2010: 90). Regardless of their skin colors, every nation reflects their own native characteristics; thus, this movement does not aim to impose a certain lifestyle and civilization on a society; instead, it respects these kinds of cultural differences between nations. In one sense, Césaire's "negritude" is not a pure "cultural" approach in nationalist notions, but instead a stature of objection to superiority in an association with the pains and torment of originally African nations whose civilizations and awareness were ruined by colonization (Garraway, 2010: 83). Césaire's description of "negritude" was not really rooted in the apparent inherent and core contrasts between white and black nations since he perceived it basically as a concept that needs to be identified with the occurrences of "suffering" (McLeod, 2000: 80). "Blackness" cannot be exceeded in order to support something else which is more "universal" because "blackness" and "universality" are not basically separate but fundamentally prerequisites for each other (Garraway, 2010: 79). Therefore, Césaire highlights the fact that it is unavoidable for the blacks experiencing the Western suppression to resort perpetually to a "negritude" that is not founded on essential or cultural singularities, but on the judgmental examination of the past events of coercion which has paved the way for the lack of self-confidence due to colonization and for a precise fiction of the blacks (Garraway, 2010: 79). Instead of recreating a fictitious and legendary history on which an inherent black identity was based, Césaire consulted to the "traumatic" experiences of the enslaved Africans with the aim of activating an awareness and impact that could necessitate realization and mutuality through striving in language (Garraway, 2010: 79). As well as the historical and cultural elements of Caribbean, Césaire also revisits and reunites his perceptions of the sources of these elements such as original black qualities of historical and cultural realities existing before colonization as opposed to colonialism (Rabaka, 2009: 120). Regarding Césaire's idea of revisiting the black past in negritude, it is crucial to figure out that he never sought to bring back a splendid and archaic history of Africa; therefore, he supports a grave pursuit and acceptance of African community, historical facts and the genuine blackness which complete them (Rabaka, 2009: 128). As soon as the African reality is absorbed and recognized as a

culmination of the authentic experiences instead of a core soul, the indisputable black humanist characteristics surface entirely (Garraway, 2010: 79). It was apparent that “surrealism” affected Césaire’s writing and philosophy after his arrival in Paris (Césaire, 1969a: 21). According to him, “surrealism was a logical instrument with which to smash the restrictive forms of a language which sanctified rationalized bourgeois values” (Césaire, 1969a: 23). The disintegration of language models corresponded to his aspiration to shatter colonization and its whole coercion (Césaire, 1969a: 23, 24). Instead of covering particular aims concerning racial discrimination, the proponents of surrealism utilized “cultural” interfering to attempt to supply defamiliarization for their addressees (Kohn & McBride, 2011: 25). This defamiliarization would enable the society to suspect facets of truths which they supposed as certain (Kohn & McBride, 2011: 25). These two trends, “négritude” and “surrealism”, set in motion by the assertion that “cultural” outcomes can give way to “political” consequences by proclaiming that truth is not essentially as it seems, and thus an individual should not consider the accepted reality as fixed and unquestionable; however, their aims were different in spite of their common instruments and commitment (Kohn & McBride, 2011: 25). For Césaire, the crushing of ordinary models, the rational advancement of the “language” was used in order to surprise readers or audiences into an original consciousness (Césaire, 1969a: 24). In Césaire’s poems, the expressions revealed an uncommon plausible sequence with a series of mental pictures unrelated to one another, but they did not possess any “punctuation”, casting lots of externalized implications on the subject matter; consequently, he recognized that fragmenting the models and devices whose logical sequence had buttressed racial segregation would prompt him to load “surrealism” with a burden of disproving the racist contention (Césaire, 1969a: 24). Césaire did not give more priority more to the evolution in the political area than to individual changes which would emerge due to the “cultural” comprehension and stimulation, so he and Senghor associated “négritude” to the communist views from the outset, but they did not agree with their theoretical notions which argued that revolutionary precepts in the political arena carried more significance than swifts and transformations in culture; as a result of this, Césaire reached the conclusion that the surrealist outlooks would be inadequate to bring about evolution in politics which he

searched for, and this change is discernible in *Tropiques*, beginning to edit more and more blatant descriptions of the economical and political dimensions of colonization (Kohn & McBride, 2011: 30).

As to his political achievements, Césaire demonstrated that he dedicated himself to endorsing the rights and interests of his people. He played a primary role in transforming the status of colonies such as Martinique, Guadeloupe and Reunion into “departments” affiliated to the French Republic; on the other hand, instead of entire “independence”, his preference for this alternative may appear astonishing (Howe, 2008: 314). But Césaire implied the fact that full independence will have detrimental effects on Martinique and its economy as he claims that “Our economic independence is total, because Martinican production, due to our integration with France, and more so with the Common Market, rules out any possibility of take-off” (Miles, 2009: 67). The second reason for Césaire’s demand of department status is that Europe has discovered a striking way of “beet sugar” production, which increased “sugar” cultivation in Europe by ten times, and that resulted in the disadvantage of “sugar cane” of Martinique (Miles, 2009: 67). Another reason in this issue is that people in Martinique have needed to get assistance from Europe and France more, so they have gained awareness of their vital need for European assistance; consequently, they begin to feel weak and vulnerable, which causes them to claim “in this case, if there were no France, what would happen to us?” (Miles, 2009: 67). In addition, Césaire argues that the fact that the brightest, the youngest, the most active and the most prolific citizens in Martinique leave their country for France has a devastating effect on Martinique (Miles, 2009: 68). These were the reasons for Césaire’s preference of becoming a French department of Martinique rather than its complete independence, but the expectation of Césaire and those endorsing “departmentalization” that becoming a French department of Martinique would resolve the predicament of the “Antillean” lower classes through the implementation of the French “social and social security laws” fizzled out before long (Tomich, 1971: 83). For example, becoming a French department was not able to achieve in producing any remarkable development in significant “public works” planning, and the “islands” which were French departments remained less advanced

than other bordering Caribbean islands (Tomich, 1971: 84). Furthermore, a great number of officials from metropolises who were not familiar with the troubles of West India and who were merely preoccupied with going back to France after completing their shift in a foreign country took the place of the indigenous bureaucrats (Tomich, 1971: 85). Consequently, departmentalization did not bring about any desired solutions for the native populace of Martinique, multiplying problems in some aspects.

Being mayor of Fort-de-France, the capital of Martinique between 1945 and 2001, “deputy to the French National Assembly from Martinique’s Center legislative district” between 1945 and 1993, and president of Martinique’s local “council” since its foundation 1983 till 1988, Césaire’s outlooks prompted him to become a much more arguable and exceptional statesman in the politics of Martinique than the admirable and flourishing figures in Europe and America (Miles, 2009: 63). His being elected as deputy was the attestation to the fact that the first figure who breathed the air in the essence of economics and politics in Martinique appeared as an influential politician in the legislative body in France (Césaire, 1969a: 26). According to him, his potential to verbalize his antagonistic feelings in disfavor of the assimilationist policy and supremacy of France increased, and he could both serve for the benefit of the ideology of the silenced and stand for them (Césaire, 1969a: 26). In fact, he obtained the right to argue that he could sympathize with what his people demanded and needed as he and they belonged to the same community (Césaire, 1969a: 26). Although he was educated in France, he rebuffed the French assimilation policy (Césaire, 1969a: 26). The common belief of that time was that a black had to sacrifice his black identity in order to be a thinker or scholar, or he had to relinquish his education in order to retain his black personality (Kohn & McBride, 2011: 30). Merely through defying the prevalent notion of that time and through generating counter-argument rooted in the lived events, Césaire was able to brazen out two-fold separation from his black skin and his scholar standards (Kohn & McBride, 2011: 30).

1.2. Césaire's Anti-colonialist Stance

Césaire's basic perception regarding colonialism is that it can be accepted under no circumstances since it operates only for the benefit of colonizers. According to his discussion, Europeans aimed at exploiting the colonized nations under certain excuses, especially through their racial contentions.

One of the European stories in order to justify their colonization is that they claimed that Africans were primitive creatures that needed to be familiar with European civilization and values which will be able to make them civilized nations and transform blacks into authentic human beings. But the abominable reason which lies beneath this largesse of European colonizers is that they sought to impose their cultural essentials on the colonized as well as exploit Africans' raw materials, which cannot be put up with according to Césaire. He makes a distinction between "culture" and "civilization", proclaiming that they comprise reciprocal components of a sole truth: "civilization" points out the outer limits, plain boundaries and common features of "culture"; on the other hand, the latter respectively establishes the absolute and glowing essentials of the former, which is its unique feature (Césaire, 2008: 129). He articulates that "We have seen that in the short run or in the long run, all colonization comes to mean the death of the civilization of the colonized society" (Césaire, 2008: 133). Therefore, when the colonizers struggled to carry away the civilization of the black colonized, the colonized nations' culture also faded away since both culture and civilization are interrelated with each other.

As a kind of justification for their colonization, The Westerners argue that each "civilization" can preserve themselves on the condition that they borrow cultural elements from others, which implies that since colonialism introduces two disparate "civilizations" into each other, the "civilization" of the colonizing societies will lend "cultural" constituents to that of the native society, out of which a novel "civilization" which is a blended one will surface; however, the miscomprehending in such a notion is that it hinges on the delusion that colonialism is means of civilization interaction and that every lending is equivalently rewarding for both colonizers and colonized nations (Césaire, 2008: 137). The native culture which

colonialism interferes with embarks on waning, and out of the relics there will appear a lesser culture instead of an accurate culture since it is doomed to become subsidiary with regard to the Western “culture”, to become the outcome of a particular and selected crowd, which is located in “artificial” circumstances and lack of any fortifying relation to the “masses” and to “popular culture”, so it does not have any prospect of flourishing into a veritable “culture” (Cesaire, 2008: 140). Its consequence is the formation of broad areas of bare regions in terms of cultural values or almost of distortion in culture, “cultural” subsidiaries (Cesaire, 2008: 140). What Cesaire disparages here concerning culture and civilization is that colonizers consider the colonized nations’ culture or civilization to deserve to be eliminated in spite of pretending to develop and contribute to it. According to his views, civilizations of any nations cannot be exposed to any classification like foremost and lesser ones since this shrouded classification will cause the nominally marginal cultures of the colonized societies to vanish under the disguise of being enriched by the Western colonizers through forging contact with each other.

The colonizing societies confirm the fact that colonialism makes the most cultivated people lose their humanity and that the acts, attempt and invasion of colonialism, depending upon despising the indigenous and legitimated this despise, ultimately have a tendency to alter those who take on it; moreover, the colonizing nations, who begin to accept the colonized as beasts with the aim of salving their scruples, adapt themselves to behaving the colonized like beasts and are likely to turn themselves into beasts, the consequence of which can be called “boomerang effect” (Cesaire, 2000: 41). Through colonial enterprises, European colonizers and non-European nations deepened their communication, as a result of which a great number of patterns and notions were fabricated to an unusual degree (Loomba, 2005: 54). Colonialist assumptions handle these patterns as the entrenched creation of an everlasting conflict between the societies and perceptions of the West and those of the East; consequently, each of those patterns about others were shaped and reshaped by means of diverse historical events (Loomba, 2005: 54). Cesaire recognizes the reciprocal and dual upshot of colonial performance upon not only the colonized but also the colonizers because colonization cannot be detached from the Western

societies' drawing borders between themselves and the Eastern nations, especially Africans, which are marked with indisputable lines, enabling the colonizers to put nations into categories of hierarchy and to appraise these nations in accordance with the colonizers' own standards that they set forth and aimed to spread across the world, but these standards allowed the Western nations to accept the other nations as sub-humans or animals, which denotes the colonizers' inhumane outlooks and attitudes towards others. He argues that Europe is deceitful on the grounds that Europeans close their eyes to "Nazism" and see it as an ordinary act as long as it is carried out in societies outside Europe, but they begin to complain and condemn it when they are subjected to and suffer from "Nazism" (Cesaire, 2000: 36). Cesaire attributes the colonizers' nominal discourses and brutality regarding discriminating the colonized nations to their own blind minds which cannot embrace all humanity equally without calling other nations animal or inhumane. Thus, the colonizers reveal their own distorted immoral notions through their untenable arguments which caused them to lose their humanity after their cruel practices against the colonized societies. The double effect of colonization is that it both stimulated the colonizers see other as inhumane and reduced themselves to the status of animals. The Western colonizers disclosed their cruelty through their heartless undertakings against the colonized which they performed during the colonial period.

Cesaire emphasizes the point that the feeling of terror has been deviously implanted in countless people who have been instructed to retain "inferiority complex", to quiver, stoop, give up hope and treat like servants (2000: 43). His denotes the idea that colonialism engraved its detrimental effects on the personalities of the black colonized nations through oppression and coercion. As well as its economical and other effects, colonialism also left scars in the psychologies of the colonized people who were always set aside and derided for hundreds of years. They were often reminded by the colonizers of the fact that they are backward and savage monsters which are devoid of human values, making them lose their self-confidence. They were subjected to every kind of both physical and psychological attacks which the colonizers directed against these people in order to adjust them to slavery. They were offered to choose either to be tortured or to conform to the commands of their

so-called masters. Various types of propaganda were relied on by the colonizers in order to impose their supremacy on the minds of the black colonized. The major aim of the Western powers was to alienate the colonized societies from their culture and values which were peculiar to their core essence, enterprising to turn them into an utterly discrete community. Being exposed repeatedly to unyielding efforts to assimilate them, the colonized unconsciously adopted a new identity which was forced on them by the colonizers. Although they had black skins in their external look, their inner world became totally different from their blackness, so they assumed a white identity and soul with their black skins. They began to absorb the idea that the colonizers have to be emulated and embraced if they wanted to reach the civilized level since the Europeans are more civilized and modern. Their cultural values and civilization no longer bore significance for them, believing that they are backward and primitive. Nevertheless, Césaire considered that the destruction and scars of colonization on the black identity and civilization were not unrecoverable, proclaiming that they can be removed with the blacks' resolution. In an interview with Depestre, he professes the idea that if blacks intend to constitute their "identity", they need to hold a perceptible awareness of their kernel, their existence, historical facts which enclose specific valuable essentials of their culture, regarding that blacks did not come into existence newly since attractive and significant African "civilizations" have always existed (Césaire, 2000: 91, 92). He articulates that "At the time we began to write, people could write a history of world civilization without devoting a single chapter to Africa, as if Africa had made no contributions to the world" (Césaire, 2000: 92). Thus, Africans verified that they were "negroes", which made them satisfied, and that they regarded that African land was not a type of vacant space in the human historical realities, so they claimed that their black legacy merited esteem and that this legacy which did not belong to only former times could nonetheless contribute notably to the humanity now (Césaire, 2000: 92).

Césaire warns the colonized nations of the local elites taking control of the ex-colonized country as he emphasizes the rapport between the colonizers and the ruler ascending to power in the postcolonial period which attested to the reciprocal advantage and participation in exploitation of the country in disfavor of the society

(2000: 43). This newly emerging elite class both maintained the borders of their colonialist opponents and often transferred their affluence which they gained in the aftermath of colonization to the old colonizing powers (Birmingham, 1995: 5). Thus, this new ruling class acquires the most alluring reward after the colonizers withdrew their military forces, providing the colonized nations with their freedom (Macqueen, 2007: 146). Even though the rule of the country was conveyed to the patriotic characters, generally revolutionaries on the surface, their lifestyles and views were molded and trained by the colonizers which they protested (Macqueen, 2007: 146). The conceptions of these elites embrace the colonialist notions referring to the fact that the corruption of the “educated” upper class is a blunt result of the support of the view that being an African is the indication of primitiveness (Kebede, 2004: 162). What Cesaire aims to make the newly independent states alert is that the local elites function as the guarantee of the continuation of the colonial mission which they took on through their previous colonizing masters. The colonized nations must not be deluded with the idea that the colonizers abandoning the colonized country means that the ex-colonized nation has achieved in discarding colonization out of their country. These new ruling elites turned into even dictators who carried on coercion, cruelty and oppression of the Western powers in order to utilize the labor of their citizens. Although citizens in those countries were expecting wealth and freedom from their native leaders, they immediately became disappointed by the colonialist acts of these local elites who did not take into consideration the needs and problems of their people other than their own personal profits and wealth which would be attained only by means of collaborating with the Western colonizers. One of the prominent legacies in terms of the political area in the colonized lands was not democratic regime but dictatorships in which the average members of the society were deprived of rarely found sources unjustly (Birmingham, 1995: 4). These dictators often complied with the commands of European colonizers while closing their eyes to the tragic situations of their native population. The use of local elites by the colonizers has been formulated as a result of the independence fights of the oppressed and exploited nations since these societies, mostly in African countries, rise up against the Western aggressors and get into a straight battle against these invaders, which made it compulsory for the colonizers to squander too much money

on the military forces which they dispatched to the colonized land in order to oppress the indigenous people, including the whole fighting equipment, “police” and management (Braganca & Wallerstein, 1982: 4). Owing to the local elites, the colonizers did not have to send their own soldiers or citizens to fights against the liberation efforts of the native people of the colonized land; therefore, it was much more effortless and low-priced for them to make use of the local elites than their former methods of direct colonization. Nevertheless, Cesaire thinks that real “decolonization” can be merely achieved by means of development of “national” awareness within the lower classes as it was these people who experienced colonialist coercion most, and they embraced the “national” feeling most directly and most manifestly (Tomich, 1971: 109). Furthermore, Cesaire insinuates the idea that the colonizers stimulate the native tribes to found their own independent provinces, provoking these groups against each other through their ethnic differences. These groups become possessed by the awareness of their ethnic pride and declare that they have to be ruled by leaders who originally belong to their own ethnic roots, disregarding other citizens of the same country and initiating a power struggle between each other. This turbulent atmosphere let the ex-colonized ethnic groups be involved in an inner war while offering new chances for the colonizers in order to keep on their colonial acts in those countries. Consequently, Cesaire perceives the risks waiting for the newly independent societies because the ending of formal colonialism does not prove that colonialism will not continue. While criticizing the Western colonizers for their exploitation and coercion against the colonized nations, he does not wink at the local elites who appear as the new colonizers and dictators in the postcolonial era. The postcolonial native leaders have to take charge of serving for the benefit of their people rather than working together with the colonizers in exploiting the native people.

Cesaire brings up the fact that colonialism spoilt pure economical structure, once adjusted to the interests of the native people, destructed “food crops”, initiated famine everlastingly, directed “agricultural development” only to the advantage of the powerful states, and it caused the colonizers to plunder riches and natural possessions of the colonized countries (2000: 43). While collapsing the economies of

the colonized countries, colonialism enriched and served in favor of the colonialist countries, exhibiting only beneficial effects for the colonizers' economical development. In order to boost their economical power, the colonizers captured natural resources of the colonized nations such as gold, silver, sugar, rubber and so on, which gave rise to devastating shortage in the colonized countries while bringing wealth and luxury to the upper class of the metropolitan cities in Europe. After having seized fertile fields which were available for growing agricultural products from the weak countries with force, Europeans obtained these crops by making black slaves work in return for little or no payment. Even the native agriculturalists confronted the general stern conditions in commerce on account of colonial policy of the Western countries, but these people did not have any other alternate options which were obtainable for them (Birmingham, 1995: 6). After being independent, all of the ex-colonized states considered the commercial conditions to be burdened against them and claimed that "multinational" contracts provided just minimal patronage for them, thinking that the "credit" given to the impoverished was costly and its stipulations harshly restricted their free rights for economical options (Birmingham, 1995: 6). Also, they transmitted raw materials with ships to Europe with the aim of processing these materials and manufacturing certain goods, which pushed them into searching for new markets where they can sell these supplies. The lands that they exploited for their raw materials took on the role of attractive markets since native population in those colonized countries had to purchase these products because of absence of such processed goods in these impoverished territories. The native people were once owners of these raw materials in their countries in the pre-colonial times, but they became purchasers of their former products which were usurped from them by Europeans during and after the colonial age on the condition that they were wealthy enough in order to be able to purchase these goods since nearly the whole society was reduced to indigent people due to the colonizers' acts of grabbing their resources and material riches from their ownership.

While denouncing economical effects of colonialism on the colonized countries, Cesaire also refers to the racist notions of the European nations against the African societies as he claims that European societies scorned every feature of African

people and the French citizens asserted that the world nations consist of “civilized” ones, especially Europeans, and savage ones, especially Africans (2000: 88). Césaire disparages the colonial discourse which proclaims that there exists a hierarchical link between human races, attributing supreme qualities to the white race and inferior qualities to the black race. Racism is remarkably relevant to the development of colonization since the classification of humanity cannot be separated from the requirement of colonial countries in order to hold a sway over the colonized people and thus validate their colonial attempts (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2001: 198). The Western colonizers established a vertical relation between human races by underscoring their superiority over the black societies who were thought to reflect substandard qualities in comparison with the white race in the West. Eurocentric pretensions are predominant in the racist approach of the colonialist powers because they placed their biological and cultural features in the centre of the world nations, ignoring others which are deemed to exist in the marginal positions in each argument. As the black race reveals inferior characteristics, Africans need to be colonized by the superior white race in order to rise to the standards of the civilized countries of the West, but whatever they performed on the way to attaining the more civilized level affirmed the idea that they were locked their white masters within the borders of savagery. As mentioned before, Césaire wanted to prove that racial hierarchy argued by the colonizers turned out to be no more than lies; therefore, Africans can exhibit their own values and abilities, which will refute the European racist illusions. He founded negritude movement since he demanded that black people should release themselves from the oppression, limitations and alienation which Europeans tried to load them. However, he did not support any racist notion in disfavor of the white people, and his philosophy of negritude did not adopt the racial matters but the whole concerns of societies who esteemed humanity as he did (Césaire, 1969a: 23).

Regarding the political views of Césaire, it has been observed that he at first supposed that the European communism could take on a role in solving the trouble of colonial repercussions, but his notions changed as time passed. The reason why leftist views stroke him as attractive and accurate could possibly be the protest of

communists against capitalism which is often used as intermingled with colonialism. Communists generally claimed that capitalism caused the class distinction in each country where it is prevalent, especially leading to the formation of a working class that is always exploited by the upper class members like factory owners. According to communism, capitalist countries carry on their exploitation by creating an order in weak countries in which a large number of working class people become slaves in favor of these exploiting countries. But to what extent communism or leftist views can embrace the role of redeemers of the colonized black nations is not so certain. In an interview with Depestre, Césaire claims that “Negritude was, after all, part of the left. I never thought for a moment that our emancipation could come from the right – that is impossible.” (2000: 94). On the other hand, this expression does not confirm that he found satisfying support from communism in his efforts in decolonizing every part of the colonized nations, particularly African states. He makes a certain distinction between the problems of the working class in France and those of the black colonized by proclaiming that it has turned out to be understood in each situation that colonization carried on blacks and their struggle against racism are more complicated than the struggle of the French workers against the French capitalism, and it evidently incorporates an utterly distinctive nature; therefore, it can be perceived under no way as a supplementing part of this struggle (Césaire, 2007: 129). He resigned from the French Communist Party in order to take part in organizations which will advocate the struggle of the black people for now and future honestly and effectively in cooperation with them and in order to unite his efforts with those of people who yearn for justice and honesty henceforth (Césaire, 2007: 138). He believes in the accuracy of Marxist notions, but considers that these notions are not satisfactory in anti-colonialist struggle of blacks, so Marxist movement needs to be reformed (Césaire, 2000: 86). According to Césaire, European Marxism has failed to serve the interests and predicament of the colonized Africans since it only engages itself with the problems of the white proletariat who continue to despise the black people. For him, exploiting the weaker societies does not account for the all aspects of colonialism which also takes in racial discrimination between white and black nations. Consequently, he calls Africans “doubly proletarianized and alienated” since they were exploited as workers for the Western colonizers and were treated as

lesser masses due to their skins' black color (Cesaire, 2000: 94). Because Marxism cannot dispose itself of the Eurocentric illusions in its arguments against the manipulation of working classes, a new concept of Marxism has to be invented in order to appeal to the needs and concerns of not only white proletariat but also all of the colonized people, particularly black nations.

Cesaire's ideas regarding colonialism include comprehensive criticism including economical, psychological, cultural and political viewpoints. He argued that colonialism left a harmful legacy on the economical structure of the colonized societies and reduced them to impoverished nations. It also gave rise to the loss of their identities and civilizations, making them think that they are lesser people when compared to their so called white masters. In terms of political effects of colonialism, he believed that dictators who serve the needs and orders of the colonialist powers would ascend to the leadership of an ex-colonized state and continue to torture his citizens.

1.3. Cesaire's Contemporaries

In order to comprehend the notions of Cesaire concerning colonization, it is necessary to compare his approach with his contemporaries such as Naipaul, Fanon and Lamming. Even though each post-colonial writer reveals his own peculiar views on colonialism when investigated in detail, they can be weighed up from the viewpoints of their fundamental perceptions in relation to colonialism. For instance, Cesaire, Fanon and Lamming have similarities concerning the potential of the solutions for the removal of the colonial effects while Cesaire and Naipaul exhibit differences in their basic approaches to colonialism.

The attitudes of Cesaire and Naipaul to colonialism basically differentiate from each other in spite of their slight similarities. Naipaul's approach to colonialism is a blurred one which must have stemmed from the fact that he is originally an Indian, but has moved to and lives in the West, thus owning a hybrid character. Naipaul, criticising India harshly and shortcomings of the nations that just gained their independence, thinks that although Europeans exploited the colonies by enslaving

them and bringing problems to these places, they also introduced modern ways of living and peace into these colonies which struggled against the local wars and disruptive non-Western attacks (King, 2003: 4). Although colonial powers drew back their military forces from the colonies, the colonized began to experience through worse predicaments in which they had to deal with a chaotic order and which they were not used to living. The withdrawal of the Europeans did not bring an advantage to the colonies since new leaders also began to exploit them, collaborating with the white Europeans. The main reason for the chaotic environment was the fight between the local elites and the counter-forces that tried to initiate a revolution which was against the local elites, and which they thought would bring peace and a new order to their land, but the efforts for the revolution did not solve the problems and meet their expectations, worsening the situation. The main characters of Naipaul's novels generally disclose their own identity and confusion that were caused by colonialism. These characters often consist of Indians who were exposed to colonialism and its lasting effects. Although they seek to escape from the excruciating and wreckful results of colonialism, they are not able to cope with this problem since colonialism left such a deep and intense devastation on them that it is vain for them to attempt to regain their own spiritual and psychological essence. When they encountered with the Western values and impositions, they got affected and confused and began to feel that they have an in-between position where they belong to nowhere. They often think that immigration or travelling would serve as a kind of healer for their plight, and they immigrate or travel to European countries in which they cannot do away with their identity crisis and disorder. The Africans in Naipaul's novels are reflected as the ones who try to suppress and exploit the colonies after the Europeans put back their soldiers formally. In spite of the fact that the colonized stopped their violence and exploitation on the surface politically, the Africans took over the leadership of the colony, performing the role of local elites and cooperating with the Europeans in bringing the Western goods and products to the colonized land. The other Africans who wanted to be independent of their leader's rule attempted to gain control of the land by causing chaos and violence in the colony where they live. On the other hand, Cesaire's notions concerning colonialism does not indicate any ambivalence but reflects an obvious disapproval about the colonialist enterprises which aim to

legitimate the corruption of colonialism even though he spent time for his education in Paris, thus being in firm contact with the European culture and thought. According to him, the colonizers did not display any beneficial outcomes for the colonized states; instead, they made use of colonialism merely for their advantage, which demonstrate their selfishness rather than generosity. Colonialism is such an attempt that it can stimulate even the colonizer to go beyond the frontiers of ethical and humane principles as well as generate annihilating consequences for the colonized people, so colonialism is devastating not only for the colonized but also for the colonizer. Since it covers such immoral activities as coercion, raping, killing, looting, stealing, oppression and abuse, those who put their faith in colonialism blind their eyes with brutality and unveil their uncivilized manners even though they accuse the colonized societies of being backward, savage and non-humans. Unlike Naipaul, Césaire's writings imply that the most cutting aspects of colonialism are often felt by Africans who were always scorned and derided by the Western colonizers because the colonizing countries tried to utilize racism as a process of imposing their deceptions on the colonized people generally by violence and oppression. Racism encouraged Europeans to draw sharp boundaries between blacks and themselves, producing two opposing nations where the black people hold an insignificant place while the white societies seek to crush the culture and civilization of the colonized into a subsidiary space in which they will melt away gradually. Césaire observed that the impact of colonialism on the colonized blacks' characters or psychology was so intense that they began to view themselves as backward and see Europeans as superior; thus, the colonized Africans assumed a totally different character through beholding outer world from the eyes of the white colonizers, which Césaire thinks prompted blacks to delete their civilizations and peculiar cultural prosperity from their minds. Consequently, the European colonizers succeeded in making the distinguishing features and traditions of Africans and their personalities die out; nevertheless, this does not verify the fact that the obliteration and damage of the effects of colonialism upon the colonized societies cannot be straightened out. That is, although colonialism ruined and decayed away each corner of the colonized nations from every aspect, its harmful impacts can be done away with, which means that the colonized people were not dragged into any dilemma in which they would be

confused between their own civilization and that of the colonizing countries; therefore, colonialism drew the colonized societies into choosing either to bow to the colonialist discourse by disregarding their values and accept the supremacy of the colonizers or to strive to resist the destructive outcomes of colonialism. If Césaire had believed that colonialism left unavoidable effects on the identities and cultures of the colonized nations, he would not have established negritude movement which was intent on highlighting the idea that blacks must not think that they take up a useless and lesser position in the world. Even though the black colonized societies were exposed to the most obliterating and ruthless realities of colonialism such as being tortured and exploited tragically, it is always possible for them to restructure their nations or civilization by purging themselves of the damage and stains of colonialism. Notwithstanding these fundamental differences between him and Naipaul, Césaire can be accepted to reflect a common point with Naipaul in respect to the local elites and dictators who arose in the ex-colonized countries in the wake of the colonial period. In *A Season in the Congo* (2010), one of the main ideas of the play which Césaire conveys is the local elites who calculate to enrich their economical and social ranks irrespective of the conditions of their citizens belonging to the lower class who continue to be exploited and oppressed by these elites. Even though the European colonizers declared that they gave up formal colonialism in the colonized countries and pulled back their soldiers from the colonized land, they managed to discover some indigenous people from the higher class who have craving for more wealth and power which they will provide handily for these elites on condition that these greedy elites will abide by their commands without questioning and defying. With respect to the dictatorship in the countries which have gained their independence currently, Césaire deals with the potential of emergence of dictators who gather the authority of the country merely within their own hands rather than in their citizens' free choices in *The Tragedy of King Christophe* (1969). The regimes of dictatorship are one of the dangers for the newly independent countries since they will generate power struggles between the leaders of the same country which will activate the feeling of hatred instead of brotherhood and solidarity between the native citizens and political leaders. These kinds of ruling systems widen merely the gap between the lower class people and the dictator rulers because these rulers do not

take into consideration the needs and troubles of their people, but they focus only on retaining their political power through oppression and torturing although they usually promise that they will implement freedom and welfare for the citizens as soon as they take control of the country.

Cesaire and Fanon reflect mainly the same criticism against colonialism and advocate no aspects of it, so their anti-colonialist perceptions are very similar to each other. Fanon's emphasis on arousing "political" and "national" awareness is similar to his "teacher" Aime Cesaire, who also focused on subjects in relation to the oppressed psychology of the black people when he referred to Antilleans' being exposed to estrangement as an original lineage of Africa (Jamison, 2010: 190). Fanon is mainly concerned with not only the psychological effects of colonialism and criticizes its racist pretensions but also proposes solutions for the process of decolonization. He does not think that colonialism has brought any advantage to the colonized nations except for its destructive effects. The most harmful effect of colonialism on the colonized people is that it eradicated the specific and inherent cultural values and identities of the black societies through coercion and torture. Colonization does not incorporate any fusion but partition since it requires the drastic categorization of people based on the racist notions (Hiddleston, 2009: 29). The colonialist countries generated two distinct worlds of races and attributed certain characteristics to them as Fanon says "The white man is sealed in his whiteness. The black man is in his blackness." (2008: 3). According to the colonialist discourse, the white race signifies superior qualities such as civilized, modern and master whereas the black race denotes inferior qualities such as backward, non-human and savage, which Fanon asserts: "The Negro is animal, the Negro is bad, the Negro is mean, the Negro is ugly: look, a nigger, it is cold, the nigger is shivering ..." (2008: 86). These abominable characteristics are forced on the black people in various ways, which make them embrace these characteristics ultimately, thus causing them to forget and insult their own essential cultural features and civilization. Fanon claims that "The educated Negro, slave of the spontaneous and cosmic Negro myth, feels at a given stage that his race no longer understands him" (2008: 7). After spending lots of time among the white crowds who despise them, the black emigrants or diasporan

Africans begin to feel alienated and inferior since they come across the white eyes which seem them as lesser and odd creatures. As they accept the supremacy of the white citizens at the end, the black people attempt to emulate them, gaining a new identity which is entirely different from their earlier one. While arguing that “The Antillean has therefore to choose between his family and European society; in other words, the individual who climbs up into society – white and civilized – tend to reject his family – black and savage – on the plane of imagination ...”, Fanon implies the idea that the black people assuming a white identity and looking the outer world through the white eyes in spite of their black skins perceive even their black citizens as backward and strange after they return to the native land (2008: 115). Consequently, Fanon conveys the fact that colonialism has been so deeply ingrained in the colonized black people that it has deleted their older cultural elements and peculiar identities by filtering through their psychology and imposing the sense of inferiority on them. For Fanon, the harmful effects of colonialism can be wiped out utterly even though its destruction has permeated the colonized societies so overwhelmingly. According to him, “revolution” can only be achieved only after the indigenous people are able to reflect resentment back to the colonizing countries, the source of colonialism, since freedom is marked with this process of recognition and with rejecting colonization violently through the means which the colonizer utilized in oppressing the colonized (Hiddleston, 2009: 36). Fanon says that “The naked truth of decolonization evokes us for the searing bullets and bloodstained knives which emanate from it.” (1963: 37). The colonialist countries used violence and force in capturing the colonized land and enslaving the colonized people; thus, it must be responded with the same kind of force in order to be removed from the colonized countries permanently. According to Fanon, “violence” can be used as a both “psychological” and “political” device in order to assure liberation and to release the brains of the native people from the oppression of the colonizers (Chew & Richards, 2010: 13). “Decolonization” is an obvious progress and requires the entire elimination of a social order and its substitution for a totally dissimilar society (Hiddleston, 2009: 36). It is an essential alternation which can include no conciliation as it involves the ending of a whole political system and the replacement of the present leaders with the new ones (Hiddleston, 2009: 36). For Fanon, “Non-

violence is an attempt to settle the colonial problem around a green baize table, before any regrettable act has been performed or irreparable gesture made, before any blood has been shed.” (1963: 61). While emphasizing the fact that “... during the period of decolonization, certain colonized intellectuals have begun a dialogue with the bourgeoisie of the colonialist country.” Fanon refers to the idea that the elite class people of the colonized countries are likely to carry on the effects of colonialism and to be utilized by the Western colonizers as devices of retaining the domination of the colonialist nations (1963: 44). Therefore, formal decolonization does not indicate the authentic ending of the exploitation of the colonized countries since the colonialist nations continue to preserve the preceding order of colonization on account of the close contact with the upper class members of the colonized society. The risky aspect of the decolonization period is that the needs and interests of the peasantry are neglected because they are regarded by the urban society as ignorant and backward (Hiddleston, 2009: 39). Fanon claims that “The mass of the country dwellers, looked down upon by the political parties, continue to be kept at a distance.” (1963: 121). If the true revolution is demanded to be reached in the process of decolonization, then a harmonious relationship has to be constituted between the intellectuals and the peasantry; otherwise, new problems will appear due to the conflict between these two strata of the nation. Fanon implies that the elites of the colonized populace comprehend freedom in accordance with the logic of the colonialist nations, and they want to release themselves by means of alienation in the political area in place of collapsing the existing colonialist regime as they adopt most of its notions (Hiddleston, 2009: 37). On the other hand, the peasantry or the lower class people call for the total denial of the colonial mind, and they do not intend to sustain the position of the colonialist people; however, these masses try to substitute and remove them in support of a novel and pure order (Hiddleston, 2009: 37). In order to build a new system that is disposed of the corruption of colonialism, the masses are needed to participate more actively and dominantly in the decolonization period since they have achieved in keeping themselves untainted and remote from the corrupting and despoiling effects of the colonial system. Regarding Marxism as a kind of solution for colonialism, Fanon believes that it has not been able to serve as a healer for the plight and troubles of the black working class since it bears the bondage of the

European thought. He expresses that “But in general, the workers of Europe have not replied to these calls: for the workers believe, too, that they are part of the prodigious adventure of the European spirit.” (Fanon, 1963: 313). The problems of the white workers and those of the blacks differentiate because the white workers who are part of the Eurocentric ideas are not subjected to the racial segregation, so the European Marxism cannot find answers for the questions and problems of the black colonized people. Consequently, Fanon warns his people of this issue: “If we wish to live up to our peoples’ expectations, we must seek the response elsewhere than in Europe.” (1963: 315). Fanon sets forth another crucial way of solution for getting rid of colonization and thinks that if they wish to terminate the past experiences of colonialism and display the historical realities of the native society, the colonized people have to distinguish their historical and cultural facts from those of the colonialist nations critically (Rabaka, 2009: 127). Likewise, Césaire often raises the racist attitudes of the colonizing against the black colonized people and the detrimental effects of colonialism on the culture and identities of the colonized societies. The white people of Europe showed contempt for every feature of the African nations, and the French society mentioned mankind by dividing them into the “civilized” and “barbarian” (Césaire, 2000: 88). The African people embraced the “barbarian” characteristics whereas the Europeans regarded themselves as “civilized”; thus, it was necessary for the Europeans to alienate Africans from their civilizations, and their aim was to transform Africans into a French person with their blackness (Césaire, 2000: 88). For Césaire, Europe divided the world nations into the superior and inferior ones with respect to their skin colors; as a result, they ascribed supreme qualities to the white race while loading the black race with contemptible characteristics. By means of the racist assertions, the colonialist countries have drawn seriously harsh boundaries between the white Western nations and the black African societies, reaching the biased conclusions about the features of certain societies which cannot be sustained. As lesser species, Africans were under the obligation of becoming slaves who had to satisfy their white masters and to fulfill what these masters order them. Césaire questioned and criticized the arguments of the colonialist whites by seeking to refute their assertions. In his interview with Depestre, Césaire informed that “What I have been telling you about – the

atmosphere in which we lived, an atmosphere of assimilation in which Negro people were ashamed of themselves – has great importance.” (2000: 91). Furthermore, he adds that in the interview: “We lived in an atmosphere of rejection, and we developed an inferiority complex.” (Cesaire, 2000: 91). As a result, according to Cesaire, the colonizers have achieved in instilling into the minds of the black colonized societies the idea that Africans and their civilization bear no value as they inherently represent the savage, backward, uncivilized characteristics. The psychological devastation of colonization in the identities and souls prove the fact that the black colonized people accepted the feelings of being inferior and humiliated because of their black skins while adopting the nominal supremacy and power of the colonialist nations. However, the black people can make their cultural features and civilizations be disposed of the colonial fracture despite the obliterating aspect of colonialism. Displaying his method of fighting colonialism, Cesaire argues that “... a civilization which justifies colonization ... is already a sick civilization, a civilization which is morally diseased, which irresistibly, progressing from one consequence to another, one denial to another, calls for its Hitler, I mean its punishment.” (2000: 39). Cesaire’s way of countering colonialism refers to the sheer and overt coercion since the colonialist countries compelled the indigenous people through violence and other instruments to abandon their existence, soil and toil (Rabaka, 2009: 172). Nevertheless, Cesaire does not mention using violence in the struggle against colonialism so many times as Fanon does, so Cesaire can be regarded to prefer a more strategic means of fighting colonization than Fanon. During his lifetime, he did not initiate a war against the colonizers by using arms and killing the advocates of colonialism. He chose to participate in a political career in which he could carry on his objection to colonialism rather than inciting his people to fall back on weapons in their struggle. The process of decolonization depends on the sincere efforts of both the intellectuals and the lower class members. The scholars or men of art and thinking assume a significant part in the confrontation to cease the yoke of colonialism; therefore, it is the charge of the scholarly figures in the ambience of colonization to arrange full and flourishing decolonization by providing stability and unity for disorder in the culture of the exploited people (Tomich, 1971: 110). However, the most accurate articulation of the civilization of blackness and

nationalism will come into existence merely with the freedom of the prolific power of the lower class members as it is these people who lived most severely through the torture of colonialism and who represent the feelings of nationalism most evidently and straightforwardly (Tomich, 1971: 109, 110). Similar to Fanon, Césaire points out the reciprocal benefits and assistance generated between the old colonizer and the local elites in retaining exploitation in disfavour of the native society (2000: 43). If the local elites take over the political power of the ex-colonized nation, a new type of colonization which keeps on the previous formal colonization informally to the same extent will emerge instead of decolonization. In this political system, the suffering and plights of the native masses will not be mitigated, but will continue in the unchanged intensity. So as to implement decolonization thoroughly all over the native land, the upper class people will have to be concerned about the notions and needs of the masses. Because the masses felt the oppression of colonialism more deeply than the elites, their faith and enthusiasm in nationalism and the indigenous culture can be regarded as more passionate and more sincere than the upper class people. For this reason, Césaire thinks that the black people were subjected to double colonization since they suffered from the racial discrimination of the European colonizers as well as experience the colonizers' exploitation of their labor as the working force (2000: 94). As the native people who came across the most merciless dimension of colonialism, the masses will probably add considerably to the course of decolonization with their sincere nationalism and experiences. In addition, Césaire aimed at purging the colonial devastation of the blacks' identities and psychology through negritude movement. He wished to redefine the cultural and specific values of Africans so that they could liberate themselves from the shackles of colonization and discover their route to emancipation (Tomich, 1971: 113). While emphasizing the cohesion of the lived events of Africans, Césaire asserts the idea that the native culture of the black societies is founded on the solid truths of their lives rather than "mystical" features in their pattern (Tomich, 1971: 113). For Césaire, the notion of a worldwide "civilization" incorporates legitimacy given that it presents a wide range of specific cultural features (Tomich, 1971: 114). Then, Césaire's concept of negritude does not seek to eliminate the inherent qualities of the cultures of the black societies but accepts it as a notable contribution to the world's cultures. The aim of

negritude does not generate a single stereotype of the various black cultures; instead, it encourages the black people to reserve and shield their distinctive cultural values. With respect to the role of the past in the present clash for freedom, Césaire, well earlier than Fanon, advocated the idea that revisiting the African historical experiences before the colonial period critically can contribute remarkably to the blacks' continuing independence and anti-colonialist fights (Rabaka, 2009: 127).

Césaire and George Lamming share similarities in respect to the possibility of removing the effects of colonialism and the potential of decolonization, but they differentiate in the details of their solutions for colonialism. While dealing with the destructed mentality of the dominated nations that were ex-colonized, Lamming imparts the consequences of colonization and how it devastated the way of thinking of the societies of the oppressed countries, disclosing the predicament in which the people in his literary works try to handle their alienation, their inadequate, disappointed and abandoned selves (Taş, 2012: 117). However, he also displays the ways the people of his novels can cope with this kind of psychology, and he puts forward novel means of alternating the bonds between the colonialist nations and the exploited ones by forging original standards of comprehension which will make them independent (Odhiambo, 1994: 123). He highlights the fact that the past of the colonized people has been disregarded or disfigured, which have made them detached from their historical realities (Taş, 2012: 103). With the purpose of recovering the awareness of an indigenous past and origins, he implies that the colonized people have to return to their earlier “myths” and “folk tales” (Taş, 2012: 103). He forces those reading him to concentrate on the dislodging attempts of the colonialist countries which have been presented as the signs of being civilized (Taş, 2012: 103). For Lamming, being subjected to “exile” in European countries such as Britain offer the colonized a fresh perception, an original admiration and self concerning their native lands despite disheartening and oppressing the emigrants; thus, immigrating appears to operate as a sort of exploring themselves, a means of reconsidering and appraising their personalities for the colonized, as well as an instrument of self-understanding which the immigrants have to obtain so as to surmount the disorder of colonization which prompt them to yearn for the foreign

territories (Odhiambo, 1994: 124). The departure and self-exploration granted by immigration lead them to reach a deeper understanding of their native lands as well as their identities, and as a lived incident, it gives them an accurate impulse and passion for renovation in politics (Odhiambo, 1994: 124). According to Lamming, the nationalist mood is a precondition to liberation in the political structure of the colonized nation because it provides the colonized people with a personality and description which encourage them to abandon their craving and delusions for foreign terrains (Odhiambo, 1994: 128). Accordingly, Césaire proclaims that colonialism brought about certain damage on the psychology and culture of the colonized, but it does not seem impossible for them to cure themselves of the colonial harms. In order to express the atmosphere in Paris in which he and other intellectual blacks gathered, Césaire points out that “We had come from different parts of the world. It was our first meeting. We were discovering ourselves. This was very important for me.” (2000: 88). Césaire refers to the idea that the blacks like him who spent considerable time in the European cities acquire the awareness of their distinction from the white colonizers and rediscover their realities regarding their civilization and values. The more they were exposed to the contemptuous stares of the foreign eyes of the colonialist whites, the more they began to devote themselves to the African civilization. Being away from their native lands awakened their feelings of nationalism and also their strong opposition to colonialism and the colonizer whites. In dealing with Césaire’s idea of revising the African past, it is crucial to accept that he never supported a recall of an overestimated and archaic history of Africa (Rabaka, 2009: 128). The only function of historical events of the black people is not to glorify their civilization, but they also look back to their ancestors’ experiences in order to draw lessons in their way to decolonization. The future of the black colonized cannot be built upon the myths as they can disorient and distract Africans from recognizing realities and interrelation between the past and present situations. In order to recover from the problems of the African civilization, Africans have to think over the framework of the solemn contempt of the colonizers against them (Tomich, 1971: 105). As well as contempt, the black colonized were subjected to every kind of oppression and ruthless attitudes throughout the colonial period, but these experiences must strengthen their nationalist feelings and solidarity within their

struggle against colonialism and establishing a new order lacking any colonial effects.

Cesaire, Fanon and Lamming argue that the effects of colonialism can be removed with building a new order after decolonization, but Naipaul thinks differently from Cesaire on the grounds that colonialism has penetrated into the lives of the colonized nations so intensely that it seems impossible for them to purge themselves of its effects.

CHAPTER 2

2. POLITICAL CRISIS

While denigrating the European colonizers who poisoned the colonized with their ideas which they endorsed in order to make their colonization seem sensible and expedient, Césaire also broaches the charge of the black colonized nations which they have to undertake if they yearn for a peaceful order in their country. The first responsibility of the colonized people is to be vigilant enough not to be swindled by the Europeans' untruthful stories which they manipulate in creating inferiority complex within the minds of the black colonized societies. But the task of the colonized nations does not come to an end after they gain their independence from the colonizers by daring to defy their rule and impositions. It is not sufficient for the colonized societies only to shield their country from the colonizers, fighting with them in support of their own esteem and civilization.

Even after securing their independence and country, the colonized people are heavily charged with constructing a new government in which every individual manages to live freely without any strain by retaining their own rights in their homeland. As a new system is being established after the colonizers are driven out of the native land, Césaire conveys the reader that a rough question arises with regard to who will preside over the country that has newly gained its independence, and another issue concerns the citizens in that country in terms of the sort of system which will be consulted while the nation is governed. These uneven questions have to be contended with painstakingly if the newly independent nations do not want to rub away their efforts which they made jointly in their national fight against the colonizers, or the country will be thrown into disorder, ambivalence and confusion in which more than one leader will claim that he deserves to rule the country in accordance with his own regulations and law, leading to regional wars where the black people from the same country kill each other on behalf of authority and ruling power. This constant struggle results in dividing the country into different regions or provinces which have their own separate rulers and ruling system.

Cesaire's main concern in *A Season in the Congo* (2010) is to disclose the chaotic setting which appears in Congo after the Africans gain their independence newly. The European colonizers may have put back their military forces; however, the danger for the Africans in Congo still lingers in this newly independent country.

In the ecstasy of independence, Congolese people do not take into consideration what kinds of risks and plights they will probably encounter after right gaining their freedom. Although the Europeans give independence to these Africans and return back to Europe, they are keenly preoccupied with the current circumstances in the ex-colonized land as they foresee that the Africans will not be able to recognize what they have to be aware of. The basic problem for the African nations that have gained their independence just currently is that they begin to regard each other as virulent rivals in the struggle to take control of the country and to be the ruler of that country. They forget the miserable experiences which they lived when the Europeans captured their land and stripped them of their freedom. They overlook how the Europeans tortured and killed many Africans who tried to rise up against their selfish intentions. They do not remember how the Europeans consider them as a savage race that is inferior, which is the main indication of the Europeans' racial discrimination. They are unable to see that the Europeans' main concern in the postcolonial age is to incite the Africans' feelings of enmity, avarice and hatred against each other, so they cannot forge solidarity and citizenship among themselves, being always in a conflict with each other with the aim of being the ruler of the country and making use of this position. Although the colonizers claim that they support peace and freedom, leaving a peaceful country for the colonized Africans, their real furtive plan is to maintain their dominance by making the Africans suppose that they have got rid of the effects and hegemony of the colonizers truly. One of the most effective ways for the Europeans to keep their influence active in the African land is to put into effect the policy of divide and rule. The colonizers are determined to demolish the feelings of brotherhood and unity among the Africans by always reminding of their differences in respect to their ethnic roots, language, religion and local culture in order to impel them into inner wars against each other. In the course of these vain and meaningless fights, the colonizers endeavor to exploit the country in this tumultuous atmosphere.

The Africans are engrossed in fighting against each other with the claim that their ethnic root is superior to other Africans in the country, thus being in a destructive struggle and killing each other without mercy by forgetting their real intimate ambition for the independence of the country. Their initial ambition was to make the colonizers out of the country and to manage their lives in a peaceful way, but they are intoxicated with their nominal victory which turns into their factual ruin.

Cesaire's depiction of Congo in the play was mainly inspired by the real historical events that occurred after the Belgian colonizers put back their forces and Congo gained its independence. Like in the real events in respect to Congo and Belgians, Cesaire reflects the viewpoints and ambitions of the Belgians regarding the Congolese Africans. In the play, the Belgians seek to hide their real avaricious ambitions from Africans by presenting them under the disguise of doing favor for Congo and its natives. The Congolese people are accepted by the Belgians as savages that do not know anything about development and civilization. As the Europeans think that Africans need the help of the civilized Europeans and that they are backward tribes that need to be educated in order to learn civilization. The Belgians only demand from the Africans in Congo is that they should comply with what they are taught by the Belgians without complaint. The Belgians seem to have adopted this relationship between them which looks like the one between teachers and students or between parents and children. Children cannot maintain their lives without their parents' assistance, so they always depend on their parents' interest and care which will make them grow and become mature. In the same way, the relationship between students and their teachers mean nearly the same connotation. Students are seen as ignorant people who need to be educated by their teachers and to learn knowledge regarding life, science and modernity. But these are only the Belgians' nominal justifications for their colonial acts that can never be justified under any excuses. Through these explanations and Eurocentric thoughts, the Belgians want to make the Africans internalize their superiority without suspicion like other colonizers who do not want to meet any opposition or military resistance from Africans and who long for colonizing their servants easily. It is one of the most undemanding ways to exploit the Africans without any battle or blood of the

Europeans by imposing their ideas on the Africans and making them lay down their arms placidly. For example, the Belgian King Basilio says to the officers in Congo that “It is simply to address a pious thought to my predecessors, tutors before me, of this country, and first to Leopold, the founder, who has come here not for taking or dominating, but to give and to civilize.” (Cesaire, 2010b: 27). This speech may seem very innocent and sincere for the Africans, but it does not bear the veiled ill purpose of the Belgians. Basilio aims to present his ancestor and leader Leopold as a generous person who invaded Congo under the pretext of introducing modern culture and progress to Congo. However, Basilio’s this speech does not act in accordance with his other assertions about the Congolese people. After exploiting Congo for years, the Belgians decide to stop their torture and manipulation formally, setting back their soldiers and leaving freedom for Congo. With this freedom, the Africans will be experimented about whether they will continue to be subservient to their European masters or they will become their own masters who reject the Europeans’ supremacy. The Belgian King Basilio tells the Belgian General Massens that “If our efforts have succeeded in conquering their nature, if our pains encounter payment, by this independence that we bring them today, we will test it.” (Cesaire, 2010b: 25). If the Africans have some problems in living this freedom, the Belgians will not remain inattentive to the events in Congo as expressed by Basilio:

Of course it is a question of technology, and it would be dangerous never to anticipate mechanical failure, at least know that you can always come to us for help, and that our support remains accepted by you, our support: our disinterested support gentlemen! (Cesaire, 2010b: 27)

Here, Basilio resembles independence to a technological means which cannot be known by the Africans how to be used well. Like a machine that can be broken down by its new users who do not know well how to use it, the Africans may have problems in preserving their independence. Therefore, Basilio signifies the idea that their eyes will be right on the actions in Congo very attentively; thus, the people in Congo must not think that they are completely free to do anything in their own country. When the conditions in Congo after independence do not meet the expectations of the Belgians, they will feel it necessary to interfere with the inner affairs of Congo. The Belgians will continue to aim at keeping their domination active on Congo in spite of the Africans’ not being wary of this jeopardy. According

to the Belgians, the Africans do not know what independence means as they have lived under the Belgians' rule for fifty years and they have been slaves who are not aware of the real essence of independence, so they must not become brazen through independence, and they have to keep in their mind that independence can be robbed of them whenever the Belgians take it necessary or see it dangerous for everybody, especially for the profits of the colonizers as it is verbalized by the Belgian General Massens: "At least, this freedom, whose seductive drug they have smoked, and whose emanation intoxicates them with such deplorable visions, they must feel that they receive it, and not they win it." (Cesaire, 2010b: 25). Through this expression, it can be understood that independence is a boon bestowed on the Africans by the Belgians as the Belgians have decided to offer it to the Congolese people: thus, the Africans do not have a chance in losing themselves in the ownership of independence because it is thought by the Belgian masters to be given them as a reward which will be taken back if they feel too much pride and relapse into their barbaric origins, forgetting the Belgians' primacy and efforts on them in order to make them civilized and educated savages. When the general insurgency of the Africans in Congo launches against the colonizers, the Belgians unexpectedly disregard their previous so called well-intentioned promises and resolve to suppress the reasonable rebellion of the Africans who have suffered from the ruthless acts of the Belgians and who have become weary of the Belgians' colonial torture. In the ninth scene, Third Transmitter reports that "Twelve hundred Europeans removed from the apartment building called Immoekasai have been besieged by Congolese troops with machine guns and mortars." (Cesaire, 2010b: 44). Upon this, Massens tells Basilio that "Your Majesty, there is no more time to encumber ourselves with legal scruples. The saving of European lives, of human lives, is an imperative which exceeds all others!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 45). In respect to what Massens says, it can be inferred that the Belgians regard their lives as those of supreme human beings whereas the lives of the Africans cannot be considered as precious as those of the Belgians since the Africans are accepted as non-humans that do not deserve to be treated with respect and humane values. Consequently, when the lives of the Belgians are in danger due to the defensive incursions of the Africans, it does not matter how they are saved; that is, the Belgians think that every means of saving their own citizens' lives is legal for

them regardless of certain principles such as human values, justice and ethics. Likewise, when it comes to taking lives of numerous Africans, the Belgians do not need to take into account legitimate reasons or principles since the Africans are not worthy of deliberating certain principles or scruples. Moreover, one of the most effective methods that the Belgians use in preserving their domination in Congo and exploiting the Congolese Africans is to incite their anger against each other by cooperating with some provinces or ethnic societies. Since Congo is a country which consists of various ethnic groups and provinces that can be utilized by the Belgians in support of themselves; therefore, an entirely independent Congo signifies certain risks against the colonial profits of the Belgians because it will not permit the colonizers to keep on their colonization. The Belgians unique solution for this problem is to make them deeply involved in their inner ethnic and power struggle against each other. This Belgian scheme is recognized by the new Prime Minister of Congo, Patrice Lumumba, saying to the senators at the parliament that “Matadi, Boma, Elizabethville, Luluabourg, to thwart everywhere the countless plots of the enemy! For the plots of the enemy break out everywhere!” (Cesaire, 2010b: 49). He continues to accentuate the hazardous situation of the country by stating that “The plot, the Belgian plot, I see it hatching since the first day of our Independence, hatched by men tormented by resentment and denatured by hatred.” (Cesaire, 2010b: 49). In the fifth scene of the play, the dialogues between different ethnic groups of different tribes in Congo have already pointed out the ethnic segregation that will likely to occur after the country has just gained independence. For instance, The Tribalist Mukongo accuses the Bengala society of destructing the country, telling that “The country is ruined with all these Bengalas!” (Cesaire, 2010b: 23). As a reply for that, a Mungala says: “It is we who have to be good enough to tolerate that a Mukongo should be the President of the Republic, that a Mukongo should govern us.” (Cesaire, 2010b: 23). With these dialogues, the author informs the reader about the potential ethnic fights regarding who will rule the newly independent country, which ethnic root is superior to the others in the country and who deserves to rule the country. The Africans offer some prospects of being colonized to the Belgians by means of their own pointless ethnic fights and power struggles. Consequently, they turn an opportunity of independence which they can benefit in order to get rid of

colonialism into their ruin and disfavor by providing circumstances for the Belgians that the Belgians avail themselves of by collaborating with some native people or tribes through their economical and military supports for these Africans.

The author does not discount the schemes or processes of the UN that it embraces while handling the problems regarding the security and peace of any country in the world. The UN cannot represent the world nations in that the five powerful countries have the right to invalidate and refuse the formal decisions which are made by the majority of the other member countries in the organization, so its declaration of democracy and justice must be doubted (Hardt & Negri, 2004: 272). These powerful countries approach the world issues by considering their own profits rather than the weak nations' welfare because the political and economical problems of the world could be solved immediately if these dominant countries protected the underdeveloped countries' rights and development. The supposed responsibility of the UN is to watch over the nations' problems and to fathom the possible solutions for these problems. If there are economical predicaments in a country, the UN supposes it a responsibility to provide financial assistance for that country, rescuing the citizens from dying of dearth. It can declare the world that all the countries that are its members have to allow for the crisis of the deprived countries and that it is an obligation for the whole humanity to bestow the impoverished people with food and money wherever these people are without considering their geography, race and culture; thus, the main purpose of the UN is to serve for all of the human beings in the world whenever they are in a financial trouble and tackling its problems. Concerning the political mission of the UN, it espouses peace, human values, justice and welfare of all the nations in the world, contesting any cruel acts of the powerful upon the weak and resisting any unfair deaths of the innocent people whatever their ethnicity is. Subsequently, whenever a country contravenes human privileges of any country's citizens by waging a war against it, the UN claims that it must bring to an end this war, interfering with this issue, highlighting human rights and implementing its unbiased policy for every nation. Namely, it acts as a mediator between two or more countries which engage in battle against each other. If it is necessary, the UN dispatches military forces in order to put an end to wars in which neither sides of the

fight are possible to be mollified through diplomatic processes. Nevertheless, using force against the clashes between countries is a minor method for the UN as it intends to stamp out the political conflicts between countries essentially by means of diplomatic manners. But these are only discourses through which the UN portrays itself lacking its conflicting stance regarding the incidents in Congo during and following the colonial period. While addressing the Congolese people after Congo has embraced its independence, Hammarqsjöld, the Secretary of the UN, insinuates impartiality of the UN by telling that “I have come to tell you: I am a neutral man. It has sometimes been asked if there can be such a thing, a neutral man. Ah yes, I exist! Thank God! I exist! And I am a neutral man.” (Cesaire, 2010b: 54, 55). The Secretary’s reference to neutrality can be understood from the viewpoint of the impartial willpower of the UN, which he conveys in order to persuade the Africans that the UN makes its decisions in accordance with its objective principles irrespective of the favor of the Western countries. Although it is difficult to believe that there exists such an impartial institution like the UN in the West after so many years of colonial ventures by the white men, Hammarqsjöld seems to strive to gain confidence of Congo. Furthermore, the Secretary claims that Congo is a vulnerable country which calls for an international institution that can provide notable service for it. He believes that the problems in Congo need to be solved not through violence but political instruments which can act as sustaining solutions for Congo’s problems as he utters: “The problems in the Congo must be solved by a normal political and diplomatic process. I want to say that they must be solved not by force and intimidation, but in the spirit of justice and peace.” (Cesaire, 2010b: 55). But Lumumba is not in agreement with Hammarqsjöld on the legitimacy of the implementations of the UN in Congo regarding the inner conflicts between tribes. The leaders in Katanga are claimed to conspire with the Europeans against the national movement ignited by Lumumba. Lumumba thinks that the power conflict between him and the leaders of Katanga or other tribes can be eradicated only through unyielding fight against these collaborators of the Belgians. When Lumumba demands that planes should be given to him by the UN in order to discard uproars in Congo, he is rejected by Hammarqsjöld on the grounds that the UN cannot allow Lumumba to kill the Congolese citizens brutally. Lumumba does not believe the

impartiality of the UN and claims that it does not abide by veritable principles, saying that “Belgians and the affluent mercenaries of the Congo! They unload them every day, and you allow it!” (Cesaire, 2010b: 77). Lumumba brings up the real mission of the UN which does not conform to its operations, implying that the UN claims that it espouses peace and justice every time, but it approaches insensitively to the collaboration between certain leaders in Congo and the Belgians, which worsens the political and social conditions in Congo and enables exploitation of Congo to continue without any interval. Therefore, the main argument of Lumumba regarding the UN is that it does not make an effort in order to inhibit bloodshed by using its military power; instead, it consents to the hostile resistance of Katangese people and the Belgians against the national movement and attempts of Lumumba. According to Lumumba, the only solution for getting rid of this crisis is to take stern precautions against those who are involved in complicity with the Belgian colonizers and who kill their own citizens that struggle to throw the Belgians out of the country. These precautions incorporate military forces which can be made available for Lumumba by the UN so that the chaotic ambiance in the country can evaporate; nevertheless, the UN refuses to send planes and support to Congo under the pretext that these aids intensify the disorder between the Congolese people and do not resolve the problems as it is mentioned by Hammarqsjöld: “At any rate, this country has suffered enough. I do not want, by undertaking a military campaign, to add yet further to its unhappiness.” (Cesaire, 2010b: 75). But Lumumba thinks that some parts of Congo could have yielded with no fight or bloodshed and says that “You cancelled the military operations which would have allowed us to enter Elizabethville without opposition.” (Cesaire, 2010b: 74). And concerning the province of Katanga in Congo, Lumumba claims that “The population of Katanga bears Tzumbi’s yoke impatiently! They would have greeted you as a liberator!” (Cesaire, 2010b: 75). From the dialogue with the Secretary of the UN, Lumumba makes out the inconsistent policy and implementation of this union which declares that it shelters the rights of nations who are exposed to unjust behaviors by the powerful merciless countries. Moreover, when Lumumba wants to address to the Congolese nation through the radio in order to make explanations in respect to the chaotic events in the country, Ghana, who is in control of the radio, does not let Lumumba speak on the radio,

uttering that “Sorry, the instruction given by the UN representative, Mr. Cordelier, is formal – all political activity in the Congo is suspended until the new government is established – no politician has access to the radio. “ (Cesaire, 2010b: 97). This answer makes Lumumba frustrated because he has relied on the President of Ghana, Kwame N’Krumah, accepting him as his friend, regarding Ghana as the brother country and expressing that “Do you know, Sir, that your president is my friend? That Ghana, more than ally, is a brother? That the government in Accra has promised me, totally and unconditionally, its support?” (Cesaire, 2010b: 98). After that, Lumumba says to him that “I have understood! Soldier? No! You are, and I will say it loud and clear – a traitor, a traitor twice over!” (Cesaire, 2010b: 99). Instead of assisting and advocating Lumumba regarding the removal of the disorder in Congo, the UN serves as a barrier by preventing Lumumba from speaking to his nation on the radio. Each attempt of Lumumba to resolve chaos and struggle against the colonizers or their cooperators is foiled by the acts and decisions of the UN; thus, the UN adds notably to the uproar and confusion in Congo which has been brought about by the profit and power struggle between the Congolese tribes and by the Belgians. What Lumumba understands from the acts of the UN is that it is vain to be expecting any assistance from the UN optimistically since it does not seem promising in favor of the patriotic exertion of the Congolese anti-colonialist troops. It prides itself on its mission that aims at protecting the innocent people’s rights and endowing the world’s nations with peace, justice and welfare, but its declarations do not act in accordance with its applications. It only tries to build castles in the sky and make the world believe it by stalling those who count on its assistance and support.

Even though Lumumba’s main purpose is to shelter his country from the Belgian colonizers and their provocation of several tribes against him, the feeling of enmity which the Congolese rulers, particularly the President Kala Bulu and the Colonel Mokutu, sustain against Lumumba plays an important role in the tragic end of Lumumba. The most outstanding feature of Lumumba is that his grit to refuse to be involved in any cooperation with the Belgians in order to exploit the country. Lumumba’s comprehension of independence which Congo has just gained does not endure any direct or indirect prying of the colonizers into the affairs of Congo.

Lumumba thinks that the Belgians must depart Congo immediately by retreating all of their troops since he regards them as the real enemies of Congo. He is aware of the Belgian machination against the entire independence of Congo which they orchestrate among certain tribes and their leaders through bribery or corruption by offering them financial power and through ethnic fights which the Belgians inflame between the Congolese groups. Thus, Lumumba knows that the only prerequisite for the Congolese people to achieve independence thoroughly is to work together in favor of the country and not to collaborate with the Belgians by throwing themselves into ethnic fights against their own citizens, which he expresses: “But I swear by Africa: all united, all together, we will pierce the monster by the nostrils. My brothers, the Congo has already carried off a great victory.” (Cesaire, 2010b: 51). He does not overlook the heartless actions of the Belgians who killed many Africans and raped their women in Congo in the past, so he does not shroud his rage against the Belgians who also enslaved the Africans in the world. In spite of his determination and patriotism for Congo, Lumumba fails to notice the insincere decisions of the UN and other countries regarding the Congolese struggle for its complete independence. He articulates that “The UN will speak the law and justice to be done to us! I do not doubt it! In the face of the world! Justice full and whole!” (Cesaire, 2010b: 51). And he at first believes that the UN will not allow the patriotic Africans to be killed by the black traitors and the Belgians by granting him planes and support, but the General Secretary of the UN does not provide him with any planes which he wants to use in his struggle against the black traitors and the Belgians when Lumumba demands the assistance of the UN from him. Moreover, Lumumba is forbidden by the UN to speak to the nation on the radio, which shatters his hope and trust for this organization; however, he recognizes the reckless attitude of the UN too late, depending on it blindly without any qualms. If he took into account the possibility of biased decisions of the UN that it will not meet the needs of the Congolese people who put up with colonization of the Congolese traitors and the Belgians, maybe he would take different precautions concerning his resistance against the enemies, not by leaning his back on promises of the UN which will turn out to be futile. Another aspect of Lumumba’s credulous traits is concerned with the Congolese rulers around him, particularly the President and the Colonel, whom he depends on excessively, but who

make plans for overthrowing him by transmitting him to death. Lumumba's wife Pauline is aware of the risks which rise from the immoral intentions of Mokutu and Kala-Bulu against Lumumba; nevertheless, Lumumba does not accept Pauline's claim that they try to dethrone him, believing that their purpose is not as spiteful as she regards. For example, she says to Lumumba that "You are a child, Patrice! ... look, as for me, I have no confidence in your Mokutu ... you know very well that he has been the timekeeper for the Belgians ..." (Cesaire, 2010b: 91). Lumumba's answer to her is that "He is smart, delicate, and more, he is grateful for the confidence that I show him." (Cesaire, 2010b: 91). Regarding Kala Bulu, she claims that "He is secret ... sly ... In any case, be careful!" and wants Lumumba to alert to the envious attitude of Kala Bulu against him, but Lumumba does not pay attention to her warnings (Cesaire, 2010b: 92). Pauline knows that Lumumba is a ruler who can be easily fooled by his companions who pose as precarious rivals for his domination in Congo, so she demands that he should not be too naive. In fact, Pauline is right in being suspicious of Kala Bulu and Mokutu since Kala Bulu thinks that "If I let him, he would set everything on his head! And the fire in the Congo, fire in the world! And I am here and I won't let him do it. I am here to save the Congo and himself from himself." (Cesaire, 2010b: 87). He supposes himself as the foremost authority of the country that can say the last word in respect to each decision; thus, Lumumba cannot be so prominent that he is able to overshadow Kala Bulu as he emphasizes: "The fundamental law gives me power! It is the president who decides, and the ministers execute." (Cesaire, 2010b: 88). He regards Lumumba as a ruler who supplements the inner conflict between tribes in Congo with his resorting to violence, which impels him into thinking that Lumumba's authority has to be brought to a standstill; therefore, he declares on the radio that "I have named Joseph Ileo as the Prime Minister. Mr. Ileo is charged with forming the new government." (Cesaire, 2010b: 95). The reason why he decides to depose Lumumba is summed up by him while he proclaims that "And now, in addition, he is about to throw the country into an atrocious civil war. He has introduced into our community the most fearful evil: disorder, preventing our people from finding their equilibrium and their base." (Cesaire, 2010b: 95). As for Mokutu, he at first appears to advocate Lumumba and work in cooperation with him as a colonel assigned by Lumumba, but

he then resolves to make a coup and put Lumumba in jail. Mokutu gradually lays bare his envious and resentful trait in the second scene when he says to Lumumba regarding M'polo: "Any rate, the government must choose between the two of us. Either him or me!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 65). In addition, he discloses his own dissatisfaction in his status by articulating that: "I do not like the work of amateurs. You have named me Colonel, I would like to be a serious Colonel." (Cesaire, 2010b: 67). He cannot approve of the fact that he is at the same rank with M'polo, which exhibits his irreversible desire to grasp more power and sway in the country. M'polo's warning Lumumba of Mokutu's spiteful intentions against Lumumba by claiming that: "Chief, I hope someday you do not regret having put your confidence in those who do not deserve it. Spies, saboteurs, at every step here, one sees much vermin raise their heads." does not seem convincing for Lumumba, who does not believe that the rulers around him plot against his struggle and authority (Cesaire, 2010b: 69). Lumumba thinks that the Congolese prominent figures of politics do not betray him, which makes him overlook some precautions to hinder these people's interventions in his candid struggle. Mokutu thinks that Lumumba plunges Congo into anxiety and friction, whose price is immense as he tells Lumumba that "Civil war, foreign war, anarchy, I felt that you cost the Congo too dear, Patrice!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 101). He intimates the idea that he rises up against the commands of both the President and the Prime Minister, saying to the Prime Minister Lumumba that "Now, I leave you! I have decided to neutralize power!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 102). Mokutu's principal reason for intervening in the politics of Congo is that Lumumba is unable to restore stability and welfare to the country since he is in an unalleviated conflict with the President Kala-Bulu concerning whose political authority must be the most prevailing in the political decisions, so Mokutu decides to put an end to Lumumba's rule by making a coup against him, sending him forcefully to prison. Despite working with soldiers in prison and achieving in escaping from prison, Lumumba is arrested and put in prison for the second time by Kala-Bulu's, who urged Mokutu to capture Lumumba. In the last part of the play, it is understood that Mokutu takes steps with the treacherous leaders of Katanga such as M'sri and Tzumbi, who settle on the decision that Lumumba must be killed. In other words, Lumumba prepares his own end by making certain mistakes in the critical decisions of Congo's political

issues. He does not recognize the hypocritical judgments of the UN in advance and enthusiastically believes that it will assist him in exterminating disorder activated by the Belgians in Congo, but the fact that the UN rejects to help him overpower the Belgians and their Congolese collaborators makes him frustrated. Not heeding the warnings with regard to the President Kala-Bulu and the Colonel Mokutu, who aim to overthrow him, Lumumba considers them his companions whom he trusts excessively in his national struggle in order to force the Belgians out of the country.

Although Congo gains its freedom by paying a heavy price for it, the Belgians do not give up their colonization immediately, being steadfast in keeping their power alive there. Their basic method to attain their ambitions is to rouse the feelings of hatred and pride between different ethnic groups that then demand that they should grasp their own regions together with their own ethnic group. The Belgians' other scheme is to offer the leaders of Katanga to cooperate with them for the benefit of financial profits. Lumumba's sincere attempts to throw out the Belgians are not sufficient for Congo to retain their overall independence. Despite his confidence that the UN will not leave him alone in his struggle against the Belgians and the black traitors, he gets distressed after remaining helpless and vulnerable by this institution which approaches the inner war in Congo in a nonchalant fashion. In addition, Lumumba is not vigilant enough to discern the malicious conspiracies of the Presidents and his Colonel, who arrange to dethrone him, forging envy and loathing against him. At the end of the play, the moment when Lumumba unravels the intentions of these leaders turns out to be too late since he is put in jail and punished with death through the command of Mokutu, whom he was once a close friend with.

In *The Tragedy of King Cristophe* (1969), the author illustrates the rigid and unbearable circumstances lived through by the black people in Haiti, which was once a French colony. The main source of this affliction in Haiti is Henri Cristophe, whose fervent passion in firming up sovereign and indicating ruling power brings about a burdensome price not only for himself but also for his people. Cristophe made an esteemed contribution to the independence of Haiti by joining in the fight against the French under the guidance of Toussaint Louverture (Cesaire, 1969b: 9). As soon as the blacks in Haiti gained their independence, founding a black republic from the

remnants of Saint-Domingue, Christophe unsurprisingly became one of the most distinguished in the country (Cesaire, 1969b: 9). When the first ruler of Haiti, Dessalines, died, Christophe was assigned to the presidential position of the republic, but as he was an insatiable politician, being a president did not quench his burning desire for more authority and political power; therefore, he decided to leave the city Port-au-Prince to the mulattoes and Petion as their leader, taking control of the Northern Province himself; however, two states always underwent unrest and conflict between themselves; in other words, uneasiness between Petion, the president of the South Republic, and Christophe, the king of the Northern Kingdom, ascended all the time (Cesaire, 1969b: 9).

In the first scene, Cesaire displays the unceasing dissension between Christophe and Petion, who can never arrive at a concurrence regarding Haiti. Petion reports to Christophe the verdict of the Senate which grants him a position in the office as President of the Republic in return for Christophe's exertion in the liberation war of Haiti against the French, but Christophe does not seem content with Petion's news, asserting that "But what the constitution of the Republic gives me, an amendment voted under conditions of doubtful legality takes away", which specifies his misgivings about legitimacy of the authority of the Senate (Cesaire, 1969b: 11). His mind is obsessed with the idea that the underlying reason for the Senate's delegating him as the president is that it aims to reduce his authority and enfeeble his efficacy as he utters: "Yes, gentlemen. I know your Constitution. Christophe would be nothing but a big harmless jack-of-the-clock, with a toy sword, entertaining the populace by striking the hours of your law on the clock of his own helplessness." (Cesaire, 1969b: 11). While saying to Christophe that "You are unjust to the Senate. You will always find flies in the ointment if you look too closely", Petion denotes persistence of Christophe in finding trifling excuses in order not to be subordinate to the decrees of the Senate, and Petion tries to convince Christophe:

The office we are offering you still has luster and importance. It is the highest in the Republic. As to the changes in the Senate has seen fit make in the Constitution, I will not deny that they curtail the President's powers, but you can hardly be unaware that there is one danger which a people that has had to live under Dessalines fears more than any other. Its name is tyranny. In my opinion it would have been unforgivable in the Senate not to take due precautions against that danger. (Cesaire, 1969b: 11, 12)

As a response to these claims, Christophe asserts the idea that the amendment of the Constitution is a verification of distrust in him and that his nobility prevents him from accepting it, uttering that “Damn it, Petion, what you are offering me in the name of the Republic is a position without a flesh or bones, the scraps and leftovers of power.” (Cesaire, 1969b: 12). Then, what Christophe and Petion fall out primarily about is what kind of ruling system or regime will be adopted and put into action in Haiti. Petion and his companions advocate the idea that the ruling system in Haiti necessitates a republic in which a senate exists with its members who discuss momentous issues appealing to the government, which points out Petion and his companions’ apprehension about Christophe’s demand that he should be a king who is independent of any procedure in his decisions; on the other hand, Christophe argues that consenting to the decisions of a senate and enforcing them attest to lessening his authority and transforming him into a puppet in the hands of a group of decision makers in the senate, so the most appropriate ruling system for the country is that in which Christophe will reign without any restriction emanating from other people who want to make him a disgraced submissive figure. Petion and the Senate are anxious about the future of Haiti as Christophe opposes being in a presidential status which he believes to be an impediment for his self-government capacity, which they think will turn him into a dictator while Christophe assumes the idea that as long as he rules the country independently with his own free will, the country will progress, endowing the nation with discipline and stability. Moreover, the grave dispute between Petion and Christophe carry on with the claim of Christophe that “Petion is intelligent, very intelligent. He cannot help thinking that if Christophe declines the presidency, it will be offered to Petion”, which Petion objects by saying that “Damnation, why would I accept what you disdain? If it is a bitter crab-apple to you, why would it be a juicy pear to me?” (Cesaire, 1969b: 12). These expressions disclose the fact that both of the leaders lay blame on each other regarding incapacity to grasp an upper ruling status; that is, while Petion accuses Christophe of not finding presidency a satisfactory position and demanding a boundless power which has the perilous potential to make him a despot, Christophe charges Petion with looking forward to ascending presidency once Christophe rejects this position. The last retort of Christophe to Petion is:

Freedom yes, but not an easy freedom. Which means that they need a State. Yes, my philosopher friend, something that will enable this transplanted people to strike roots, to burgeon and flower, to fling the fruits and perfumes of its flowering into the face of the world, something which, to speak plainly, will oblige our people, by force if need be, to be born to itself, to surpass itself. There is the message, rather too long no doubt, which I change my obliging friend to convey to our noble friends in Port-au-Prince (Drawing his sword and advancing front stage, in a violent tone contrasting with his preceding calm.). (Cesaire, 1969b: 14)

Although Petion, carrying a scroll in his hand in which the last decision of the Senate is written about appointing Cristophe to presidency, tends to change Cristophe's mind that is absolutely intent on being a king in Haiti, Cristophe emphasizes his assiduousness within his speech above with regard to his idea that the nation in Haiti entails a new-fangled political structure in which freedom has to be applied through founding a new order which will help the people of Haiti progress and going far beyond their wonted standards. The unmitigated rage between the two leaders remains as it has been since the liberation of Haiti due to Cristophe's all-consuming passion for holding excessive power and rights in ruling his kingdom in the North of Haiti. Thus, Petion's exertion to persuade Cristophe to restore Haiti to its previous unity and peace turns out to be abortive. After hearing the last words of Cristophe as to the amendment of the Constitution made by the Senate, Petion delivers that message to the Senate by underscoring:

Indeed, Cristophe proposes the reunification of the island. It goes without saying that the island would be unified under his authority, his Royal Munificence deigning, I presume, to honor you and me with the small change of a few subordinate offices, the sop of a sinecure or two. In short, we should become the subjects of his Most Christophian Majesty! (Cesaire, 1969b: 35)

Upon finding out the last message of Cristophe from Petion, the Deputies in the Senate become enraged and call out such labels for Cristophe as "the tyrant", "a pompous pasha" and "Rather Louis XVIII than Cristophe!" (Cesaire, 1969b: 35). In the fifth scene, Magny, being a general and one of Cristophe's followers, encourages Cristophe to attack and defeat Petion by claiming that "Never has the situation been more favorable. Petion is at bay. Take the opportunity." (Cesaire, 1969b: 33). Being opposed to this idea, Cristophe tells Magny:

Forget it, I tell you. There will be no attack. I have abandoned the whole campaign... I have sent an emissary to Petion. I hope he will realize that the time has come to end our quarrels, to build this country, and to unite our

people against a danger that is more pressing than you think, that threatens its very existence. (Cesaire, 1969b: 33)

In spite of seeming to make up his mind about the offer made by Petion and to cease the conflict between each other, Cristophe insinuates above the idea that the only stipulation to reunite the two provinces of Haiti is that Petion and his followers have to be subordinate to his unique authority without demanding any amendment to reduce any privilege in his position as a king. Consequently, the declaration of Cristophe above must not give the impression of the fact that Cristophe has decided to relinquish his craving for preserving boundless domination in his kingdom for the sake of reuniting the two discrete provinces in Haiti. The disagreement between the two leaders which is impossible to be solved waits to be reconciled throughout the play.

In order to add humorous elements to the play, Cesaire represents a cock fight in an arena which is managed by a referee and which a lot of audiences behold by supporting one of the two cocks with their excitement shouts in the prologue. The striking aspect of this cock fight is that the names of the fighting cocks are Petion and Cristophe, which are used to stand for the vehement rage emerging between the two leaders of Haiti due to their avarice to hold more authority. The most notable quality of a cock fight is that two cocks taking part in it struggle to wound or kill each other, often by tearing out the eyes of their rivals. The inescapable outcome of that fight is permanently two severely injured cocks, sometimes even a killed one. A further quality of these fights has to do with the fact that the cocks attack each other with their fury and avarice to win the fight and kill the rival. Their only purpose is to verify their power and domination over their rival by having a victory. Manifesting a vision of a cock fight in the prologue, Cesaire makes a resemblance between it and the political conflict of Cristophe and Petion, which is the product of these leaders' rage and ravenous passions for political power. Like fighting cocks which aim only to damage each other, Cristophe and Petion do not think reasonably about any ceasefire, pushing the two separately existing states in Haiti into seething chaos instead of musing on laying out solidarity or harmony in that country.

Even though the French colonizers have left Haiti, backing off their troops and discontinuing their violent pressure on the people of Haiti, the fracas between the leaders in that country over moulding the ruling system and sharp boundaries of the ruler does not permit both its citizens and political figures to derive benefit from the newly gained independence. It is generally believed that after the colonized nations gain their independence from the colonizers, the ex-colonized country will become a peaceful and undisturbed backdrop like a dreamland for its nation who will take a long cheering breath and who expect welfare from the future of the country; nevertheless, what Césaire intimates to newly independent nations is the possibility for them to get stuck in severe conflicts which surface due to being unable to settle on who will rule the country through which system or regime. Unless these conflicts are ironed out, the country will not be rescued from remaining a disorder, confusion and distress for each person whoever he is.

In the play, the reader can see a number of favourable allusions to Christophe made by himself, his officers and average citizens, but this does not validate his despotic potential which will float up after a while. As Haiti has been set free from the French by the unwavering struggle of its people, the citizens look forward to seeing their black leader in the ruling position, which makes them elated and thrilled. For example, the Secretary Vastey cannot veil his contentment and enthusiasm which he puts across in the third scene: “A black king! It is like a fairy tale, isn’t it? This black kingdom, this court, a perfect replica in black of the finest courts the Old World has to offer.” (Césaire, 1969b: 21). These feelings epitomize the general public psychology in which the citizens are unaware of the succeeding events in respect to Christophe’s attitudes as a king. Moreover, the President of the Council of State announces Christophe in the coronation as “Destroyer of tyranny, regenerator and benefactor of the Haitian nation, first crowned monarch of the New World.” (Césaire, 1969b: 27). And a lady who does not approve the authoritarian acts of Christophe at a time when his despotism begins to come into view, Vastey makes an explanation to her by claiming that:

Do you know why he labours day and night? Do you know the purpose behind his “wild ideas”, as you call them, and his frantic efforts? He is fighting for the day when no little black, anywhere in the world, will be

ashamed of her skin, when no little black girl's colour will stand in the way of her dreams. (Cesaire, 1969b: 54)

Although Cristophe's officers close their eyes to the frustrating reality of his brutal order, they cannot prevent it from being experienced and publicly known. As for Cristophe discourses and assurance, they generate the impression that he will dedicate himself to definite principles which always highlight the nation's social rights or freedom which he ensures in the coronation:

I swear to preserve the integrity of the territory and the independence of the kingdom; under no pretext to suffer a return to slavery or any measure prejudicial to the freedom or to the civil and political rights of the Haitian people, to govern with a sole view to the interests, the happiness, and the glory of the great Haitian family of which I am the head. (Cesaire, 1969b: 28)

Nevertheless, Cristophe implies the first signs of his strict ruling system by appointing the Drummer to proclaim his orders before the public. The Drummer declares three basic Articles of the Law of the King Cristophe: the first article requires supervisors and farmers to carry out their responsibilities as submissively, enthusiastically and precisely as the armed forces do; the second one involves these people who do not perform their responsibilities thoroughly will be penalized as severely as the soldiers who do not carry out their duties; the third one is concerned with the generals and senior officers whom Cristophe himself assigns to put the current discipline into effect (Cesaire, 1969b: 49). With his undue emphasis on the military forces, Cristophe submits his ruthless authority in which people will obviously suffer and become worn-out owing to too much labour. When resting in the Haitian countryside, one of the peasants discloses his dissatisfaction by saying to other peasants that "... When we threw the whites into the sea, it was to have this land for ourselves, not to slave for other people, even if they are as black as we are, but to have the land for ourselves like a wife." (Cesaire, 1969b: 48). Therefore, the ordinary citizens begin to be aware of the fact that the stern predicament which they experienced in the colonial times because of the French resurfaces after Cristophe has ascended to the throne as a king. Like the French colonizers who kept the Haitian people under strict control, Cristophe now declares his own laws that the Haitians have to act in accordance with painstakingly, so he provides them with such a world that turns them into mechanical entities since he forgets that these people retain their

own emotions and expectations. As time goes by, Cristophe becomes brutal against his people to a greater extent, especially whenever the peasants get exhausted due to too wearisome labour which he burdens with them without reasoning. When one of the peasants comes to Cristophe and notifies that they are shattered, Cristophe threatens him implicitly by commanding General Warrior to fire and kill a sleeping peasant whom he realizes with his telescope that he uses in order to oversee whether or not the working peasants intend to have a rest or sleep (Cesaire, 1969b: 639). Cristophe does not tolerate the peasants' need to rest, taking it a crime which he thinks requires a death punishment. The main reason for the peasants' exhaustion is that Cristophe makes them assume the duty that they are under obligation to finish founding a citadel immediately. In order to enhance efficiency of the peasants, Cristophe ponders and decides that all of them have to marry without asking their opinions about this subject although it will be an artificial marriage for them. Then, he declares them that "I won't have my subjects running around with their flies open like savages. It is therefore my decision that you will get married – immediately!" under the pretext of establishing a sound society, and he does not even give them any chance to choose their partners whom Hugonin chooses instantly and matches with each other (Cesaire, 1969b: 57). This vast authority inspires Cristophe to fulfil whatever he desires regardless of the Haitians' rights and preferences. He considers it legitimate to exterminate any person whoever he is if he poses as a severe problem for Cristophe. For instance, he commands his officers to slay Brelle, the first Archbishop, who he supposes is not fitting for his job, so he must be disposed of quietly as he says to Prezeau: "He talks too much, Prezeau. He writes too much. But no blood, no blood! A peaceful death, in his bet ... He is an old man. So gently ... gently ... But quickly..." (Cesaire, 1969b: 64). He does not hesitate to kill people who have the potential to raise objections against his own decisions. During his reign, Cristophe is challenged by several rebels as a result of his merciless regime which has made his people discontented and hostile against him. In his last battle against Petion's supporters, Cristophe's troops walk out on him and choose to fight in favour of his foes, drawing him into an immense depression in which he recognizes that he no more has power to rule as he did in the previous times. Being unable to endure

witnessing these horrendous facts any longer, he commits suicide as a lonely despot who has made the Haitians be afflicted to an awful extent.

Breaking his promises that he will not ignore the freedom of his citizens and that he will put an end to slavery in Haiti, Cristophe bears out his merciless regime in which the citizens get too fatigued due to working day and night in order to found a citadel after being ordered by him. Also, Haiti has become an independent country by making the French out of the country after exhibiting valiant challenge, but the Haitians cannot revel in their independence since the country is dragged into rupture on account of the political conflict between Cristophe and Petion with regard to which ruling system has to be implemented in Haiti. This fracas leads to the division of Haiti into the South and North States, triggering unrest and anxiety between the two provinces. Thus, Cesaire conveys the message that the ex-colonized countries incorporate the risk of generating dictators as the new conditions in those countries are conducive to that risk. Especially those who took a noteworthy part in gaining independence and fighting the colonizers may feel that they are worthy of taking the leadership of the country and deciding the type of regime in the country. This understanding induces its counterparts which come into existence as a result of the claim of other rivals on ruling the country. In a short time, this hostility and greed for power in political leadership turns the country into a setting of crisis and disorder where the citizens of the same country advocate one of those leaders and are involved in the struggle. Consequently, two or more states originate from this turmoil, but stability and calm never achieve in being prevailing in those states.

CHAPTER 3

3. CRITIQUE OF THE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

This play by the black writer Aime Cesaire, which is the “postcolonial” version of Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*, deals with the bonds between the colonizing Prospero and the colonized Caliban and Ariel in terms of the oppressed blacks (Fei, 2007: 118). The principal purpose of Cesaire in rewriting *The Tempest* (1610 or 1611) by Shakespeare is to display the clash and division between the colonizer and the colonized which were put forward by the white colonizer. The colonialist nations put the colonized societies into the same category while generating certain boundaries between themselves and the colonized people. They wanted to create stereotypes out of the colonized people and loaded them with particular and fixed qualities which prove the idea that whatever the colonized people do, they cannot be promoted by the European colonizers to the upper position which is identical with that of the colonizers. But Cesaire tries to question and disprove the colonial discourse that the colonized reflect the inferior characteristics whereas the colonizers exhibit their superiority.

In the play, the characters can be regarded as the stereotypes that embody their own views in respect to colonialism. While the European characters having developed their own criteria through which they classify the black characters, the black characters imply that they will either struggle against colonialism or remain passive without any protest. As in Cesaire’s theoretical writings, the basic argument of the colonizers in the play is concerned with the racist notions which they utilized during the colonial period. The unique basis which provides the colonialist societies with the nominal legitimacy for colonization is the skin color of the colonized people. Because of their blackness, the colonized people were scorned and thought to be devoid of any human value; therefore, their culture and civilization were also denied by the white colonizers who tried to reduce them to the lesser species. Cesaire discusses not only the attitudes of the colonizers but also the respond of the black colonized towards colonialism and the colonialist nations.

Prospero's attitudes against Caliban and Ariel stand for the general discourse and notions of the Western colonizers against the black colonized societies. From Caliban's entering the play in the second scene, Prospero begins to disdain Caliban, expressing his scorn for Caliban's language. After Caliban greets Prospero by saying "Uhuru", Prospero says that "I have already told you, I don't like it. You could be polite, at least; a simple 'hello' wouldn't kill you." (Cesaire, 1991: 11). While urging Caliban to be "polite", he criticizes him since he uses his native language in greeting. As the representative of the Western colonized nations, Prospero displays his contempt even for Caliban's native language as he implies that using the indigenous language equals to being vulgar. Prospero's approach to Caliban's native language confirms the idea that he denies every aspect of Caliban's culture and civilization. Culture reflects every part of a society's lifestyle including food, clothes and language; thus, language covers a significant element of culture, and culture generally passes down from generation to generation through language. This interrelation between language and culture makes it necessary not to consider language and culture separate from each other. In denouncing the native language of Caliban, Prospero also condemns his native culture and divides the world languages into vulgar and courteous ones. Like the colonialist countries which have opened schools in order to impose their own languages and culture on the colonized societies, Prospero tries to make Caliban accept the politeness and superiority of English rather than his native language which Prospero claims amounts to rudeness and backwardness. In order to be a civilized and developed human being, Caliban has to renounce his own language which nominally precludes him from being a real self even though it seems to be a simple detail. Therefore, learning and using the colonized people's language serve as one of the essential means of achieving the entire civilization and progress according to the colonized countries. For them, especially Prospero, the native languages of the colonized people despicable and intolerable because they are basically composed of simple words and sounds which cannot be sufficient to meet the demands of a nation. If the colonized people want to reach the level of the colonized and progressed Western societies, they have to abandon their language which is so limited and simple that they will be unable to embrace and verbalize the supreme values and culture of the European nations.

Prospero tells Caliban: "Since you are fond of invective, you could at least thank me for having taught you to speak at all." If it were not for Prospero, Caliban would not know how to communicate and articulate himself, keeping on mumbling in his language. Then, Prospero does not deem Caliban's language as a means of speaking and expressing oneself, but as a way of murmuring just like animals which sound in the same way that human beings do not comprehend. Prospero encumbers Caliban with the obligation and responsibility concerning the way or language through which Caliban verbalizes his thoughts. He cannot use his own sort of language or communication, but has to choose and learn what Prospero's language is. Also, Prospero calls Caliban: "You, a savage ... a dumb animal, a beast I educated, trained, dragged up from the bestiality that still clings to you." (Cesaire, 1991: 11). This expression is just the colonial discourse of the European colonizers who asserted the idea that the black colonized nations were not familiar with the civilized concepts and values before they met with the supposed superior white masters. They were living just like non-human beings that were unaware of the real civilization, human ways of living, speaking and behaving. According to Prospero, Caliban and other black people needed the Europeans' stepping in their lives as they would remain ignorant and backward creatures without the educational assistance of the white colonizers. The relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is resembled by Prospero to that of teacher and student or parents and child. Like a student who is always in need of the guidance of his teacher and a child who is constantly dependent on his parents' help, the black colonized demanded the assistance and direction of their white masters. Prospero presents colonialism as if it had been achieved in favor of the black people in order to educate, civilize and teach them how to be genuine humans. If the colonized people do not conform to the instructions and guidance of the colonizers, they will not be able to complete their education and will continue to remain barbarous non-humans. Prospero refers to the common argument of the European nations that they began to invade the territories of the colonized people with the purpose of fulfilling their moral and holy mission which is to civilize the uncivilized nations. In return for their benevolence and helpfulness, the colonialist nations only expected obedience and commitment of the black colonized societies rather than any complaint and opposition. Prospero seems to be intent on ascribing

immoral qualities to Caliban when claiming that “There is something you forgot, which is that what forced me to get rid of you was your lust. Good God, you tried to rape my daughter” (Cesaire, 1991: 13). Even though Cesaire has not made an effort to rape Prospero’s daughter, he is accused of seeking to commit such a crime by Prospero; in fact, Prospero cannot prove such an allegation as even his daughter does not bring up such an immoral act, which refutes Prospero’s delusions. However, Prospero appears to be eager for forcing Caliban to accept every kind of bestial crimes whether or not they are perpetrated. Prospero discloses one of the reasons for occupying Caliban’s native territory and people that is concerned with his barbarous bodily desires which the European colonizers feel necessary to take away from him. In order to make Caliban a civilized human being, he is claimed to need to be rescued from the savage desires which pose as the potential risk which can inhibit Caliban’s achieving an entire humanity and civilization. Regarding the function of Caliban in this world, Prospero commands Caliban: “Out! Back to work! Wood, water, and lots of both!”, so Caliban’s unique responsibility is to serve the needs of Prospero, including simple daily drudgery (Cesaire, 1991: 14). Just like the European colonizers, Prospero intends to exploit him through maintaining the relationship between him and Caliban as that of a master and slave. What Prospero expects from Caliban is to remain subordinate to the burden loaded on him by his white master. This relationship calls to mind the colonial times in which the colonialist people turned the native blacks into slaves and obliged them to work for nothing in their plantations or factories. Even some of them were brought to Europe with the aim of making them work as servants in the whites’ houses. In each situation, the blacks have to work hard so as to enhance the wealth of the whites and provide them with relief. Consequently, Cesaire defines the relationship between the colonized and the colonizer in the following way: “No human contact, but relations of domination and submission which turn the colonizing man into a classroom monitor, an army sergeant, a prison guard, a slave driver, and the indigenous man into an instrument of production.” (Cesaire, 2000: 43). Thus, the blacks have to take on the obligation to be productive for the sake of welfare of the white colonizer regardless of how deeply they suffer or are oppressed. They are never given any permission to protest the ruthless conditions in which they are oppressed to endure and survive. If they think

about countering the instructions of the white colonizers, then it means that they embark on being punished. Prospero warns Caliban of the danger that “If you keep grumbling you’ll be whipped. And if you don’t step lively, if you keep dragging your feet or try to strike or sabotage things, I’ll beat you. Beating is the only language you really understand.” (Cesaire, 1991: 14). The punishment that Caliban deserves can be extended to such kinds of torture as “whipping” and “beating”. It is possible for Caliban to be face to face with these coercive attitudes unless he follows the duties and position which he is burdened with by Prospero. Also, Prospero asserts the idea that Caliban does not have any capacity to accept and in usual and mild ways bow to what Prospero commands since he can only be controlled by means of violence and oppression. Caliban is not treated with tact because Prospero does not regard him as a typical human being but as an animal which can be directed with blowing or hitting. Prospero aims to dominate Caliban even if it requires him to consult to every type of cruelty and maltreatment. In spite of proclaiming that he is more civilized and humane than Caliban, he does not hesitate to turn to threatening, hitting and torturing when it comes to being dominant over Caliban. Prospero does not support or take into account ethical or humane values if it is necessary to subdue Caliban and make him a slave. He intends to enslave and scorn Caliban as Caliban is a black person who is claimed by Prospero to be an inferior and lesser being.

Prospero has enslaved and makes use of Ariel, a mulatto slave, in certain jobs as well as Caliban. Although Ariel does not seem to be satisfied with his situation, this does not interest Prospero as he says: “There is a task to be performed, and I don’t care how it is done.” (Cesaire, 1991: 10). Ariel begs Prospero to give him his freedom; however, Prospero is not willing to give back Ariel’s freedom, telling that “As for your freedom, you’ll have it when I’m good and ready.” (Cesaire, 1991: 10). Prospero has encroached both Caliban’s and Ariel’s freedom, but does not agree to set them free. He sets aside Ariel’s demand directly and wants him to continue his duties without any disturbance. According to Prospero, Ariel must concentrate only on his jobs instead of being obsessed with being released since it rests on Prospero’s arbitrary decision regarding when or whether or not he will be set free. Prospero feels

himself as the master who decides to implement what he sees as desirable for himself.

Trinculo and Stephano, who are Europeans stranded on the island, get odd feelings when they encounter with Caliban there just as the European colonizers did when they came across the black colonized people, and they wish to “civilize” Caliban as soon as they have seen him. Stephano says to Trinculo that “What kind of creature is this? Isn’t it a Nindian?” (Cesaire, 1991: 40). They do not consider him as an ordinary human, but as a non-human owing to his distinct and black appearance. This view of the colonialist people just begins to appear and be predominant the moment they see a black person. This meeting arouses the colonizing people’s strange feelings and astonishment, but these strange feelings and astonishment attest to the racial discrimination and prejudice of the white race against the black race. After seeing that Caliban can talk, they get surprised, and Stephano says: “It’s a miracle He can talk! And what’s more, he talks sense! O brave savage!” (Cesaire, 1991: 42). As they think that Caliban is not an ordinary human being, Caliban’s speech makes them surprised as if he did not have an ability to express himself. Speaking and expressing feelings are only performed by the civilized people, so it is strange that a beast like Caliban can produce meaningful sentences. As to the civilizing mission, Stephano expresses that “I’ll try to civilize him. Oh ... not too much, of course. But enough so that he can be of some use.” (Cesaire, 1991: 40). Then, Stephano’s purpose is not to educate and make Caliban a civilized man; instead, he aims to turn Caliban into a useful being in order to take advantage of him. He also does not want to make Caliban a fully civilized being since it can go against the profits of Trinculo and himself, determining and calculating the extent and boundaries of civilizing. This can be accepted as the delusion of the European colonizers in their claim that they colonize the black societies only in favor of them under the excuse of bringing civilization to their land. Like the common colonizers who claim that the ownership of the colonized land already pertains to them, Stephano tells Trinculo that “So, I appoint myself heir... I crown myself king of the island.” when Trinculo states that “... the King and the Duke are dead, there’s a crown and a throne up for grabs around here...” (Cesaire, 1991: 42). This claim for

the possession of the colonized territories has led the colonialist nations to feel that they can force the black colonized people out of their native land and behave them as if these colonized people were the strangers or visitors in their own homeland who can be deported to where the white colonizers want and choose. Therefore, the attitudes of Stephano and Trinculo unsurprisingly take the reader back to those of Prospero against Caliban because these characters embody the standard roles of the white colonialist societies in their approach towards colonialism and the black people.

Caliban's stance and notions in respect to Prospero and his colonialist views point out Césaire's anti-colonialist perspectives which he supposes the black societies must adopt in their effort to regain their self-confidence and awareness. It is true that colonialism has caused profound destruction and despair in their psychological worlds, prompting them to espouse the idea that the white colonizers are superior to them; nevertheless, it is not too late or unachievable for the blacks to recover the wounds and ruins of colonialism. Throughout the play, Caliban is not content with the circumstances in which he is forced to serve as the slave of Prospero. He does not think that he is a lesser species that must comply with the orders and demands of Prospero without questioning and complaining. Indeed, Caliban is so brave and assertive that he is able to speak up his rage and protest even when he has dialogues with Prospero in person. For instance, after entering the play, Caliban prefers saying "Uhuru!" to greeting with "hello", which indicates Caliban's resolve to conserve his native language and culture without considering it as inferior and worthless (Césaire, 1991: 11). Despite being reprimanded and belittled by Prospero for using his native language, his riposte is that "Oh, I forgot... But make that as foggy, waspish, pustular and dung-filled 'hello' as possible." (Césaire, 1991: 11). In return for Prospero's despise, Caliban also insults Prospero's language, thus displaying the counter-affront which he takes from Prospero. After being derided by Prospero for his physical appearance, Caliban says to him that "You think I'm ugly... well, I don't think you're so handsome yourself. With that big hooked nose, you look just like some old vulture. (*Laughing*) An old vulture with a scrawny neck!" (Césaire, 1991: 11). In addition to insulting Prospero's language, Caliban sneers at Prospero's

outer look as well and does not accept his ugliness. He exhibits his self-confidence concerning his black appearance which is often mentioned and scoffed by the white colonizers who identify the savagery and backwardness of the black people with their dark skins. Moreover, Caliban is opposed to the idea of Prospero that he instructed Caliban each lesson about life and humanity and claims that “In the first place, that’s not true. You didn’t teach me a thing.” (Cesaire, 1991: 11). In fact, Prospero has ingrained immoral ideas into the mind of Caliban which he says: “Rape! Rape! Listen, you old goat, you’re the one that put those dirty thoughts into my head.” after being accused of raping Prospero’s daughter by Prospero (Cesaire, 1991: 13). Regarding the claim of Prospero that the colonized would be nothing without the presence of the colonizer, Caliban proclaims that “I’d be the king, that’s what I’d be, the King of the Island.” (Cesaire, 1991: 12). Instead of bringing progress and wealth to the colonized land, the colonizing nations have introduced harm and trouble into the colonized people’s lives according to Caliban. If they did not pierce themselves into the colonized nations’ lives and territories, they would be in a much better position where they would be their own masters, and they would not be familiar with such corrupted opinions like raping which the colonialist people brought in. When Prospero denigrates Caliban’s mother, Sycorax, by calling her a “witch” and “ghoul”, Caliban does not get into any shameful feeling, asserting that these views spring from the distorted standpoints of Prospero as he utters: “Dead or alive, she was my mother, and I won’t deny her! Anyhow, you only think she’s dead because you think the earth itself is dead.” (Cesaire, 1991: 12). Caliban seems to be determined to surpass the boundaries which were drawn by the colonialist Prospero and does not want to be a member of the stereotypes that were fabricated by the colonialist people in their attempts to validate and making colonization much easier. He no longer wishes to be called “Caliban” since he sets forth that: “It’s the name given me your hatred, and everytime it’s spoken it’s an insult.” (Cesaire, 1991: 15). He prefers to redefine himself and his identity rather than be defined and put into any mould determined by somebody else. He demands that he should be named “X” since his personality has been wiped away by Prospero (Cesaire, 1991: 15). Colonialism has expunged each aspect of the black societies including their core

values and distinct features in their collective personalities and generated new standard characters that carry the features which the white colonizers aim at.

The writer tries to disclose the distinction between the attitudes and perceptions of Caliban and Ariel towards Prospero and his cruel acts against these slaves. Ariel does not seem to be satisfied with his status of slavery, but he cannot rise up against the authority of Prospero bluntly; on the other hand, Caliban is assertive enough to be a straightforward rebellion against Prospero's supremacy and to disparage each of his views and attitudes. This fact is underlined by Ariel while he confesses Caliban that "I know you don't think much of me, but after all we are brothers, brothers in suffering and slavery, but brothers in hope as well. We both want our freedom. We just have different methods." (Cesaire, 1991: 20). He wants to warn Caliban by claiming that "Poor Caliban, you're doomed. You know that you aren't the stronger, you'll never be the stronger. What good will it you to struggle?" (Cesaire, 1991: 21). Ariel believes that it is futile to fight back Prospero because he is stronger than Caliban and himself. He tells Caliban that "Well, I've at least achieved one thing: he's promised me my friend. In the distant future, of course, but it's the first time he's actually committed himself." (Cesaire, 1991: 21). Without questioning and suspicion, Ariel has possibly been deluded with what Prospero promises on the subject of giving freedom. Although Prospero does not display any strong-minded decision regarding Ariel's freedom, Ariel prefers to wait unwearyingly for the day on which he will be bestowed with his emancipation. He does not think that freedom can be gained through coercion and physical resistance; instead, it can be achieved by means of persuading and proving Prospero mildly that he must abandon his cruel acts, which he imparts to Caliban in his speech: "No violence, no submission either. Listen to me: Prospero is the one we've got to change. Destroy his serenity so that he's finally forced to acknowledge his own injustice and put an end to it." (Cesaire, 1991: 22). Saying to Caliban that "I've often had this inspiring, uplifting dream that one day Prospero, you, me, we would all three set out, like brothers, to build a wonderful world, each one contributing to his own special thing ...", Ariel does not look as if he has any rage and hatred against Prospero in spite of the fact that Prospero has enslaved both him and Caliban and treated them with cruelty. He goes

even further to pointing to the potential that he can be ready to hug Prospero in a friendly manner and establish brotherhood with him someday (Cesaire, 1991: 22, 23). In contrast, Caliban refuses to wait uncomplainingly for the day on which Prospero will realize his cruelty and prejudice against the black slaves. He is sure about the impossibility that Prospero will never rectify his views and behaviors regarding the poor conditions of his slaves. In order to convey the impossible potential of Prospero's promise that he will emancipate Ariel, Caliban tells Ariel that "Talk's cheap! He'll promise you a thousand times and take it back a thousand times. Anyway, tomorrow doesn't interest me.", and he shouts by saying "Freedom now!" (Cesaire, 1991: 21). He cannot endure the immoral attitudes of Prospero against himself and wants to get the lead out without waiting any more. He knows that Prospero deludes Ariel with his vain promises and makes them hang around with fruitless hopes. He thinks that serenity and patience cannot serve as the true means of gaining freedom and getting rid of Prospero's corrupt acts and that their condition is getting more and more pathetic, warning Ariel of the fact that: "What good has your obedience done you, your Uncle Tom patience and your sucking to him. The man's just getting more demanding and despotic day by day." (Cesaire, 1991: 21). When Ariel claims that the solution does not lie behind the violent actions, Caliban's answer is:

What do you believe in, then? In cowardice? In giving up? In kneeling and groveling? That's it, someone strikes you on the right cheek and you offer the left. Someone kicks you on the left buttock and you turn the right... that way there's no jealousy. Well, that's not Caliban's way... (Cesaire, 1991: 22)

He does not believe that they can establish brotherhood with Prospero and that Prospero is such a person who is fitting for this kind of relationship as he points out: "He's not the collaborating type. He's a guy who only feels something when he's wiped someone out. A crusher, a pulveriser, that's what he is! And you talk about brotherhood." (Cesaire, 1991: 23). Since Prospero has drawn severe lines between himself and them, the relationship between them cannot be improved by means of communicating kindly or finding the middle way for the conflict which has been initiated by Prospero colonialist logic. Thus, Caliban wants to speak the language that Prospero can comprehend as opposed to gentler ways such as trying to persuade

Prospero to give up his colonization, encouraging him to be able to discern his selfish and wrong approach against the blacks and wasting time submissively till something changes. After hearing from Ariel that Prospero is more powerful than them, he says to Ariel that “How do you know that? Weakness always has a thousand means and cowardice is all that keeps us from listing them.” (Cesaire, 1991: 21, 22). He believes that the strength and superiority of Prospero over them cannot be proved since it stems from their fear which has been imposed on them by Prospero. He seems to be so courageous that he can fight back Prospero’s merciless acts of enslaving and disdaining them, undertaking to die with honor while saying that “Better death than humiliation and injustice.” (Cesaire, 1991: 23). He does not lose his hopes and determination, believing in the impending victory of his self-confidence and bravery, which he uncovers in the following speech:

Anyhow, I’m going to have the last word. Unless nothingness has it. The day when I begin to feel that everything’s lost, just let me get hold of a few barrels of your infernal powder and as you fly around up there in your blue skies you’ll see this island, my inheritance, my work, all blown to smithereens... and I trust, Prospero and me with it. I hope you’ll like the fireworks display – it’ll be signed Caliban. (Cesaire, 1991: 23)

According to Caliban, Ariel makes effort vainly since his method will not work out, just gambling away time without any useful result. The outcome of their speech implies the fact that Caliban and Ariel will not be able to reconcile their dissimilar methods of surmounting the colonial attempts of Prospero as they contemplate, from their distinguishing perspectives, Prospero’s approach and the potential solutions which can put an end to their suffering. Whereas Caliban does not find Ariel’s method futile and inappropriate, Ariel supposes that Caliban’s way of gaining freedom is impossible to achieve and can be harmful.

The play presents the colonialist mindset of the European colonizers through Prospero’s eyes and attitudes against Caliban and Ariel while reflecting two possible responds of the black colonized people by means of Caliban and Ariel. Prospero represents the colonizing nations which have scorned, enslaved and oppressed the black societies that they colonized by creating and classifying certain stereotypes. Ariel embraces the supremacy and strength of Prospero and espouses that tolerating Prospero’s brutality gently and trying to persuade him to see the truth are the unique

solutions for his gaining freedom, but Caliban is obviously a rebellion who is brave enough to even wage war against Prospero because he does not accept the idea that Prospero is stronger and more superior than him.

CHAPTER 4

4. ECONOMICAL DETERIORATION

Cesaire displays his sensitivity and awareness of the financial devastation of colonialism which it has caused in the ex-colonized land in the aftermath of colonization. He claims that:

I am talking about natural economies that have been disrupted ... malnutrition permanently introduced, agricultural development oriented solely toward the benefit of the metropolitan countries, about the looting of products, the looting of raw materials. (2000: 43)

They retained the economical exploitation of the ex-colonized countries through certain institutions or organizations which were built in order to maintain colonization. The predominant countries of the world founded some institutions and organizations such as IMF and the World Bank with the aim of providing monetary assistance for the impoverished countries; nonetheless, the economical situations of the countries which are poverty-stricken still continue to have the same economical problems, and even their economy has been deteriorated (Hardt & Negri, 2004: 299). In addition to other subjects in *A Season in the Congo* (2010), Cesaire touches upon the economical aspect of colonialism in the post-colonial period. The function of the Bankers in the play is to represent the economical colonialism of Congo while the native people and leaders are involved in the inner war for power.

One of the core arguments in the play that Cesaire highlights is the economic deterioration of the Congolese people which is the fundamental aim of the Belgians since the colonizers principally strive to enrich their economical situations owing to the exploitation of the Africans. Although the officers and other people from the lower class undergo the predicament of poverty, complaining about not having their salaries regularly, the local elites with whom the Belgians collaborate and whom they reinforce financially enhance their status egocentrically. After Lumumba says that he needs airplanes, Mokutu explains that “Not only airplanes, Mr. President ... troops also, troops! No money, no troops! The military is like that! And for the last two months it has not been paid!” (Cesaire, 2010b: 66). Mokutu’s confession points out

the fact that the financial situation of Congo is so abysmal that it is not able to give out the earnings of the soldiers since the Belgians have taken away the country's financial sources in cooperation with some of the Congolese elites. Also, When Lumumba is in prison, one of the jailers says to him that "To tell you the worst of that business, there has been no payment for two months!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 114). A soldier wants to learn from Lumumba where the money is, and Lumumba tells him that "I am certainly going to tell you! It is in Katanga! Yes sir, in Katanga! In Tzumbi's cashbox!" (Cesaire, 2010b: 115). Then, the fundamental cause of the poverty in Congo is the cooperation between the Belgians and the elites of Katanga, which is one of the provinces of Congo, despite independence that Congo has achieved after the excruciating efforts it has made for years. The Belgians achieve their cooperation with the Katangalese elites through the banks which serve as a means of abusing the Africans. When Lumumba declares Congo's independence, the bankers get flustered as they think that they will no longer exploit the Congolese people, and they regard Congo's independence as the end of their monetary interests. For instance, First Banker cannot conceal his agony in relation to Congo's independence and says that: "Of that which constitutes a true calamity ruins the State, dries up our finances reduces this country to the level of a minuscule power it is to take sides with it in a forbearing way." (Cesaire, 2010b: 19). But they get reassured since they find out that the leaders of Katanga can provide occasions for these bankers in which they will make use of the weaknesses of these Africans for money and political status. In respect to this, Fourth Banker says that:

What do they want? Jobs, titles, presidents, deputies, senators, ministers! So bribe them! Good! Car, bank account, villas, big-time treatment, I skimp nothing. Axiom: and that's what's important: one must force-feed them. Result: their hearts soften, their mood becomes smooth. You see little by little the system takes us between their people and us, their cohort rises up. (Cesaire, 2010b: 21).

Thus, the bankers understand that the local elites of Congo can be deluded with more money and higher ranks that they hunger after so many years of lack of economical sources. In order to underline the economical exploitation of Congo through the banks, one of the senators at the Congolese parliament in Leopoldville proclaims that "Congo's treasure has been dissipated, volatilized in the North wind. Where to go to in search of money, now? The Bank of the Congo has been transferred to

Katanga.” (Cesaire, 2010b: 48). Wherever they see a suitable place in which they can increase their wealth and profits, they carry their banks there, especially for the underground sources. One of the most important material gains that the bankers pursue passionately is the underground sources of Katanga which they can get readily as is stated by one of the bankers in a dialogue between each other: “Not only uranium! Diamonds! Copper! Cobalt! So Katanga it is!” (Cesaire, 2010b: 36). They aim to obtain these sources due to the agreement with the rulers of Katanga who close their eyes to the furtive intents of the Belgians and who only long for their personal profits without reckoning the quandary of Congo.

In the play, Cesaire argues that the economical profits in the native countries attracted the European colonizers, and they try to preserve their economical domination even after the colonial period. Owing to some institutions founded in the ex-colonized countries, the colonizers can create a system in which they carry on their exploitation of the economy and underground sources even though generally the native people are not aware of this.

CONCLUSION

Cesaire managed to announce his anti-colonialist notions in both his theoretical writings and literary works as well as in his political career. In dedicating himself to his ambition in struggling against colonialism, he wished to make the black people gain the awareness of their native civilization and its values. He handles colonialism from multi-sided aspects and tries to offer some means or solutions for the black nations in order to get rid of the colonial effects. His most prominent idea in relation to colonialism is that colonialism can never be confirmed and validated whatever the colonialist countries' excuses for it. While criticizing colonialism as a brutal and corrupt attempt, he also leads the ex-colonized societies to recognize the risks which often emerge in the aftermath of colonialism.

One of his admirable features is that he managed to establish and maintain his objection and criticism against colonialism even though he spent remarkable time in Europe and had been exposed to the effects of colonialism in his homeland since his childhood. Those who spent time in Europe were impressed by the Western thought and lifestyle, often adopting the European ideas about the colonized societies and believing in the superior civilization of the West. On the other hand, Cesaire was able to forge his nationalist ideas and anti-colonialist approach notwithstanding he was in contact with the white citizens in Paris. He did not reveal any inferiority complex for his black culture and identity; instead, he developed his own perspective concerning colonialism by means of negritude movement. In spite of denigrating the Western colonizers, he was not a black racist person who classified the world nations according to their races.

He deals with the political, racial and economical sides of colonialism in his plays. In *A Season in the Congo* (2010), he reflects the political crises which come out in Congo in the post-colonial period. Despite gaining its independence, Congo cannot escape from the colonialist Belgians' sneaky schemes against the Congolese people. The Europeans achieve in dividing the native people by generating ethnic conflicts among the tribes in Congo and making them jump in the struggle for the political power, which gives rise to the tragic end of Patrice Lumumba, a nationalist

leader who aims to purge his country of the colonial effects and corruption. The UN does not take any precautions which can hinder the disorder in Congo in advance. Through the bankers, the European colonizers strive to exploit and impoverish the Africans by taking advantage of the chaotic atmosphere in the country. In *The Tragedy of King Christophe* (1969), the writer implies the idea that the newly independent states can encounter with the system of dictatorship and inner conflict, and it does not mean that the ex-colonized nations will construct a perfect system in which all of its citizens will be living with bliss and relief. Haiti is divided into two regions due to the struggle and greed for the political authority between Christophe and Petion. Christophe turns into a dictator who persecutes his native people and forces them to work too much for building a fortress. In *A Tempest* (1969), Césaire presents the outlooks of the European colonizers by means of Prospero and how the respond of the black colonized must be through Caliban. Although Prospero has enslaved Caliban and oppresses him with scorn, Caliban does not fall into any inferiority complex, and he can rebel Prospero with self-confidence. In the play, the general and typical relationship between the white colonizer and the black colonized generated and aimed at by the Western nations is reflected. Césaire handles the different methods which are used by the black people by means of the distinct attitudes of Caliban and Ariel towards Prospero.

He puts forward his solution and advice for the black colonized societies, claiming that it is probable for them to build a new system in which they can save themselves from the impacts of colonialism. There must be a union and solidarity among the native people without any rigid class distinction in this new order. Both the elites and the masses must take on an active role in this new political system.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths G. & Tiffin H. *Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies*, New York: Routledge, 2001.

Bhabha, H. K. *The Location of Culture*, New York: Routledge, 1994.

Birmingham, D. *The Decolonization of Africa*, Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2009.

Bragança, A. & Wallerstein I. M. *The African Liberation Reader*, London: Zed Press, 1982.

Bush, B. *Imperialism, Race and Resistance*, London: Routledge, 1999.

Cesaire, A. *Return to My Native Land*, Trans. John Berger & Anna Bostock, Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1969a.

Cesaire, A. *The Tragedy of King Cristophe*, Trans. Ralph Manheim, New York: Grove Press, 1969b.

Cesaire, A. *A Tempest*, Trans. Richard Miller, New York: Ubu Repertory Theater, 1991.

Cesaire, A. *A Discourse on Colonialism*, Trans. Joan Pinkham, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000.

Cesaire, Aime. *Barbar Batı*, Trans. Güneş Ayaş, İstanbul: Salyangoz Yayınları, 2007.

Cesaire, A. *A Season in the Congo*, Trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, London: Seagull Books, 2010b.

Cesaire, A. "Culture and Colonization", *Social Text*, Vol. 28, Issue 2, Summer 2010a, pp. 127-144

Chew, S., and David Richards. *A Concise Companion to Postcolonial Literature*, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing, 2010.

Edmondson, L. "Aime Cesaire (1913-2008) Architect of Negritude", *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art*. Issue 24, 2008, pp. 92-97.

Fanon, F. *The Wretched of The Earth*, Trans. Constance Farrington, New York: Grove Press, 1963.

Fanon, F. *Black Skin White Masks*, Trans. Charles Lam Markmann, London: Pluto Press, 2008.

Fei, Liang. "A Call for Freedom: Aime Cesaire's *A Tempest*", *Canadian Social Science*, Vol. 3, No. 5, October 2007, pp. 118-120

Garraway, D. L. "What is Mine: Cesairean Negritude between the Particular and the Universal", *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 41, No. 1, Spring 2010, pp. 71-86

Hardt, M. & Negri, A. *Multitude War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*, New York: Penguin Press, 2004

Helenon, V. *French Caribbeans in Africa*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011

Hiddleston, J. *Understanding Postcolonialism*, Britain: Acumen Publishing, 2009.

Howe, S. "Aime Cesaire 1913 – 2008", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 36, No. 2, June 2008, pp. 313-314

Howell, Emma C. T. *Re-envisioning Negritude: Historical and Cultural Contexts For Aime Cesaire and Leopold Sedar Senghor*, (The University of North Carolina, Unpublished Master Thesis), Greensboro, 2012.

Jamison, D. F. "Fanon Revisited: Exploring the Relationship Between African-Centered Psychology and Fanonian Psychology", *Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol. 3, Issue 8, June 2010, pp. 179-193

Kebede, M. *Africa's Quest for a Philosophy of Decolonization*, Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2004.

Kemedjio, C. "Aime Cesaire's Letter to Maurice Thorez: The Practice of Decolonization", *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 41, No. 1, Spring 2010, pp. 88-108

King, B. V. S. *Naipaul*, Second Ed., New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Kohn M. & McBride K. *Political Theories of Decolonization*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

MacQueen, N. *Colonialism*, United Kingdom: Pearson Education Limited, 2007

McLeod, John. *Beginning Postcolonialism*, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000.

McLeod, John. *The Routledge Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, England: Oxfordshire, 2007.

Miles, W. F. S. "Aime Cesaire as Poet, Rebel, Statesman. French Politics", *Culture & Society*, Vol. 27, Issue 3, Winter 2009, pp.1-8

Murdoch, H. A. "Aime Cesaire, the Colonial Exhibition, and the Modernity of the Black Atlantic", *International Journal of Francophone Studies*, Vol. 14 (1&2), 20011, pp. 57-74.

Nandan, K. "Naipaul: A Diasporic Vision", *Journal of Caribbean Literatures*, Vol. 5, Issue 2, Fall 2007, pp. 75-88.

Odhiambo, C. J. "Outside the Eyes of Others: George Lamming and Definition in Of Age and Innocence", *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 25, Issue 2, Summer 1994, pp. 121-130.

Rabaka, R. *Africana Critical Theory*, United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2009.

Rabaka, R. "Revolutionary Fanonism: On Frantz Fanon's Modification of Marxism and Decolonization of Democratic Socialism", *Socialism & Democracy*, Vol. 25, Issue 1, March 2011, pp. 126-145.

Sarwoto, Paulus. *The Figuration of Caliban in The Constellation Theory of Postcolonial Theory*, (Louisiana State University, Unpublished Master Thesis), Baton Rouge, 2004.

Shabazz, Nadirah R. *Carefully Constructed Pictures of Nobodies: Shakespeare's and Cesaire's Ariels*, (Clemson University, Unpublished Master Thesis), Clemson, 2007.

Sharfman, R. "Aime Cesaire Revisiting the Poetry", *French Politics, Culture & Society*, Vol. 27, No. 3, Winter 2009, pp. 98-103

Stovall, T. "Aime Cesaire and The Making of Black Paris", *French Politics, Culture & Society*, Vol. 27, Issue 3, Winter 2009, pp. 44-46.

Taş, M. R. "George Lamming and Naipaul In The Light of Politics of Postcolonialism", *Yakın Doğu University: Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 5, No. 1, April 2012, pp. 99-121.

Tomich, Dale W. *Aime Cesaire and Negritude: The Growth of An Anti-colonialist Ideology*, (University of Wisconsin, Unpublished Master Thesis), Madison, 1971.

Thiong'o, N. *Something Torn and Between*, New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2009.