Beytulhikme Int J Phil 13 (2) 2023
Doi: 10.29228/beytulhikme.65734
Research Article: 231-268

The Politics of Emancipation in Frantz Fanon

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Received: 16.08.2022 | Accepted: 05.06.2023

Abstract: According to this study, which aims to reveal the dimensions of emancipation in Fanon's thought, politics based on conflict is the primary way of emancipation and it is precisely for this reason that Fanon's thought deserves directly to be called the politics of emancipation. Making dissensus or, as in Fanon, being conscious of contradictions and carrying out activities aiming at the universal to overcome them constitute the content of the politics of emancipation. To construct the politics of emancipation, firstly, it is necessary to comprehend the way of work of the colonial world. The colonial world operates through the behaviors of the exploiter and the exploited. But, since those to be emancipated are the exploited, the blacks as the other who constitute the majority of the colonial world, Fanon focuses on the experiences of the blacks in particular and colonial people in general. Fanon, who sees emancipation primarily as the emancipation of the exploited, also expands emancipation to a real emancipation plane where the position of master and subject no longer exists in the world, and universal equality is embodied. So, it is possible to say that the Fanonist emancipation politics points to a very comprehensive field from the emancipation of the exploited, that is, of the particular, to the emancipation of the whole world, that is, the universal, the whole humanity. Starting from these ideas, the first part of this study focuses on the logic of the colonial world, the concepts, elements, and experiences on which this logic is based. In the second part, regarding the idea that emancipation means removing the relationship of the exploited (slave, black person) with the exploiter (master, white person) from being the relationship between master and slave, and putting an

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end to slavery, the study touches upon the politics of emancipation that is visible by interrupting the working of the colonial world. In the last part, it mentions how this disruptive activity is considered together with violence by Fanon. From the point of the politics of emancipation, the study draws attention to the fact that violence is not functionalized on its own, but in terms of emancipation, in terms of a new humanity to be achieved as a result of this struggle. For this study, which deals with the dimensions of emancipation in Fanon's thought, disruptive activities in the emancipation process and thus counter-violence, which stands out as one of these activities based on conflict, is the primary way of emancipation politics. For these reasons, Fanon's thought, which includes emancipation ways clearly, deserves to be interpreted today as a thought of emancipation politics as much as a political thought.

Keywords: Fanon, politics, emancipation, equality, counter-violence.

Introduction

The modern era that announced itself with the slogan of "equality, freedom, fraternity" continues to be shaped by opposition from those (slaves, workers, women, and immigrants) who have suffered because of the political limitations of this slogan. The colonial condition is one of the places where the deep contradiction between the discourse and practices of the given system is visible. Fanon, who lived in the suffering caused by the colonial system, was born in Martinique, where class contradiction lived together with relations of exploitation and domination. He had the opportunity to grasp the dilemma of the people on the island thanks to the education he received, the books he read, and the encounters in daily life. This understanding is followed by the French experiences idealized by the blacks on the island, then the African experiences and the emergence of his thoughts on emancipation as a possibility to overcome contradictions. The thought of Fanon, who is black and also a bourgeois, has at least two aspects in that it includes a vision of transcending the given while relying on a critical analysis of the given.

Fanon's time is the time of colonialism, and the primary thing to do in this world is to help human, who marks her/his life with the power to act and change the given, to reach the freedom that allows them to embody this power. Because for the exploited, to live is just not to die. Life has no more meaning than this (Mbembe, 2011, s.11). Emancipation under colonial conditions is the awakening of the souls of people who have surrendered their minds and body to the domination of colonial powers. The awakening of the souls depends on starting to question instead of simply repeating the roles that maintain the given conditions. Politics shows its face while the contradictions and disagreements become visible through questioning. The staging of emancipatory activities that end current practices constitutes the content of politics. Therefore, we can say that the awakening of the souls and their politicization are the same things in Fanon. According to this study, which aims to reveal the dimensions of emancipation in Fanon's thought, politics based on conflict is the

primary way of emancipation and it is precisely for this reason that Fanon's thought deserves directly to be called the politics of emancipation.[1]

To construct the politics of emancipation against remaining in the position of the object or exploited, firstly, it is necessary to comprehend the way of work of the colonial world. The colonial world operates through the behaviors of the exploiter and the exploited. But, since those to be emancipated in the politics of emancipation are the exploited, the blacks as the other who constitute the majority of the colonial world, Fanon focuses on the experiences of blacks in particular and colonial people in general. Fanon, who sees emancipation primarily as the emancipation of the exploited, also expands emancipation to a real emancipation plane where the position of master and subject no longer exists in the world, and universal equality is embodied. The liberation of the exploited from colonial power is not a guarantee of freedom. The real guarantee is to become conscious of the universal humanity and to act accordingly, which will not fill the vacant master position, and thus will not engage in activities based on inequality and racism, and will ensure reaching the position of absolute equality. In other words, the Fanonist emancipation politics points to a very comprehensive field from the emancipation of the exploited, that is, of the particular, to the emancipation of the whole world, to the universal, to the whole humanity. To this scope to be realized, colonial practices and all kinds of violence underlying these practices must come to an end, and the alienation of the black that allows these practices to survive must be eliminated. Starting from the idea that Fanon generates his emancipation politics, which follows a course from the liberation of the particular, that is, the liberation of the black, to the universal, that is, to the liberation of all, from the colonial world and the comprehension of the experiences there, the first part of this study focuses on the logic of the colonial world, the concepts, elements and experiences on which the logic of the colonial world is based. In the second part, regarding the idea that emancipation means removing the relationship of the exploited (slave, black person) with the exploiter (master, white person) from being the relationship between master and

[1] As Adele Jinadu said, "Underlying Fanon's political philosophy is the view of colonized man as liberated man" (1973, s.256).

slave, and putting an end to slavery, the study touches upon the politics of emancipation that is visible by interrupting the working of the colonial world. In the last part, it mentions how this disruptive activity is considered together with violence by Fanon. From the point of view of the politics of emancipation, it draws attention to the fact that violence is not functionalized on its own, but in terms of emancipation, in terms of a new humanity to be achieved as a result of this struggle.

The Colonial World: Counting Logic, Working, and Elements

Exploitation, which is a very basic concept in terms of Marxism, is the use of the labor of those who own nothing but their labor and the appropriation of the value they create by those who own the means of production. In exploitation, which is based on inequality of power, the stronger exploits all the resources of the weaker for its benefit. This one-sided use situation is called "colonialism" when a state uses other states, societies, and people in these areas and every other resource for its benefit. In the case of colony, the exploiting country is active, the subject, while the exploited country is passive, object. The passivity of the exploited is embodied in slavery, which is a natural consequence of their inability to make decisions about themselves.

For Fanon, it is necessary to be conscious of the functioning of the given situation to get rid of the subordinating results of colonialism, political and economic domination, that is, to engage in a struggle for the politics of emancipation (Cherki, 2002, s.10). In addition to being exposed to colonial practices, Fanon's works put forward ideas on how emancipation can be possible by getting rid of these practices. They allow us to determine the logic of the colonial world and the elements of this logic. The domination of the colonial Western countries over the exploited is one-sided. The world of the colonialist whites, who subjugate the colonial countries and the blacks there, is the only place of reference in every sense (political, economic, linguistic, cultural, etc.) (Cherki, 2006, s.26). The unilateral domination of colonialist countries, which have cultural, political, and economic dimensions, is justified by not counting the exploited country and the people there as human beings. They are just "other." As a result of this view, which separates people who are already equaled from each other, and which has discrimination and racism at its core, the

state of not being counted as human beings and the violence they are subjugated for this cause is reinforced.

Exclusion from Counting and the Black Alienation

The colonialist sees itself as the representative of good and the exploited other as the representative of evil in the colonial logic/situation, which is based on absolute humiliation and exclusion and so not counting the word of the different. The colonialist view reads existence and all the possibilities of further existence through its existence. This view, which makes it impossible to imagine the independence of the exploited, has devastating effects on the subjects: The other, who grasps and experiences that it is viewed as the other, as an inferior object, *res* or thing, first feel the shame of being demoted to the sub-subject position, that is, the desubjective attitude and practices. This shame is accompanied by a hatred for the dullness of the look upon itself (Cherki, 2002, s.14). While the other, whom colonial self sees as nonexistent, deserves humiliation and oppression for this reason; the more it is humiliated and oppressed, the more the principle that it lacks existence is strengthened. The colonist, that is, the self possesses the existence has the right to speak and decide what it can do to other beings and people, while those who are deprived of existence are excluded from all kinds of speaking, contracting, and decision-making activities due to this very deprivation (Cherki, 2002, s.15). Being excluded from the right to speak makes the humiliation and oppression of the other natural.

The exclusion of the colonial people from the rights works together with the humiliation of everything that constitutes their life, from their language, religious beliefs to the color of their skin. The other, humiliated by the colonial power, is deprived of existence in all respects. It loses its ego and dignity. This loss is very deep. Since the constitution of human existence requires the other, the sense of selfness of the person who is imprisoned in the status of absence and humiliation weakens and its self-esteem disappears (Forsythe, 1970, s.3). This absence feeds the false consciousness of the other, triggers the black as the other in colonial countries to become more obsessed with the colonial power and to weave its whole life around the life dynamics of the colonial power. "The positive energy spent in focusing on the Other is in direct proportion to the nega-

tive energy spent in trying to escape from and deny its very self" (Hudis, 2015, s.33). The life of the colonized, who escapes from its self and leads a life under the control of the other, ceases to be its own life. Since the direct connection with its own existence and life is broken, the colonized person exhibits an alienated existence. If the hegemony of Europe comes first among the basic elements of the settled world, the situation of the people in colonial countries is decisive in the continuation of this hegemony. For Fanon, who marked the basic feature of the people of the colonial world as "alienation", alienation is the loss of personality of the colonial subject and the subject's inability to problematize its own existence (Cherki, 2006, s.87). Analyzing this helplessness of the colonial people in *Balck Skin, White Masks* (2008), Fanon does not reduce the field of alienation to economic relations purely but draws attention to the close connection between politics, culture, and alienation.

The alienation is an economic, that is, a structural problem, as well as a psychic event due to obsession with the other and rejection of the self. The alienated worker, who has fallen into mental depression, is not uncomfortable with being a slave in this way. The working class, which stands out as the main subject of the revolution in capitalist countries because it has nothing to lose, becomes a class that has a lot to lose in colonial countries. The working class which is the instrument of operation of the colonial apparatus is an indispensable part of the colonial people. Tram drivers, taxi drivers, miners, dockers, translators, nurses constitute the working class in a colony country (Fanon, 2002, s.108). Alongside the working class, nationalist parties that emerged in colonial countries act as a cover for the functioning of the colonial apparatus. The alienated working class of the colonial countries, which has much to lose is a supporter of the nationalist parties. Both the working class and nationalist parties have a privileged place in the colonial system because of their functional position. These privileges allow Fanon to identify them as the "bourgeois" fraction of the colonial people (Fanon, 2002, s.108). Nationalist political parties appeal to city-dwellers. Because technicians, manual workers, intellectuals, and shop owners generally live in cities. These segments lead a relatively civilized, technically advanced, and comfortable life compared to that of colonial people (Fanon, 2002, s.108).

Tradition is backward and it is necessary to clash with what is called national heritage for these segments that cling to what is Western. These parts, embodying the alienated existence, mediate both the economic exploitation of the colonialists and the transformation of the cultural, social, and political conditions that reproduce the conditions of exploitation. This feature makes urban people unreliable. Because, in the face of all kinds of practices experienced by the exploited, the urban working class tries to gain the character of the bourgeoisie and to benefit from all the blessings of the colonial system. The life it leads indicates that it has succeeded in this effort.

The affirmative relationship of alienated, exploited blacks with those who exercised European, white colonial power becomes negative with people like them. Observing that the black treat people like it differently than it does with whites, Fanon says, "the black man who arrives in France changes..." (2008, s.13). As cruise ships bound for France move away from their homeland, the presence of black colonial people on board begins to be pruned. It tries to think, speak and live like white. This transformation continues when it returns to its homeland. The black person who reaches the land by ship reflects its alienation as soon as it gets off the ship. It speaks French and does not fully understand its native language. As a person who knows, it takes a critical attitude towards its hometown. This is a personality change (Fanon, 2008, s.14). A black person who speaks French but has a strong accent despite everything, and therefore cannot be fully French/white, cannot become a black person by becoming a stranger to the life and customs of its homeland as well. As it chooses to approach the whiteness that represents the good, the inferiority complex intensifies. This feeling manifests itself in dressing like a European, adopting European etiquette, transferring concepts from the European language to the native language, and executing lifestyles as if it was European (Fanon, 2008, s.14). In this way, the black who comes close to white/Europe tries to differentiate itself from other blacks and establish its superiority. For example, the Antilleans tend to separate themselves from Africans, as they imagine themselves to be more developed than Africans. The superiority feelings arising from development, which implies being closer to white, is valid everywhere from everyday life to insti-

tutions (Fanon, 2008, s.15). While those of European descent despise the native soldiers, the ones from the Antilles treat African, for example, Senegalese soldiers in the same way. The fact that the Antillean black sees itself as superior to other blacks lies behind this attitude. Although Antillean, who despise other blacks, is a colony, and that's exactly why the European white tries to imprison them in a subhuman position and animalize, instead of seeing its animality position against whites, it separates itself from other blacks and applies the same point of view to them: It sees no problem in animalizing African blacks (Fanon, 2008, s.15). By speaking French, living, and thinking like a European, an Antillean tries to show that it is less wild and animalistic. Adopted European values are indicators of development and civilization. The black, who is deceived by the world of White, experiences its alienation intensely.

The alienated black person's self, who enters into two different relationships with the black and the white people, is split. The division in the self shows itself with the difference in the behavior of the black person. It behaves differently depending on whether the other person is black or white. Fanon relates the division in the black person's self and thus in its behavior directly to the colonial yoke and reads this as a result of it (Fanon, 2006, s.3). The black person, whose different behavior towards black makes it more black, tries to relate to white more and lead a white life. It can be seen as a reflection of this acceptance that the whitening of an Antillean black goes through the level of mastery of the French Language (Fanon, 2006, s.3). A language carries the world and culture of those who have that language with it. A language is a cultural tool; the more a person who wants to be white takes care of it, the whiter it becomes (Fanon, 2008, s.25; 2006, s.3). The superiority gained by speaking the colonist's language continues for those who have seen the colonist's country or the closest place to it. The black, who has seen the metropolis, is almost a demigod among those like it (Fanon, 2008, s.19; 2006, s.4). An Antillean who sees the metropolis becomes the owner of manners, while those who do not see it become the owner of the title of bad owners. An Antillean living in France and returning to its country no longer sees itself as the same person, nor do others see it that way. It is almost white. The state of being truly human, that is, being considered a human being, that white

represents depends on the way of thinking, speaking, and living like a white person. The colonial nation is also the carrier of humanity and civilization. The colonized people come face to face with the culture and language of the colonial country. Being like the colonial country that represents the highest point of civilization and being human, that is, being human and being civilized are the same thing. As the colonized man adopts the cultural standards of the colonial country, it gets rid of its animal status and rises (Fanon, 2006, s.4). To get rid of savagery is to turn white. How much a black person turns white is an observable issue from every aspect of her/his life, from the language s(h)e uses to the education s(h)e receives. Although whitening is interpreted as civilization, acculturation, and humanization, for the blacks and the whites, in reality, from Fanon's side, this situation is nothing more than a consolidation of black alienation.

The alienation experience of the native people in colonial countries makes Fanon's approach to the concept of class different from Marxist class discussions. Yes, the classes are formed in the colonial countries as well. But the functions performed by the classes in question differ, and the nations themselves suffer from a deep class division. When we look at the classes that are divided among themselves and fall into the conflict of interest, besides the bourgeoisie, the privileged urban proletariat, the lumpenproletariat of the slums, and the rural masses, that is, the peasants, whom Fanon has equipped with revolutionary power, stand out (Sartre, 2002, s.20). The continued backwardness of the colonial countries, whose economic development was deliberately hindered by the colonizers, is guaranteed by the continuity of this division of a country within itself. The classes divided by different interests cannot come together and form alliances (Sartre, 2002, s.20). As Fanon points out, drawing attention to how exploitative relations transformed class relations in the colonial world, the bourgeoisie that exploits workers in the West still regards them as human beings. In addition to counting them as human beings, they see the workers as a right holder subject who sells their labor freely. Based on capitalism, there is a business contract between the worker and the employer, that is, the owner of the capital and the propertyless. However, the main thing in colonialism is not free labor. On the cont-

rary, the assumption that the colonizer and the exploited were previously unequal, and that the exploited were subhuman, is fundamental. Thanks to this assumption, there is no problem in forcing the exploited to work. In this situation, where oppression rather than contract prevails, the colonial peoples who are forced to work are equivalent to the "advanced monkey", that is, the animal deprived of rights and law. This equivalence makes it natural for the colonists to treat them as beasts of burden (Sartre, 2002, s. 23-4). [2]

The police and army, as well as the workers in the colonial country, stand out as areas that enable contact between the colonial power and the people. Their constant presence enables the colonizers to interfere with the exploited and fixes them in their places. These institutions, which embody pure violence, function to keep colonial violence alive both in the homes and minds of the exploited (Fanon, 2002, s.41). Coercive and oppressive control of colonial geography is accompanied by control through geographical distinctions. Here, on the one hand, there is the territory inhabited by the colonial Europeans, and on the other, there is another region where the colonial people live, strictly separate from other regions. The colonial settlement, besieged by civilized living conditions, is the territory of white people, foreigners. The native settlement, where the colonial people live, is the village of black slaves where civilization has not visited, people live in bed conditions (Fanon, 2002, s.42). The world of the native is a destructive space devoid of value, morality. Black has no culture, civilization, or history (Fanon, 2002, s.45; 2008, s.21). This distinction between settlements is in harmony with distinctions such as white-black, West-East, civilized-barbarian, those that replace being, self, and human, and those that do not. The world of the colonizer, created with the aforementioned distinctions, becomes the object of desire for the exploited. The exploited people living in the settlement of the exploited people, which is characterized by poverty, in the face of the colonial settlement defined by wealth, live by dreaming of owning everything that

[2] Due to the slavery operating in the colonial countries, Fanon thinks that Marxist dialectical line from capitalism to communism is not valid here. The colonizers are the occupying powers as foreigners, and the bourgeoisie phase is completely dysfunctional in the undeveloped colonial countries (Forsythe, 1970, s.7).

the colonialists have (Fanon, 2002, s.43). Here, the places where these dreams -which find their meaning through "possession"- wander, reveal the dimensions of the alienation among the exploited people. They want to leave their current situation behind by owing what the colonizer has.

The separation of people from one another lies behind any division that operates within the colonial world itself. The human species or race that people belong to is the most basic factor in separating people from each other. It determines both the economic structure and the superstructure at the same time. There is a vicious circle here: "You are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich" (Fanon, 2002, s.43; 2004, s.5). This circle, in which one counts as a human is a winner in every way, is desired by the black person who always loses. To reach the world it desires, it wants to be the white person who symbolizes that world. In terms of Fanon, who reads black's becoming white, thus owning everything in the world that white signifies, as a psychological issue as well as an economic one, when viewed from the world of the alienated black, the only destiny of black is whiteness. This alienation of the black is as much a structural (socio-cultural, political, and economic) problem as it is individual. By becoming white, black people think that they will both attain individual wealth and be socially accepted (Fanon, 2008, s.4). The black consciousness is affected by both the economic processes in which it is involved and the sense of inferiority that white supremacy awakens and engraves in its skin. But no matter how hard it tries to become white, the black can never quite "own" it. Black hotels remain segregated, black nature is preserved in the cinema. Every attempt it makes to show that it has the same level of intelligence and knowledge as white fails. The demonstration of equality becomes the justification for exclusion from the white world.

The Colonial Violence

Every practice that the exploited embodied on itself, from the color of its skin to its lifestyle, is violent actually because it is based on the denial of its own self. In this respect, we can say that the colonial world is a world of exploitation through violence as well as alienation. The only way for the European to make themselves human is to create slaves and freaks. With its invented native status, "this fraud" has no difficulty in

maintaining its existence (Sartre, 2002, s.32). Although it is a minority, the West carries humanity, that is, universal. For the Westerners, the blacks are undeveloped. This underdevelopment shows itself even in the individual assessment of the blacks. A white doctor who encounters the black sees it as a small child and establishes a dialogue accordingly: s(h)e starts "smirking, whispering, patronizing, cozening" (Fanon, 2008, s.19). And when those same whites meet the black on the street, they do not hesitate to send it to the object position by reacting it as "dirty nigger" or "look, a Negro" (Fanon, 2008, s.82). The placement of people in the colonial countries in the object position continues in the form of the colonialists' interpretation of the veil that women put on their heads, as well as their skin. For example, in Algeria, the veiling of women is the same as being humiliated and forced to stay away from worldly life. Since the woman who is forced to wear the veil is an object subject to the compulsion of religion and men, the colonial power has no difficulty in assigning the role of defending and liberating her (Fanon, 2006, s.101). The colonists who aim at the veil of the veiled woman use her poverty and try to reach women through various aids. They interpret the veil as a yoke placed on women's existence and call on women to negate this. Removing the veil, which is a religious and essentially cultural part, thus means realizing cultural destruction and increasing their poverty by dividing the exploited within themselves for the colonialists (Fanon, 2006, s.102). The colonialists, who try to transform women through the discourse against the veil, ensure that the values of the colonial countries enter the colonial country thanks to the transformation of women while aiming to gain power over men through the liberation of women from men (Fanon, 2006, s.102). In this respect, the colonial view that confines the exploited to a subhuman position contains deep violence. Colonization of a people means "the death and burial of its local cultural originality" (Fanon, 2006, s.4). It is necessary to keep the other/the exploited weak to imprison it in the animal condition. An openly violent colonial attitude includes the psychological force as well as a concrete force: "Beating is never enough, pressure has to be brought by undernourishing him" (Sartre, 2004, s.I). The exploited deserves this from the colonial point of view, which exposes the colonized to the two sides of violence that points to ways of ta-

ming, because the colonized is "lazy, sly and thieving, who lives on nothing and understands only the language of violence" (Sartre, 2004, s.I).

The colonial violence, which fixes and ceases the exploited people in their place, constantly tries to dehumanize the exploited. Thinking that this effort is not purely economic, Fanon sees colonialism from outside the economic relations and deals with its political, social, and cultural aspects. Because colonial violence, besides targeting economic relations, appears as a destructive force on the traditions, language, and culture of the exploited (Sartre, 2002, s.23). The colonial power tries to replace them with its own, thereby strengthening the organic link between the exploited and the colonial power. The language spoken by the exploited is one of the areas where cultural violence appears. Language is a field of force in which people show their dominance. In terms of counting the colonized as human beings, it is important which language they speak and how they speak:

The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle. In the French colonial army, and particularly in the Senegalese regiments, the black officers serve first of all as interpreters. They are used to convey the master's order to their fellows, and they too enjoy a certain position of honor (Fanon, 2008, s.9).

To speak the colonist's language means to stop being native and come closer to being white. The world of whites is separated from that of the exploited in terms of cultural and social elements, as well as elements of coercion and oppression. Pointing out that the colonial world is divided into two by a line of separation represented by "borders, barracks and police stations", Fanon points out that an atmosphere of obedience and prohibition prevails around the exploited person, from education to working life (Fanon, 2002, s.42).

The colonial powers are strangers to the native people: although the rulers in the exploited world are alien to the native people, they are somebodies who come from elsewhere and are unlike the "others." But this strangeness does not deprive them of existence. On the contrary, they have the opportunity to transfer the wealth of the colonial world to themselves, thanks to the cannon and rifle they have. The colonial power,

which has the opportunity to keep the exploited in this position and to appropriate them with its extra power, still cannot escape from appearing as a foreigner. The fact that the distance between the native and the colonial power is never closed shows itself with the increase in violence against the natives. We see one of the most important examples of colonial violence in France's relations with Algeria which is a French colony. France wanted to establish the city militias in Algeria, which increased the level of violence both in France and Algeria towards the end of the 1950s, against the Algerians who embarked on the liberation movement from France and took part in local activities in this direction. France, which invested more in military power in the face of the UN's peacebuilding suggestions, "hands over civilian power to the military and military power to the civilians. The circle is sealed. In the middle, the Algerian, disarmed, starved, hounded, jostled, struck, lynched and soon to be shot because he is a suspect" (Fanon, 2004, s.48). In Algeria, all French are the police forces and are tasked with hunting down suspects. The whole of Europe is behind them. Europeans do not feel any responsibility or discomfort from the violence that Algerians are subjected to. Because the voice of Algeria, which is made up of non-humans and animals, cannot be heard, even if does. Its voice, like a *phone*, is devoid of meaning. The West, the owner of *logos*, is the only party with the right to speak and dispose of. As others deprived of existence and speech, the colonial people are not exempt from violence for this reason, and they easily become the object of all kinds of violence. The magnitude of the violence in question is evident in Fanon's definition of South Africa: "What is South Africa? A boiler into which thirteen million blacks are clubbed and penned in by two and half million whites" (Fanon, 2008, s.64).

One of the most important reasons for the widespread existence of violence in colonial countries is that the colonists do not belong to the place they exploited, and another is that the enormous wealth obtained lives side by side with great misery. The army and police are at the base of the regime in colonial countries because of the "danger of loss" that is forcibly encompassed by the gap between living conditions divided into two around existence and non-existence. But both of them are under the consultancy of foreign experts. In the colonial country, they wield power

in proportion to the size of the gap between the rich and the miserable. Again, as the severity of income inequality in the country increases, the cooperation of the bourgeoisie in cooperation with the colonial powers intensifies:

The national bourgeoisie sells itself increasingly openly to the major foreign companies. Foreigners grab concessions through kickbacks, scandals abound, ministers get rich, their wives become floozies, member of the legislature line their pockets, and everybody, down to police officers and customs officials, joins hands in this huge caravan of corruption (Fanon, 2004, s.117).

Distinguishing the bourgeoisie in Europe from the bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries in terms of quality, Fanon attributes a more progressive and positive role to the European bourgeoisie because it shares its prosperity to some extent with the society in which it lives. It has succeeded in the accumulation of capital and has increased the level of national welfare. However, the bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries is not as dynamic and educated as it, and does nothing but collect the crumbs of the former colonial power. It could not complete its capital accumulation and acts with the logic of a ravenous small shopkeeper (Fanon, 2004, s.119). It confiscates everything and completely turns its back on the people. It takes its power not from the people but the cooperation with the colonialists (Fanon, 2004, s.120-1). The corrupt colonial bourgeoisie living in colonial cities lacks the money that makes the real bourgeoisie a bourgeoisie. It also lacks the administrative dynamism and intellectual breadth, which are the other essential features of being a bourgeoisie. This makes it a bourgeoisie of civil servants (Fanon, 2004, s.122). Thanks to its cooperation with the colonizers, it gains strength from the position it occupies. It uses this power in the domination that accompanies the domination of the colonists.

The colonial powers find the guarantee of the collapse of colonial society as a whole in the downfall of the natives individually. At the individual level, the woman comes first as the object of violence because of the multiple functions she has. For the colonial powers, besides the local bourgeoisie and the working class, who cooperated with them in the conquest of the native lands, the importance of women is great. The nati-

ve women become the object of colonial violence individually as well as in their country. The conquest of their country is tantamount to the conquest of their own. Women are often imagined by colonial powers as a space of poverty and deprivation. Based on this image, they are exposed to double violence because they are both native and female: thus, appropriation, rape, and murder become normal for women (Fanon, 2006, s.107).

The violence of the colonists in colonial countries, besides appearing as naked violence, continues to operate symbolically from the wing of racism. The distinction between white and black that dominates the colonial world is one of the clearest examples of this. While white means justice and truth, black symbolizes evil and ugliness:

In Europe, the black man is the symbol of Evil... The torturer is the black man, Satan is black, one talks of shadows, when one is dirty one is black –whether one is thinking of physical dirtiness or of mortal dirtiness... and, on the other side, the bright look of innocence, the white dove of peace, magical, heavenly light. A magnificent blond child –how much peace there is in that phrase, how much joy, and above all how much hope! There is no comparison with a magnificent black child (Fanon, 2008, s.146).

In the face of the beauty and goodness that white signifies, the evil of black makes it the object of all kinds of violence. In this respect, there is no difference between colonial racism and racism in general. Just as Jews cannot be human for those who are anti-Semitic, similarly, the natives cannot be human for colonists. Fanon, who did not hide his astonishment at the fact that this impossibility continued after Hitler's death, points out how Hitler continued to live actually in the lynching of blacks in America, the forced labor and murder of blacks in Algeria and Africa (Fanon, 2008, s.66-7). Behind these practices, there is a racist perspective that separates humans from non-humans. The racism that the colonial world is exposed to is colonial racism. The representatives of European civilization are responsible for colonial racism (Fanon, 2008, s.67). The fact that the racism that the colonial world was exposed to needs the existence of Europe and its glance removes racism from being a natural element. Observing the relations between and within societies, Fanon points out that racism is the result of certain social relations while

showing the connection with culture (Hudis, 2015, s.4). The blackness and the whiteness produced by the racist view are an objectified product of colonial domination. The blackness is the production and reproduction element of the colonized subject (Haddour, 2006, s.xi). There is the feeling of superiority of the whites in the face of the inferiority of the blacks, whose blackness is sufficient for them to be seen as the slaves of the whites. Racism underlies these two different feelings. "It is the racist who creates the humiliated" (Fanon, 2008, s.69). "It is because the Negro belongs to an 'inferior' race that he seeks to be like the superior race" (Fanon, 2008, s.167). Racism is the absence of the humanitarian minimum. When there is no humanitarian minimum, there is neither culture nor people. That's why the strike of seventy-five thousand black miners in 1946 removes the strike from a right for them. The state police can force them back to work with rifles and bayonets. Those who do not return are killed. Similarly, the black workers who work as serfs on the white farms cannot leave the farm without their master's permission. The price of leaving is being brought by the force and whipped by the police (Fanon, 2008, s.142). The Act for Native Administration promulgated in South Africa includes the possibility of coding all Africans as 'dangerous' and making them objects of violence (Fanon, 2008, s.142).

Despite all the possibilities that the colonial power has and operates, colonial violence hides its own contradiction, which implicitly includes its end. The colonizer, who must ultimately kill in order to continue to loot what it has plundered, can never destroy it completely. Because if it destroys, that is, kills, then it will lose its power. This is why colonial violence kills, but cannot commit genocide; enslave, but not animalize absolutely. This prevents it from being the absolute ruler of the places and people it exploits, causing it to lose control (Sartre, 2002, s.24). The colonial power, forgetting that it is human, constantly tries to shape the exploited economically, socially, politically, and culturally. It believes that it can tame the exploited by conditioning their reflexes. The colonialist's shaping policies, the violence contained in these policies actually leave a mark on the people who are subjected to it. These marks are also a motivating force that enables the exploited to establish their own consciousness, identity, and character. In this respect, the politics of emancipation

in the world of exploitation, although it seems to mean getting rid of exploitation, includes the interruption of the practices that operate the colonial logic in its depth. The counting of the exploited as a human depends on this. It is conditional by their fundamental denial of that others have done to them (Sartre, 2002, s.25). A struggle based on a moment of complete disorder when the order established by practices is interrupted only allows the objectified, humiliated person to regain its humanity (Cherki, 2006, s.173). As pointed out by Jean-Paul Sarte, the exploited, that is, slaves become human by the colonist and by opposing the colonist who wants to turn them into beasts of burden (2002, s.24). The violence involved in the practices that keep the exploited in a subhuman position, necessarily calls for counter-violence on the way to being human and emancipation. The violence of the colonist necessarily invokes the violence of the exploited.

Breaking the Vicious Circle

Human has a way of being directed towards other people. While the elements such as alienation and racism in the colonial world are the product of the colonial situation, which indicates a certain form of social relationship, the colonized human should be considered as a product of the same conditions. From the point of view of Fanon, who accepts that human beings exist together with other beings, "we want to touch the other, feel the other, discover each other" (Hudis, 2015, s.5). But in the colonial world, the common existence of man is destroyed: racism, which is the manifestation of the colonial order's one-dimensional, archetypal black human understanding, imprisons people in their whiteness or blackness, falsifies intersubjectivity while imprisoning people in their whiteness or blackness (Hudis, 2015, s.5). Fanon, who thinks that this falsification that brings to think and live as imposed by the colonial power is not an unchangeable destiny, grows the conditions of emancipation from the same destruction.

While emancipation, which Fanon thinks concerning the other, means interrupting the colonial world and not getting used to being treated as racialized objects, it rises from knowing to begin to see the other as it is (Hudis, 2015, s.5). The first thing, that makes a person who it is, is the way it looks at the other. According to this idea, which emerged with

Fanon's influence from Sartre and Hegel, the form of interaction with others determines human existence (Fanon, 2008, s.168; Hudis, 2015, s.30). The other person's perspective or glance defines the person. Man establishes his own existence in contact with every feature that defines him. When someone else does not know me or is hesitant about getting to know me, that person is actually against me (Fanon, 2008, s.170). The glance that appears in the colonial situation is that of the colonist. When the colonist looks at the colonial world, what it sees is nothing more than the black people, that is, being that is reduced to its blackness (Adkins, 2013, s.700). As a result of this perspective, the black and the white contrast is strengthened, while the lower position of black deepens. The blackness from the eyes of the colonist is always the carrier of negative traits. Pointing out that blackness is constructed depending on the colonial relationship, Fanon draws out attention to the fact that blacks exist as black only when they are associated with white (Hudis, 2015, s.31).

From the point of view of Fanon, who sees it as a priority for blacks to stop constructing themselves and their world from the point of the view of white for emancipation, the struggle for the emancipation of the black is a phased process that almost goes from monkey to human (Fanon, 2008, s.8). At its core, there are the negation of slavery and the conditions that animalize the black that nurtures it. The possibility of change lies in the behavior of the exploiter and the exploited. Pointing out that both positions are artificial fiction, Fanon also accepts that the possibility of deterioration of statuses and the construction of a new order will not automatically come to the world, especially to the exploited. In other words, people whose given situation is not destined must do something extra to change their situation: Fanon locates the beginning of this extra action in consciousness. Because of this positioning, he says his last prayer in *Black Skin, White Masks* as "Oh my body, make of me a man who always questions!" (2008, s.181).

The beginning of questioning is to doubt the given. Doubt and questioning are the conditions for one's voice. Unless they make sound and speak, people on earth have no chance to escape discrimination and camps (Sartre, 2002, s.36). As Sartre noted in his introduction to *The Wretched of the Earth*, those who do not fight must be willing to rot in

camps (2002, s.36). To doubt is to go beyond the present position, to look at it from the outside. To be liberated is to transcend artificial boundaries. A vision that can see beyond the limit is needed to cross the border. A look that can see beyond the border requires being able to stand beyond the border (Hudis, 2015, s.5). It is possible to transcend the archetypes that imprison bodies, and that the exploited, who fulfill their roles based on these archetypes, leave their alienation behind only with a positioning beyond the borders. However, this positioning, which is limited to the individual plane, is not sufficient for real emancipation. To fully embody freedom, it is necessary to consider it as a social issue as well as an individual. Because the colonial violence that blacks are exposed to works on the social plane as well as the individual. It is necessary to consider the struggle of the colonial people in two dimensions in the face of the economic, cultural, political, and social violence of the colonists. One of these dimensions, which also means getting rid of alienation, is individual and the other is social. In other words, emancipation has both individual/subjective and social/objective planes. Because black slavery is not just about individual behavior; subjective and objective planes condition each other (Fanon, 2008, s.4). We can see how the subjective and objective planes work together from the experiences of an Antillian in France when it returns to its home country. In France, an Antillian -who was humiliated as black, its language, what it spoke was not understood, internalized contempt for its own language and culture, etc. in its education process- considers itself superior to everyone when it returns to its own country. It feels as if the colonizer's power has increased as its command of language increases (Fanon, 2008, s.11). The exploited person who is black in France is treated as white in its homeland to which it returns. The better it speaks, the more it is distinguished from others and placed in a superior position. The Antillian, who cannot be white in France, is welcomed as a white person in its hometown. In both cases, however, it is neither completely black nor white. It is a point where subjective and structural incompatibility and contradiction are knotted. The Fanonian struggle for emancipation presupposes the experience of such contradictions that reveal the tension of liberties. The universal values of the West, which asserts the equality and freedom of all people, do not work

when it comes to the colonial world. What Fanon calls the tension of freedoms is the inhumane conditions on earth. Awareness of these conditions depends on one's immersion and effort to renounce:

It is through the effort to recapture the self and to scrutinize the self, it is through the lasting tension of their freedom that men will be able to create the ideal conditions of existence for a human world (Fanon, 2008, s.181).

Placing the starting point of the emancipation politics on the colonial people's questioning of the colonial world, Fanon states that what happens in this questioning is not just "a rational confrontation of points of view" (Fanon, 2004, s.41). "It is not a treatise on the universal, but the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute" (Fanon, 2004, s.41). The colonial people, defined by the colonizers through all kinds of deprivation, are also the authorities of evil devoid of consciousness and morality. The intensity of their deprivation increases their destructiveness.

However, the poverty and deprivation that the colonial world replaces do not reflect the truth. Because it is an artificial structure created and built by the colonial powers that equipped it with wealth. To be freed from being a colony, to get rid of the oppression and humiliation concealed by colonialism, that is, to be free, to fight against the colonial powers, first of all, the exploited must fight against themselves. Fanon, who sees the struggle against the colonial powers and the struggle of the exploited against themselves as the same thing, touches on how the classes changed roles in the colonies, unlike in the West, and how the nations were divided within themselves for this reason. In this division, besides the colonial powers, the blacks who try to exist like them in the world of these powers also play a role. Fanon considers this experience of the blacks with the concept of alienation (Sartre, 2002, s.20). The concept of alienation extends the exploitation from being a purely economic and social issue to the experiences of subjectivity in everyday life. The dimension of alienation originating from the colonizer is accompanied by the dimension originating from the exploited:

The Negro problem does not resolve itself into the problem of Negroes living among white men but rather of Negroes exploited, enslaved,

despised by a colonialist, capitalist society that is only accidentally white (Fanon, 2008, s.157) ...If there is a taint, it lies not in the "soul" of the individual but rather in that of the environment (Fanon, 2008, s.165).

Because of this togetherness, Fanon starts the struggle for emancipation from the necessity of liberating the black person's own existence from the form of imagination, in order to get rid of the yoke of the colonialist. Black must first accept that it is a human being, but a black human (Fanon, 2008, s.2). It must get rid of the black spirit created by the hands of the whites (Fanon, 2008, s.9). Therefore, the emancipation movement should be defined as "liberation of the man of color from himself" basically (Fanon, 2008, s.2). Fanon finds the black who tries to whiten its race to have what the white person has, and the black who tries to spread the hatred of the white, equally miserable. He emphasizes that all people are equal. The way to achieve this equality is to remove people from their frames, that is, to set them free in the face of a discriminatory perspective (Fanon, 2008, s.2). The way of the black's emancipation is hidden in leaving the illusion of being white and turning to change in the social structures (Fanon, 2008, s.74). Transcending the whitening or extinction dilemma is about becoming conscious of the possibility of self-existence. The main reason for black alienation and the desire to become white is the difficulties that society puts on people according to their skin color. Awareness of the clarification of the causes of conflict is the first step of emancipation. After awareness brought by the clarification of the reasons, the second step of the emancipation struggle is to take action against the social structures that constitute the source of the conflict (Fanon, 2008, s.74). In the emancipation that comes with individual and social struggle, the actors move from the object position which whites imprison the black people with their reaction such as "dirty nigger" or "look, a negro" to subject position. It is only possible to take a step towards establishing a human world out of the black alienation resulting from the whitening efforts and the white world it brings, only by becoming a subject. Being a subject is the same as renouncing blackness, which imitates whiteness and is the object of white.

For the questioning that underlies the renunciation of blackness and that does not occur spontaneously to take place, one must see the cont-

radictions in understanding and practices. The most fundamental contradiction in the life of the exploited other, who is exposed to the colonial world, is that they are exposed to being excluded from the universal values of the West, not being considered as human beings. The practices that vary depending on whether the beings on earth are considered human or not affect people's lives. The colonizer, who occupies the position of the master because it is counted as a human gains strength from this position and takes the opportunity to position and exploit the colonial people, whom it does not count as human, as slaves. The relationship of exploiter and exploited is that of master and slaves, depending on who counts as human. This relationship indicates a contradictory situation as well as two opposite and unequal positions. Although both parties are human, one of the parties is tried to be turned into an animal with the elements (race, color, etc.) that are functionalized along with being human. Its master practices of turning it into an animal make the slave realize that it is not a slave. The brutality and hatred of the colonialist's violence arouse anger in the slaves. In addition to their anger towards their masters, the hatred that their masters arouse in them makes slaves human (Sartre, 2002, s.26). The black shows that the colonial belief that whites are superior to blacks, has made its own world view in its acts of whitening its race, changing its color to become as white as possible. Therefore it enters the process of becoming a human with the desire to prove its existence against white and to show that it has at least as much intellectual wealth and power as it does. This desire awakened in black pushes it from the struggle to look like white to the struggle to prove its existence against white (Cherki, 2002, s.14). The act of proving one's existence involves negating rather than affirming the roles assigned to black. The condition for negation is to change the point of view, to see rape, discrimination, racism, and oppression that the black is subjected to (Fanon, 2008, s.144). The lack of this understanding, which initiates the change against the discriminatory practices it is exposed to, is that it remains on an individual, that is, a singular level. The absolute solution to the contradictions is not to be satisfied with this plane, but to turn to the universal and act accordingly (Fanon, 2008, s.153).

The meaning of living in colonial countries is not just dying. Hence Fanon points out that the only issue here is to feed people. That's why anyone can do anything. In Algeria, in this situation, people confront the French Police who apply all kinds of violence. "The French are down in the plain with the police, the army, and the tanks. On the mountain, there are only Algerians. Up above there is Heaven with the promise of a world beyond the grave; down below there are the French with their very concrete promises of prison, beatings-up, and executions" (Fanon, 2004, s.309). The destructiveness of this disproportion brings people against themselves. The person who is divided within itself becomes conscious of its own existence (self-consciousness) thanks to the mentioned encounter. It feels more hatred and anger as it sees the disproportion and incomprehensibility of the contradiction that triggers the emancipation process as overcoming alienation, and the inhumanity in practices. Thus, it begins to take action by leaving to be a zombie. Due to its hatred and conflict with its master, it engages in non-slave activities within its work activity. It sabotages the business with its laziness. It lays the foundations of great resistance to petty thefts. It may even increase the level of violence and engage in armed struggle (Sartre, 2002, s.26). But, according to Fanon, the fact that the slave performs these unexpected activities does not mean anything other than the fact that it enters the struggle to be counted as a human being, that it is a human itself. The condition of being human is to question what is given rather than accept it, and to stop being involved in inhuman conceptions and practices that are neither reasonable nor conscientious. In other words, it is the slave's finding ways to no longer remain a slave in the face of the master. By doing non-slave actions, the slave thus disrupts and interrupts the cooperation between master and slave. It learns to do this by inventing different ways of not fully fulfilling the roles expected of it before confronting its master directly. This learning process is also self-protection from alienation. In the face of colonial power, the protection of the culture of natives, for example, their dance culture, also means that they protect their own existence. Along with dance, the colonial people protect themselves from colonial alienation with religious rituals.

Clinging more to religious, cultural, or socially established values creates the content of a form of resistance as well as being protected from alienation. For instance, the "veil", which is one of the first things seen when looking at Arab societies from the outside, is a style of dressing that represents their culture and tradition as well as their religion. The veil that stands out especially in the Algerian independence struggle is what the Algerian woman hides behind, according to the colonialists (Fanon, 1965, s.36). Since colonial France targets everything belonging to the Algerian people, the cover is also a field of war and struggle. Through the cover of women themselves, France plans to seize the women and Algeria (Fanon, 1965, s.37). Despite all the negative meaning attributed to the veil by the colonial powers, veiling becomes a meaningful part of the struggle for women who veil. In the face of the negative view of the colonizer, the veil becomes "an institution and the resistances developed by the colonized society" (Fanon, 2006, s.105). The women who do not give up the veil and the society as a whole react to the colonial power with this action. This reaction establishes the resistance that initiates the decolonization process. Even if the veil is actually against it, it is protected by gaining the meaning of a symbol of resistance. The woman, who makes herself invisible in the face of the colonial power by covering herself, gains the power to see the colonial power, thus "atrophy" the colonizer (Hudis, 2015, s.102).[3] The reciprocity between the exploiting and exploited glance is interrupted here. The veil, which gains importance in the emancipation struggle because it reduces the power of the colonialist

[3] Fanon, whom I pointed out as affirming the veil in terms of political subjectivity and revolution, is criticized by feminists for the image of women he drew during the Algerian revolution. Fanon, who we can say is generally labeled as a "mythist" in these criticisms, takes the sexism experienced by women beyond the scope of the revolution and hides it. For this reason, Egyptian Mervat Hatem criticizes Fanon, arguing that he imprisons women in the role of defender of tradition through their veiling and places them in a static position (Sharpley-Whiting, 1998, s.18). These criticisms directed at Fanon in terms of identifying women with the veil and placing them in the position of the representative of tradition by feminists do not see the changing attitudes of women against the veil during the revolution. This attitude places them in the position of perpetrators of the criticism made against Fanon. The white person whose worthlessness is affirmed in terms of emancipation is also a male person. The emancipation of the black existence is the emancipation of the white man as well as emancipation from the white man (Gordon, 1995, s.10).

with the interruption it creates, loses its meaning in the revolutionary action process and ceases to be a means of struggle.

In addition to the veil, the radio, which was initially rejected because it represented the colonial power, ceases to be the instrument of the enemy in the emancipation process and begins to be accepted as the voice of the exploited. The Algerians' acceptance of radio as a useful tool for revolution coincides with its ceasing to be the voice of the enemy (Gilly, 1965, s.7). The Algerian radio called Radio-Alger, which was founded by the French initially, is the radio of the colonial society controlled from Paris and represents its values. Those who own the radio also become the owners of civilization ranging from villas, cars, and refrigerators (Fanon, 1965, s.71). Civilization means joining the petty bourgeoisie and colonialism. Radio, which is a part of the colonial occupation technique for the native, does not have vital importance for the interests of the native. On the contrary, it has a negative value as it represents the colonial, the French presence. Radio, which is also an information system, is the carrier of language and message as well. That's why the natives do not listen to it. Radio-Alger is the spokesperson of the colonial world for Algerians, a French-speaking to French (Fanon, 1965, s.73-4). This negation of the radio in the colonial country changed after 1945: since the same radio played national music in 1947-48, it began to be the voice of national feelings. With the start of the newly established radio called The Voice of Fighting Algeria, the radio becomes a space where Algeria spreads its own truths in the face of the occupier's lies in the 1954s. That's why during the freedom war years, the radio became the media organ of the Algerians, and the people spread their news with it (Fanon, 1965, s.82). Radio, which is the voice of the revolution in the struggle over time, becomes a tool for people to develop loyalty to the struggle at the same time. It is the means by which people stay in touch with the revolution (Fanon, 1965, s.93). The radio announces the voice of people whose voice is not heard. Precisely because of this, it becomes a directly political field. In this way, the radio gains the meaning of being the first voice of a free nation born in the colonial world, it goes beyond a simple means of information. With the establishment of The Voice of Fighting Algeria, every Algerian feels involved in the struggle for liberation (Fanon, 1965,

s.94). Thanks to this radio, Algerians have the opportunity to discover that there are sounds other than the colonist's voice (Fanon, 1965, s.95). The old monologue of the colonial situation vanished completely in 1956 as it was shaken by the struggle. The invader's voice now lacks authority (Fanon, 1965, s.95). As it is understood from the struggle in both the veil and radio fields, the exploited embody their struggle for subjectification and emancipation by doing the opposite of what is imposed on them until they win the struggle. They show counter-will by deciding which tool to use and when from medical science to radio. Thus, they cease to be objects in the face of colonial power. In the face of the struggle carried out in this reversal process, which means that the colonial people begin to threaten the colonizer, the colonialists try to keep control of the colonial people by imposing their own values on the people. The colonial people responded to these efforts with ridicule. As it mocks, the violence of the colonizer increases and the end of this violence depends on the colonial people's open acceptance of the supremacy of their white values (Fanon, 2002, s.47).

The struggle against the colonialists of the colonial people, who are trapped in the circle of violence of the colonial power, establishes the process of decolonization. The period of decolonization is the period of emancipation from colonial values. It is the registration of the lack of value of values. Black, who could not establish a policy of liberation with its activities based on the whitening, starts to establish the freedom struggle in this period. Struggling to take what the whites offer affirms its own difference rather than trying to embody the values propagated by the masters (Fanon, 2008, s.180). It asserts itself and builds its freedom by saying no to the colonial order that humiliates it, ignores it, and can do all this because the colonial power imprisons it in a subhuman position:

Liberation does not come as a gift from anybody; it is seized by the masses with their own hands. And but seizing it they themselves are transformed; confidence in their own strength soars, and they turn their energy and their experience to the tasks of building, governing, and deciding their own lives for themselves (Gilly, 1965, s.2).

This is the climate in which the immense majority of mankind lives today in one way or another. Algeria has been, and continues to be, one of the great landmarks in this global battle (Gilly, 1965, s.2).

Witnessing and recording the role of Algeria in the struggle for emancipation in *A Dying Colonialism*, Fanon focuses on the foundations of Algerians' determination to struggle. He states that the way of freedom is not to protect the superior white values of the colonial order, but "to educate man to be actional, preserving in all his relations his respect for the basic values that constitute a human world" (Fanon, 2008, s.173). We can say that instead of turning to the particular, turning to the universal and taking actions aiming at the universal is the main focus of the Fanonist emancipation politics.

Decolonization, aimed at the universal, is based on the idea that the exploited are axiomatically equal to the colonizers. Thus, it implements the principle of equality, which stands out as a universal value in the modern age, but whose validity, in reality, is quite limited. "The famous dictum which states that all men are equal will find its illustration in the colonies only when the colonized subject states he is equal to the colonist" (Fanon, 2004, s.9). But with the realization of equality, the colony has no meaning for the colonizer. The colonizer is no longer concerned with living or staying in the colony. With the establishment of the principle of equality, which does not coincide with the interests of the colonizer, that is, with emancipation, the colonial subjects throw off the veil of alienation. It affirms that its life, its existence is the same as the life of the colonizer. Its world turns upside down when it sees that there is no difference in value between the colonist's white skin and its own black skin (Fanon, 2004, s.9). In the process of emancipation, this upheaval turns into a question of survival, simply by overcoming the conflict of interests: "It is not because the Indo-Chinese has discovered a culture of his own that he is in revolt. It is because 'quite simply' it was, in more than one way, becoming impossible for him to breathe" (Fanon, 2008, s.176). This perspective, which affirms that the existence of the colonizer has no superiority, that is, that everyone on the earth is equal, establishes the emancipation struggle of the colonial people while rising with the desire to breathe. The emergence of a perspective that will fundamentally

change their lives depends on seeing equality. From such equality derives the idea that all lives are equally valuable. The consciousness of the idea of equality in wealth and value points to the establishment of the colonial people's own existence. The colonial people who have self-conscious thereby activate their ability to put an end to the colonial power remaining as a subject. The colonial people's affirmation of their unique worth and equality causes fear to be replaced by courage. The courage, which gives the people the power to take action because they do not attribute more value and power to the colonialist's view and existence than their own, becomes the starting point of preparing effective traps against the colonialists and liberating themselves.

Counter-Violence: A Means Limited to the Ends in the Struggle for Emancipation

The total death of the colonial people, whose death with the arrival of the colonizer, is accompanied by individual deaths through the alienation of individuals. For Fanon, who describes the liberation of the colonized from this situation in which it has become a living dead, that is, a zombie, as "reviving from the rotten corpse of the colonist", the struggle for emancipation necessarily includes the counter-violence because of the unending presence of colonial violence (Fanon, 2002, s.90). Violence is needed in order to interrupt and disrupt the original violence that feeds alineation (Cherki, 2006, s.174). Contrary to the claims of Hannah Arendt, who places Fanon in the minority that glorifies violence for violence's sake (Arendt, 1970, s.65), Fanon reads violence from reality in a rational way: he tries to reach the possibility of change by considering violence together with political action (Wallerstein, 1970, s.222). Accordingly, he does not go beyond affirming violence as a tool of politics, that is, the struggle for emancipation. He performs this affirmation within the given conditions. A meaningful life, for example, for an Algerian colonized by France, is a free life rather than a life under domination, and having a weapon and being a member of the national emancipation army then becomes an option that establishes the meaning of life (Fanon, 1965, s.26).

The struggle of the colonialist and the exploited is a life and death struggle, that is, a kind of war relationship. This war relationship conti-

nues through social symbols such as the veils and the radio, as well as bare violence. If the way women dress changes, men and patriarchy will also be brought under control. For this reason, the violence in symbolic areas appears as a means of effectively eliminating the culture of the colonial country, for instance, Algeria, for the colonizers (Fanon, 1965, s.39). Colonialism, devoid of reason and ability to think, is based on such bare violence. So, only greater violence can put an end to this violence (Haddour, 2006, s.xvi). There is a source of violence in Fanon, which we can argue is not arbitrarily invoked and has no purpose in itself: The consciousness of the tension between rising universal values in the modern world and differences in practice. French, which took over its colony of Algeria with the senate decisions in 1863 and 1865, confiscated the properties of the colonized and deprived them of their citizenship status. With these decisions, the natives, who have become subject to colonial power, are excluded from the public sphere (Haddour, 2006, s.xvii). The native people are impoverished both politically and socio-economically. Their impoverishment means that they lose their jobs, face starvation, famine, and disease, that is, they can no longer breathe (Haddour, 2006, s.xviii). In this situation, which indicates the zero point of life, no tool can respond to violence other than violence. Similar to Fanon, Sartre distinguishes between colonial violence and the violence of the exploited in the preface to *The Wretched of the Earth*. While the colonial violence has an "arbitrary" character, the violence of the exploited arises from necessity, from the "effective reality" that determines the life/existence of the natives/exploited. The violence of the exploited, which is inflamed by all kinds of social, cultural, political, and military violence, does not have the same characteristics as the colonialist's violence which confines the object position, dehumanizes, and operates to ensure the continuity of this position. On the contrary, it occurs by aiming to be counted as human and thus to break the violence of the colonialists and the arbitrariness of this violence (Haddour, 2006, s.xviii).

For certain, there are thousands of ways of resistance and struggle of the masses. For Fanon, who has been a source of great controversy regarding the place of violence in his thought, of course, there is no doubt that violence is an action that should always be condemned. But this condem-

nation has a limit: The violence of the exploited. The exploited should not hesitate to use violence to liberate themselves. Violence is necessary for the struggle for emancipation. Moreover, there is no limit to the violence deemed necessary on the path to liberation. The reason for the necessity and limitlessness pointed out by Fanon in terms of violence is that the intensity of the social and ideological hegemony served by the colonialist violence to protect the position of the bourgeoisie has increased, suffocating the feeling of liberation (Hudis, 2015, s.3). However, as Arendt points out, violence as an action has dimensions beyond control, it contains an extra arbitrariness. The possibility of getting out of control which the violence includes, causes no other arbitrator to appear on the political scene instead of war (Arendt, 1970, s.30). War, especially the war of liberation, in which the violence manifests itself with all its intensity, becomes a space in which politics continues due to this content of violence. In the face of the enslaving effect of colonial violence, the violence of the exploited can also be called emancipatory violence as it aims at emancipation. Liberating violence is a means of freeing the enslaved from their current grip, of establishing a moral, living, human world. Where oppression is sustained from above through violence, the means of struggle necessarily include violence. Such violence from above can only be repelled by violence from below (Gilly, 1965, s.3). Violence is necessary for rebirth. The realization of decolonization, that is, of revolution, depends on violence. [4]

When considered on its own, the violence that people stand against because of its destructive features gains a positive meaning for Fanon when it is considered within the struggle for the liberation of the exploited masses. First of all, violence can be a self-confidence tool that enables the masses to abandon their passive position in the face of other forces.

[4] Unlike Sartre's absolute affirmation of violence brought forward by Fanon for its power to interrupt the colonial situation, for Arendt, violence is not the only possible form of interruption. Rather, interruption is necessarily included in every action (Arendt, 1970, s.29-30). She eliminates this necessity with the idea of action and interruption in the face of Sartre, who sees violence as a necessity in terms of revolution and emancipation, by saying "violence, like Achilles, can heal the wounds it has inflicted." According to her, if Sartre's claim were valid, revenge would be the solution to every problem of humanity (Arendt, 1970, s.20). On the contrary, violence as a tool is devoid of creative quality.

Because the alternative to violence in the colonial situation is peaceful negotiation and reconciliation. For Fanon, in conditions where colonialism besieged the colonial people both from inside and outside, and where the national bourgeoisie betrayed the native people, peaceful settlement yields nothing more than a repetition of order. It causes the masses to become even more desperate and the movement to wither away. To escape this trap, the masses must use violence as a revolutionary tool. Pointing to the unifying power of violence as well as its encouraging power, Fanon points out that counter-violence is not arbitrary violence as it emerges as a reaction to the first violence, but is a tool used on the way to emancipation. It strengthens the unity of people, the spirit of organizing and fighting. Each person is a "violence ring" in the counter-violence organization (Fanon, 2002, s.90). Colonial violence binds people together tightly. Having the opportunity to get to know each other closely, people embark on an irreversible path in the armed struggle. For this reason, people who unite in the process of counter-violence applied in the struggle for liberation, which has gained the character of a "war of emancipation", begin to have a consciousness of "common cause, national destiny and collective history" in this process. From this consciousness, the nation-building process, which is the second step of the emancipation struggle in the form of nation-building after the emancipation war emerges.

In the emancipation process, the meaning of counter-violence in establishing the existence of native people does not remain the same in all cases. Fanon, who does not place nonviolence completely outside the politics of emancipation, draws attention to the fact that nonviolence is conceivable when the colonial power gives up violence. Affirming violence as a means of liberation by the exploited against the colonial and racist powers that inflict violence on them, Fanon thus posits violence as a means of emancipation and revolution, rather than sanctifying it on its own. For instance, it is not acceptable for a subject who is colonized and subjected to violence to use violence against another subject who is subjected to violence like itself (Hudis, 2015, s.119). The violence of the exploiter, the workers in the colonial country, or the national bourgeoisie against other people in the exploited country serves to reproduce given conditi-

ons rather than emancipation and revolution. We can say that the violence, which Fanon points to and stands behind, is a tool of emancipation and a catalyst for gathering and strengthening the exploited. [5]

Fanon's politics of emancipation, which requires violence in the colonial situation, is not entirely based on pure violence. Violence, which stands out as a moment in Fanon's politics of emancipation, is only a step in the decolonization process. The emancipation process uses violence as a tool and does not turn it into an end. The aim of the politics of emancipation is freedom as well as a new humanism in terms of maintaining this condition and is based on a politics that wants to embody it. The achievement of national independence must be accompanied by the idea of humanism based on universal values (Haddour, 2006, s.xiv). Without this accompaniment, the nationalism that the colonial people will provide cannot escape from the repetition of racism and assimilation. The idea of a new humanism, which Fanon operationalized at this point, is based on the idea of global equality. The struggle for liberation from colonialism, in other words, the struggle for emancipation, basically presupposes the idea of everyone's equality and is also about making this idea work in theory and practice. To reach the new humanism is to come out of alienation that dominates the age (Hudis, 2015, s.138). It is imperative to observe the universal so that the freedom struggle does not lose its way and does not repeat the mistakes of the other social movements and get lost in the structure.

Conclusion

While everyone is included in the capitalist society, which is based on the classifications between people, the role of people in the system differs from each other. These distinctions and roles, which came to the fore with the exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, also be-

[5] This Fanonian point of view that violence transforms people and makes them subjects is a point that is highly questioned in the literatüre. According to Peter Hudis, extensive interviews with former FLN militants show that the force of violence to unite and mobilize people is short-lived. The long-term effect of violence on people is rather the dehumanization of people and the emergence of permanent disorders in those who perpetrate violence (Hudis, 2015, s.121). This information that Hudis gives about the long-term effect of violence supports Arendt's thoughts that violence excludes creativity that will bring about the new.

come visible in inter-country colonialism. Discrimination, whether within a country or between countries, has consequences that subordinate those who suffer it. Contrary to the universal principles on which it is based, the basic principle regulating the relations between the exploiters and the exploited in the capitalist world is inequality. Thanks to the assumption of inequality, the exploited are more exploited while the assets of the exploited become worthless. The worthlessness that pervades the colonial world has devastating effects on individual and social levels. Fanon's thought stands out as a thought that gained importance in the twentieth century, as it draws attention to the fact that the different degrees of these effects are not natural, but the product of the capitalist formation on which the colonial order is based. This study, which finds Fanon's thought meaningful in terms of conveying the keys of the colonial world to us, originally argued that Fanon's thought is more than just a thought that describes the given system. For this reason, while touching on the operational elements of the colonial world, it revealed how Fanon showed where and how the functioning was interrupted.

Revealing the operating elements of the given system, Fanon also conveys the individual and collective forms of resistance within this system. While drawing out attention to the concept of contradiction or disagreement as an element that makes resistance possible, we notice how the political, the politics, is hidden in his thinking. People are not automatons and do not always fulfill the roles expected of them perfectly. On the contrary, they reshape the world and everything in it, adding something of themselves to their every action. In this way, their lives gain value by getting out of the way of being in a meaningless life. This denial of the colonial world, based on the denial of this value, turns it into a scene of contradictions. Drawing attention to these contradictions, Fanon shows that the awareness of contradictions in practices enables people to take actions towards emancipation and liberation from domination. While the struggle for emancipation through questioning and the conditions of resistance begins, the stage of politics is also set. Liberating activities are acts that create disruptions to change given practices and the understandings behind them. Making dissensus or, as in Fanon, being conscious of contradictions and carrying out activities aiming at the uni-

versal to overcome them constitute the content of the politics of emancipation. In terms of this study, which deals with the dimensions of emancipation in Fanon's thought, disruptive activities in this process, and counter-violence, which stands out as one of these activities based on conflict, is the primary way of emancipation politics. For this reason, Fanon's thought, which includes these ways clearly, deserves to be interpreted today as a thought of emancipation politics as much as it is political thought.

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Öz: Fanon'un düşüncesinde özgürleşmenin boyutlarını ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlayan bu çalışmaya göre, uyuşmazlığa dayanan siyaset özgürleşmenin öncelikli yoludur ve tam olarak bu sebeple Fanon'un düşüncesi özgürleşme siyaseti olarak adlandırılmayı doğrudan hak eder. Uyuşmazlık çıkarmak veyahut Fanon'daki biçimiyle, çelişkilerin farkında olma ve onları aşmak üzere evrenseli hedefleyen eylemlere girişme özgürleşme siyasetinin içeriğini oluşturur. Siyaseti inşa etmek için, öncelikle, kolonyal dünyanın çalışma şeklini anlamak gerekir. Kolonyal dünya sömürenin ve sömürülenin davranışları aracılığıyla işler. Fakat, özgürleşme siyasetinde özgürleşecek olanlar sömürülenler, siyahlar, kolonyal dünyanın çoğunluğunu oluşturan öteki olduğu için, Fanon, özelde siyahların ve genelde de koloni halkının deneyimlerine odaklanır. Özgürleşmeyi ilk elde sömürülenin özgürleşmesi olarak gören Fanon aynı zamanda onu gerçek bir özgürleşme düzlemine doğru genişletir. Bu düzlemde efendi ve özne konumu dünyada artık bulunmaz ve evrensel eşitlik somutlaşır. Fanoncu özgürleşme siyaseti sömürülenlerin, yani tikelin özgürleşmesinden bütün dünyanın, evrenselin, bütün insanlığın özgürleşmesine doğru çok kapsamlı bir alana yayılır. Bu fikirden hareket eden bu çalışmanın ilk kısmı, kolonyal dünyanın mantığına, bu mantığın dayandığı kavramlara, unsurlara ve deneyimlere odaklanır. İkinci kısım ise, özgürleşmenin sömürülen (köle, siyah kişi) ve sömüren (efendi, beyaz kişi) ilişkisinin efendi ve köle arasındaki ilişki olmaktan çıkarılması ve köleliğe bir son verilmesi oldu-

ğundan hareketle, kolonyal dünyanın işleme şeklinin kesintiye uğramasıyla görünür olan özgürleşme siyasetine eğilir. Çalışmanın son kısmı da bu kesintiye uğratıcı/yıkıcı etkinliklerin nasıl Fanon tarafından şiddet ile birlikte düşünüldüğünden bahseder. Özgürleşme siyaseti açısından şiddetin şiddet olarak değil, fakat özgürleşme adına, bu mücadelenin sonucunda erişilecek yeni bir insanlık adına işlevselleştirildiğine dikkat çeker. Fanon düşüncesinde özgürleşmenin boyutlarıyla ilgilenen bu çalışma için özgürleşme sürecindeki yıkıcı etkinlikler ve dolayısıyla çatışmaya dayanan bu etkinliklerden biri olarak beliren karşı-şiddet, özgürleşmenin öncelikli yoludur. Bu etkinlikleri açık bir şekilde kapsayan Fanon düşüncesi de bu nedenlerle günümüzde özgürleşme siyasetinin düşüncesi olmanın yanı sıra bizatihi siyasal bir düşünce olarak hak eder.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Fanon, siyaset, özgürleşme, eşitlik, karşı-şiddet.