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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

Title:

**The Reaction of Postcolonial Theory and African Philosophy
to Western Discourse on Africa**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY,
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Abstract

European discourse on Africa had been the key challenge since the racists continued to deny the non-white identity and humanity. Racist Europeans had deliberately introduced anti-black discourses that degraded non-white people. The discourse of some white scholars had a perceptible upshot against black people. Beyond theoretical articulation a discourse of some white scholars had pragmatic consequences. To verify the impact of anti-black discourse of the West this thesis attempted to mention some anthropological discourses of the West. It seems to be that some discourses served as a precondition to colonize non-white people. The thesis attempts to uncover the reactions made by scholars of subjugated society. There is one fact that nobody can deny regarding postcolonialist engagements. Since there was the same desire between postcolonialists that is decolonization. While a difference was there among the postcolonialists concerning the method and theories. Postcolonialists had undertaken violence, non-violence, assimilation, and particularism as means to stop the colonial rule. This thesis has made a critical appraisal in the aforementioned approaches of postcolonialist perspectives. Postcolonial theories are largely envisioned to compensate the colonized people. In all dimensions the West endeavored to characterize the non-white people as backward, uncivilized, and inferior. The thesis assessed the center and peripheral polarity and the attempts made by humanitarian thinkers to overcome extremists' thoughts. It attempted to uncover the unchanged conditions of postcolonial society. This leads us to question the aftermath of colonial rule and erstwhile colonialists' presence in their x-colonies. It is indisputable, no one able to conclude colonizers are entirely departed from their x-colonies. Rather in one way or other anti-black power survives in Africa and legacies of colonizers are extensively realized in Third world States. Formal colonialism has ended, and the postcolonial state is sovereign in theory but in reality, its economic system and its political policy continues to be directed from outside. Neo-colonialism trapped the postcolonial state, this contributes a lot to the untransformed conditions of formerly colonized people. In connection to postcolonialist efforts to overcome problems of colonialism, the thesis has also mentioned some predominant theories of African philosophy. I will argue that between center and peripheral divisions of culture, assimilation could not resolve the difficulties. Instead of this 'betewahido kebere' is supposed to be the important thing to solve the tension between different cultures.

Key Words: Cultural Imperialism, Colonialism, Postcolonialism, Neo-colonialism, Negritude, Afrocentrism, Betewahido Kebere

Introduction

Discourses have the power to subjugate and empower people either positively or negatively. Discourses are many, it may be a discourse on politics, culture, economy, and religion. The problem in discourse arises when we scrutinize the content embedded in the discourse. It is to say that all discourses have no good deal regarding the subjects. And this thesis attempt to examine the intention of western discourse on Africa. The reason behind assessing the western discourse lies in exposing deliberately committed distortion and denial against African people. The West introduced offensive discourse in order to maintain white supremacy and simultaneously to keep the Other under the white control.

European discourse on Africa had been the main challenge, where the former continued to reject the latter recognition and inclusion. Before inspecting reactions made by intellectuals and postcolonialists somehow it is important to examine the nature of some Western discourse. Some Western discourses are known for introducing assertions that are in opposition to non-European peoples. We will gaze on anthropological works, the motive to scrutinize anthropological thoughts is due to the embedded thoughts in anthropology gives us a brief about the objectives of some western discourse on Africa. Through anthropological studies anthropologists are entitled to assess socio-economic, political, and religious perspectives of a particular society. What is troubling to us is that some anthropologists deliberately came up with anti-black thoughts. The chief concern of extremist thought of anthropologists is to preserve the white man's superiority.

However, some white anthropologists are honest since they frankly speak about why they came to Africa. With absolute contempt some western anthropologists broadcasted African as backward and uncivilized but their openness is presenting themselves as master to change the one who is regarded as savage and uncivilized, black man. On the other hand, this anthropologist's honest viewing of Africa in this manner indicates their absolute contempt against the Other. Likely, anthropologists have failed to discover the real conditions of what the Others are. And rather than uncovering what is on the ground, the anthropologists engaged to disparage the native. It is

possible to say that anthropological discourses are the preconditions to wage war on Third World people. Since, it was after the writing of some anthropologists, the West actively involved to subjugate the Other.

I believe that there is no one who hates to be free. So, freedom becomes a desirable part of life. It is necessary to confront the challenges that come from the West because silence never resolves the difficulties of the oppressed people. Seriously postcolonialists pushed the majority to take certain actions regarding the offensiveness of anti-black discourse, inaction would not be a solution. To admit a conclusion of such western discourse looks like accepting white man's claim that is white race is superior to other races. So, to expose the inauthenticity of white man's utterance it is must the revolt of Third World intellectuals against Europe. And, the reaction of African philosophy to western discourse discloses to restoring African identity.

The colonial rule acquainted with pointless propagation of Eurocentric prejudgment and a likely method presumed to produce differences between White and the Other. Colonization is the devastating war in addition to reporting a biased narration through literary works against black men, the West has also declared a physical war on Africa. The colonial rule subverted the social structures of colonized man. Nothing is there in colonialism while it deprives, imprison, exploit, dehumanize, and massacre the colonized and these become its common traits. Especially, campaigners of humanitarianism are impatient to tolerate the brutality of the oppressors then a struggle beside the oppressed is expected. Obviously, colonial rule has deprived the subjugated group material and spiritual resources. Then, a postcolonial theory is projected to overcome complexity of problems.

The main concern of postcolonial theory is realizing decolonization and it has several up and downs. Importantly, postcolonialism aims at achieving emancipation, equality, justice and the right to self-determination of colonized people. The colonial rule monopolized all opportunities while the colonized have no right to decide on socio-economic, political, and cultural concerns. Decisions to avoid this European unjust interruption over non-white people needed reactions of oppressed people.

It is important to clarify the significance of some words that I mentioned in this thesis. Repeatedly you will find words like these; westerns, white, Europeans. These words never represent the whole Europeans. But in this thesis the purpose of these words is to express anti-black westerns. Another word is the term Other. This term refers to non-white people mainly African people. To make it more precise, it is important to divide the paper into chapters based on this the thesis has three chapters.

In the first chapter, we will examine what a discourse is, as a preface we have a very precise discussion about discourse in general. The chapter focuses on the effect of western discourse on Africa. There are many discourses and to address all the discourses is impossible, then what I am doing is to present only discourses that are related to philosophical discussions. We will discuss anthropological discourses, how they serve as a precondition to defame a particular society. I would like to mention Bruhl's and Temple's anthropological studies on Africa. Their anthropological discourses touch the civilization, rationality, politics, culture, and religions of African peoples. It is inevitable to mention two important points regarding anthropological discourses. These are Eurocentrism and cultural imperialism. Such discourses of the West are known for Eurocentric articulation and cultural imperialism. This chapter aimed at addressing the aforesaid points and the points embraced in this part also indirectly incorporated in the coming two chapters.

The second chapter deals with the reaction made by some postcolonialists. Here, colonization, decolonization, and postcolonialism are the key themes in this section. On the one hand, I will try to analyze each of them precisely and following this an effort has been made to present selected theories of some postcolonialists. In relation to this, the views of some postcolonialists like Franz Fanon and Albert Memmi are treated extensively. Even if they came with a different point of view, they bother about the conditions of the colonized man. Many postcolonialists suggested that violence, revolt, and assimilation as a way out to resolve the difficulties of oppressed society. After the views of these postcolonialists I leave my remarks in each paragraph. Also, in this part additionally, I tried to integrate the views of statesmen because when we think of decolonization, we also remember the pioneer political leaders of Africa. And, finally I will address what Kwame Nkrumah had called neo-colonialism and this becomes another

problem to a postcolonial society. Neo-colonialism is an existing challenge to contemporary Africa.

The last part which is chapter three concerned with presenting the dominant theories in African philosophy. Among them, I will discuss Negritude and Afrocentrism because these are mainly theories developed as responses to European discourses on Africa. Aime Cesaire by negritude urges the black to feel pride in their blackness and critically opposes any imposition against the black man. Importantly these African centred thoughts encourage what belongs to a black man's philosophy. I will try to examine the rationality debate in very limited discussion since when we talk about Africa philosophy, we also mention rationality debate. I found the '*Stolen Legacy*' a comprehensive one to examine what the rationality debate is, then we will see this point in this chapter.

Finally, we have a conclusion. Here I wish to mention Eguale Gebere Yohannes book '*Methods of Higher Education*'. But my concern is to examine how Eguale attempts to resolve the difficulties that arise between different cultures. Postcolonial thinkers like Memmi and Leopold Sedar Senghor partially undertake assimilation to resolve cultural crises but I do not think this approach as effective means of overcoming certain difficulties. In this thesis I would like to mention Eguale's approach as it is more preferable to resolve the difficulties between black and non-black culture. At the end of this thesis, I will try to illustrate the colonial war as an unjust war. Also, I think that colonial rule lasted in different ways after the end of the physical war of the West.

Chapter One

Western Discourses on Africa

1.1. Eurocentrism

Eurocentrism becomes a line to transmit purposive thoughts of Europe. Assertions uttered by Eurocentric mouth incline to make a separation between the West and others. Eurocentric assertions have no affirmative judgments about non-white people. And the contents of Eurocentric expressions are far from being a healthy expression. Chimuka (2001) stated that in order to create colonial empires in Africa, Europe had to abolish existing African social and political structures to make way for the new civilization. It is possible to say that Eurocentrism paves the way to implant westernized beliefs in Africa. By posing more Europeanized views they attempt to override local traditions.

Eurocentrism is the hegemonic assumption that certain values, beliefs, experiences, and expectations of a dominant culture are true and should be apply to all humanity and human situations. It promulgates the rationale that European colonization was good for the advancement, improvement, amelioration of the colonized; that colonialism was a civilizing mission beneficial to the other, who was perceived as backward and uncivilized, or savage and primitive, in need of being rescued from the Dark ages and brought into modernity. Eurocentric approach as the idea it reinforces that something is modern and good only if it is validated by the west (Burney, 2012, pp. 161-162).

Tsenay Serequeberhan has examined the elements of Eurocentric thoughts and he exposed very celebrated philosophers as they were Eurocentric. Accordingly, Eurocentrism is rooted in its principal metaphysical belief that European existence is qualitatively superior to other forms of human life (Serequeberhan, 1997, p. 142). Racist groups conceived the non-European absolutely as inferior, barbaric, and savage. “White men consider themselves superior to black men” (Fanon, 2008, p. 42). It became a fault founder among the non-western people and pushed them to retain white oriented approaches. Eurocentrism involved claiming cultures that were not white or European as being such or denying their existence at all (Pop, 2018, p. 2), and known for its exclusiveness and overstates occidental traits. There are clear indicators that depict Eurocentric

suppression over other traditions. Eurocentrism is the discourse that places emphasis on European culture, and values at the expense of other cultures (Ray, Schwarz, Berlanga, Moreiras, and Shemak, 2016, p. 2).

Eurocentrism is either to present a particular European way of articulating things as a model that tells the specificity of the European spirit as a model for others to follow, or the expression of a general law that will be inevitably reproduced elsewhere, even if delayed (Amin, 2009, p. 256). Universalism is quite close to Eurocentrism, therefore, because universal discourse baptizes other cultures from a European point of views. Eurocentrism generates a self-sustaining belief that Europe and Europeans are central and most essential to all meaningful aspects of the world's social values, and cultural heritage (Pop, 2018, p. 2). Eurocentrism in its relation to universalism has an outcome of snubbing Third World culture, or it appears exclusive. The focal theme of the Eurocentric standpoint is the notion of Euro-exceptionalism: the existence of a distinct culture stressing its commitment to rationalism, progress, and universality (Ray, et al, 2016, p. 3).

Stated in Burney (2012) Eurocentrism becomes a distorted ideology that interprets the world from the viewpoint of the West, especially European lenses. The chief concern of the West is introducing an ideology that is hard to carry out Eurocentric beliefs. Also, Amin (2009) observed Eurocentrism as prejudice and distortions contrary to Others. We will see later on about cultural imperialism in relation to capitalism and now Eurocentrism and capitalism are coexisting views that are pitfalls to non-European societies. Samir Amin has put forward remarkable assertion regarding Eurocentrism and capitalism:

Capitalism in its western model formed the superior prototype of social organization, a model that could be reproduced in other societies that have not had the good fortune of having initiated this superior form on the condition that these societies free themselves of the obstacles posed by their cultural traits, which were deemed responsible for their backwardness (Amin, 2009, p. 179).

He made clear the impact of capitalism on emerging countries. As he addressed, the West not only tries to pose Eurocentric outlooks but also perceived non-European traits are a hindrance to the problems that Third World people face. Eurocentric proponents admitted that the non-

European can only progress to the extent that they imitate the west (Amir, 2009, p. 180). There is no more denial than conceiving other beliefs as valueless while supposing the occidental one as precious. For Amir, Eurocentrism has an instrumental role, functioning as means to disseminate capitalist ideology.

Eurocentrism undermines languages origin in non-European society. This has a damaging effect on culture. A binary division between European and non-Europeans seems a usual trend to sustain white superiority. Even if there are Europeans who claimed to articulate a philosophy in occidental terminologies and the language practice in Africa or Asia becomes ineffective to possess philosophy. For Fanon (2008), mastery of language affords remarkable power. Even Fanon's writing is tied with colonialism but his notion of language is important. "Every colonized people in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation that is, with the culture of the mother country" (Fanon, 2008, p, 48). Maybe the dominant language becomes uncomfortable and lets down other languages. Till now there is a language predicament in Africa, due to this there would be a concealed local culture because of language. Eurocentrism carries out the usual racist assertions that are against people outside Europe. Eurocentric expressions are purposefully incorporated in the work of some European authors. One of the means to disseminate Eurocentrism is discourse. It refers to a discourse of some scholar that evidently contains Eurocentric assertions.

1.2. Western Discourses as Source of Domination

Throughout history, many discourses are presented and those discourses are inclined to have their own goal. Whisnant (2012) has evinced those discourses can generally be subdivided. Discourses are many, not a single discourse that would be realized but various discourses are practiced. In their manuscripts some intellectuals incorporated the idea of discourse and they made an effort to scrutinize its meaning, extent, implication, and effect. In connection to this, it seems important to mention here Michel Foucault since he was influential in his idea of discourse.

Several discourses are wielded by different groups to realize what they want to assert. Whisnant (2012) supposed that discourses are always multiple among the reasons to argue discourses are multiple is related with the era. Throughout history a variety of discourses are in practice but throughout time emerging new discourses become clear. Discourses change over time also discourses are multiple in the sense that they undergo transformations (Whisnant, 2012. p, 7). All the discourses have specific objectives and to characterize as they have a shared goal is unthinkable. An outdated discourse substituted by new discourse in order to enhance the required things. For instance, the discourse experienced in the medieval era and discourses practiced in the modern period are quite different. First and foremost, what is discourse?

It is a multidimensional and comprehensive point of view to cover more than a few things. Discourse refers to the speech patterns and usage of languages, dialects, and acceptable accounts within a community (Pitsoe and Letseka, 2003, p. 23). Discourse is close to mean constructing statements to deliver the desired thing. Michel Foucault linked discourse with knowledge and power. For Foucault (1972) discourse is about the production of knowledge through language that there are rules and practices that produce meaningful statements and that regulate discourses in a particular historical period.

It is impossible to apprehend any statements as part of a discourse because statements become discourse after several steps. Statements that form a discourse are not independent while they are interdependent of each other. Foucault (1972) thought that from the beginning discourses have no coherent and united or finalized forms rather through processes gain a coherent meaning. Based on this assertion discursive formation refers to “describing the relations between statements” (Foucault, 1972, p. 35). Reorganizing, ordering, and scrutinizing of statements become crucial steps to know what discourse is. Apparently, true that a discourse has an influence when discursive formation between statements takes place.

Discursive practice the ‘order of discourse’-a conceptual terrain in which knowledge is formed and produced. What is analyzed is not simply what was thought or said, but all the discursive rules and categories that were a priori assumed as a constituent part of discourse and there of knowledge, and fundamental that they remained unvoiced and unthought. Discursive practices are characterized by a delimitation of a field of objects, the definition

of legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories (Young, 1981, p. 48).

He emphasized the presence of lots of discourse and discourses are relational, this shows that discourse overlay each other. Then, discourse must be treated as discontinuous practices, which cross each other, are sometimes juxtaposed with one another, but can just as well exclude or be unaware of each other (Foucault, 1981, p. 67). On the other hand, Foucault's (1972), discursive formation denotes the complexity of discourse, not one statement to be embraced as discourse instead multiple statements form discourse.

Foucault pushed us to have a material understanding of what he called discourse. I think discourse is not an immaterial or ideal thing detached from action. We will go back to this point in detail in part when we discuss anthropological discourses and their material effect. Discourse is not something immaterial while it has a material consequence (Foucault, 1981, p. 70). He is inclined to say a discourse takes a form of institution, becomes part of knowledge, and translated to certain actions. As Masood Raja (2019), said, Foucault's conception of discourse as material, is to mean that it needs a subject, it needs work, and it needs prestige of institutions, enunciating institutions and its body of knowledge. Here, discourses are implemented to attain the desirable things unless one could not see the fruit of discourses. Must to consider discourses as violence which we do to things, or any case as a practice which we impose on them (Foucault, 1981, p. 67). Here, the word violence looks like integrating discourse with physical things to show how discourse produces knowledge.

In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality. In society like ours, the procedures of exclusion are well known. The most obvious and familiar is the prohibition. We know quite well that we do not have the right to say everything, that we cannot speak of just anything in any circumstances whatever, and that not everyone has the right to speak of anything whatever. It does not matter that discourses appears to be of little account, because the prohibitions that surround it very

soon reveal its link with desire and with power. Discourse is the power which is to be seized (Foucault, 1981, pp. 52-3).

Obviously, discourse doesn't represent whatever thoughts while disclosing unique statements that are hard to carry out deep and secret ideas. On the other hand, one could presume that discourses are not accessible to all because "discourses are selected, controlled, and redistributed" (Foucault, 1981, p. 52). For Foucault, discourse, knowledge, and power are intertwined things, and then it is inevitable that discourse has either positive or negative influences. Discourses are purposive and selective to achieve the required thing and somewhere it uses power. "Power is everywhere" (Foucault, 1978, p. 93), if it is tied with power then it would influence certain groups in good or bad ways.

Another vital point regarding Foucault's view of discourse leads us to question the goal of a discourse. Foucault (1981) discourses are inclined to win mastery or to gain acceptance within a particular society. And here, it is possible to say discourse produces knowledge and power among people, or the one who has been in discourse should influence the other to confirm mastery of his discourse. Perhaps, a discourse presents an issue differently that has the power to reveal truth or to conceal it. Foucault discussed a variety of discourses; hence, true and false discourses are designed to realize certain things. He claimed that true discourses are disregarded to discover the will to truth rather the type of discourse to be known is called false discourse. Because false discourse is associated with the desire to exercise power or control. And, discourse articulated by West anthropologists regarding African people is close to false discourse because what they discoursed appears wrong. To illustrate how discourse serves as a tool of domination, let us discuss anthropological discourses in connection to domination.

Anthropology becomes a very nice area to disseminate whatever discourses; it touches the biological, social, political, religious, and cultural aspects of a given society. So, some anthropological discourses originated in the West have no good submissions about the black people. Such discourses contradict African philosophy since there were anthropologists who came to Africa and misrepresented what belongs to the black man. Likely anthropological studies are selected and have a concealed ambition for power aimed to colonize the black, on the other hand,

to prolong white supremacy. When we scrutinize the contents of some European discourses, we find positive and negative articulations. The affirmative effect of a discourse privileges the West because they produce a discourse in a way that would make sure the required things. The terrible upshot of discourse is clear when we examine its effect on non-European societies. Let's see Lucien Levy-Bruhl anthropological studies and our discussion on Bruhl is very limited because the target is to show how anthropological discourse serves as a source of domination.

1.2.1. An oppressive Anthropological Discourse

Bruhl's inquiry into non-European people seemed to report distorted points of view against the Other. He attempted to distinguish a variety of factors responsible for the failures of the primitive mind from exercising rationality. For Bruhl, missionaries' reports have a valuable contribution since those reports are the main source of his investigation. As he suggested, some of the missionary's reports show that "the primitives' dislike of the very simplest logical process" (Bruhl, 1923, p, 30). For Europeans, the logical process becomes so easy whereas the same process becomes difficult for the primitive mind. This is clearly the usual pronouncement about the West hegemony of reason. The primitives never wanted to think of more than a very few things essential to their survival, their flocks and herds, their game, and fish (Bruhl, 1923, p. 32). It entails that the primitives are busy in their desire for material gain. Bruhl (1923) held primitives exhibit considerable mental activity when the subject of thought interests them when it deals with their cattle.

Primitive's inability to reason out is a result of their pursuit of interests that are entirely material (Bruhl, 1923, p. 32). Whether Europeans are materialists or not, is another important question. To react to this question, I think colonization is a possible indication the answer since behind the colonizer's expedition to other regions there was exploitation aimed at material gain. In addition to this, the primitive ideas go no further than the regions of sense (Bruhl, 1923, p. 32). For Bruhl, the non-Europeans trust their sense as a reliable source of knowledge and this is an unnecessary part of their life because sense restricts them from utilizing their mind. And he continued that the primitives only believe what they see. Lack of intellectual curiosity is accompanied by extreme sensibility to the presence of anything which takes him by surprise

(Bruhl, 1923, p. 57). Repeatedly, he claimed the primitive mentality escapes and disregards logical thought.

Bruhl has introduced terminologies that intensify the difference between white and Others. The same terminology may not be capable of delineating what the West and Other people are. Let me borrow Kebede's expression which is 'the invention of the white man' is must. Bruhl's without exception, he conceived the primitive minds as prelogical and mystical. Accordingly, prelogicality and mysticisms are the two interdependent futures of the primitive mind:

These are two aspects of the same fundamental quality, rather than two distinct characteristics. If we take the content of the representations more particularly into account, we shall call it mystic and, if the connections are the chief consideration, we pronounce it prelogical. By prelogical we do not mean to assert that such a mentality constitutes a kind of antecedent stage, in point of time, to the birth of logical thought (Bruhl, 1966, p. 63).

So critical in his use of terminologies like these prelogical and mysticism. He argued that to some point Europeans had mysticism in their religion. But this religious mysticism has contained a difference in contrast with other mysticism. For Bruhl (1966) there are no prior times within primitive history that characterize the other as they are logical. "In the mentality of primitive peoples, the logical and prelogical are not arranged in layers and separated from each other like oil and water in a glass" (Bruhl, 1966, p. 89). This water and oil comparison shows that the primitive mind which is prelogical is unable to apprehend the rational one. And the oil floats on the top of the water and logical thoughts don't penetrate to the primitive minds.

Additional point that Bruhl propagated as a unique feature of primitive minds is participation and collective representation. "Participation was utterly other than logic, and it was the pre-eminent factor in 'primitive mentality'; in other words, it was on the irrational (affective, non-cognitive) side of the dichotomy" (Mousalimas, 1990, p. 39). The mentality of primitives, being mystic, is inevitably prelogical also: which means that, preoccupied with the mystic powers and properties of persons and things, it perceives of their relations under the law of participation without troubling about contradictions which rational thought cannot possibly tolerate (Bruhl, 1966, p. 87). Except the West, the Other on no occasion calculate, justify, examine, and clarify the

contents of such events in his reception time. This is completely misconstruction because primitives have certain canons capable of demonstrating the right from wrong, good or bad, and important and less important. And his conclusion, the primitive disconcert of contradiction seems false, implies that primitive has the potential to state certain contradictions. He asserted that their mentality has no need to seek an explanation and the explanation is inferred in the mystic elements of the collective representations of them (Bruhl, 1966, p. 33). For Bruhl logical thinking is not a phenomenon of native mind. For this reason, it becomes the heritage of the west. But the Others have heritage mysticism. Due to this logical thought are urged, established, and confirmed in each individual mind by the uninterrupted constraining force of his social milieu and this is a heritage of which no member of our community is deprived, and which none would ever dream of refusing (Bruhl, 1966, p. 90). Bruhl overemphasized rationality of the West, he said that no member of his community is deprived of logical thought.

The heritage of non-European people depends on mystical thoughts. According to Bruhl, each generation inherits the mysticism of his forefather's thoughts through collective representation. And ideas, thoughts, and reflections among primitive society are attributed to the social groups since the social order exerts an influence. This is the common narration to conclude African philosophy as ethnophilosophy or communal philosophy. In fact, there were individual philosophers in Africa before Bruhl's but his distortion is deliberately discoursed to disparage the natives. Among primitive society mystical beliefs are transmitted from generation to generation by means of myths and legends, and those which govern manners and customs are apparently quite unimportant; for if these customs are esteemed and enforced, it is because the collective representations relating to them are imperative and something quite different from purely intellectual phenomena (Bruhl, 1966, p. 24). According to him, the primitive mind is at no time capable of a mental change. Consequently, events are transferred from generation to generation through mystical processes. Bruhl's view is false, there are factors that push primitive people to make a reform. Let's accept Bruhl's discourse which is, all the time natives have the same phenomena in each generation. But looking toward to native phenomena nothing would remain original; perhaps the native at different times made a reform to enlighten and transform their societies.

No matter racists could deny and distort the ontology of Others but the fact is not what they uttered. There are reliable ontological perceptions never intertwined with mystic force or witchcraft. Only the whites demonstrate the cause of an event. And no confusion regarding the occurrence of new events however the primitive without any explanation and investigation are considered invisible forces responsible for the cause of events. And in considering any matter, they never go beyond registering the fact (Bruhl, 1966, p. 36). “The fact is that the primitive, whether he be an African or any other, never troubles to inquire into causal connections which are not self-evident, but straightway refers them to a mystic power” (Bruhl, 1923, p. 37). The primitive ever mentions mystic force as a cause of things, as an example he talks about death to show how primitive identify the cause of death. In connection to this, he believed that “in all uncivilized races, death requires to be explained by other than natural causes” (Bruhl, 1923, p. 38). For Bruhl, the justification of primitive to death in no occasion related to biological problems. For Bruhl (1923) the white knows that death as it is caused by biological factors, a failure of the body organs, senile decay, and diminution of function power is the cause. This is a hasty generalization because to argue all primitives associate the cause of death with occult power seems unreasonable. Because there are non-white people able to identify cause of such even apart occult power.

Bruhl thought that natives are dominated by occult or some witchcraft in their identification of causes. Their understanding of cause does not go beyond unnatural things and then totally conceived sorcerers are the responsible cause of things. “In the native nothing are related to its cause since that all things are a result of mystic force” (Bruhl, 1966, p. 57). For Bruhl’s undertaking such mystical force as the cause has a side effect among primitives. In his works he repeatedly mentioned the type of force that exhibits primitive people, then trying to take his account of native ontology as reliable look like committing another betrayal. Bruhl’s assertions about native people are wrong narrations and purposefully carry out the usual Eurocentric outlooks.

As we have seen above the chief source of his conclusion toward non-European people is the result of collected reports from missionaries. This is not an exaggeration to say the missionaries spent their time around the river and their reports have details about crocodiles, alligators, fish, and other animals. To some degree, it seems to me that the missionaries report lacks detail of non-European peoples because they reported a limited conversion and their conversation mainly focus

on the experience of natives with animals. Bruhl's discourse of non-European lacks positive instances and his discourse is no less than disparaging the Other. Brule's distorted narration gained acceptance among other racist Europeans since Placide Tempel has maintained the same discourse regarding native people.

1.2.2. Exclusive Discourse of Tempels

Tempel has tried to maintain European supremacy through disparaging African. In fact, selected discourses are detached from being inclusive. Apart from the involvement of African since the subject is a native and Tempel erroneously delineated the native. The distortion he made on African people is not limited to ontology or rationality. He tried to ridicule the entire future of African philosophy. As Foucault (1981) suggested a discourse may reveal a truth or portray falsehood and Tempel's '*Bantu Philosophy*' reveals the purpose of his study. Generally speaking, the entire discourse of Tempel motivate the West to colonize the black people. Tempel's Bantu philosophy, touches Bantu politics, metaphysics, ethics, and epistemology, and then to examine how his discourses become a source of domination let's have a precise discussion on politics, ontology, and epistemology.

First, Tempel's Bantu philosophy has a political purpose since that he wishes to maintain the colonial missions in Africa. His book is written for the benefit of Belgians who worked in the colonial administration and anyone who was interested in native or colonial affairs (Matolino, 2001, p. 336). Bantu philosophy was clearly designed to empower colonizers and support the subjugation of the Other. Tempel's philosophy is closer to justifying the colonial subjection of Africans than educating and empowering the natives for economic and political equality (Eze, 2001, p. 43). Césaire's cited in (Hountondji, 1996) thought that Bantu philosophy is an attempt to create a diversion. For Césaire, Bantu Philosophy diverts attention from the fundamental political problems of the Bantu peoples by fixing it on the level of fantasy, remote from the burning reality of colonial exploitation. Thus, Bantu philosophy became a pretext for the colonizers and missionaries to baptize the native with European-centered outlooks but behind the civilizing mission, there was apparent political interest. Tempel had clearly stated:

It therefore concerns all colonials, especially those whose duty is to hold administrative or judicial office among African people; all those who are concerning themselves with a felicitous development of tribal law; in short, it concerns all who wish to civilize, educate and raise the Bantu. But, if it concerns all colonizers with good will, it concerns most particularly missionaries. We find ourselves at a loss when confronted by native law and customs. We must add, moreover, that it is intellectuals with good will, giving guidance to native society-especially missionaries-who alone can achieve useful work which will contribute to the civilizing of the Bantu (Tempel, 1959, pp. 11-3).

He has a dilemma: he said “all colonizers with good will it concerns most particularly missionaries” (Tempel, 1959, p. 11). The colonizer's task turns out to be maintaining suppression while the oppressed needs liberation. Then, how do the colonizers treat colonized people? This becomes absurd. That's why goodwill has nothing to do with colonialism. Hountondji countered Tempel's then he said that it is clear that Bantu philosophy it is not addressed to Africans but to Europeans (Hountondji, 1996, p. 34). One of the reasons to reject Bantu philosophy as it is not an African philosophy is due to its exclusiveness.

For Hountondji (1996), Africans are precluded from the discussion, and Bantu philosophy is a simple pretext for learned disquisitions among Europeans. Without the involvement of African Tempel sought to state the nature of African philosophy. This exclusive discourse of the West on African philosophy was deliberately conducted to denigrate the native. “The black man continues to be the very opposite of an interlocutor; he remains a topic, a voiceless face under private investigation, an object to be defined and not the subject of a possible discourse” (Hountondji, 1996, p. 34). Tempel muted the voice of the native. He was unable to welcome conversion from the native groups rather through exclusive studies, he tried to determine the natives. His opposition to Bantu people was never limited to political attacks; it has also misperceptions on native ontology.

When he moved to Africa, he said the black had their own philosophy and promised to enlighten Bantu philosophy to a better stage. But what he did was the reverse one. He discussed the ontology of Bantu while his discussion has a lot of errors. Bantu ontology or, to be more exact, the Bantu theory of forces is completely opposed to any such conception (Tempel, 1959, p. 27).

For Tempel, Bantu philosophy seems like a philosophy of magic. Due to this he concluded that Bantu ontology is known for its force. And one of the important factors that make a distinction between European and Bantu ontology has resulted from a static conception of being and a dynamic conception of being (Tempel, 1959, p, 24). Therefore, for white man a being has static characters while Bantu philosophy has no firm features.

I believe that we should most faithfully render the Bantu thought in European language by saying that Bantu speak, act, live as if, for them, beings were forces. Force is not for them an adventitious, accidental reality. Force is more than a necessary attribute of beings: Force is the nature of being, force is being, being is force. When we think in terms of the concept “being”, they use the concept “force”. Where we see concrete beings, they see concrete forces. When we say that “beings” are differentiated by their essence or nature, Bantu say that “forces” differ in their essence or nature. They hold that there is the divine force, celestial or terrestrial forces, human forces, animal forces, vegetable and even material or mineral forces (Tempel, 1959, p. 24-5).

He disregards native language. He appropriate European language to express Bantu philosophy. This enables him to interpret the Bantu philosophy as he wishes. He said that “render Bantu thought in European language” (Tempel, 1959, p. 24). This is a contempt to dishonor Bantu culture. The whole ontology of Bantu dominated by what he called force and no distinction exists between being and force. His notion of Bantu ontology is associated with a magical character.

Tempel designed the word and the category for some motive which is not less than sinister (Matolino, 2011, p. 338). Its anthropological discourse has Eurocentric terminologies to disregard Africa whereas to show white superiority, invention of the white man is usual (Kebede, 2004. P. 3). It entails the role of terminologies to deliver true or false accounts. The thought of the Bantu is unknown to us. Therefore, we shall call theirs provisionally the philosophy of magic, though our terminology will not cover their thought and our terms can furnish only an approximation to concepts and principles foreign to us (Temple, 1959, p. 18). These are unambiguous expressions that illustrate Tempel's curiosity to impose white culture among Bantu people. For this reason, a white person has a solid philosophical and religious system whereas the African is informed by a superstitious magical system (Matolino, 2011, p. 338). It would be not easy to find an activity or

an event of any importance in the lives of Africans which is not connected with their philosophy of forces by reason of their beliefs concerning vital influences (Tempel, 1959, p. 43). As mentioned above Tempel during his coming said that Bantu has philosophy but his final work shows a denial of African philosophy.

We do not claim, of course, that the Bantu are capable of formulating a philosophical treatise, complete with an adequate vocabulary. It is our job to proceed to such systematic development. It is we who will be able to tell them, in precise terms, what their inmost concept of being is. They will recognize themselves in our words and will acquiesce, saying, "You understand us: you now know us completely: you "know" in the way we "know". More than that, if we can adapt our teaching of true religion to what is worthy of respect in their ontology, we shall hear, in the same way in which it was given to me, such testimony as was given to me. "Now you deceive yourself no longer, you speak as our fathers speak, it always seemed to us that we must be right." They were feeling, I have no doubt, that my instruction, while rejecting the false conclusions of their philosophy, was adapting itself wonderfully to some "soul of truth" in their own fundamental concepts (Tempel, 1959, p. 17).

Tempel embraced clear Eurocentric prejudices. He doubts the rationality of the Bantu people to design their own philosophy. "A man who is going to build a canoe would never for a moment cease to keep in mind his philosophy of forces" (Tempel, 1959, p. 42). It involves that the Bantu is inept to escape the vital force. Due to this the possibilities of black to exercise reason remain unpersuasive for Tempel. For Bruhl even if the Bantu has a philosophy, the philosophy is a result of magic or looks like a philosophy of magic. But European philosophy has a rational account whereas the other philosophy is known for its magical force (Tempel, 1959, p. 43). Here, Tempel repeated the same narration as some chauvinistic philosophers have articulated. Those dissatisfied with black philosophy suggested the non-existence of African philosophy. He said non-Europeans have no other conception of the world. Rather their philosophy directs all their activities and their inactivities. In addition to this their human behavior is conditioned by their knowledge of being as force (Tempel, 1959, p. 45).

Let me conclude Tempel's discourse with reference to Matolino's claim. The Bantu categories are coined as inferior, incoherent, inarticulate, illogical, and mystified (Matolino, 2001, p. 330). Tempel's grasp opposing expressions to discuss European and African philosophy; this has the effect of producing binary divisions. Just to alienate the black from his culture, through anthropological studies, the West supposed universal thoughts. Tempel said "we must postulate, seek and discover a logical system of human thought as the ultimate foundation of any logical and universal system of human behaviour" (Tempel, 1959, p. 10). So, only whites are in position to produce and disseminate a universal canon to all human beings. It seems to me that universalism is no less than a tool of domination and means of exploitation. Tempel wishes to lay the foundation for Europeanized perspectives in Africa or to make a shift in the minds of African people to understand things from European perspectives. Clearly, he stated that whatever must be seen and ordered through intellectual disciplines of the western world (Tempel, 1959, p. 11).

One final point to illustrate Tempel's conception of Bantu philosophy as it is a deliberate invention to disdain the Bantu people becomes clear when we question the work of white philosophers, even the discourse of some racist intellectuals. Europeans are unable to be entirely emancipated from the attitudes of their ancestors. It is because his reactions are founded upon a complete philosophical system" (Tempel, 1959, p. 9). He overstated confidence in occidental perspectives contradicts with some western outlooks. Merely, we can see Kant's enlightenment project. In enlightenment, he claimed that emancipation from previously (ancestors) structured dogmas or assertions is important while Tempel even after Kant tried to speak about the whole philosophical systems of the West as it was absolutely qualified. The rise of critical theorists and postmodernist philosophers makes a significant contribution in exposing extremely counted perspectives as they are problematic. Bruhl's and Tempel's wrongly conceived the non-European culture, religion, and ways of life as meaningless and irrelevant aspects of their life.

Cultures are constructed out of various, competing discourses. Some discourses may dominate the culture by helping to shape political and social institutions and by infiltrating into different levels of life (Whisnant, 2012, p. 7). It is clear that discourse influences culture positively and negatively. On the other hand, it involves that discourse and culture intersect each other. Especially, discourse interferences on culture are wide due to this culture may have no static

features. Mainly occidental tradition causes and escalates otherness than seeking a compromising setting.

1.3. Cultural Imperialism

Throughout different studies, several ideas are reflected related to culture. Many have said many things and it is difficult to uncover all the points then here we have a very limited discussion about culture. In fact, the discussion is about culture but culture in relation to imperialism. Before scrutinizing cultural imperialism, let us see what is culture? And what is imperialism?

The term culture is a very complex. For this reason, it has deep attachment with a wide range of subjects. As many scholars have thought, culture is a rich terminology. It refers to “whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual” (Williams, 1958, p. XIV). Culture embraces many things; it may be political, social, economic, and religious matters. Not the same culture but many cultures exist and each society has its own culture.

According to Edward Said (1994), culture is a concept that contains refining and elevating elements, each society's reservoir of the best that has been known and thought. A society must be custodian to his best fitted culture to endure the importance of culture. In fact, there are unimportant things that hamper the growth of culture such as imperial domination, colonialism, and xenophobia. Accordingly, culture is a source of identity and it is a sort of theatre where various political and ideological causes engage one another (Said, 1994, p. 11). Said used the term ‘theatre’ to express the complexity of culture. Therefore, in culture many states of affairs are taking place. Above all, culture is the way to express individual or group identity. But a culture will cease to be an expression of identity because of imperialism and related challenges. Imperialism has a detrimental outcome on native culture while concurrently privileges the imperialist group. About imperialism Said has alleged;

Imperialism means thinking about, settling on, controlling land that you do not possess, that is distant, that is lived on and owned by others. For all kinds of reasons it attracts some people and often involves untold misery for others. "Imperialism" means the practice, the

theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory; "colonialism," which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory (Said, 1994, pp. 33-5).

Imperialism is an external force imperiling people who live abroad. Cultural imperialism refers to cultural domination (Tomlinson, 1991, p. 130). When we discuss cultural imperialism, we are not dealing with one or two things but many problems against culture. Cultural imperialism creates a binary division between cultures, it esteems culture as superior or inferior, civilized and backward, or important or less important. The deficit of cultural imperialism is its denial of freedom to other cultures. Cultural imperialism deprives the right to cultural autonomy. According to Tomlinson, "cultural autonomy holds, roughly, that a culture has the right to self 'self-legislation', and freedom from heteronomy control" (Tomlinson, 1991, p. 106). Tomlinson has thought that cultural domination is the exercise of manipulation or control of the culture from outside. It is unquestionable to presume culture is under domination when there is a cultural attack or denial of freedom to other's culture. Lindley suggested that an autonomous person is not someone who is manipulated by others or forced to do their will. An autonomous person is the one who behaves in accordance with his/her own will and choice.

As many apprehended cultures may have no static futures whereas they are subjected to a dynamic feature. Cultures are protean entities, their boundaries are shifting and permeable and they don't have the characteristics of permanence (Tomlinson, 1991, p. 108). Through gradual processes culture shows progress and change. Said share this view of cultural change "far from being unitary or monolithic or autonomous things, cultures actually assume more "foreign" elements, alterities, differences, than they consciously exclude" (Said, 1994, p. 41). Said's perspective toward cultural change parallel intercultural communication. Instead of marginalizing a culture the best measure must be enhancing intercultural dialogue and preserving local and foreign concomitantly. If cultural imperialism denies freedom to other cultures, then Other cultures may not move in line with their will. A subjugated culture mainly required to accept imperialists will. And, no improvement beside native culture but the reverse one. Because cultural imperialism has no character of transcending other cultures but annihilating and substituting by foreign culture.

Edward Said has inspected the way in which native culture is subjected to imperial domination. As he supposed imperialism is the desire to control distant land, then imperialists would follow different imperial procedures. Among the procedures that imperialists take on to insist cultural domination related to literary works. For Said, literary works have liberating and colonizing powers. He noticed that there are literary works that were purposefully designed to maintain imperialism. Also, the inverse is true, literary works are emancipatory.

European writing on Africa, India, parts of the Far East, Australia, and the Caribbean; these Africanist and Indianist discourses, as some of them have been called, I see as part of the general European effort to rule distant lands and peoples and, therefore, as related to Orientalist descriptions of the Islamic world, as well as to Europe's special ways of representing the Caribbean islands, Ireland, and the Far East. What are striking in these discourses are the rhetorical figures one keeps encountering in their descriptions of "the mysterious East," as well as the stereotypes about "the African [or Indian or Irish or Jamaican or Chinese] mind;" the notions about bringing civilization to primitive or barbaric peoples, the disturbingly familiar ideas about flogging or death or extended punishment being required when "they" misbehaved or became rebellious, because "they" mainly understood force or violence best; "they" were not like "us," and for that reason deserved to be ruled (Said, 1994, p. 9).

Said exposes imperialist expeditions through analyzing literary works of a racist novelist. There was a novelist who decisively enforced the West to maintain domination outside Europe. As a matter of this fact, Said intended to evaluate the contents of some European novelists. Because literature has the tendency of portraying and propagating imperial will and the end result would be dominating the other groups. He also emphasized that such literary works are the means to correct distorted narrations and free oppressed groups. He scrutinized the contents of Joseph Conrad's literary work titled '*Heart of Darkness*'. Conrad presented the book in a way to help Europeans to maintain domination against non-Europeans. Within the novel, the special characters are Marlow and Kurtz and these two guys have had pessimistic views toward the native peoples. Conrad's novel is connected directly with the redemptive force, as well as the waste and horror, of Europe's mission in the dark world (Said, 1994, p. 23). Explicitly, the inclination of Conrad's novel aimed at inspiring imperialists intrusion against the Other.

Conrad from distance evidently through his fiction supported imperialism. Among the characters Marlow's disrespect to the native was rare. During his arrival to the Congo river, things get worse including Kurtz dying. And this accident becomes more catalyst to humiliate the native since Marlow took the accident to mortify the native people. As Said mentioned that Kurtz is dying and Marlow is reflecting in retrospect of Kurtz's final words the horror (Said, 1994, p. 30). Kurtz's experience of the native was negative and following this Marlow accepts the inferiority of Africans and their inability to change themselves. And what is central to Conrad's novel is his propagation of imperialism from the time when Kurtz's great looting adventure, Marlow's journey up the river, and the narrative itself all share a common theme: Europeans performing acts of imperial mastery and will in Africa (Said, 1994, p. 23).

Conrad's novel has the same narration as later on adopted by some racist anthropologists. Anthropologists who came from the West wittingly distorted the realities of black people. When they came to the African region, they promised to change Africa but this is completely dissociated from their concealed desire (agenda of colonization). Yes, their plan was to retain colonization, and to achieve this, they presented themselves as agents to bring civilization. And what is common to the character represented by Kurtz's and Marlow's was they both acknowledge darkness in Africa. Cultural imperialism is known for its misperception of the native culture. It becomes tacit to sustain domination and control over non-white people. Europeans did rule (Said, 1994, p. 126), this is parallel to say Europeans must rule, non-Europeans be ruled. I think the effect of cultural imperialism may not be apparent at all because unlike colonial rule, cultural imperialism attacks the Other through indirect means. Sometimes it is difficult to identify cultural imperialism damages because it has a concealed effect but if it is physical war then has a clear effect but as it is cultural destruction the imperiled ahead know what they lose. I am not saying no damage in culture but culture is immaterial then likely damage is known for a subject after a long time. Cultural imperialism tends to inflict a sense of white outlooks as universal value to all nations.

Cultural imperialism has a concealed ambition and the colonizer makes a change in their strategies to colonize Third World people. Accordingly, it would become a formula to hold colonization in developing countries which is an indirect strategy. As we said above culture is a

comprehensive term, then each society has its own political, economic, and social ideology that would be in a consensus of a given culture. However, cultural imperialism appears a risk to indigenous philosophy of native people. Some postcolonialists have drawn attention to the effects of capitalism on native culture, in one way or another cultural imperialism has an instrumental task. Also, Tomlinson (1991) emphasized that cultural imperialism is the tool of an advancing capitalist system. He clearly stated that “cultural imperialism is in the service of the capitalist system and it appears as the spread of a culture of capitalism” (Tomlinson, 1991, p. 115). Especially, in Africa, the capitalist system appears a challenge to the existing culture and traditions. Africans have an egalitarian way of life but the capitalist system appears a problem to thus egalitarian trends of life. The effect on culture is cultural annihilation, which implies that the capitalist system endeavors to substitute the communitarian system by capitalist structure. “The spread of capitalism must be seen as the spread of distinctive ‘cultural dominant’ in its own right” (Tomlinson, 1991, p. 103).

Cultural imperialism affirms capitalist culture to be part of native culture. Capitalist culture brings out a new event among the Third world people either positively or negatively, simply there will be alterities of culture.

...the absorption with buying and possessing things might make people less concerned with the needs of others, in a word, more selfish. It by no means necessarily follows that an affluent consumer culture will be more selfish than any other sort of culture. One famous example of a ‘culture of selfishness’ suggests that, just the reverse of affluent consumerism a state of extreme material deprivation may lead to general patterns of selfishness (Tomlinson, 1991, p. 123).

Tomlinson has analyzed capitalism in relation to materialist perception. Here he is inclined to say selfishness of capitalist culture. Culture manifests material and spiritual aspects of life while imperialist culture mainly looks for material gains. So, the native receives nothing from cultural imperialism but estrangement, deprivation, and alienation become the fate of the oppressed group. For Tomlinson “cultural imperialism is the process of loss” (Tomlinson, 1991, p. 185). Obviously, it has the effect of conquering Others and conquered culture loses their authentic character or qualities. Let us limit the discussion on cultural imperialism here so let’s see how to resolve

problems of cultural imperialism. There are important points that Edward Said has recommended to resolve problems of cultural imperialism. He attempted to solve the problem of cultural imperialism and to do with the problem Said identified the following points as solution:

Three great topics emerge in decolonizing cultural resistance, separated for analytical purposes, but all related. One, of course, is the insistence on the right to see the community's history whole, coherently, integrally. Restore' the imprisoned nation to itself. Second is the idea that resistance, far from being merely a reaction to imperialism, is an alternative way-of conceiving human history. It is particularly important to see how much this alternative reconception is based on breaking down the barriers between cultures. Third is a noticeable pull away from separatist nationalism toward a more integrative view of human community and human liberation (Said, 1991, pp. 215-16).

I think the first measure that Said has announced to overcome cultural imperialism is associated with the culture, tradition, and history of the precolonial people. Ordinarily speaking a person who lost something, then must try to find out the loss. Said as an alternative to resolve the cultural problem, returning to native culture is a crucial way out. In the second stage, he underlined that an effort must be shown to correct the biased narrations. It was clear that Europeans invented a new character to locate what the Other are. Here, Edward gives emphasis to the effects of westernized assertions on developing countries. Writing back to the metropolitan cultures, disrupting the European accounts of the Orient and Africa, replacing them with either a more playful or a more powerful new narrative style is a major component in the process (Said, 1991, p, 216). This is an important one because disregarding Europeanized views shows that the natives are capable of defining themselves through autonomous ways. Also, this process ensures that the West has no right to assign any character to others.

Finally, Said's concerns about the impact of separatist position. Likely, positions become serious when the West continues denigrating the non-European people. The native people intended to react to European alienating strategies in order to decide their destinations. Unless to keep whatever Eurocentric outlooks resulted in distracting Third world culture. I think this Said third solution to cultural imperialism attempts to abolish the resurrection of extreme ideas.

Acknowledging one-sided policy or strategies to privilege a particular group has an insignificant effect. To come up with a separating perspective widens the gap between the West and the Other. All the measures advanced by Said, are interconnected ways out from imperialist domination. Besides this Arif Dirlik and Richard Bell remarks are important to solve cultural problems. “Revolutionary socialists in the Third World have repeatedly stated "cultural revolution" to be one of their central goals, the other being an economic revolution to secure liberation from capitalist domination” (Dirlik, 2015, p.19). Dirlik's view reassures Tomlinson's critics of capitalism's challenges on culture. Through revolution the imperiled culture of Third World people would recover their lost originality or indigenous feature of their traditions.

One of the shortcomings of cultural imperialism is its ineptitude to value other cultures. Just only conceive of occidental culture as valuable while the native one lacks such significance. I think Richard Bell's conception of culture is an important standpoint to resist cultural imperialism. Understanding whatever is always tied to its environments, which include language, customs, geography, iconic traditions, and particularly the ordinary practices of its people (Bell, 2002, p. 2). Thus, intercultural communication becomes an urgent concern to block the perpetuation of extreme cultural-centrism. As Bell mentioned cross-cultural dialogue engenders the condition for good communication. Unless to pose only one culture against Others will remain oppressive. Then, the alternative would become internalizing a foreign culture in consensus with the local culture.

Said has attempted to resolve the problems between different culture. As we have seen above, he mentioned three alternatives to the problems of cultural imperialism. It has also stated by many scholars about the importance of interculturalism. Central and peripheral divisions lead to extremism. Therefore, to put an end such central and peripheral division, there must be intercultural dialogue. I believe that appreciating interculturalism between culture leads to acknowledging relativism. And, interculturalism has also the advantage of solving other problems. It may be political, social, and economic problems.

Chapter Two

The Reaction of Postcolonial Theories

2.1. Colonization and Postcolonialism

These two terms depict a different state of affairs. The former one is the pushing factor to the emergence of postcolonialism while the latter is caused by the desire for exploitation, subjugation, and domination of people who live abroad. Particularly, Europeans are known for dominating the non-white people. And, the colonized people aimed to resist European domination through anticipating different things. It's apparent that colonialists lack a good deal about Third world people. In connection to this many postcolonialists engage to overcome the injustice of colonialism. Many postcolonialists encourage non-white people to fight for freedom. By freedom it may be economic, political, cultural, and intellectual self-determination from their colonial masters. Based on this, let us see details of colonialism and postcolonialism.

Colonialism is a rule against the will of Other people, on the other hand, a colonized man is under the rule of an overseas control. Typically described as a form of domination that involves the subjugation of one people by another (Butt, 2013; Young, 2001). The domination of a nation by external force is the feature of colonialism. It is associated with manipulating a territory by dominating a local majority (Mudimbe, 1998, p. 14). During colonization, Europeans moved to different parts of the world to control outside people. The reason behind travel to other regions is to organize and transform non-European areas into fundamentally European constructs (Mudimbe, 1998, p. 14). But their movement was not a sudden task force; rather they prepared themselves to hold strategic and planned control against Other nations. It looks like the conquest and control of other land and goods (Young, 2001, p. 54). According to Robert Young (2001), movement from Europe to other parts of the world was to exploit and govern the non-white people.

At the time of colonization, the colonized were not lucky to establish their own administration. Colonialism involved the denial of self-determination, and the imposition of rule rooted in a separate political jurisdiction (Butt, 2013, p. 2). Inside their territory the colonized are ruled by external force and the only option left to them is either to accept or struggle against their

enemies. Colonization involves a forced relationship between an indigenous majority and a minority of foreign invaders (Afisi, 2017, p. 11). Also, Mudimbe (1998) viewed colonialism as the subjugation of the majority by few but armed foreign troops. The colonialists trust their gun and bullet to sustain domination rather than undertaking diplomatic procedure. European rule, underpinned throughout the continent by coercion and racism, was often violent, exploitative, and traumatic (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 91). It is not diplomatic while forceful intrusion benefits the colonialists to control the Other. Schumpeter quoted in (Mudimbe, 1998, p. 16) said that colonialism is non-rational and irrational purely instinctual inclinations toward war and conquest that guided objectless tendencies toward forcible expansion, without definite, utilitarian limits. There is no power balance between the colonialist and colonized, then the relation between them is far from being a fair and healthy relationship. Nayar (2010), colonialism affects not only political and economic change; besides these it affects cultural and religious assets of the colonized.

Colonization was a violent appropriation and sustained exploitation of native races and spaces by European cultures. The colonial power proceeded to modify and control the social and cultural practices and beliefs of the native in the guise of ‘reforms’ and ‘welfare’. New systems of schooling, architecture and even agriculture forced the colonized natives to acquire new skills and methods. Colonialism was never just as an exploitative political or economic process, it was also a cultural conquest of the native whereby the native’s form of knowledge, art, cultural practices, and religious beliefs were studied, classified, policed, judged and altered by the European (Nayar, 2010, p. 11).

Colonization has a subverting trait, this point toward annihilation of Third world people entities. Not only material export to their home country. Also, the oppressor forced natives to leave his culture. As we have seen in chapter one some anthropological investigations deliberately misrepresented native culture. For instance, Eze regarding Tempel’s said that Bantu philosophy “is close to justifying the colonial subjection of Africans than educating and empowering the natives for economic and political equality” (Eze, 2001, p, 43). Colonialism is deeply linked with the misappropriation of cultural property (Butt, 2013, p. 2). This shows us tenaciously some anti-black has besmirched what belongs to natives for the reason to exalt white supremacy.

Colonialism typically displays three characteristics, these are domination, exploitation, and cultural imposition (Butt, 2013, p. 2). By colonial domination, Daniel Butt stated that genocide, slavery, rape and sexual enslavement, murder, torture, and the forcible displacement of people and break-up of families. Corresponding views are presented in Mudimbe critics on colonization. Mudimbe's analysis of colonization has been called colonial structure. Through this he complained anti-black discourse of the West. Perhaps, his notion of colonial structure allied to the oppressive system of the colonialists against the Other. For Mudimbe it is possible to use three main keys to account for the modulations and methods representative of colonial organization. These are the procedures of acquiring, distributing, and exploiting lands in colonies; the policies of domesticating natives; and the manner of managing ancient organizations and implementing new modes of production (Mudimbe, 1998, p. 15). These are indispensable to colonial rule but are complementary to each other's actions. The colonialists got rid of native's economic system in its place "implementing new modes of production" (Mudimbe, 1998, p. 15). This implies the emergence of capitalism in Africa soil. The capitalist even if in this neo-colonialist era aimed at "the integration of local economic histories into the Western perspective" (Mudimbe, 1998, p. 15).

Also, Eurocentric discourse was brought to action to change the existing organizations of the colonized. Obviously, there was a big difference within the entire strategy and policy of the two opposing parts. So, the colonized are exposed to inexperienced perspectives that would be in contrast to the pre-colonized systems of Africa. Mudimbe has precisely ascribed that the white man came with policies of domesticating natives. So, these complementary engagements constitute the colonizing structure, which completely embraces the physical, human, and spiritual aspects of the colonizing experience (Mudimbe, 1998, p. 15). Elucidated above the reason behind postcolonialism is colonialism or the desire for liberation, justice, and equality. There is no institution, no powerful government that condemns the colonialist brutal treatment against the non-white people. Even if there were international and national institutions, thus institutions were powerless to resolve the ongoing problems. So, to affirm equality and rights of colonized people, the campaign of oppressed people for self-determination was a must. The commitment of postcolonialism has become improving and redeeming the conditions of subjugated people and replacing the colonial structure.

In fact, postcolonialism is in touch with a wide range of concerns. For Arif Dirlik (1997) the term postcolonial in its various usages carries a multiplicity of meanings. In connection to this, Dirlik has mentioned three uses of the term postcolonialism as follows. First, it refers to conditions in formerly colonial societies (Dirlik,1997, p. 54). Since the colonial rule has affected the pre-colonial people so that postcolonialists study involves revising the situations of the oppressed people. Secondly, postcolonialism used as a “description of a global condition after the period of colonialism” (Dirlik,1997, p. 54). This point of view was directed to the aftermath of colonial rule. At that time and after colonialism, subjugated people encourage movements that accelerate the emancipation of oppressed people. Finally, Dirlik stated that postcolonialism is associated with the elucidation of a discourse on the above conditions that are informed by the epistemological and psychic orientations that are products of those conditions. The colonial rule acquainted with pointless propagation of Eurocentric predisposition.

postcolonialism can be seen as a resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath. It is a disciplinary project devoted to the academic task of revisiting, remembering and, crucially, interrogating the colonial past. The process of returning to the colonial scene discloses a relationship of reciprocal antagonism and desire between coloniser and colonised (Gandhi, 1998, p. 4).

Postcolonialism's aim is emancipation, equality, and the right to self-determination of colonized people (Quayson, 2000, p. 2). A postcolonial theory must incorporate a theory that has emancipatory elements toward Third world people. As many postcolonial thinkers identified throughout decolonization, leaders or those who accelerate the emancipation of colonized people must dislocate themselves from the oppressive ideology of the West. Postcolonial theory must show a difference concerning the destiny of the Other. Mainly European ideology at no time values liberation of the non-white people. Rather the implication of white discourse on black nations is the inverse one. Inequality, injustice, and exploitation are troublesome factors that circled the existentiality of oppressed people. So, decolonization is aimed at overcoming the perplexed difficulties of the Other people.

Decolonization is the process whereby non-white nations struggle to secure freedom (economic, political, cultural, and intellectual) from their European masters (Nayar, 2010, p. 12).

The colonial rule monopolized all opportunities but the colonized have no right to decide on socio-economic, and political states of affairs. Decolonization pursues freedom from colonial forms of thinking, to revive native, local and vernacular forms of knowledge by questioning and overturning European categories and epistemologies (Nayar, 2010, p. 13). It is necessary to isolate the oppressed from pursuing European perspectives because some western thought is motivated to dehumanize the Other. “Decolonization has resulted in the revival of mysticism and spiritualism which had been rejected by colonialism’s scientism as primitive – as forms of knowledge in postcolonial societies. Decolonization is thus a critical methodology” (Nayar, 2010, p. 13). Unambiguously, it was mentioned that colonization is only not cause for material destruction besides this colonial structure has crushed immaterial phenomena of oppressed people.

Absolute liberation if it is possible would guarantee an oppressed society to realize fundamental change. According to Leela Gandhi (1998), postcolonial theory compensates the colonized man by eliminating painful memories of the colonial rule. “The emergence of anti-colonial and ‘independent’ nation-States after colonialism is frequently accompanied by a desire to forget the colonial past” (Gandhi, 1998, p. 4). The possible way out to forget the colonial past relies on achieving “social justice, emancipation and democracy in order to oppose oppressive structures of racism, discrimination, and exploitation” (Nayar,2010, p. 13). Under colonial rule, the colonized were marginalized and there was nothing stressed for liberation and equality of the oppressed people.

Postcolonial theory is envisioned to replace colonial misconceptions and simultaneously aimed at transforming the situations of colonized people. Transformation is not an overnight deed but has its own processes and needs to be supported by scholarly thoughts in order to resolve the ongoing problems. Colonialism damaged systems and structures that are part of Third World people and following this postcolonialists proposed different methods to eradicate problems of colonialism. Even if postcolonialists follow diverse methods but surely the majority have the same interest which is decolonization.

The oppressed are enthusiastic to attain liberation so it must remove the colonial force. The anti-colonial movement is not only a political fight but also concerned with cultural, economic,

and religious freedom in opposition to exploitative systems of the West. It is important to mention some anti-colonial campaigners, this enables us to identify the approach and strategy undertaken by leaders or activists. Regarding this, we will scrutinize the works of some influential pioneer leaders and campaigners of independence. Frantz Fanon has struggled to cease the manipulative systems of colonial rule particularly in Algeria and other parts of the world.

2.2. Fanon Anti-colonial Movement

Many postcolonialists have celebrated Fanon for his outstanding contribution in his fight against the brutal force of the West. As a pioneer of the theory of post-colonialism, Fanon has devoted himself to restoring freedom of the colonized body. Julian (2016) has mentioned that Fanon had been an active participant in anti-colonial struggles. Fanon as a postcolonialist came with his own approach to eradicate colonization. He was known for his appreciation of a violent approach and followed a violent struggle method to throw away the racial and exploitative structure of the colonial force. For Fanon, violence is a means and an end to declare the liberation of oppressed people. For Nayar (2010), Fanon takes violence as a form of self-assertion then without violent struggle emancipation of the colonized is impossible. Fanon as he thought without experiencing destruction and awakening through violence, and then without readopting innovative construction, black people's awareness of subjectivity could not be improved (Yeh, 2013, p. 212).

We will return to Fanon's violent approach after a discussion on existentialism. Fanon existentially tried to overcome the problems of colonization, the colonial rule affected Other Beings and denied freedom. The colonized Being must resolve the troublesome conditions circling him and must free itself from the dehumanizing structure of the West. About the actual circumstances of the colonial subject in '*Black Skin, White Masks*' he said that the black man is in a state of non-being. For Fanon, the manner in which the Black's apprehension of Being is problematized by the ineluctable presence of the white individual and colonial society (Parris, 2011, p. 15). In his existential view of the colonized status quo, he attributed European rule to the reduction of Black Being into a zone of non-being. White civilization and European culture have forced an existential deviation on the Negro (Fanon, 2008, p. 6). Accordingly, it could not be from

other a Negro entitled to realize humanism while he must battle his daily encounters particularly colonizer's anti-black deeds.

The oppressed are victims of European domination. So, inevitable the oppressed quest for freedom. The injustices of racism and colonial subjugation can only be eradicated through a struggle for equality and freedom (Parris, 2011, p. 15). Fanon had appropriated violence as a way out and would support the oppressed to be free. The inactions of conquered class do not set them free while "it is solely by risking life that freedom is obtained; only thus is it tried and proved that the essential nature of self-consciousness is not bare existence, is not the merely immediate form in which it at first makes its appearance, is not its mere absorption in the expanse of life" (Fanon, 2008, p. 170). It is clearly stated that the enslaved body may be able to restore his freedom after certain battle (sacrifice) and it needs struggling anti -black suppressions.

A Negro is unfree, determined, and forbidden to determine his own existence. By anti-black powers inauthentic articulation are produced to define what a Negro is. A Being is free when autonomously realizes its own subjectivity. But making an effort to determine a being contradicts the right to determination a self; "I should constantly remind myself that the real leap consists in introducing invention into existence" (Fanon, 2008, p. 179). He insisted that a Being is responsible to make a self, no European authority responsible to determine the Others humanity. Mainly, existentialists undermine external events that are produced to influence what other Being is. Fanon's inclination was that the oppressed must repudiate white man's inessential characterization of the Other Being as inferior, savage and uncivilized. Maybe a Being always is not in the comfortable realm of achieving its humanity. Sometimes there would be factors that distract a Being from realizing its essence.

Fanon feel a discomfort related to inauthentic and misdirected conditions of the Negro. Human reality in-itself-for-itself can be realized only through conflict and through the risk that conflict implies (Fanon, 2008, p. 170). Here Fanon has expressed the decisive conflict between the colonizer and colonized. A Being with inauthentic existence should struggle to attain its authentic essence. Without sacrifice no negro able to apprehend its real identity. The colonial rule never bothers about humanity and freedom of the Other race while the prior thing is realizing white man

interest. “He who is reluctant to recognize me opposes me” (Fanon, 2008, p. 170). Indeed, the West are disinterested to welcome equality between different races. So, through colour difference maintained a Being as a superior and inferior. Fanon said that in a savage struggle I am enthusiastic to accept convulsions of death, invincible dissolution but the possibility of the impossible (Fanon, 2008, p. 170). He thought the possibility of the impossible, seems to be that the colonized has the potentials to alter anti-black characters imposed by white men against the Negro. Negro is said to be in state of Being rather than in zone of non-being when freely make himself “my freedom turns me back on myself” (Fanon, 2008, p. 178). The actual situation of oppressed people evinced that the destination of colonized subject discloses to extinction because of colonialism. So, let's get back to our major point: how Fanon appropriated violence as a means of resistance.

The work of the colonizer is to make even dreams of liberty impossible for the colonized and the work of the colonized is to envision every possible method for annihilating the colonist (Fanon, 1963, p. 50). He makes clear that between colonists and colonized there are incompatible demands. He believed that the colonized should have whatever method for abolishing colonization and considered violence as an inevitable one. Fanon argues that “violence generates a new social consciousness and builds alliances against the colonial master, even attributing therapeutic properties to it” (Nayar, 2010, p.18). According to Sartre, Fanonian violence is neither a storm in a teacup nor the reemergence of savage instincts nor even a consequence of resentment: it is man reconstructing himself (Sartre, 1963, p. 27). The key factor to take a violence is to annihilate colonial rule and simultaneously to achieve freedom of colonized people. Fanon has used the word violence to express force or it is possible to say he undertakes force and violence interchangeably. Also, he uses it in a sense that embodies the connotations we associate with injury, coercion, force, power, and the like (Jha, 1998, p. 363). Sartre has said that Fanon’s view of violence has no more ambition than ensuring the liberation of the dominated people. So, violence has become an important thing for the native because “colonized man finds his freedom in and through violence” (Nayar, 2010, p.18).

“Violence is a cleansing force” (Fanon, 1963, p. 51). It becomes the means to rehabilitate the oppressed people through obliterating the colonizers. For Fanon, only violence alone which emboldens and restores their self-confidence (Fanon, 1963, p.51). Accordingly, violence has a

concurrent goal, fighting the colonizers and restoring liberation for the colonized people. His method of counterattacking the colonizer's damage is akin to the colonizer's method of attacking the Other. So, violence by violence or “between oppressors and oppressed, force is the solution (Fanon, 1963, p. 32). Hiddleston (2009) suggested decolonization can occur when the overthrow of colonial violence must itself be a violent process.

The relation between the two antagonistic groups lies in securing advantage for the colonizers and depriving the same advantage from colonized ones. Not only material deprivation but also “the colonized subject is so starved of anything that humanizes him” (Fanon, 1963, p. 90). He has shown us, the colonized are enthusiastic to gain back their humanity. Colonial violence not only aims at keeping enslaved men at a respectful distance, but it also seeks to dehumanize them (Sartre, 1963, p.1). Colonial rule dehumanized and degraded colonized peoples that they have to go through the whole process of relearning to be human (Kebede, 2001, p. 540). To achieve or according to Fanon’s expression to restore the humanity of colonized; it is a must to take part in a certain movement. It is true that there is not one colonized subject who at least once a day does not dream of taking the place of the colonist (Fanon, 1963, p. 5). The colonized have the desire to take the colonialist position. The desire is just as a white man is free then the black man wishes to have this freedom. The colonizers are known for a violent attack. Then, a native must inherit his master approach to declare his independence.

The type of decolonization held by Fanon is collective liberation of the colonized society. He promotes violence as the only measure to overcome the cruelty of the oppressors. Clearly, he stated that “decolonization is always a violent event” (Fanon, 1963, p.1). His approach seems like extinguishing a fire by fire. By decolonization, Fanon refers to the process of reversing power relationships (Fairchild, 1994, p. 192).

Decolonization is the encounter between two congenitally antagonistic forces that in fact owe their singularity to the kind of reification secreted and nurtured by the colonial situation, their first confrontation was colored by violence and their cohabitation-or rather the exploitation of the colonized by the colonizer-continued at the point of the bayonet and under cannon fire. The colonist and the colonized are old acquaintances. And consequently, the colonist is right when he says he knows" them. It is the colonist who *fabricated* and

continues to fabricate the colonized subject. The colonist derives his validity, i.e., his wealth, from the colonial system (Fanon, 1963, p. 2).

Anti-colonialists undertake different actions in their campaign against colonization and the approach that a campaigner has followed determines the end of the struggle. Non-violence is an effort to resolve the colonial problem around the negotiating table before the irreparable is done, before any bloodshed or regrettable act is committed (Fanon, 1963, p. 23). In the case of Fanon, it is violence and violence “his violence means anything except non-violence” (Jha, 1998, p. 360) while others exercise non-violence to achieve liberation. Violence refers to the masses without waiting for the chairs to be placed around the negotiating table, take matters into their own hands, and start burning and killing (Fanon, 1963, pp. 24). For Fanon, through non-violent struggle, it is unimaginable to restore the humanity of the colonized; rather violence appears inevitable one to achieve decolonization.

The colonized man is an envious man (Fanon, 1963, p. 5), which implies that the colonizers and colonized are in state of being and non-being respectively. In the ‘*Black Skin White Masks*’, he also said that there is basically a wish to be white and a lust for revenge (Fanon, 2008, p. 6). I think the wish to be white refers to the stage when the colonized people could feel well as the white man lives. And the difference lies in, the colonizers are lucky to have a good life while a colonized man has the reverse one. In another sense, he held that the creation of a new generation is possible by destroying colonial rule. Historically disenfranchised people gain some measure of self-respect and a place in history by taking up the liberation struggle (Fairchild, 1994, p. 96). Liberation or the creation of new humans cannot be attributed to a supernatural power (Fanon, 2008, p. 2). Then, to realize emancipation of colonized people depends on a more violent battle.

The decolonized has the responsibility to create, to invent, to chart a new course for humanity (Fairchild, 1994, p. 199). The creation of new humans lies in violence of oppressed people and the violence eradicates their enemies. The emergence of a new nation and the destruction of the colonial system is the consequence of either a violent struggle by the newly independent people or outside violence by other colonized peoples, which has an inhibiting effect on the colonial regime (Fanon, 1963, p. 31). The colonizers forcefully treat the Other in a way to dehumanize and deprive

freedom. For Fanon, it is through the violence directed at their oppressors the colonized peoples reconstitute their human self in an autonomous and unrestricted way (Kebede, 2001, p. 555). So, the colonized will have more violence to reclaim their humanity. The colonized through a violent insurrection aimed at abolishing everything touched by colonialism that a new species of man will be created (McCullum, 2004, p. 115). Violence of the colonized is not mere violence even in the course of their violent engagement the colonized is exposed to risky situations.

Kebede (2001) said that the demonstration of the desire for freedom and recognition by risking one's life remains the only option. For this reason, through violent struggle the colonized again prepared to sacrifice their life. Largely, the Others are victims of colonization and in the process of restoring their humanity also pay much more sacrifices. "The rehabilitating value of violence lies in the equation that the colonized are ready to risk the only and most precious thing they have, namely, their life, for their dignity and equality" (Kebede, 2001, p. 552). The colonized peoples know that such madness alone can deliver them from colonial domination (Fanon, 1963, p. 34). Fanon by madness thought that the colonized impatience and eagerness to pay whatever sacrifices to declare liberation. He is inclined to say the colonized has to use more and more violence to accelerate decolonization of colonized people.

The violence of the oppressed has to influence the colonialists unless their fights remain unproductive. The fellow nationalists will follow whatever paths to erode the colonialist domination to restore their freedom (Fanon, 1963, p. 14). The actions taken by the colonized have to be fruitful, imply that the counterattack of the oppressed must lead them to freedom. So, the actions must affect the colonizer even if he said that "good is quite simply what hurts them most" (Fanon, 1963, p. 14). Accordingly, it is moral to attack the oppressors that's why the colonized can be rehabilitated in and through reacting in a similar way as the colonialists did. Whatever decision and actions of colonized man must be influential to resist colonizers anti-black treatment. Truth is what hastens dislocation of the colonial administration, what fosters the emergence of the nation (Fanon, 1963, p. 16). The perfection or truthfulness of certain actions depends on their effect on the oppressors. "Truth is what protects the natives" (Fanon, 1963, p. 19). The certainty of an action is effective when it has a damaging result against the oppressors.

It is not an abstract thought to be addressed to the masses. Instead, practical measures to be held to hasten the liberation of the colonized people. The oppressed discovers reality and transforms it through his praxis, his deployment of violence, and his agenda for liberation (Fanon, 1963, p. 21). The colonized man liberates himself in and through violence and this praxis enlightens the militant because it shows him the means and the end (Fanon, 1963, p. 44). When the oppressed take a violent method simultaneously able to internalize violence as the only tool and leads them to absolute praxis. Because their wretchedness or suffering shapes their revolutionary and fighting spirit (Kebede, 2001, p. 544). It looks like the wretched of the earth will only become truly free through the use of force (McCollum, 2004, p. 116).

Fanon (1963) argues that colonialism is not a machine capable of thinking, a body endowed with reason. “It is naked violence and only gives in when confronted with greater violence” (Fanon, 1963, p. 23). No other measure while a more aggressive and violent approach is essential to resist colonizers. The colonized masses intuitively believe that their emancipation must be achieved and can only be achieved by force (Fanon, 1963, p. 33). Fanon has seriously posited force as an instrument to demolish colonial rule and liberation is possible through violence and violence. Violence alone, perpetrated by the people, violence organized and guided by the leadership, offers the key for the masses to decipher social reality and without this struggle, without this praxis, there is nothing (Fanon, 1963, p. 96). To emphasize violence as the only means for resisting colonizers is not always true because some anti-colonialists have employed other methods of struggle.

Unlike Fanon, Gandhi's strategy of struggle lies in a non-violent method of combating the colonizers. Gandhi speaks in an anachronistic religio-political vocabulary (Gandhi, 1998, p. 18). Fanon pushed the colonized to behave actively in their fight against their enemies. Gandhi was reluctant to advocate active physical violence as a tool of liberation rather he promoted passive resistance. Simply, violence is incompatible with Gandhi's methods of decolonization.

The strategy of non-violence or passive resistance disquiets the onlooker, destabilizes the positions of those in power and crystallizes the systems injustice. It makes it difficult for the oppressor to react, since further violence blatantly appears more unjustifiable whereas the decision to take no action weakens the oppressor's image of power. Gandhi's methods were rigorously ethical, and foreclosed any possibility of domination and mastery over the

other. His strategies of non-cooperation and non-violence worked against the both the practical policies of the British system and its underlying pitting of self against other, its individualistic end (Hiddleston, 2009, pp. 56-7).

When we examine Fanon's and Gandhi's methods of battling colonization, they have a point of divergence. Fanon has no concern to calculate violence in terms of ethics or morality. But this doesn't mean that Fanon totally repudiates morality but in the process of decolonization his inclination is not the morality of an action whereas he stressed about how much the violence of colonized people affects the colonizers. However, in Gandhi, such ethical and moral accounts have a vital role in the process of struggling for liberation.

I don't think that Fanon's exaggerated violent method can solve the problems of colonized people. Perhaps better to use another option than to use force from the very beginning, at least until the oppressed strengthen their power. His violent approach is based on the belief that the oppressed will be set free. If possible, it is necessary to make temporary negotiations between the oppressors and the oppressed because this enables the colonized to build their capacity to resist the colonizers. Also, a negotiation would benefit the colonized through this intermission the colonized can organize their own competent militants unless to call the masses without any preparation results in more massacre of colonized people. The oppressed don't have commensurate arms to defeat the armed group. It is must therefore, until they have sufficiently armed the oppressed must choose other means of struggling.

Fanon advocates violence by violence and this is equivalent to a saying which is when someone hits your right cheek, you hit back his right. In my view, the problem of Fanon's approach is, it would not be right unconditionally to consider violence as the only option. There is no doubt that the oppressors were well-prepared for tyrannizing before they invaded a country and it may not be worthwhile for the oppressed to fight in the same way without any preparation. For Gandhi, it can be a good thing to pursue a peaceful struggle to the end. He says that taking no action against the oppressors will reduce the colonizer's desire to subjugate the others. Assume that even the colonizers themselves stop their domination because of the colonized passive resistance, however,

the colonizer at least achieves two basic things which are exploiting the native economy and demolishing cultures of Others when the oppressed are passive.

2. 2.1. Fanon's Creation of New Humanism and Culture

The persistence of colonialism demands the entire removal of native culture, history, language, and social structures and colonizers are succeeded when the subjugated adopted Europeanized forms. For Fanon, European culture appears a means of stripping himself of his race, he becomes alienated (Fanon, 2008, p. 224). The colonized simultaneously alienated from local things and forced to internalize occidental characters. Decolonization is a question of a victim of a system based on the exploitation of a given race by another, on the contempt in which a given branch of humanity is held by a form of civilization that pretends to superiority (Fanon, 2008, p. 224). Indisputable, the struggle of the Other lies in reasonable factors unlike white man's action against emerging nations.

Furthermost, the main thing that comes to our mind regarding colonialism is its material destruction. Thanks to Fanon since he scrutinized the effect of colonialism beyond its material crises. Accordingly, colonialism has caused psychological problems among the colonized people. Due to this fact, he believed that a psychological explanation is required to resolve the trauma of colonized people. "The central idea is that the confrontation of 'civilized' and 'primitive' creates a special situation the colonial situation and brings about the emergence of a mass of illusions and misunderstanding that only a psychological analysis can place and define" (Fanon, 2008, p. 62). Colonization causes an inferiority complex but inferiority of the oppressed people is not natural while colonialists work hard to create an inferiority complex. Before we proceed to culture and colonialism, let's see the psychology of colonization and racialism.

Fanon has made remarkable criticisms against the work of Octave Mannoni which is the '*Psychology of Colonization*'. Mannoni said that there is a difference between colonial racism and other types of racism. However, Fanon repudiated Mannoni's perspective as false. For Mannoni "colonial exploitation is not the same as other forms of exploitation, and colonial racialism is different from other kinds of racialism" (Fanon, 2008, p. 65). Mannoni is unable to cognize the

similarity between all kinds of racialism. According to Fanon (2008), there is no distinction between colonial racialism and other types of racialism. Rather “all forms of exploitation are identical because all of them are applied against the same “object”: man, colonial racism is no different from any other forms of racism” (Fanon, 2008, p. 65). Mainly colonizers racialism target is a black man. Due to this fact Fanon believed that there is no difference between any sort of racialism. Fanon’s justification to say all racialisms are identical lies in a consequentialist approach, hence, the end result of all types of racialism have the same result.

Here, it is important to examine culture in relation to anti-colonial movements. Throughout decolonization, culture has a crucial role to throw away the colonialist exploitative structure. National liberation and the resurrection of the state are the preconditions for the very existence of a culture (Fanon, 1963, p. 176). Fanon in ‘*Black Skin White Masks*’ noticed that a black man has two identities. One of the pushing factors for a black man to have two identities lies in the cultural enforcement of the white man. The black involuntarily inherited the whiteness of Europe because whiteness became a symbol of purity, justice, and truth (Sardar, 2008, p. xiii). Basically, colonialists embrace a binary division to delineate the white and black man. All the good is only attributed to the white man whereas the black man is known for his ugliness, sin, immorality, and darkness (Sardar, 2008, p. xiii). The white leave the black under cultural crises and repudiate the blackness of black people. The target of this discussion is to reexamine how Fanon attempts to resolve the cultural crises of colonized people.

Fanon has mentioned two important questions concerning the end effect of colonialism and the fate of colonized people. These are, what does a man want? And what does the black man want? He argues that for the racist “a Black is not a man,” and that instead black people exist in a “zone of nonbeing” (Fanon, 2008, p. 1). He did not feel a good thing regarding the circumstances of the Other then he complained about the way through which colonists ruled Third World people. Fanon’s expression a black man is not man implies European desire to create a man in the image of white culture. The colonial system eliminated local culture from cultural domains, gave culture a sense of non-existence, and made culture disappear gradually and finally lose its voice (Yeh, 2013, p. 211). As a result of colonizers unjust manipulation, the colonized, underdeveloped man

is today a political creature (Fanon, 1963, p. 40). By means of disparaging colonized culture as valueless, colonialists forcefully isolate the native from his culture.

The native is the product of colonialism, that he is formed and created by colonial ideology (Hiddleston, 2009, p. 35). It can be stated that colonization creates the colonized just as we have seen that it creates the colonizer (Memmi, 1974, p. 135). Colonialist language became a significant tool of domination since they used their language to create inferiority complex among the subjugated group. “The Antilles Negro who wants to be white will be the whiter as gains greater mastery of the cultural tool that language is” (Fanon, 2008, p. 25). For Fanon, language is not merely a means of communication. In addition to this it gives a sense of identity. And, this enables the colonialists to separate the native from his culture and has the effect of alienating the black from his indigenous culture.

The black man has two dimensions, first with his fellows, the other with the white man (Fanon, 2008, p. 8). The reason to say a black man has two dimensions is a result of anti-black forces. In connection to this he said that:

A Negro behaves differently with a white man and with another Negro. That this self-division is a direct result of colonialist subjugation is beyond question. . . . No one would dream of doubting that its major artery is fed from the heart of those various theories that have tried to prove that the Negro is a stage in the slow evolution of monkey into man. Every colonized people—in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality—finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The complete destruction of the colonized cultural legacy, their forced assimilation into the European culture at a reduced price, all have resulted in the inculcation, deep into the soul of each colonized person, of a devastating inferiority complex (Fanon, 2008, pp. 8-9; Kebede, 2001, p. 540).

During colonization the colonialists have attempted to produce the black man’s identity in white image. Fanon (2008), said the oppressed because of colonial rule have two identities. In fact, the Other are disenfranchised from indigenous culture; this leads them to the inheritance of foreign

culture. I think Fanon's assertion that the black has two identities relatively seems to be correct. But it is difficult to admit as they have only two identities. In my view the oppressed may have more than two identities because of colonialism. One of the inconsistencies in Fanon's conception of black identity is his conclusion is originated out of the premises. He finally concluded that for the black man there is only one destiny, it is becoming white (Fanon, 2008, p. 178). This is not to oppose the black man's desire to be white relatively. This is to show the black man as he has more than two identities.

Fanon's view of the black man identity remains an unsettled issue so far Africans have more perplexing identity crises even after the colonial period. The colonial structure tackled the Other people through this interference, the culture and traditions of black people have some challenges. It seems to be that the black man has more than two identities, unlike Fanon. First, there are Africans who worship European culture as superior in opposition to black culture. Fanon (1963) has evinced this by saying there are bourgeoisie who wish to prolong colonialist rule in Africa. The reason behind local bourgeoisie is consent to the persistence of colonialism no less than the desire to have colonialist features.

At the time of colonialism and afterward the bourgeoisie have the inclination of preserving the exploitative culture of Europeans. Through processes local bourgeoisie move in the same path as the colonialist's act. All the dominated are not blamed for this action while the local bourgeoisies are responsible for the existence of colonialist systems. Perhaps one could say the colonized bourgeoisie never directly inherited colonialist values. Rather they adopt a colonialist system. Even though they adopt the colonialist system then it is through this system they discover identity.

The second type of identity that belongs to colonized man is, identities come from indigenous culture. Before colonialism, the oppressed had their own identities derived from local culture. Throughout colonization especially the mass which is, the peasants are relatively committed to preserving indigenous values. While city residents are perhaps reluctant to preserve homegrown values because colonists mainly settled in town, for this reason, urban residents are unable to escape European culture and easily internalize another way of life. However, rural

masses remain quite conservative of their respective traditions. The significance of this indigenous tradition is crucial, that's why local values are the manifestation of colonized people. "Every colonized people-in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality" (Fanon, 2008, p. 9). This brief analysis shows us the importance of home-grown values and divorce from local traditions results in an inferiority complex. To substitute the black culture with European one shows that wittingly or unwittingly someone is making a value claim, the value claim is the former one is undesirable while the latter one seems a precious one. So, the conservatives are mainly sluggish to welcome an outside culture unlike urban residents.

In addition to Fanon's two types of identity, there would be people who define themselves in different ways. Partially, some individuals inherit a good quality from local values and adopt the same thing from overseas culture. Here, likely people are neither conservative nor bourgeois rather stand in a middle way. What I say here is, there would be people who make an effort to reconcile the native culture and foreign values. At least, likely people are able to cognize the significance of intercultural dialogue between cultures. I don't think a colonized person is only subjected to his black and white identity whereas they have more than two/three identities.

Not only at the time of colonialism difficulties come to pass but also in normal time to some level there is problem-related to identity. I believe during colonial rule there would be many individuals who were removed from knowing their identities. Let's take Fanon's view that a colonized man has two identities, if it is limited to these two types of identity, the colonized may have no exaggerated inferiority complex. But, to some degree, there would be individuals who are unable to discover their identity. The number of victims increases when the brutality of colonialism continues to dehumanize the natives. In individual level, all individuals are unable to discover identity since hopelessness causes them not to discover identity. When the situations of colonized people worsen the colonized become hopeless. And, at this stage, all are not conscious of what identity is because some individuals feel bad and become hopeless even to appreciate what belongs to themselves. So, the colonized man divorce from having neither black nor white identity and was unable to find a middle ground by reconciling the white and black culture. The destinations of this individual become pending for a good day at the expense and sacrifice of others' struggle.

Uncertain point in Fanon's writing is his conception of history or past time. He has no interest in returning to the past. Primarily, his writing motivates the colonized to attain liberation from colonialism. Then, we have to examine this point critically. Liberation from what? Before colonialism, the colonized were free while under colonial rule the oppressed busy themselves in restoring or revival of what colonialists deprived them.

Fanon has discredited the past while his main concern is the creation of new humanism apart from the past. He said that "like it or not, the past can in no way guide me in the present moment" (Fanon, 2008, p. 172). I think Fanon's conception of the past refers to the time when the colonialists subjugated Third World people. Obviously, rebutting this past time (the period of colonial rule) became appropriate for postcolonial society. So, through deconstructing those impositions made by colonialists' a colonized able to become free. But if Fanon's idea of the past includes all the past, his view of the past becomes incorrect. Simply, to devalue all the past seems to be blaming the previous generation as they contribute nothing. As he suggested that in no way should he derive his basic purpose from the past of the peoples of color (Fanon, 2008, p. 172). His conception of the past is unclear since when he says the past, he is unable to detect which past, the past that is associated with pre-colonization period or the past that is connected to colonial rule. It seems appropriate to refute the past time that is related to colonial rule but to leave the past of precolonial history is inappropriate. "I am not the slave of the Slavery that dehumanized my ancestors" (Fanon, 2008, p. 183), here to refute the past if it has a dehumanizing consequence, is a must.

For Fanon, the rehabilitation drawn from the past is an illusory wealth that distracts the colonized from fully identifying with their wretchedness and hence from growing into a real revolutionary force can be seriously contested (Kebede, 2001, p. 556). As Messay pointed out, Fanon's perception of the past is no less than conceiving the past as a challenge to achieve seated goals in the postcolonial period. Fanon evinced that "I am my own foundation" (Fanon, 2008, p. 180). Fanon's idea is to focus on the future rather than returning to the past. Perhaps, he is more interested in the creation of new humanity but there must be a connection between the past and

present for the reason that it is impossible to escape the past completely at least the oppressed may value good things of the past.

“I am not a prisoner of history and I should not seek there for the meaning of my destiny” (Fanon, 1963, p. 179). Conceivably, not from the past alone one gains meaning and the past cannot determine the future at all. And, to discredit the past (history) with zero credit is a mistake. Fanon’s approach seems to be a very existential way of discovering a self. He said “in the world through which I travel, I am endlessly creating myself” (Fanon, 1963, p. 179). Culture has no static features but is subjected to dynamism as Fanon endlessly creates himself. The static nature of culture is connected with past events since what is ascribed as culture in the past also remains a manifestation of identity.

In the ‘*Wretched of the Earth*’ Fanon has introduced a contradictory point of view concerning identity and culture unlike the above expression. The responsibility of Africans toward his national culture is also responsibility toward Negro-African culture (Fanon, 1963, p. 179). If identity is the result of endlessly creating self, then there is nothing like Negro-African culture. What I say out is that there could not be collective consciousness or national culture when a self is cut from the past. Individuals must be custodian of their respective cultures. To say I am not a prisoner of history is not a healthy expression because culture is not a short-lived asset. Rather, history has good and bad portraits so there would be conditions that forced us to be under the prison of history. Yesterday has passed, and then it is history. Therefore, to forget yesterday and valuing only today or tomorrow is inappropriate. That’s why, unlike Fanon, there is no future without a past.

Through imparting new meaning and dynamism to artisanship, dance, music, literature, and the oral epic, the oppressed subject restructures his own perception (Fanon, 1963, p. 176). Of course, the colonized target was to make a reform and through this demolish the undesirable outcomes inflicted by Europeans. A transformation is important “the world no longer seems doomed” (Fanon, 1963, p. 176), unless the circumstances of colonized appear wretched. Without incorporating past events creation of new humanism has its own limitations, a failure to restore precolonial assets that are part of colonized people. Somewhere he evinced that culture is foremost the expression of a nation, its preferences, its taboos, and its models (Fanon, 1963, p. 177). Based

on the nub of this assertion to dislocate the colonized from his past culture has alienation character since alienating from classical canons.

The liberation struggle does not restore to national culture its prior value and configurations (Fanon, 1963, p. 178). As much as possible the liberation struggle has to restore the destroyed values of oppressed people unless only to promote the creation of new humanism without the resurrection of the past doubles the inferiority complex and burial of local cultures. The struggle held by the oppressed aimed at the demise of colonialism and demise of the colonized (Fanon, 1963, p. 178). The main goal of colonized people is liberation. To achieve the expected independence the demise of colonial rule becomes inevitable. And, on the other hand Fanon said that the struggle has been directed at the demise of colonized man. I think this demise of the colonized man looks like the demise of those undesirable things resulting from colonial rule against the Other. The anti-colonial struggle is hoped to eradicate the white curse that was covering on black skin and attempting to annihilate black spirit (Yeh, 2013, p. 203). One of the reasons behind the anti-colonial struggle was to stop imitating white man's perspective instead of this Fanon has pushed the colonized to apprehend black identity.

The liberation struggle first and foremost must lead to the pre-colonial humanity of colonized people. For me, this new humanism of Fanon's has alienation against the oppressed people. In the name of a new humanism, the colonized is alienated from pre-colonial traditions. I know by new humanism does not mean creating a new creature but refers to forming a society with a new identity, culture, value, and new social structure. Absolutely, it is difficult to create a new humanism after colonial rule. Even, let's say Fanon's creation of new humanism is possible, but there are challenges that hamper the creation of new humanism. First, the postcolonial man is unable to leave his pre-colonial traditions and powerless to collaborate with the creation of new humanism. Second, creation of new humanism is impossible without the involvement of colonialists, hence, the colonized himself may inherit some sort of colonialist identity. Thus, the creation of new humanism embraces what belongs to the oppressor culture that's why in the absolute absence of any colonialist imposition Fanon's new humanism becomes absurd.

2.3. Memmi's Assimilation and Revolt Approaches

Albert Memmi has scrutinized the incompatible relationship that exists between the colonized and colonizers. His book *'The Colonizer and the Colonized'* gives us the portraits of colonizers and colonized. In part, portraits of colonizer and colonized he precisely discussed the portraits of the colonized and colonizer in connection to colonialism. He mentioned the situation of the colonized and it is in contrast to that of the oppressors. The oppressors are in good circumstances whereas the oppressed are in uncomfortable situations. We can undertake Fanon's expression that the black man is in the zone of non-being. The condition of the oppressed is problematic and stressful, and a solution is needed. That's why Memmi pointed out two alternatives as solutions to overcome problems of colonization.

Memmi has mentioned assimilation and revolt as means to solve problems of colonized people. He talks about assimilation in return he also opposes this approach of assimilation. Even if he criticizes assimilation due to its ineffectiveness, it cannot be a solution to colonial problems. Also, let's say it was not Memmi who mentioned assimilation, then whoever assumes assimilation as a solution seems to be a mistake and unnecessary to overcome colonial problems. It is confusing why Albert Memmi said, the colonized groups have two choices and later he repudiates the first one which is assimilation. It is wrong to say the oppressed have two options, knowing that assimilation is not a solution. No matter to admit assimilation as a solution but if we accept it as a solution, it will engender a negative impact on revolt which is counted as the second option.

"The colonized does not exist in accordance with the colonial myth, but he is nevertheless recognizable" (Memmi, 1974, p. 163). By myth, Memmi said to us the unnecessary things attributed to colonized by their masters. In fact, the colonizer characterizes the colonized in the wrong way. The colonialist stresses those things which keep him divide, rather than emphasizing that which might contribute to the foundation of a joint community (Memmi, 1974, p.15). Nothing is recognized that could unite the colonized and colonizer. Rather all effort becomes declaring values that escalate white superiority. Also, the colonialist devotes himself to a systematic devaluation of the colonized (Memmi, 1974, p. 110). How is it possible to imagine assimilation as

an option to resolve this extremist position of the oppressors? It is possible to say, assimilation has no attributes of intercultural dialogue since in assimilation dominance of one culture is inevitable.

In assimilation “the first attempt of the colonized is to change his condition by changing his skin” (Memmi, 1974, p. 164). Assimilation cannot be a means to overcome colonial problems and through this the oppressed remains a colonial creature. This resolution method opposes the basic objective of decolonization, the colonized are in a state of struggle to restore their liberation. However, to change skin means becoming a white man even if the colonized changes his skin, the colonizer in return never treats the colonized equally. The colonized than changing his skin must strive to change his situation because changing skin couldn’t lead to liberation.

The struggle of colonized people is expected to eliminate the oppressive system while changing skin do not eradicate the problem. Rejection of self and love of another is common to all candidates for assimilation (Memmi, 1974, p. 165). Look assimilation causes the colonized people to leave what belongs to them and forces them to inherit white values. By assimilation the colonized intended to have habits, clothing, food, and architecture of colonizers, even if inappropriate (Memmi, 1974, p. 165). It is confusing because when it is known assimilation is inappropriate then no credible justification perceives assimilation as a way out. Changing skin by absorbing colonizer values never enables the colonized to achieve emancipation. Let us mention here again Fanon, in part when he discusses culture, he said that colonization caused the burials of local culture (Fanon, 2008, p. 8). Similarly, assimilation may cause more burial of local culture. Albert called this process of assimilation as it is a mixed mirage. But mixed mirage would damage the possibilities of local culture persistence. Mirage is possible when there is consensus between the two groups unless it is unproductive. Can a woman couple with a dictator? If it is possible, then the man who is a dictator continues to dominate a woman at home, meaning the woman is not free as the man is. So, assimilation between native and white culture is unthinkable.

In order to free himself, at least so he believes, he agrees to annihilate himself (Memmi, 1974, p. 166). There is no freedom by annihilating a self and assimilation even accelerates the colonization of the colonized than paving the path for liberation. Replacing a self with the other self by no means comparable to say a self is free. No freedom by destroying a self while freedom

is possible when someone exercises what he has. The annihilation of native culture is the result of colonialism. And, liberation of a self is plausible when the colonized autonomously able to determine himself. Accordingly, assimilations could not be a guarantee of freedom. The colonized in the throes of assimilation hides his past, his traditions, in fact, all his origins which have become ignominious (Memmi, 1974, p, 166). There are many indications that conveys assimilation may not be a way out. If the oppressed begin to practice the language, culture, and lifestyles of the West, it will be very difficult to recover later on. And, one of the main reasons to oppose assimilation results from its motive. Since the colonizers forced the colonized to adopt white culture. Accordingly, assimilation is posited to reshape the colonized in colonialist culture without a good will. Then, assimilation is far from solving a problem so the oppressed inevitably devise a strategy that will give them more freedom so revolt is another solution. Assume a person who inherits something from outside then he may become inactive and reluctant to rebel against his master and this condition may chained the oppressed not to have an active involvement.

It seems to be that assimilation promotes universalism instead of maintaining relativism. This creates a good opportunity for oppressors to spread occidental traditions as a universal canon. The colonial system installs a standard version of the metropolitan language, culture, norms and this marginalizes variants as impurities (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2004, p. 7). As we have seen in chapter one universalism is a tool of domination so wrong to presume assimilation as a solution. Thus, assimilation blocks the opportunities to the survival of native culture and occidental one becomes the only criteria to delineate all mankind.

Besides discouraging the motives of colonized people and promoting universalism, assimilation has psychic problems. This shows that assimilation produces more psychological neurosis among the assimilated group. An assimilated person is unable to forget what he put aside in the course of assimilation. This, in turn, prevents him from feeling absolute freedom. In addition to the aforementioned disadvantages, assimilation has also prolonged the time to gain liberation. Generally, lack of motive, inheriting foreign culture, and a few colonized who favor the colonizers, these and other interior and exterior factors will prolong the days of the oppressed emancipations. Anyhow, through self-denial there is no liberation but possible through self-sacrifice.

Memmi thought that the oppressed must have a revolt to evade colonial rule. The first alternative which is assimilation becomes ineffective to resolve problems that circled the colonized subject. To some degree, Memmi's view of revolt differs from Fanon's understanding of violence. The colonized subjects are required to internalize revolt that is another alternative to their existential problems. Violently the colonized rejects his position, he will one day begin to overthrow his unlivable existence with the whole force of his oppressed personality (Memmi, 1974, p. 164). The same is true for Fanon, both of them have the same reason why the colonized intended to revolt. Colonizers have damaged the welfare of the colonized people and caused torture, suffering, exploitation, and massacre.

Being unable to change his condition in harmony and communion with the colonizer, he tries to become free despite him . . . he will revolt. Revolt is the only way out of the colonial situation, and the colonized realizes it sooner or later. His condition is absolute and cries for an absolute solution; a break and not a compromise. He has been torn away from his past and cut off from his future his traditions are dying and he loses the hope of acquiring a new culture (Memmi, 1974, pp. 171-172).

The oppressed are unable to tolerate colonialist brutal attacks, and then decide to change this condition by revolt. His situation is absolute and calls for an absolute solution; a break and not a compromise (Memmi, 1974, p. 171). Memmi said that the subjugated people have no possibilities of a good life while they are in a state of absolute suffering. During the course of the revolt, the colonized must be racist to eradicate colonization. The colonizers are racist and extremist while the reason why the colonized became racist quite different from the colonizers' reason for racism. "The racism of the colonized is then neither biological nor metaphysical, but social and historical" (Memmi, 1974, p. 175). Some racist Europeans believed that the white man is unique while the Others are naturally inferior races.

Not assimilation but revolt counted as a guarantee for the liberation of the oppressed. The colonized culture, his country, everything that belongs to him, everything he characterizes, becomes perfectly positive elements (Memmi. 1974, p. 182). This is possible when the revolt of the colonized overcomes the colonizer's brutal domination. One of the distinctive features of Memmi's revolt is that, it attempts to the resurrection of the past.

In the above, we have seen that rejection of self and love of another are common to all candidates for assimilation (Memmi, 1974, p. 165). While in case of revolt, it is not self-destruction but self-assertion that is appropriate. “The colonized's self-assertion, born out of a protest, continues to define itself in relation to it” (Memmi, 1974, p. 183). No freedom through self-denial so decolonization must be in consensus with self-recognition. Through gradual process subjugated people ardently held revolt since through this they get a little bit of freedom, also, they become more aggressive and subsequently the colonized are internalizing the importance of freedom. In the midst of revolt, the colonized continues to think, feel and live against and, therefore, in relation to the colonizer and colonization (Memmi, 1974, p. 183). Obviously, the oppressed have many problems due to this the actual existence of the colonized contradicts the nature of humanism. It shows that as human beings the oppressed deserve you know freedom, justice, equality but colonization has banned the Other the aforementioned rights.

2.4. The Communitarian Approach

The West has challenged Africans to make a divorce from promoting communism. And, non-white are expected to inherit the white system which is capitalism. Then, one of the problems in colonial rule is its effort to dismantle a native from his lifestyle. Africa is known for inspiring the rise of classless society while European intervention is challenging the continuation of communitarianism. Predominantly, political leaders in Africa have adopted communitarianism as a strategy in the course of decolonization. To destroy the exploitative systems of the West, then the oppressed have to come with their own emancipatory thoughts. Audre Lorde (2011) said that the master’s house can never be dismantled with the master’s tools. It looks like capitalism is unable to overcome problems caused by the capitalist system. Accordingly, to cease the persistence of certain upheaval related to colonial power, therefore, it is more important to appropriate indigenous outlooks than the perpetuation of an exploitative system.

During the decolonization period, Africanisation policies were put into operation (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 41). Africa has distinctive socio-economic and political systems of thought. However, there were movements concerning liberation and restoration of collapsed Africanized beliefs. “Our

philosophy must find its weapons in the environments and living conditions of the African people” (Nyerere, 1968, p. 78). For Nyerere, Africa has the potential to bring out a solution for existing challenges through exercising indigenous outlooks. Also, he mentioned that the liberation of the African continent is the emancipation of man (Nyerere, 1968, p. 78). When we see the contents of such European discourse, we easily perceive their exploitative and dehumanizing features while African communism is projected to improve the conditions of man. To see the significance of communism in the decolonization period let us refer to Nkrumah’s and Nyerere's philosophy.

2.4.1. Nkrumah on Communism

The colonial power in Africa was not restricted to the massacring of people and exploitation of resources. Also, colonialist attacks extended to distracting the native from his ideology, communalism. Capitalism, individualism, and inclinations to private ownership grew, and gradually, primitive communism collapsed, and the collective spirit declined (Nkrumah, 1970, p, 14). African socialism points toward the existence of a form of socialism peculiar to Africa and derived from communal and egalitarian aspects of traditional African society (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 26). It is obvious that capitalism developed with colonialism. Without the emergence of the capitalist system, the colonialists may not succeed in their manipulation. Then, to facilitate exploitation, colonialism undermines social and cultural progress in the colonies (Nkrumah, 1970, p, 16). Capitalism benefits the colonizers not only in distracting a native from his perspectives, but also it creates friction between tribes, and this strengthens the hands of colonial administrators (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 16). Capitalism systematically weakens the collective spirits of the oppressed people and opposes power balance between colonialist and colonized. The capitalist at any means produces and exploits the Other while communisms of African opposes brutalizing elements of capitalism.

In general, at the opening of the colonial period, the peoples of Africa were passing through the higher stage of communalism characterized by the disintegration of tribal democracy and the emergence of feudal relationships, hereditary tribal chieftaincies and monarchical systems. With the impact of imperialism and colonialism, communalist socio-economic patterns began to collapse as a result of the introduction of export crops such as cocoa and coffee (Nkrumah, 1970, p.14).

In fact, due to capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism Africa has been estranged from homegrown values. Nkrumah (1970) has said that in socialist states the government represents workers and peasants whereas, in capitalist states, the government stands for the exploiting class. Postcolonial theorists have confirmed colonialism and capitalism generate exploitation, but the type of exploitation authorized by colonialists conceived race as prior criteria to exploit the Other. Nkrumah had also called the class struggle is between races. African socialism is used to deny the class struggle and to obscure genuine socialist commitment (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 26). The close links between class and race developed in Africa associated with capitalist exploitation (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 27). The type of class struggle that Nkrumah has discussed is not parallel with the Marxist notion of class struggle, because in Marx class struggle was related to antagonistic groups which are the bourgeoisie and proletariat. Thus, opposing groups are the result of capitalism while in communitarian society such extreme class division is unknown. In Marx, the driving factor for the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletarians lies in economic or material conditions while in the case of Nkrumah class struggle is a result of racism.

Nkrumah and Nyerere thought that capitalism on no account supports the decolonization processes. It is only the ending of capitalism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism and the realization of world communism that can provide the conditions under which the race question can finally be abolished and eliminated (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 29). No way out to abolish racism and exploitation but it is possible through communism and this enables the colonized to realize equality, justice, and freedom.

The total liberation and the unification of Africa under an All-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world... an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfillment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere. It will at the same time advance the triumph of the international socialist revolution, and the onward progress towards world communism, under which, every society is ordered on the principle of --from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 88).

For Nkrumah, socialistic revolution can surpass the situations of Third world people. Nkrumah's expectation is under question which is the total liberation and unification of Africa. In his discussion of neo-colonialism, he himself stated that through indirect control erstwhile colonizer opposes the creation of independent government. The formation of a powerful nation in Africa prevents western interruption in Africa and this would be a great defeat for Europeans. The goal of colonizers in their x-colony turns into creating small and weak states. Anyways, he emphasized the importance of communism in achieving the emancipation of Africa people. Nkrumah attempts to formulate nationalist independence, development plans, struggles against imperialism, and colonial domination (Benjamin, 2011, p.230). So, the means to counterattack colonizers' injustices, Africa must promote communism unless colonialism and capitalism becomes risky to the survival of Other people. Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania has also followed socialist policies in his campaign against colonial rule.

2.4.2. Ujamaa, or Familyhood

Nyerere was an influential leader during the decolonization period. He made an effort to promote thoughts that look African. It's obvious that Nyerere has complained about the ideologies of the colonialists. Due to this he strived to the resurrection of traditional African thoughts. He undertook a socialistic method to resolve the difficulties of colonized people and insisted socialism as an ideology that is contrary to European capitalism.

...Nyerere stated that struggles for independence were at the same time struggles for the rehabilitation of the African personality, which depended on the unity of Africa, 'not only in sentiment but in fact. Political independence is a fact for large areas of Africa and the Caribbean. Colonialism has begun its journey out of life and into the museums of history. We now have to recognize that an end to colonialism is not an end to the oppression of man, even if it means an end to oppression based solely on colour (Chachage, 2004, pp. 158-9).

Nyerere's attempt is not only a political liberation of colonized people; he worked hard for the renaissance of traditional African thoughts. "Nyerere has been in the area of ideological change and explicit opposition to the West" (Karikari, 2013, p. 32). Ideological change seems to be replacing the colonialist ideology by all-inclusive thought which is communitarianism. As many

postcolonialists claimed, some European ideology has exploitation and domination than pursuing a discourse that confirms the equality of all people. For Nyerere, the principles of socialism are relevant to all human society at all stages of technology and social organization (Benjamin, 2011, p. 239). He disparages the colonialist system, according to him, African socialism is the practice of socialism merged with the tenets of traditional African society, and it was based on the principle of familyhood or brotherhood (Karikari, 2013, p. 31). In the case of capitalism, no matter to progress at the expense of the other whereas Nyerere ujamaa clashes with greedy capitalism. “But the man who uses wealth for the purpose of dominating any of his fellows is a capitalist” (Nyerere, 1968, p.1). Ujamaa refers to a cooperative community in which people would live together and work together for the good of all (Boesen, Madsen, and Moody, 1977, p. 16). Absolutely, capitalism and colonialism have no egalitarian qualities. Just everything under capitalism monopolized by individuals or a few groups.

Nyerere supposed capitalism as the enemy of African-centered thoughts. Capitalism is in conflict with the socialist classlessness of the traditional African society (Nyerere, 1968, p. 78). Ujamaa, or Familyhood opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man (Nyerere, 1968, p. 12). Capitalism turns to dominating and imperiling other people. And colonialism is one justification for this exploitative feature of capitalism since colonialists aimed at securing the interest of capitalists. Capitalism is structured in a way to gain power while socialism in Africa restricts the desire for power “it gave neither power nor prestige” (Nyerere, 1968, p. 5).

Acquisitiveness for the purpose of gaining power and prestige is unsocialist. In an acquisitive society wealth tends to corrupt those who possess it. It tends to breed in them a desire to live more comfortably than their fellows, to dress better, and in every way to outdo them. They begin to feel they must climb as far above their neighbours as they can. The visible contrast between their own comfort and the comparative discomfort of the rest of society becomes almost essential to the enjoyment of their wealth, and this sets off the spiral of personal competition—which is then anti-social (Nyerere, 1968, p. 2).

In traditional African society individuals within a community take care of the community, and the community takes care of individuals and there is no wish to exploit our fellow men (Nyerere, 1968, p. 7). He made it clear that an individual is never an enemy of the community and in return the community has a culture of tolerating an individual. It is must to reject colonialism and capitalist methods. These are contrary to socialism of Africa (Nyerere, 1968, p. 7). Colonialism creates anti-socialist system, and this has to be substituted by traditional African thoughts. Colonialism and capitalism are “not only foreign to us, it is completely wrong” (Nyerere, 1968, p. 8).

“We must, as I have said, regain our former attitude of mind—our traditional African socialism—and apply it to the new societies we are building today” (Nyerere, 1968, p. 8). State building in Africa rests on the reappearance of pre-colonial black traditions. Nyerere thought that capitalism far from solving problems while fostering a socialist approach enables the society to overcome certain problems. Unlike capitalism, a true socialist may not exploit his fellows (Nyerere, 1968, p. 9). It is essential to introduce a system that can abolish and substitute the exploitative system of the colonialist structure. The true African socialist does not look on one class of men like his brother and another as his natural enemies (Nyerere, 1968, p. 10). Contrasting capitalism, genuine socialism dissociated from producing an antagonistic class but aimed at balancing the gap between conflicting groups. Nyerere (1968) believed that the basic purpose of socialism is the wellbeing of the people, and the basic thing is an acceptance of human equality.

The type of socialism that Nyerere has recommended seems to be important because without inequality it stands for all. Nyerere (1968) said socialism is not for the benefit of black men, nor brown men, nor white men nor yellow men. In socialism nothing is considered as criteria but the target of socialism is humanity. The purpose of socialism is the service of man, regardless of colour, size, shape, skill, ability, or anything else (Nyerere, 1968, p. 38). This is completely different from the elements of the capitalist system. Colonialism and capitalism function in line with race, colour, geography, skill, etc whereas socialism only functions in line with humanity (Nyerere, 1968, p. 38). Socialism has nothing to do with racism and fascism while these two things are the distinctive features of colonialism. Fascism is the highest and most ruthless form of the manipulation of man by man. It is made possible by deliberate efforts to divide mankind and set

one group of men against another group (Nyerere, 1968, p. 38). Socialism has a rational and concrete worth to be practiced that can resolve problems of capitalism.

To put an end to the oppression of Africans “it is must refute any attempts made by capitalists to dominate us” (Nyerere, 1968, p. 41). Capitalism is devoid of humanistic elements of socialism. The colonized receive nothing from colonial rule. But as Fanon (2008) said no gain but the oppressed lose certain things. For Nyerere (1968), the colonialist structure is known for its racist habits of thought which were part of our inheritance from colonialism. Clearly, racialism is evil and the independence campaign of the colonized people simultaneously aimed at abolishing racism (Nyerere, 1968, p. 43). Within the capitalist society, tension has arisen between poor and rich, and outside Europe capitalism uses race to divide, colonize and subjugate outside people.

The main factor that contributes to the independence of colonized people lies in the approach in which they follow. Since that through the socialist movement especially pioneer political leaders accelerate the agenda of liberation. Many African countries are subjected to internal political chaos and externally neo-colonialism hampers the development of colonized people. Postcolonial thinkers have envisioned that emancipation is not a short time mission but it takes time. Therefore, for both Nkrumah and Nyerere, the past has a valuable effect concerning the futures of colonized people. In part when we discuss Fanon, we have seen that he was not interested regarding past events. His inclination is the creation of a new man that is mainly rooted in an existential way of life. It is not a curse to make a revival of the past whereas the colonized necessarily inherit something from the past. After the physical war of colonial rule, the West has also come again to colonize their ex-colonies through another form of domination.

Particularly, in chapter one I said that universalism is the source of domination. Now we discussed Nkrumah and Nyerere views of communism. Their ideas of communism seek universal acceptance. You know that some white racist attempted to assert their biased perspectives as universal principle. This kind of perspective is unnecessary. It seems to me that to promote Nkrumah and Nyerere perspectives have no problem. Just this is to say that to take something as universal has become appropriate if and only if it serves the whole people equally. But to appreciate a biased articulation as universal rule become a tool of domination.

2.5. Neo-colonialism

In Africa after the colonial period, there are challenges but what is shocking is the problems are related to colonial rule then nowadays the problems are related to neo-colonialism. It was simultaneous that Kwame Nkrumah has forecasted the colonial master's comeback and apparently neo-colonialists have made a technical shift instead of pursuing a usual direct attack. Alavi (1971) has plainly asserted that at independence, however, the direct command of the colonial master over the colonial state ended. Thus, postcolonial society fated to inescapable suppression of the white man that remains anti-black. That's why Leela Gandhi suggested colonialism does not end with the end of colonial occupation (Gandhi, 1998, p. 17). There is one fact that nobody can deny which is the extension of subjugation in Africa after the physical war of the West. Exactly, colonialism made a shift of approaches and it evolved through neo-colonialism. Nkrumah evinced that "in place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism" (Nkrumah, 1965, p. ix). He had investigated the impact of neo-colonialism and he noticed that it has socio-economic and political burdens.

Foreign intervention in Africa is not a mere interference so erstwhile colonialist involvement has their usual colonial mission. Some groups of societies affected by the colonizing process are not post-colonial (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2002, p. 193). Exactly, the situation of colonized people in the aftermath of the war didn't bring the estimated change among the lives of postcolonial society. As these scholars had thought, people who are victims of colonization are unable to overcome past problems (colonial oriented problems) in this neo-colonial period. Let's borrow Memmi's terminology: the 'portrait' of colonizers which is dehumanizing of non-European people is a persisting challenge in postcolonial time because of neo-colonialists.

Neo-colonialism seems to be the propagation of socio-economic and political activity by former colonial rulers aimed at supporting capitalism, neo-liberal globalization, and cultural subjugation of their former colonies (Afisi, 2017, p. 3). It is the persistence of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in emerging countries which become the victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination by political, economic, social, military or technical forces (Benjamin, 2011, p. 239). In opposition to formerly colonized nations, it prevents

them from implementing their own strategy and policy. Neo-colonialism in its cruelest form is the extension of colonial policies under the guise of achieving freedom (Nnamdi, 2016, p. 1). Benjamin (2011) has stated through indirect control the colonialists perpetuate exploitation in their past colonies. On the other hand, it served the interest of the white power structure (Allen, 2005, p. 5). The colonialist promised to resolve the difficulties of the colonized but what is on the ground is the inverse one. It generates nothing to the well-being of the oppressed rather as Allen (2005), clarified neo-colonialism aimed at preserving the advantage of the colonialists.

Neo-colonialism, like colonialism, is an attempt to export the social conflicts of the capitalist countries (Nkrumah, 1965, p. xii). Of course, capitalism produces things, and its production is not limited to producing matter but also generates conflicts. Even a capitalist society within their territory is unable to overcome the existence of risky antagonistic groups. The developed countries succeeded in exporting their home problem and transferring the conflict between rich and poor from the national to the international stage (Nkrumah, 1965. P. 255). Through neo-colonialism, the colonialist endeavors to determine the whole activities of the oppressed people. “Neo-colonialist exploitation is implemented in the political, religious, ideological, economic, and cultural spheres of society” (Afisi, 2017, p. 9). For these reason postcolonialists and freedom fighters protested neo-colonialist conspiracy of dominating the non-capitalist society. The reason why to oppose neo-colonialism is not aimed at excluding the investment of the developed world from operating in developing countries. It is aimed at preventing the economic power of the developed countries being used in such a way as to impoverish the less advanced (Nkrumah, 1965, p. X). Thus, colonialist engagement in their ex-colonies is to pretend their brutal treatment against the will of the masses.

The ongoing subjugation of the neo-colonial state has different manifestations and somehow its method of domination and exploitation differ from the approaches practiced in the colonization period. That’s why Nkrumah stated, “neocolonialism is the last stage of imperialism” (Nkrumah, 1965, p. 31). It shows that before neo-colonialism the colonialists had experienced different methods of exploitation and domination. Previously slavery and colonization are the means to sustain European superiority but after partial liberation of the colonized people, the colonialists undertake neo-colonialism to maintain their usual oppression. Woodis (cited in Echa, 2013) stated

that neo-colonialism can be rightly regarded as a revision of forms and methods of control for the reproduction of old dependency relations. Simply, neo-colonialism only changed its methods of manipulation and through different means of operation until now Africa soil has fallen into the hands of colonial rule.

Based on this, there are the major ways in which neo-colonial rule is being realized in African soil. Nkrumah has forecasted the ways in which neo-colonialism has come to recolonize independent states of Africa. Accordingly, the methods and forms of neo-colonialism can take various shapes. He indicated the ways but we can categorize them into two. First, the troops of the imperial power may garrison the territory of the neo-colonial state and control the government of it (Nkrumah, 1966, p. ix). In the course of colonization, the colonizers have deployed white troops in the territory of the oppressed now some neo-colonialists to some degree try to maintain military interventions in internal affairs of independent states. Let's see the political conditions of postcolonial society in this neo-colonialism age.

Even nowadays, Europeans are particularly distressed by the unity of African nations. In Africa undemocratic structure of government has become customary despite the fact different factors are responsible for this situation. The West themselves theoretically hard-pressed Africa to democracy whereas their indirect involvements affect nation building processes. Every effort is made to influence the bureaucracy ideologically in favour of policies which are in conformity with metropolitan interests (Alavi, 1971, p. 70). Neo-colonialist never mind sovereignty of a given country while utmost attached to acquisition of certain privileges. Then it is indisputably, no one able to conclude colonizers are entirely exited from their x-colonies. Although in one way or other anti-black power survive in Africa through neo-colonialism. Legacies of colonizers are extensively realized in Third world States in multiple directions. Formal colonialism has ended, and the new African state is sovereign in theory but in reality, its economic system and thus its political policy continues to be directed from outside (Nkrumah, 1966, p. ix). Indeed, Nkrumah had clearly thought that a state could not be independent if it was directed from outside. Inversely, one could say Africa is a free continent when nations are able to own substructure and superstructure founded in that region.

A country in the grip of neo-colonialism is not a master of its own destiny (Nkrumah, 1966, p. x). Some external power engagements in certain occasions contradicts the right to self-determination of postcolonial states. It is not an exaggeration to consider a state as an unfree state when x power appeals to determine its conditions. A state is sovereign when autonomously makes a decision away from any external influences, perhaps neo-colonialists displeased by Third World countries becoming a sovereign country. He stated that the rulers of neo-colonial states derive their authority to govern, not from the will of the people, but from the support which they attain from their neo-colonialist masters (Nkrumah, 1966, p. xv). Alavi (1971) emphasized that in this new-colonial time some postcolonial states have more than one interest but the prior thing for a state as state is keeping sovereignty of a given country.

Neo-colonialists have African but unpatriotic agents to accomplish their goals in Africa soil, precisely this looks like the servility of some blacks open the door to the ingress of neo-colonialists into Africa region. To the unchanged conditions of postcolonial society there have been interior factors accountable to frequent political instability, poverty, backwardness, illiteracy, and poor infrastructure in this neo-colonial period. Responsibility also lies on the shoulders of African politicians, administrators, bureaucrats, teachers, clerks, doctors, activists, and so on, who have all failed to perform their tasks with a modicum of efficiency and integrity (Novati, 1996, p. 134).

Africa remains too undemocratic regarding power transitions and elections remind an abstract entity in the region. Mainly, political crises recurrently arise in different parts of the continent. This prevents economic growth and is perilous to existentiality of the majority. And conflict on such events results in more political crises among the military, leaders, elite and other parts of a society. Especially, the actions of a régime invite the military to tackle a state activity for the reason that a government may be on the wrong path. Ostensibly, neo-colonialists contribute a lot to political disorder that is common in postcolonial society. Jimmi Wangome has stated that coups have been linked directly or indirectly with personal drives and the craving for power by some specific key players. Corruption, personal interest, centralization of power, impotence of institutions neutrally to pass a decision, and lack of cheek and balance are the crucial factors to unchanged political conditions.

In Africa, military interventions are viewed as one index of low-level of political institutionalization (Decalo, 1973, p. 109). The question is not assessing the role of the military while just this is to reveal the reason behind militants' motive to control the politics. Some Africans are distant from nation building processes whereas balk establishing a good governance system. On some occasions when a government failed to run a nation then inevitably soldiers may close to have a coup. Most frequently in Africa coups d'état has become a major reason for political disorder. Developing countries have begun to practice a round of coups d'état together with a series of political assassinations which have destroyed in their political primes some of the newly emerging nations' best leaders (Nkrumah, 1966, p. 245). The civilians may not be beneficiary from the state structure. Due to this fact the coup d'état has sought to be a solution.

Internal and external factors are responsible for leading a coup d'état in a given state. For instance, internal parties and ruling regime disagreement, violation of rights, ethnic tension, poor infrastructure, high unemployment rate, and longevity of leaders in power are preconditions to coups d'état. Externally neo-colonialists' intrusion against the local government aggravates political crises in their x-colonies. Neo-colonialist coup a leader when disobeys the exterior strategy and policy of foreign countries. Because as Alavi (1971) has precisely announced that some states have beyond a single interest. Possible to imagine that in many African countries peaceful transition of power is authorized as rule in their respective constitutions, however, this is an ideal thought, meaning many of the states are far from leading democratic elections. One more shocking event associated with political disorders in Africa is political assassinations and this is another internal problem for untransformed political situations.

As Samuel Decalo indicated between 1962 to 1970 Algeria, Central African Republic, Ghana, Congo Brazzaville, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Uganda had experienced coups d'état. Based on this data approximately per a year one state in Africa has coups d'état. This situation leaves the continent less developed since the possibility to transform the political disorder through coups d'état is very low. In fact, it is disappointing that a coup in Africa many times has failed to bring expected economic, socio, and political changes. Furthermore, corruption, nepotism, and smuggling have not been eliminated under military regimes; if anything, the scope of these activities tends to broaden (Decalo, 1973, p. 119). Instead of resolving the ongoing problems, a

coup may worsen the situation to the nastiest level. So, it is a must for Africa to internalize democratic assets. Unless the continuing coups d'état in the region open the door for neo-colonialists to intrusion in internal affairs of developing nations.

Wangome came with other data and through his investigations of countries who had coups since 1960 to 1970 reached more than twenty-one countries in Africa practiced coup. In 1966, six countries namely; Central Africa Republic, Upper Volta, Nigeria, Ghana, Nigeria, and Burundi had coups d'état. During the second half of 20th century Africa had experienced a very complicated political disorder associated with military power. For Wangome (1985), the period between 1960 and 1970 and slightly beyond has generally been called the decade of coups in Africa. A coup arose in x-country not affecting only the x-state. Relatively the problem extended to other parts of the continent. That's why Wangome said once coups started in Africa they became like a wild African bushfire. Assume that a forest fire once burned then after speedily it would destroy all part of the jungle. Likewise, chaos in x-country in one way or other affects geopolitics of the continent. All these coups caused high losses materially and spiritually, this made the region backward and uncivilized. If this had not happened then today Africa may have a good economy so easily defeat neo-colonialist enforcements.

Furthermore, widespread government corruption is a contributing factor to coups d'état (Decalo, 1973, p. 110). In this neo-colonial period some cadres are accountable to the prevailing problems and predominantly officers not all misuse power against a state sovereignty. Sometimes it is difficult to identify some leaders whether as business men or leaders. It is seldom that some commit corruption and have resource accumulation. Failures of leadership, weak economies dominated by external factors, gaps between values inculcated to officers abroad and political styles at home, all lead to coups (Decalo, 1973, p). In Africa the political culture is not too attractive so as much as possible there must be urgent political reform to stop persisting challenges.

The second way of controlling the postcolonial society is through economic or monetary means (Nkrumah, 1966, p. ix). In a neo-colonial state, the former colonial masters ensure that the newly independent colonies remain dependent on them for economic and political direction (Afisi, 2017, p. 3). Particularly those acquainted with Nkrumah's book *'Neo-colonialism the Last Stage*

of Imperialism' ascribed his writing as a book of despair since he weighed the exploited resources of Africa during colonization. Many of the chapters of his book emphasize on the importance of economic superiority. In this time also neo-colonialist wish to have economic superiority, certainly they have much more accumulation than other nations. Monopoly permits the monopolists to manipulate the economies of other countries in their interests (Nkrumah, 1966, p. 63). In this neo-colonial period Third World countries' power to tackle the world economy is less while the bourgeois West monopolizes it. There is a big difference between neo-colonialists and independent states of Africa in their economic achievements. This unjustly added financial gain empowers the West to monopolize the world economy in the exclusions of other states. When we say neo-colonialists monopolize the world economy this shows that the West determines export and import prices of goods and services, deduct the cost of products supplied by developing countries and lowering the currencies of less developed countries.

Other means to the survival of neo-colonialist lies in aid, this becomes a tool to subjugate postcolonial societies. Imperialist nations advance their economic neo-colonial goals by various aid schemes under the guise of improving living standards and conditions (Nnamdi, 2016, p. 1). In fact, previously subjugated and currently to a certain degree liberated nations are under neo-colonialism and have insufficient economy. This poor economy of a less developed country creates a good event for the neo-colonialists to interrupt the Other. Many Africans after the physical war of the West are unable to detach themselves from economic dependency. Nkrumah critically analyzed the effects of aid among the recipients. When the West donates to the economy of other people it is not resulting from good will to support the less developed nations while because of aid neo-colonialist demand persistence of exploitation. Regarding this Nkrumah has stated the impacts of multilateral aid in developing countries.

By multilateral aid Nkrumah said that through international organizations the West perpetuated colonialism (Nkrumah, 1966, p. 242). International organizations such as International Monetary Fund and World Bank have the tendency of forcing borrowers to submit to various offensive conditions, such as supplying information about their economies, submitting their policy and plans to review by the World Bank and accepting agency supervision of their use of loans (Nkrumah, 1966, p. 243). The recipients are expected to submit a proposal for these institutions in

order to convince them to clarify for what sake the developing nation demands an aid. Just this is to say that the receivers have no full right to use the aid as they wish rather the lenders decide for what infrastructure to use the aid. Debt is another hindrance that trapped the continent and its high interest rate leaves the borrowers under financial crises. Generally, the target goal of the West is to make the Other a parasite of their economy.

The white power structure sought to preserve hegemony by replacing direct white control of the internal black with indirect neo-colonial control through black intermediary (Allen, 2005, p. 5). It conveys the fact that it is not only colonial masters who aggravate the exploitation of developing countries. Even some members of colonized people collaborate with neo-colonialist indirect subjugation. The African bourgeoisie provides a bridge for continued imperialist and neocolonialist control and manipulation (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 85). Nkrumah had made clear since “through the indigenous bourgeoisie and puppet governments teleguided and marionetted by neocolonialists; direct economic exploitation through an extension of giant interlocking corporations; and through all manners of other insidious ways such as the control of mass communication media, and ideological penetration” (Nkrumah, 1970, p. 87). As much as possible, attentive follow up is required to reveal the concealed agenda of neo-colonialist in Third World people. As Nkrumah told us there would be a puppet leader in accord with colonial interests, then activists, humanitarian campaigners, a patriot and largely anti neo-colonialists must expose the injustice of neo-colonialists.

Even if after the independence struggle, the postcolonial society is situated under colonial rule, this means that the conditions of postcolonial society after the struggle have some difficulties. The attachment between the colonizer and their x-colonies remains uninterrupted or colonialist administration existed in several ways. Especially, their economic and financial systems are linked, as in colonial days, with those of the former colonial ruler (Nkrumah, 1965, p. xiii). The postcolonial society is unfortunate since it failed to escape the trapping structure of the West in this time as Nkrumah prophesied the oppressed have neo-colonialism.

Nkrumah stated that neo-colonialism can and will be defeated through approaching the following mechanisms. Accordingly, unity is the first requisite for destroying neo-colonialism

(Nkrumah, 1966, p. 253). For Nkrumah, through an all-union government Africans able to defeat neo-colonialism unless neo-colonialist maintain the creation of small states. Furthermore, Nkrumah had pushed the neo-colonial state to consolidate inter-continental relations to defeat neo-colonialists. Solidarity between Afro-Asian countries even if working with European states which are anti neo-colonialist is necessary to resist neo-colonialist monopolizing strategy. Generally, an alliance between anti neo-colonialist nations would become a fitting measure to battle the survival of neo-colonialism. Predominantly opponents of neo-colonialism warn about the ineffectiveness of the isolation approach to combat neo-colonialists. Instead of separation a collective spirit of postcolonial state is needed unless the destination of a state labeled in neo-colonialism is near to subjugation.

Many postcolonialists suggested that neo-colonialism is indirect rule. It seems to me that to some degree neo-colonialism is not only indirect rule. There is a direct involvement of the West in the internal affairs of developing nations. For instance, a state that disobey westerns strategies mainly has political crises. Obviously, neo-colonialists through donation able to survive in some Africa countries. A state that disobeys westerns perspective is unable to receive donation. Also, there is a possible indication that show the direct effect of neo-colonialism. In failed states of Africa some western countries have a direct military involvement. In addition to this, some western countries have a military camp in Africa. This shows that neo-colonialists until now unable to leave Africa soil. This imply that erstwhile colonialists have certain desire in Africa.

Chapter Three

Africa Philosophy and African Centred Approach

3.1. Negritude

Already we have discussed that between discourse and counter discourse there was a big difference. The intentions of some occidental discourses are perpetuating exploitation and dehumanizes the Other people. But the target of “black discourse, therefore, to be healthy discourse, is resistance” (Asante, 1998, p. 99). The negritude movement became an important movement to inspire the black to achieve their humanity. The point of views embraced in negritude in one way or another are already discussed especially in part two. Black oriented movements are mainly aimed at exposing and correcting the coercive discourse of the white man.

It would indeed violate all laws of human behavior, the black man would have proved the Whiteman’s claim that he is less than human, if he did not hate his former master, and his suffering and dehumanizer (Kunene, 1969, p. 8). Kunene has stimulated the colonized to resist the oppressors unless any inaction accelerates colonization. As we have seen in part two, the colonized have employed different methods to end colonizers subjugation. The search for new values leads the Black writer to self-definition in terms that are non-Western, and the association between the Black race and Africa gets a new meaning: instead of being a source of shame, it becomes a source of pride (Howell, 2012, p. 61) and this was one of the chief aims of the negritude movement.

Black literature emerging in the United States in the early 1900s considered a response to such value judgments a matter of urgency and priority, for they were considered to be at the base of the social (segregation), political (disfranchisement), economic (labor exploitation), and (cultural discrimination) problems which the Negro faced in America and worldwide. The aim of this literature was to correct the image of the Negro. For both, the cultural demand has been for equal treatment with other citizens, or, better, with other racial groups. However, there was also a difference between them. The civil rights movement aimed at securing the black man's constitutional rights along political and economic lines. The literary activity, on the other hand, was a universalist movement. Its aim was to rehabilitate the image of the black man wherever he was; it was the expression of black personality. This literary movement came to be known

as the Harlem Renaissance, a predecessor of the more widely known cognate, negritude (Masolo, 1994, p. 10).

The colonizers had literary works that maintained segregation of black people. For instance, as we have discussed in part one Joseph Conrad literary work titled '*Heart of Darkness*', Bruhl's '*Primitive Mentality*' and '*How Natives Think*' and Tempels '*Bantu Philosophy*' all these literary works are humiliating the Other. As Masolo has stated the writings of anti-colonial scholars aimed at correcting those deliberately presented misconceptions against Other people. The peculiarity of our place in the world which isn't to be confused with anybody else's and the peculiarity of our problems which aren't to be reduced to subordinate forms of any other problem (Cesaire, 1969, p. 14). Through negritude its proponent counterattack white man fallible delineation of native culture. The negritude exponent inspires the black to feel a pride with a black culture. Firmly Cesaire has opposed the reduction of black culture as inferior or less and he insisted the independence of Negro culture.

Negritude had its root in the whole movement of revolt against slavery and colonial subjugation (Kunene, 1969, p. 16). As Kunene suggested, the emergence of negritude was linked with the devastating outcomes of colonizer's brutal exploitation. Negritude was caused by white man's expedition against black man existentiality. There were many black initiators of the negritude movement, of whom Aime Cesaire and Leopold Sedar Senghor have an immense contribution to negritude. Senghor (1974) said that the word negritude was coined by his friend the West Indian poet Aime Cesaire. Even though Cesaire coined the term negritude, Senghor has influenced Cesaire in his articulation of the word negritude. To some degree there was a view of departure between these two proponents of negritude. Negritude originated from the term 'negro' denoting to a Black person (Galafa, 2018, p. 287). The movement is anticipated to be the declaration of emancipation for the oppressed people through resisting European oppressive forces.

The word Negro refers to a people of a designated colour: black. And this identity of the African has been a source of ridicule from the West; at one point everything dark was inferior and devilish. It was in response to this background that Senghor developed a colour based identity

for the African. He maintains that the black colour of the Negro, rather than demean him, assigns him a unique place in the world community (Anthony, 2014, p. 524).

It sought to reverse the colonialist portrayal of things African as evil, subhuman, and inferior to all things (Anthony, 2014, p. 524). Négritude values black culture and it seeks the decolonization of oppressed people. It has been perceived as an ideological reaction against colonialism and a defence of African culture, leading to the strengthening of African identity in the Francophone Black world (Galafa, 2018, p. 288). What belongs to white culture is conceived as a universal standard while Other possessions (native culture) are powerless to be taken as a universal value.

For negritude exponents the supposedly universal were the justifications for racism and colonial exploitation and oppression (Tomich, 1979, p. 372). To take only occidental culture lead the black to make a divorce from their native culture. So, to save native culture the black intellectuals projected likely movements even if they were from colonizer lands. Negritude has as its objective the revalorization of African culture through reclaiming the identity suppressed by colonialism and structural racism (Galafa, 2018, p. 288). In part two we have seen that Fanon and Memmi have employed violence and assimilation as means of struggle to overcome the problems of colonialism. When we come to negritude campaigners, they pursue resistance through literature and poetic expression. Note, that also they have actual involvement in changing the circumstance of the colonized people. This is to say that their literary work was not an abstract writing whereas it touches the earth (assesses the real situations of colonized people).

Negritude has a significant role in the liberation struggles of Black people around the world because it opened a door for enlightenment and a great path in the liberation struggles of Africa against colonial dominion (Galafa, 2018, p. 297). Regarding existentiality of the Other, negritude initiator when they were in colonizer land evinced that the black man was a victim of white rule. At this juncture it is important to mention negritude with reference to the influence of this movement. Césaire's poem entitled "*Return to My Native Land*" and his book "*Discourse on Colonialism*" are the very important works to understand the fact of being black.

“Our struggle was a struggle against alienation. That struggle gave birth to Negritude. Because Antilles were ashamed of being Negroes, they searched for all sorts of euphemisms for Negro: they would say a man of color, a dark-complexioned man, and other idiocies like that” (Cesaire, 1995, p. 29). From the early beginning Cesaire has opposed the word negritude while later on for the first time he uses this term in his poem. Cesaire uses negritude at different times to conceptualize the dignity, the personhood or humanity, of black people (Masolo, 1994, p. 1). Cesaire’s conception of negritude was simple recognition of the fact of being black people, of our history, and of our culture which relied more on a shared history of suffering by African people (Campbell, 2006, p. 34). Accordingly, a black man has to feel pride of being a black and pushed the oppressed to leave white culture. Negritude becomes the awareness of being black, the simple acknowledgement of a fact which implies the acceptance of it, a taking charge of one’s destiny as a black man, of one’s history and culture (Kesteloot, 1974, p. 105). His articulation of negritude directed to arousing the consciousness of black men with regards to their existential situations.

According to Filostrat (2018), the objective of Cesaire’s call for the consciousness of one’s black self in the French speaking West Indies was two-fold. It aimed at the eradication of the old system of assimilation that had assumed and upheld the belief that the black man was culturally hollow (Filostrat, 2018, p. 53). Assimilation as means of resistance bring nothing to stop white superiority while there must be other means to secure equality of the Negro. In addition to cultural inferiority, assimilation resulted in “economic and political bondage since administrative caesarism was the economic and political arm of France’s assimilationist grand design” (Filostrat, 2018, p. 54). As we have discussed, the assimilation rule is not an advantageous strategy to overcome challenges of colonized people. Cesaire’s second objective was the establishment of cultural self-determination in the French speaking West Indies (Filostrat, 2018, p. 55). Assimilation leads to homogeneity of culture, as result of this he wishes “the institutionalization of an ethnic and cultural pluralistic French federal state within which the black Frenchman, having shed his former status, would become – separately but equally – a full partner in the decisions made by the state on his behalf” (Filostrat, 2018, p. 55). By rejecting assimilation, a black must preserve his culture without inheriting white culture. Because assimilation leaves the black to feel inferiority and in no means become a way out since who assimilate and to be assimilated. Assimilation contradicts cultural autonomy therefore it must be discarded. In his poem Cesaire

enthusiastically suggested that a self to be proud of his culture “take me as I am. I am not adapting to you” (Cesaire, 1969, p. 38).

The colonized people are expected to become active. Accordingly, the black wish emancipation and, also emancipation is action and creation (Tomich, 1979, p. 374). Any inaction of the oppressed people has a negative effect in the process of decolonization. In his poem, he also evinced that “my mouth shall be the mouth of those calamities that have no mouth, /my voice the freedom of those who break down, /in the prison holes of despair” (Cesaire, 1969, p. 17). Let’s scrutinize the following Cesaire’s saying in detail. He addressed the Eurocentrism of colonizers and made an effort to illustrate the illusions and confusion resulting from colonial domination.

Prospero, you are the master of illusion.
Lying is your trademark.
And you have lied so much to me
(lied about the world, lied about me)
that you have ended by imposing on me
an image of myself.
underdeveloped, you brand me, inferior,
That is the way you have forced me to see myself
I detest that image! What’s more, it’s a lie!
But now I know you, you old cancer,
and I know myself as well (Cesaire, 1969, p. 27).

Indeed, this has depicted the illusions that are against black man. He said that “lying is your trademark” (Cesaire, 1969, p. 26). Lying became the unique manifestation of the colonizers. The aims of Europe is not enlightening African while impoverishing them through lying. Nothing would be comfortable to a black man that’s why Cesaire detest that image, the image looks like the white man's effort to define the black man. The White man was known for superiority complex but to escalate whiteness they undertake defamatory techniques, meaning through letting down black value the West at the expense of Others eager to maintain white superiority. One of the main defects of Eurocentrists is their inability to know themselves independently. Without referring to

the black or Other the white man challenged to locate what a white man is. This is to say that just because a white man thinks a white is civilized, rational, and modern, then they need referees that contradict attributes assigned to themselves. Generally speaking, it points out that the same character on no occasion became a standard to define the black and white man according to Eurocentricists. A binary division is important in order to say the white superior and non-white as inferior. Without binary articulation the racists are unable to assert white superiority.

Exactly, all is not aware of colonialist exploitation while activists, writers, and leaders are candidates to mobilize and organise the mass to the stage of self-determination. Césaire (1969) clearly stated that his mouth shall be the mouth of those who cannot question. A colonized deserve emancipation from physical and psychological enslavement that is posed by colonial rule. In his poem, Césaire raises an important point related to the real situation of oppressed people. He said that: “a lone man imprisoned in whiteness, /a lone man defying the white screams of white death, /a man who mesmerizes the white sparrow hawk of white death, /a man alone in the sterile sea of white sand” (Césaire, 1969, p. 20). In connection to black people, Fanon has also posed a crucial question which is, what does the black man want? And, he argues that “a black is not a man,” and that instead black people exist in a “zone of nonbeing” (Fanon, 2008, p. 1). Césaire’s postulation of black people parallels Fanon’s assertion that the black are in a state of nonbeing. Because of segregation, the black was isolated, imprisoned, dehumanized, and in all aspects estranged. Politically the Other are subjected to white strategies, their economy is highly exploited, and white cultures are sought to substitute black one.

Instead of receiving white culture, Césaire has stressed to the survival of negro values because “we were black and have a history, a history that contains certain cultural elements of great value; and that Negroes were not, as you put it, born yesterday, because there have been beautiful and important black civilizations” (Césaire, 1995, p. 30). Fanon has said the colonized are a political creature and the same is true for Césaire. Only whites are responsible to determine what a native should be because white values are supposed to be universal canon for all human beings.

And in this inert town, this squalling throng so astonishingly
detoured from its cry as this town as been
from its movement, from its meaning,
not even worried, detoured from its true cry,
the only cry you would have wanted to hear because
you feel it alone belongs to this town;
because you feel it lives in it in some deep refuge
and pride in this inert town, this throng detoured
from its cry of hunger, of poverty, of revolt, of hatred,
this throng so strangely chattering and mute (Cesaire, 1969, p. 4).

Nothing engenders a good condition to the survival of negro whereas the natives have plenty of problems. The colonizers have disturbed non-white people awfully. So, as a condemned being the negro is circled by colonial problems. Cesaire said that the negro “not even worried, detoured from its true cry” (Cesaire, 1969, p. 4), due to frequent dehumanizing act of the colonizer’s, the imperilled group even become hopeless to cry out. To resolve the persisting agony of the black man then it is must to return to his native land. As Cesaire hailed the negro is “the famine-man, the insult-man, the torture man you can grab anytime, beat up, kill no joke, kill --- without having to account to anyone, without having to make excuses to anyone” (Cesaire, 1969, p. 15). The Negritude movement has a contribution in awakening the oppressed from their slumber and enabling them to fight anti-black rules. Cesaire has also revealed the irresponsibility of the colonialists, he said that “no joke, kill without having to account to anyone, without having to make excuses to anyone” (Cesaire, 1969, p. 15). Frankly, no one questions the suffering of black people, no one complains of the irrationality of white deeds, no one condemns colonialists’ brutality and besides the colonizer no one makes an effort to compensate for the black’s deprivation.

Cesaire has expressed the reason why to fight the West. “I systematically defend our old Negro civilizations: they were courteous civilizations” (Cesaire, 1995, p. 10). Also, in ‘*Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*’ we can see the refutation of European culture since that a refutation is reasonable. Black culture has no place in the eyes of the West as a result the black identity looks like white culture (inheriting European character). His effort is the discovery of native possessions rather than promoting what is inside Europe. He has explicitly called for a fresh source of light,

meaning not the lived and involuntarily imposed cultures of the West able to define the black man rather “oh friendly light, oh fresh source of light” (Cesaire, 1969s p, 40). The black must define himself in relation to native culture and simultaneously become conscious of being a black and able to feel pride. Nevertheless, the usual exclusive and universal endeavours of the West to posit only white culture as iconic of all nations become unacceptable. He suggested that without the black the earth would not be the earth (Cesaire, 1969 p, 40). Europeans placed themselves at the center of all things while the Others are located at the periphery line. According to Aime Cesaire, the West told us that in order to be universal we had to start by denying that we were black. I, on the contrary, said to myself that the more we were black, the more universal we would be. It was a totally different approach (Zahid and Hussai, 2008, p. 6).

Cesaire speaks analogously regarding the importance of the negritude movement. He said that the beautiful tree could not bear its authentic fruits unless the people of Martinique became racially conscious (Filostrat, 2018, p. 23). It is not through assimilation or departmentalization the black recognizes his blackness but through committed struggle to assert the blackness of the black man. Cesaire (cited in Filostrat, 2018, p. 49) stated that the West Indian must tear himself from superficial values; take possession of his most immediate black self and plant his *négritude* as one does a beautiful tree until it bears its most authentic fruits. Unambiguous that Cesaire’s comparison of the black with a tree, underlined that the black must free himself from inferiority complex and pushed them to encourage being a black and pride on black culture. The important point here is that a tree bears its fruit after a long time, a farmer may expect to make necessary conservation to see its fruit. Likewise, the black man expected to hold long run struggle to secure his negro civilization and unachievable within a short time. Negritude was really a resistance to the politics of assimilation (Cesaire, 1995, p. 28). Assimilation has become irrelevant because it forbids the colonized authentic fruits of their struggle while assimilation is advantageous to the oppressors.

And among the ruins there springs up not a culture, but a kind of subculture, a subculture that, because it is condemned to remain marginal as regards the European culture and to the province of small group, an “elite,” living in artificial conditions and deprived of life-giving contact with the masses and with popular culture, is thus prevented from blossoming

into a true culture.

But in doing so, my heart, preserve me from all hatred
do not make me into that man of hatred for whom I feel only hatred
for entrenched as I am in this unique race
you still know my tyrannical love (Cesaire, 1969, p. 44).

Mainly the West conceived Other culture as subculture, uncivilized, backward and valueless. The fact is not what they suggested. Due to their ant-black perspectives, disparaging Other culture becomes their habit. The native culture “prevented from blossoming into a true culture” (Cesaire, 1969, p. 44). The prospering of negro culture appears risky to the superiority of white culture, the West may not keep their superiority when the black culture is known and raised. Also, he frequently announced that his campaign was to the recovery of negro culture and. He has no the intention of leading a struggle that affect other races. When he opposed the West’s imposition, this was not the desire to hate white culture but the desire to oppose tyrannical culture. “You know that it is not from hatred of other races, /that I demand of myself to become a hoer for this unique race, /that what I want is for universal hunger, /for universal thirst” (Cesaire, 1969, p. 44).

“There is a law of progressive dehumanization in accordance with which henceforth on the agenda of the bourgeoisie there is - there can be - nothing but violence, corruption, and barbarism” (Cesaire, 1995, p. 18). It looks like capitalist Europe firmly holds dehumanizing and alienating the Other as their main concern. It is possible to treat the alienation of the colonized by appealing to Marxist thought, the four forms of alienation. However, Marx’s view of alienation linked with capitalist mode of production but discussing the alienation of the colonized is a result of the colonial power. It doesn’t mean capitalism has no effect in the alienation of the oppressed. Rather this is to say the estrangement of the Other explicitly comes from colonialist attack. Of course, the colonizer’s system is capitalism while the way capitalism operated in Third world countries related to colonial rule. Marx’s idea of alienation is between two antagonistic groups, the worker and capitalists. Now, scrutinizing the alienation of the subjugated is to show as it results from race-based exploitation. Instead of self-alienation here I use race alienation because I am not talking about an individual self-alienation but the alienation of the mass.

Alienation is the state of condition in which man is lonely, purposeless, powerless, oppressed, degraded and estranged from humanitarian aspects (Young, 1975, p. 27). Marx had identified different types of alienation and it was inevitable that colonial rule has alienation. First, as capitalism causes self-alienation, colonialism also has the effect of alienation but not only a self despite the fact that the masses are estranged from many things. "Man is in essence a creative, practical being, and when he alienates his creative activity from himself, he alienates his human essence from himself" (Petrovic, 1963, p. 421). Colonization has killed the immaterial property of the colonized. Capitalism alienates a man from his nature would mean, then, that man alienates himself from the realization of his historically created human possibilities (Petrovic, 1963, p. 422). As repeatedly noted, there would be nothing that creates a good circumstance to the survival of the exploited while the actions of the West have the upshot of alienation.

Capitalism deprives the proletarians a variety of things and the oppressed, also alienated from labor, refers to serving the colonial masters with a very low rate of wage. For Marxists, man is alienated from his labor activity, because his own activity becomes for him an alien activity, an activity in which he does not affirm but denies himself, an activity which does not free but subjugates him (Petrovic, 1963, p. 421). Colonized people are alienated from owing production, largely the colonialist exploit and export the resources of the Other. The labor of the worker in return enslaves himself. It indicates that the bourgeois are able to use the proletarian labor production. Accordingly, the colonized is estranged from growing in his natural resources. And, the natural resource of the colonized man becomes a source of oppression and exploitation. Due to deep seated natural resources in Africa, the West plundered local properties and exported them to Europe. Cited in (Thompson, 1979, p. 25), Marx and Engels thought that the relation of the worker to the product of labour as an alien object exercising power over him. In addition to Marx's view of alienation, the colonized are not only alien from labor and product. Furthermore, Africans are alienated from using resources that are available in Africa soil.

Another important point regarding Marx's idea of alienation is the alienation of the self from the other. When we come to colonialism not only the self but the crowd is alienated from the other. The mass alienated from the other looks like the estrangement of the Third World people from other world nations. There are possible signs that conveys alienation of the colonized. Hence, the

imperiled groups are forced to experience inferiority complex, backwardness, and primitiveness character. Many postcolonialists announced that the oppressed lose many things than have a gain. In relation to these dehumanization and alienation of anti-black events, Césaire had noted that a black must be aware of his blackness. However, to be unconscious of one race later on it sacrifices more struggle to restore its originality. So, a native has to be active and conscious about the offensiveness of the West. Being reluctant of the white man's action is risky to the black man's existence. As much as possible actions of Third World people must have a pragmatic outcome. That's why Aime Césaire thought that negritude is above all a concrete rather than an abstract coming to consciousness (Césaire, 1995, p. 30).

Césaire had made an enormous contribution to liberate the Negro from enslaving structures of the West. By negritude he makes a shift from shame or cowardice into pride in black identity and African heritage (Howell, 2012, p. 50). Seriously, he opposed a world only determined by European culture. Instead of this he looked for a world capable of receiving a variety of culture. Even in his poem he acknowledged that he has no phobia of hating the white culture while his struggle was to announce that a Negro culture deserves an important placement with respect to negro's contribution. Masolo (1994) said that Césaire's '*Return to My Native Land*' has two meanings. Therefore, by return first he means the restoration of black culture. On the other hand, Césaire's notion of a return related with a physical return of migrated black to their native land.

In my view only a return is not a solution because after returning to pre-colonial culture and coming back to homeland, the native is unable to resist the colonialist attack. A return is important but after a return there must be a guarantee to preserve the advantages of returning, hence through direct and indirect involvement the West continued to deprive a native benefiting from returned possessions. This is to mean that even when they go back to Africa, the West continues their exploitation and dehumanization of Africa from where they are. Even let we consent with Masolo saying a return includes cultural and physical return but the West through neo-colonialism, media, and in help of those Third World puppet governments able to control the Other. Return is good then largely there must be institutions that maintain the advantages of return.

3.2. Afrocentricity

Many approaches are adopted to overcome problems resulting from colonizers. For this reason, humanitarian campaigners came with different means of resistance to stop the sufferings of the oppressed. For long time the West has subverted Third World people lifestyle in all dimensions. Then, the aim of non-white scholars is to bring a change. Afrocentrism has no special history. So, the reason behind the birth of this movement is associated with colonial oppressions.

M. K Asante is credited for his invention of the concept of Afrocentricity. Like other black scholars he inspired the renaissance of African centred outlooks. Thus, Afrocentrism in one or other way attempts to defend the Eurocentric prejudices and has no Eurocentric features. Eurocentrism is purposefully designed to downgrade people outside Europe whereas Afrocentrism is articulated in order to correct the misconception which existed in Eurocentrism. Extremely located thoughts are risky to sustain a rational relation between cultures. An ethnocentric, xenophobic view of the world creates a serious problem for multicultural realities (Asante, 1998, p. 182). Asante's view of Afrocentrism was far from extending the difference between cultures. He firmly stressed the recognition of African culture without waiting for recognition from the West. A common misconception related to the concrete objectives of Afrocentricity is that Afrocentrists are antiwhite. But according to Afrocentrists, this is not true and instead they maintain that it is anti-oppression (Chawane, 2016, p. 83). For Varma (cited in Chawane, 2016, p. 84), the aim of Afrocentricity is not reselecting the bars in order to form new divides. Eurocentrists have opposing words to declare white supremacy. Whereas Afrocentrism has no alienating and dividing intention rather designed to discover blackness.

For Asante, Afrocentricity looks like a manner of thought and action in which the centrality of African interests, values, and perspectives predominate. Afrocentricity refers to African centeredness, according to which Africans should be given their intellectual pride as the originators of civilisation (Chawane, 2016, p. 79-8).

Afrocentricity is the most complete philosophical totalization of the African being-at-the-center of his or her existence. It is not merely an artistic or literary movement, or an individual or

collective quest for authenticity; it is above all the total use of method to effect psychological, political, social, cultural, and economic change. The Afrocentric idea reaches beyond decolonizing the mind (Asante, 1998, p. 137).

To some extent Asante has criticized the negritude writers and he says that Afrocentricity is not merely an artistic or literary movement. Accordingly, the aim of negritude was the expression of blackness as an image in the world of literature and art. Hence, the major practitioners were poets and writers. I think that Asante's objection to negritude initiators is wrong because their struggle was not limited in writing. However, negritude's proponents practically try to resolve problems of colonization and they have political involvement. Clearly, Césaire stated that negritude focuses on concrete things. Not deals with abstract thoughts. I think Asante's objection to negritude is due to his conception of negritude as abstract thing but this is wrong.

For Kwame Ture, the coloniser sought to change the colonised in every respect except colour by moving them off of their psychological, political, fashion, philosophical, historical, linguistic, and cultural terms (Chawane, 2016, p. 86). As we have seen in the forgoing discussion Fanon has precisely stated that “the colonized, underdeveloped man is today a political creature” (Fanon, 1963, p. 40). So, Afrocentrism aimed at revealing the misconstrued beliefs that are in contrast to black man. It challenges the usual views of the West which is taking white man possessions as universal. In fact, Afrocentrists struggle to reverse this one-sided view of Eurocentrism. For Asante, Afrocentrists try to relocate and centre the African person as an agent in human history in an effort to eliminate the illusion of the peripheries (Chawane, 2016, p. 86).

If we have lost anything, it is our cultural centeredness; that is, we have been moved off our own platforms. This means that we cannot truly be ourselves or know our potential since we exist in a borrowed space. Our existential relationship to the culture that we have borrowed defines what and who we are at any given moment. By regaining our own platforms, standing in our own cultural spaces, and believing that our way of viewing the universe is just as valid as any, we will achieve the kind of transformation that we need to participate fully in a multicultural society. However, without this kind of centeredness, we bring almost nothing to the multicultural table but a darker version of whiteness. What needs to be deconstructed are

the means by which human beings in the Western world have defined a triumphal vision that diminishes other people (Asante, 1998, p. 8).

The West has located themselves at center. This caused them to feel a superiority complex but those outside the center have inferiority complex. Afrocentrism must break down this center peripheral division between Europe and Others. Because this division caused triumph and suffering between the West and natives respectively. Afrocentricity therefore can be seen as a call for the recognition of an African point of view and Africans' role and contribution to world history (Chawane, 2016, p. 98). "In other words, one—Afrocentricity—seeks agency and action, and the other—Africanity—broadcasts identity and being. Actually, Africanity refers in its generality to all of the customs, traditions, and traits of people of Africa and the diaspora" (Asante, 1998, p. 19). It requires interpreting and understanding black oriented views from African perspectives. So, any imposition made by the colonizers are powerless to determine what a black man is. Asante says that without the Afrocentric perception, the imposition of the European line as universal hinders cultural understanding and demeans humanity (Asante, 1998, p. 11). Black culture can shape the lifestyles of black man. When a native culture is well-maintained then the black man can favour multiculturalism but in the absence of native culture it is impossible to talk about multiculturalism of culture.

Unlike Levy Bruhl, Asante has credited myth as an important part of rhetoric in African society. Eurocentrists envisioned the black man as he is dominated by mysticism and the type of mysticism that the West has conversed lacks any valuable outputs. While Asante in his Afrocentric approach refuted the white man's misconception of myth since he said that myth enables the black speakers to come up with a good thought. Myth is a bridge to link the past with present and it has social function (Asante, 1998, p. 111). A classical thought in one way or other exerts an influence in the lives of the other even after a long time. And he has the inclination of valuing forefather thoughts and this implies the importance of pre-colonial values of native man. For Asante, it was from culture that a discourse could arise unless discourse coming out of a culture may not be good. Consequently, with reference to culture black man has proposed authentic discourse which is not accidental. "Black campaigners for equal rights and justice cannot successfully use derogatory expressions against other groups or about their own culture" (Asante, 1998, p. 125). At this point

Asante has criticized the white man, hence, the usual trends of the West were employing derogatory expressions to create a difference between races.

An Afrocentric approach repudiates any articulation that downturn Africa as inferior or backward. "I cannot accept any ideological position that discusses Africans as "the other," whether capitalized or not" (Asante, 1998, p. 177). In their literary works, Eurocentrists deliberately use terminologies that exaggerate whiteness and lower non-white society. The common term frequently used by Eurocentrists was the word "Other". According to them, the word "Other" denotes non-European people and it connotes some character as a unique part of African people. Thanks to Bruhl because in a clear and distinct way he noted the significance of using different terminology in the course of talking about white and black man. For Asante, Afrocentric discourses have an enormous end especially the purpose of Afrocentric assertions are linked with African American people, it doesn't mean non-African American are estranged from Afrocentric discourse. But Eurocentric discourses are known for biased articulation but Afrocentrism tries to narrow the unnecessary division. But Afrocentrism "allows other cultures to coexist" (Asante, 1998, p. 186), and one of the distinguishing features of Afrocentrism is giving credit to non-African culture as they have their own value. In connection to Afrocentrism importance Asante says that:

First, we assume that the objective of such discourse, on the whole, is the successful presentation of one of the three principal themes, often within the context of resistance to oppression, liberation from stereotypes, and action in anticipation of reaction. Secondly, we assume that the discourse conforms to certain elementary materials of our corpus of culture; this would suggest stylistic and argumentative features as well. Thirdly, we assume that the discourse is directed principally toward either a black, a nonblack, or a mixed audience. Furthermore, we assume that the discourse will make certain adjustments to each type of audience (Asante, 1998, p. 185).

Also, this was common for the negritude exponents to struggle anti-black impositions. And, here Asante's Afrocentric discourse is associated with resisting external proclamations that hampered the well-being of the black man. He was clear in his articulation of Afrocentrism while there were individuals who objected to Afrocentrism some conceived it as a racist outlook. But he said that Afrocentrism is directed to a black, a nonblack, or a mixed audience because its target

was enabling especially black culture to gain credible acceptance and simultaneously believes in the values of non-black possessions.

One cannot use the Afrocentric critical method if one is ignorant of African cultural and historical bases (Asante, 1998, p. 194). One can use the Afrocentric method when a person is aware of black culture. In the ignorance of black culture, one could not use this method. This Asante Afrocentric critical method seems to be valid. Hence, to undertake European perspectives to evaluate black culture results in misjudging of black culture. Let's go back again to Bantu philosophy since Tempels clearly stated that the white missionary must use their own methods when they are in contact with native culture. According to Tempel, Bantu terms are meaningless unless translated to European versions. And it is impossible to criticize the Afrocentric view from a Eurocentric perspective, because there are no universal criteria able to judge all cultures. As an alternative, it is must to admit the relativity of culture. The proper understanding of African culture can only be achieved by looking through Afrocentric eyes (Asante, 1998, p. 205). However, when we come to the achievability of Afrocentric objectives one may raise such questions. What Asante required in Africa remains abstract even in this neo-colonial time than Afrocentric thought; there is European supremacy and Asante approach is important but its applicability is under doubt.

3.3. African Philosophy and Identity Discovery

It is not important here to repeat again some European scholars' deliberate accusation against the existence of philosophy in Africa. In chapter one, we have seen that Bruhl's and Tempel's had denied the contribution of Africa and they sought a native as it is incompetent with the white man philosophy. Thus, African philosophers move toward the correction of predisposed and misconceived prejudices that are opposed to the real status of black man. Note, that African philosophers are not only entitled with countering the prejudice of Europeans. Besides to this they also philosophize in different fields. We will see some points that prove existence of philosophy in Africa. But the justifications I presented at this juncture are too limited. Many African philosophers made a significant contribution to ensure African philosophy existence. However, you may not able to see more arguments regarding the rationality debate. I'm not denying the presence of further arguments.

Through denying certain characteristics for the black man, the West works hard to cancel Africa philosophy. One of the tacit ways to exclude Africa from possessing a philosophical thought is imposing unphilosophical elements as the sole property of Africans. Any form of cultural supremacy is the function of a successful process of discrimination” (Masolo, 1994, p. 9). If there is no racist outlook, then no culture could be conceived as superior to others. While those who busy themselves in making value claims between cultures cognize some cultures as inferior particularly black culture is counted as subculture.

When we discuss African philosophy an important point that appears in our mind is the rationality debate. As Masolo said the birth of the debate on African philosophy is historically associated with two related happenings: Western discourse on Africa, and the African response to it. The center of this debate is the concept of reason, a value which is believed to stand as the great divide between the civilized and the uncivilized, the logical and the mystical (Masolo, 1994, p. 1). As we have discussed in part one, the West fabricates a discourse that discourages the Other. As we discussed Western discourse on Africa aimed at impoverishing the black man. The West's defamatory commitment protracted to denying philosophy for black man. There was a blind accusation made by Europeans regarding African people. Due to their chauvinistic perspective the West denounced events which are part of Africa, instead they envisioned Africans as they “lack reason, they also lack history, development, and culture” (Masolo, 1994, p. 5). This is the usual denial made by some racist white man against the black man. But there are several references that reveal the unsoundness of European accusation but to address all the justification that disproof the irrationality of West is very challenging so here I found the *Stolen Legacy* a comprehensive one to expose the unsoundness of the philosophy of the white man.

Throughout the history of philosophy, a credit was given for Greek because no nation but it was Greek who laid down the foundation for philosophy. However, there are some scholars who doubt the claim that Greek was first to begin philosophy and the work of some thinkers makes a shift in conceiving the origin of philosophy. William James reversed this European assertion and he says that philosophy originated outside Europe. James believed that Greek philosophy is stolen philosophy. In his book ‘*The Stolen Legacy*’ he argued that Egypt laid the foundation to the birth of philosophy. The Greeks stole the legacy of the African continent and called it their own. The

result of this dishonesty has been the creation of an erroneous world belief; that the African continent has made no contribution to civilization, because her people are backward and low in intelligence and culture (James, 2001, p. 106). The reason to deny African philosophy was not strong, rather the West because of their blindness and unwillingness to discover African philosophy supposed uncritical proof to undermine Africa philosophy. Let's see some of James reason to say the Greek philosophy was stolen philosophy:

Only a brief study of history is necessary to show that Greek philosophers were undesirable citizens, who throughout the period of their investigations were victims of relentless persecution, at the hands of the Athenian government. Anaxagoras was imprisoned and exiled; Socrates was executed; Plato was sold into slavery and Aristotle was indicted and exiled; while the earliest of them all, Pythagoras, was expelled from Croton in Italy (James, 2001, p. 10).

Under the Athenian Government these Greek philosophers' have no acceptance and this pushed us to raise certain questions. It is to mean that because of the Athenian government refusal against Greek philosophers, then nothing would be there as Greek philosophy. My suspicion that Greek philosophy did not originate in Greece lies on the reaction taken by the Athenian government. If the philosophers are philosophizing and their philosophy is in consensus with Greek culture, then the government may not challenge the philosopher. It seems to be that what the philosophers produce as a philosophy contrary to Greek culture. As a result, the government was unable to welcome non-white people views and this measure of government affected the activity of the philosophers. It is not an exaggeration to say the government was conservative for local culture. Due to this the regime opposed the so-called Greek philosophy and allegedly the philosophers were trained in Egypt. Both the pre-Socratic philosophers together with Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were persecuted by the Athenian Government for introducing foreign doctrines into Athens (James, 2001, p. 18).

Another factor that enabled the Greeks to copy Egyptian philosophy is related to Alexander's control of Egypt. "Alexander's conquest of Egypt had brought the Greeks their long hoped for opportunity, i.e., access to the Egyptian Library and Museum, we would naturally expect Alexander and his friends, and the invading armies to have helped themselves with the Egyptian books" (James, 2001, p. 55). With the help of Alexander the Great, Aristotle received many books

from the Egyptian library. When he returned to Greece, he used the books to establish a library and an academy. At different times many presocratic philosophers visited Egypt and were eager to know the Egyptians mysteries. As James told us, there was a convergence between the contents of Egyptian mysteries and Greek philosophy. That's why the latter one is a copy of the former one.

James has exposed those views which are taken from Egypt to Greece. For instance, he mentioned Socrates saying thyself. For James this Socrates "know yourself" assertion existed in one of Egypt's temples before Socrates. But many of us accredited Socrates as owner of this thought. Plato's conception of soul and virtue are derived from Egyptian mysteries while wittingly or unwittingly many scholars give credit to Plato. Even the ideas of presocratic philosophers were imitated from Egyptians sources. Many of the presocratic philosophers studied the stuff that the universe was composed of. Also, James said that the view of the presocratic philosopher was not new thought because the stuff that the universe composed was already ascribed in Genesis.

Another point of view that revealed Greek philosophy as it is a stolen philosophy linked with the political instability of Greek at that time. Greek has internal and external troublesome challenges. Since internally there was civil war and externally Greek was in war with Persians. Then, how can Greeks be able to produce philosophy at this critical time? This is a very debatable issue because as James said philosophy requires very comfortable surroundings to produce it. So, the accusation that Africa has no philosophy became unacceptable. That's why European philosophy is imitated from Africa, Egypt. Also, we can mention Hume's denial of Egypt as part of Africa. His commitment to deny the Africanness of Egypt resulted from the richness of Egyptian in philosophy. Hume believed that Africa contributes nothing to world civilization. Then to assert this view Hume must place Egypt outside Africa. If he believes the Africanises of Egypt, he intended to prove the contribution of Africa to world civilization but to deny Africa contribution then he denies Africanness of Egypt.

Africa has laid the cultural foundations of modern progress and therefore she and her people deserve the honour and praise which for centuries have been falsely given to the Greeks (James, 2001, p. 104). The usual trends of the West which is opposing and disregarding black philosophy lacks reasonable justification. James' concern is that we should refer to the so-called Greek

philosophy, not the Greek philosophers but we have to refer to Egypt's mysteries as source for the alleged thoughts. African philosophy became the unreserved and eloquent defense of African traditions and it identifies and defines all the material and psychological constituents of her civilization (Masolo, 1994, p. 40). Through African philosophy something new which is deconstructing anti-black prejudice and reconstructing African centred views become common. The West progresses at the expense of African sources materially and spiritually later on they scratch the contribution of African philosophy.

When we discuss Africa philosophy and identity discovery, we are not talking about a single topic; rather this topic is in touch with a very broad point of view. Through identity discovery it doesn't only mean the uncovering of culture and tradition, in addition to this the entire system, it might be that the political, social, and economic properties of Africa must be saved from the West's destructive strategies. The writing of many postcolonial intellectuals is associated with paving the way for the resurrection of oppressed culture. It has become common to link Africa philosophy with identity discovery even after colonial rule. The investigation of many scholars looks like revising the misconception articulated by the white man.

3.4. An Inquiry into Eguale Guebre Yohannes Philosophy

His book titled '*Methods of Higher Education*'¹ has embraced a deep-seated philosophical thought. Now, we will try to see two major points of view, the issues to be raised here are related with the aforementioned discussion. First, there is a point of departure between James' view of Greek philosophy and Eguale's understanding of Greek philosophy. As we have already discussed, James believed that Greek philosophy is the stolen philosophy of Egypt. When we come to Eguale, he recognises the Greek as they are the initiator of the so-called Greek philosophy. The second point is the major concern regarding our investigation of Eguale's writing. Based on this it appears to me very important to undertake his approach of socialising² different cultures. Foremost let us examine the first point and all the translations are mine and if there is error come on please with good translations to correct those errors.

¹ . የከፍተኛ ትምህርት ዘይቤ

² This word implies to creating a good environment to merge different cultures.

For Eguale the Greek deserves appreciation and recognition because the Greek made philosophy known to the rest of the world. In the history of European civilization, Greece has a great involvement in introducing philosophy (Eguale, 2003, p. 69). According to him, Greek philosophy has its own character, the character is associated with time and space. He said that Africa or Asia can make this philosophy their own through education (Eguale, 2003, p. 69). But James said that it was from Egypt that the Greek received philosophy whereas Eguale thought Africans can absorb this Greek philosophy to their mood of life through education. Both thinkers had a completely different view concerning where philosophy originated. Regarding Greek philosophy, Eguale's saying lacks consistency. For instance, he said that except Socrates many of the Greek philosophers are trained in Egypt and Asia minor (Eguale, 2003, p. 69). James evinced this Eguale expression as it is true. But the important point is if they trained in Egypt, then there was nothing as philosophy in Greek before the emigration of Greek philosophers. Another problem in Eguale's understanding of Greek philosophy is clear in the following justification. He said that the Greek philosophers emigrated and when they returned to Greek they came with new ideas and a new worldview. For this reason, the philosophers are contrasting the existing systems of thought in Greek (Eguale, 2003, p. 69). You see the philosophers are trained outside Greek, learned other cultures after their arrivals to Greek, they copy Egypt mysteries, then impossible to call the imitated thought as Greek philosophy.

In relation to Eguale, the second point I want to mention here leads us to civilization. There must be a way out to solve a difficulty that exist between a variety of cultures. Because of colonial rule the black culture has been confronted with risky challenges and in order to resolve those problems different approaches are practiced. Some postcolonialists sought assimilation, the other looked to an independent existence of native culture as a solution. I think Eguale's method is important to overcome likely problems.

He said that the spirit of civilization³ reaches everywhere because this civilization's outputs are the result of man's conscience (Eguale, 2003, p. 78). Note, that a civilization may be born in Asia or Africa. It spreads to other parts of the world. According to Mumford, for any society to

³ የሥልጣን መንፈስ

attain a certain level of technical development there should be first the cultural preparation. So, there must be cultural preparation in order to save culture annihilation caused by technology. Because this cultural preparation is important to compromise local culture from newly invented technology. Because the obliteration of local norm, value, and principles would have certain crises so creating a good platform to socialize imported and lived culture appear an important thing. Mumford (1934) argued that any major technical innovation must be supported by social and ideological preparation. Without preparation, absorbing technology from outside may clash with domestic cultures. The same is true for Eguale. Before receiving external culture a society has to know his culture and be able to create a good platform to uphold both civilizations harmoniously without any superior-inferior category.

According to Eguale, the coexistence of outside and local culture first and foremost depends on a critical knowing and understanding of our culture. This process of measure to mingle different types of civilization is known to be *betewahido kebere*⁴ (Eguale, 2003, 79). Eguale conception of *betewahido kebere* has a distinct implication with that of assimilation. In assimilation frequently, the master culture dominates the Other culture whereas in Eguale view of *betewahido kebere* no culture overrides the other culture. Instead of imposing forcefully against the other culture, Eguale advanced the view that a consent and an approval beside the receiver is an important thing to socialize different civilizations. But any failure to handle different spirits of civilization results in kultur crises⁵ (Eguale, 2003, p. 75). By kultur crises Eguale, means losing the values of culture and living a senseless life. To avoid any kultur crises there must be a harmony of culture. A civilization produces good things when there is a harmonious relationship between differently originated civilizations (Eguale, 2003, p. 79). Eguale approaches of mingling different cultures looks like a synthesis method but it is far from undertaking a synthesis method. When I say Eguale did not use the synthesis approach, because for Eguale no culture is a thesis and no culture is antithesis to others. Just his point of view seems to be that between civilization there is inheritance of other cultures.

⁴ በተዋሕዶ ከበረ

⁵ Kultur crises it seems Germanic words.

Egualé's perspective of *betewahido kebere* has a significant contribution to solve kultur crises. Let us see the following analogy which is proposed by Egualé. He said that a root carries the branch not the branch carries the root (Egualé, 2003, p. 79). Two things are here, first there is root and the second one is a branch. Two of them represent two different things (foreign and local) civilization. The root refers to homegrown civilization while civilization that comes from outside is similar to branches. The root (local civilization) must have the capacity to carry or internalize externally originated civilization or the branches. Simply, if the root is cut off, the branch will not continue because the branch life depends on its root. Just like this, then any more local culture must be preserved and prepare them to socialize other cultures. In the absolute annihilation of homegrown culture, introducing outside culture becomes unproductive. Therefore, Egualé approach of mingling different cultures without any sort of superiority or inferiority complex decreases the tension between extremely located cultures.

Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters we have seen some anti-black discourses and counter discourse effects on Africa. Particularly, in part one we have discussed some anthropological discourses to illustrate the intention of western discourse on Africa. An anthropological discourse appeared a preconditions to colonial rule. Through their literary works some anthropologists enthused the West to colonize non-white people. The works of racist anthropologists have no reliable source to prove the Other as backward. In fact, there are white anthropologists who oppose the biased articulation of some anthropologists.

Anti-black alliance tried to demise the Other in all aspects. As Messay has described, to respond to those white man distortions against Africa, we can also easily borrow the weapons of the West. In my view the white culture is contrary to their view of dialectics. Many Eurocentrists thought reason as a unique property of white man while their understanding of Other culture violates the very nature of dialectics. What I say here is that through logical process a controversy gets an end. The black culture has become antithesis to white culture. And, the thesis which is the white culture remains disconnected each other. There must be a synthesis between the antithesis and thesis unless the law of dialectics has no function in culture. One of the very problems of

Eurocentrism is its failure to locate what the white seems. Through defamation of the Other the West exalts whiteness. This is just to say that through introducing opposing characters racists attempt to create a difference. When we come to Africa, the intellectuals are far from following derogatory expressions in the course of discovering what the African people are.

I do not think a colonized person has only black and white identity. It seems to be that their would-be individuals in search for other options to define themselves. The number of victims increases when the brutality of colonialism continues to dehumanize the natives. Just this is to say that due to the violence of colonial rule, there are individuals disenfranchised from knowing their identities. Already we have seen that an individual may have black and white identity or he has an identity resulting from both cultures. Now, there would be individuals who have neither of the aforementioned identities. We can call this person as he is in the realm of non-identity⁶. A person if he is in realm of non-identity, then identity is not a prior thing for likely person but what should come first is to survive in any situation. Non-identity refers to the absolute alienation of the colonized subject.

To everyone it is clear that the main aim of postcolonialism is to overcome problems of colonialism. Allow me to borrow Cicero's words which are just war. In light of just war the colonized were unable to fight a just war. So, the war is unjust and the colonized were a disadvantaged group. For Cicero, there are two types of conflict; the one proceeded by debate, the other by force (Stewart, 2018, p. 13). The first one illustrates that there may be war because the warring groups will not be able to resolve their differences through discussion. But if they can't negotiate and resolve their disputes, they will go to war. And, between the colonizer and colonized there was no precondition that invited all groups for discussion before the war. However, there was a discussion among the colonizers to scramble Africa. In the absence of any discussion the West waged war against Third World people. In fact, there were no subjects that caused

⁶ When I say an individual is in the realm of non-identity, just this is to say that because of colonial rule an individual is unable to think about identity. It seems to be that the prior thing for the individual is to save his life in any situation. And, in insecure circumstances an individual may not be able to know his identity. The person worries about how to escape that day. But I am not saying there are individuals in the realm of absolute non-identity.

disagreement between the West and rest of the world to wage war. So, without trying to settle a dispute through discussion, the West declared war due to this fact it violates the law of just war.

The second one is, wars must only be fought for the sake of some future peace without injustice (Stewart, 2018, p. 14). A country can take part in war if and only if to secure future time and in the processes of this war the nation must remain just from causing other injustices. Europe declared war on Africa even though Africa was not the enemy of Europeans. According to Cicero just war assumption, Africa was not the enemy of Europe. For other reasons, the West subjugated Africa people. Also, the black was not a threat to disrupt the peace of Europe, in the absence of all these pre-war causes the West conquered the black man. Instead of securing peace the colonial rule has caused more injustice, inequality, and violence among the oppressed group.

Cicero has identified two factors that lead to war. First a nation enters to war “for the sake of supremacy and those fought for the sake of survival, which he describes as against enemies” (Stewart, 2018, p. 14). In my view the West declaration of war on Africa is associated with the first pushing factor which is for the sake of supremacy. In order to maintain white supremacy Europe decided to open war on Third World people. The colonized must fight for just war even in the aftermath of colonial rule. When I say the postcolonial society to fight a just war it is to say that the oppressed must claim compensation as recovery. During the war the colonized were plundered and massacred so deserves special compensation. And, postcolonialists must urge leaders of Africa to claim compensation since colonialism impoverished Africa still now. Even if this is unattainable, then the postcolonial society must free themselves from European imposition in this post-war period.

I believe that the postcolonial society has clear ideological incoherence, this is just to express developing countries' failure to implement a national strategy apart from European intrusion. So, the reactions of postcolonial society must able to solve the colonial problems that circled non-white people. It seems to me that the reactions taken by postcolonial society have failed to overcome colonial problems. Mainly I believe that two factors are responsible for the unchanged conditions of postcolonial society. The first one is, the reaction taken by postcolonial society remains ideal. This is just to mention the inability to translate many postcolonial theories into

praxis. Translating postcolonial theories into praxis has the purpose of liberating the colonized people. And, also it has the purpose of empowering the subjugated people to exercise non-European perspectives. The second one is, colonized people failing to form an alliance among each other. A collective spirit is needed to resist the cooperative force of the West. Even nowadays, there are strong alliances between western countries. Many European organizations are possible indications to recolonize non-white people. Due to this fact, Africa must encourage a collective spirit of unity. So, unity, action which is translating theories into praxis, making a revision in ideological incoherence, and maintaining an alliance between non-white people leads to decolonization from neo-colonial grips.

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