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Hegel's Dialectics and Fanon's Struggle for Recognition: The White Mask of Black Skin or Internalized Orientalism

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Abstract

Colonialism, which emerged as a natural consequence of the Western thought that reduces "the other" to "the same," has become apparent, particularly with the modernization process. Non-Western societies, who have been subjected to modernization, have had to struggle for "recognition" against the "imperialism of the same". "Recognition", the core idea of Fanon's thought, is also a "Hegelian concept"; the theory of recognition is based on Hegelian thought. We could assume that the post-Hegelian world took shape around the Hegelian dialectical thinking. Fanon, who is from an old colonial world where it was not yet customary to challenge slavery, thinks that stepping out of the dialectical Hegelian circle could enable you to resist and speak for yourself. This is because Fanon thinks that dialectics, which determines the necessity as the basis of freedom, strips one from his own being and own self. The other obstacle in the path of decolonization, which Fanon sees as a tool for changing the order of the world, is that the slave wants to look like the master; in Fanon's words, black skin wears a white mask, which is conceptualized as internalized orientalism. The present study focuses on Fanon's thought and aims to examine Hegel and his dialectics, along with Fanon and his critical dialogue with Hegelian dialectics and phenomenology around the theme of internalized orientalism, with a particular reference to *Black Skin White Masks*. Thanks to the deconstruction method it uses, and based on Fanon's black experience, the present study attempts to demonstrate that getting rid of alienation and speaking for yourself could be achieved by stepping out of Hegelian dialectical thinking and setting the removal of the mask as a precondition.

Keywords

Sociology of Religion, Recognition, Dialectic, Colonialism, Internalized Orientalism

Hegel'in Diyalektiği ve Fanon'un Tanınma Mücadelesi: Siyah Derilinin Beyaz Maskesi ya da İçselleştirilmiş Oryantalizm

Öz

"Başka"yı "Aynı"ya indirgeyen Batı düşüncesinin doğal sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan sömürgecilik özellikle modernleşme süreciyle birlikte işlerlik kazanmıştır. Modernleşme sürecine maruz kalan Batı-dışı toplumlar ise bu "aynının emperyalizmi"ne karşı "tanınma" mücadelesi vermek durumunda kalmıştır. Fanon düşüncesinin de merkezi kavramı olan "tanınma", aynı zamanda "Hegelci bir kavram"dır. Tanınmanın kuramsal temeli Hegelci düşünceye dayanmaktadır. Ayrıca Hegel-sonrası dünya için Hegelci diyalektik düşünce etrafında şekil aldığını söylemek mümkündür. Köleliği sorgulamanın henüz adet olmadığı eski bir sömürge dünyasından olan Fanon ise direnmenin ve kendi adına konuşmanın Hegelci diyalektik dairenin dışına çıkmakla mümkün olduğunu düşünmektedir. Zira Fanon'a göre, zorunluluğu özgürlüğünün esası olarak belirleyen

diyalektik, onu kendi varlığından, kendi benliğinden soyup çıkarmaktadır. Fanon açısından dünyanın düzenini değiştirmeye aday olarak gördüğü sömürgeleştirilmenin önündeki diğer engel ise bizim içselleştirilmiş oryantalizm olarak karşıladığımız kölenin efendiye benzemek istemesi, Fanon'un tabiriyle siyah derilinin beyaz maske takmasıdır. *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*'in çizdiği çerçevede Fanon düşüncesini konu edinen makale Hegel ve diyalektiği, Fanon ve Fanon'un Hegel diyalektiği ve fenomenolojisiyle girdiği eleştirel diyalogu içselleştirilmiş oryantalizm teması etrafında incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Makale, yapısöküm metodu sayesinde Fanon'un siyah deneyiminden yola çıkarak yabancılaşmadan kurtulmanın ve kendi adına konuşmanın Hegelci diyalektik düşüncenin dışına çıkmakla mümkün olduğunu göstermeye çalışırken bunu maskenin çıkarılması ön şartına bağlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Din Sosyolojisi, Tanınma, Diyalektik, Sömürgecilik, İçselleştirilmiş Oryantalizm

Introduction

This study focuses on Fanon's thought with reference to his first work, *Black Skin White Masks*, written in 1952. It initially describes Hegelian dialectics and elaborates on Fanon and the critical dialogue he engaged in with Hegelian dialectics and phenomenology, and then it evaluates the term *internalized orientalism*, with a particular reference to the white mask worn by the black skin, "a neurosis which blacks fall into" or "a war waged by blacks against themselves". The emphasis the article lays on Fanon's thought is that his views serve as a warning for all non-Western societies exposed to the process of modernization. In fact, the black man's "expressing himself through himself" and his getting ahead in the world could be possible only through "removing the white mask he wears".¹ An indirect focus of the article is the tradition of Western thought, which describes understanding as going beyond the particular or always reaching the knowledge of the plenary and universal. The insistence on subordinating the particular to the universal, which has existed since Plato, has resulted in the "dictatorship of the same", which fails to understand the Other without differentiating it. Derrida considers this as one of the greatest illusions of Western thought. This is

¹ When the issue is extended to Islamic societies, it is seen that "there is a century in which Islam was far from establishing a tradition and specifying it with all its philosophy, practices and mentality." See Yasin Aktay, *İslam ve Sekülerleşmenin Kaynakları* (İstanbul: Tezkire Yayınları, 2017), 30. On the one hand, Muslim societies do not/cannot "add" to the "what comes to them" (although how far it has handed the tradition down to today is also controversial). On the other hand, as the data on the development of Islamism indicate, the additions can hardly go beyond being steps that serve for the objectives of secularism. Relations with the West for the last two centuries have been either in the form of *direct support* or *direct opposition*. The issue is that these societies take up a position according to or against the West. On the other hand, *despite the West* could be an option. The initiative of "Islamization of knowledge" is essentially an example of the *despite-the-West* attitude. We think that the authenticity of Fanon's stance is that he finds the reaction against the colonizer meaningful but insufficient and urges the colonized to go beyond it. Fanon's struggle for recognition is apparent in seeking adequate answers to the questions listed in Ziauddin Serdar's foreword to Fanon's book. "The next step, however, confronts us with a dilemma. Should the Black Man describe himself in reaction to the white and thus make him the benchmark of everything? Or should we ceaselessly continue to pursue a concrete and brand-new understanding of humankind? Where can we find the right method of resistance? How should the black man speak for himself?" See Ziauddin Serdar, "İngilizce Baskısına Önsöz", *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, Frantz Fanon, trans. Cahit Koytak (İstanbul: Encore Yayınları, 2016), 16.

because "all metaphysicists from Plato to Rousseau and from Descartes to Husserl, have progressed by thinking in this Western tradition and by calling on good before evil, positive before negative, pure before impure, simple before complex and the substance before accidental attributes." And it's not just a metaphysical gesture among others, but the simplest, deepest, and most powerful metaphysical requirement."² Therefore, the building of this metaphysical system needs to go through deconstructed. Metaphysical concepts are ultimately ordered based on a hierarchical system. The strategy of deconstruction is not simply an inversion of binary categories. "First, it illustrates how opposites are related and how one becomes more privileged than and superior to the other. Secondly, it disrupts the hierarchy, decentralizes it, and finally supports the fluid constructs of meaning by deconstructing both terms."³ Making a move that removes dichotomies, Fanon said, "whoever admires the Negro is as sick as those disgusted with him".⁴ With this, he provided one of the best examples of deconstructionist strategy long before Derrida. Therefore, using the deconstruction method, this article aims to expose the deceptions which, in Nietzsche's words, find a final refuge in Hegel's dialectics.

1. The Subaltern and Wounded Consciousness

*We have probably failed to convincingly demonstrate that colonialism did not confine itself to imposing its own law on the present and future of the colonial country. Colonialism is not satisfied with trapping the colonial peoples or draining all forms and essence from their brains. With such perverse logic, it heads towards the past of the colonial people, and it distorts, disfigures and destroys that past.*⁵

Having gained a classical status in the postcolonial thought literature, particularly thanks to his work "Can Subaltern Speak?", Gayatri Spivak sought to reveal the obstacles to subaltern's speaking. Beyond the literal meaning of the term, the subaltern's inability to speak is not because he lacks the ability to speak but due to his inability to express himself through himself.⁶ Assuming that the question "Can the subaltern speak?" is posed specifically with non-Western societies in mind, we have to look for the reasons for "not being able to express himself through himself" not only in the Enlightenment thought that had flourished in Continental Europe following three centuries of establishment but also in modernization that spread across the world as a parallel project. In fact, according to sociologist Turner, the process of civilization and

² Jacques Derrida, *Limited Inc*, trans. Samuel Weber (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1988), 93.

³ Banu Alan Sümer, "Jacques Derrida", *Çağdaş Fransız Felsefesi*, ed. Işıl Bayar Bravo etc. (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınları, 2019), 322.

⁴ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 25.

⁵ Frantz Fanon, *Yeryüzünün Lanetlileri*, trans. Şen Süer (İstanbul: Versus Yayınları, 2016), 205.

⁶ The American Marxist literary critic Fredric Jameson describes subalternity as "the intellectual inferiority, dependency and the habit of obedience, which is dramatically experienced by exploited peoples who are under unavoidable structural domination." See Fredric Jameson, "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism", *Social Text* 15 (Autumn 1986), 76.

rationalization, which took effect as a part of modernization, can be broadly considered as "the institutionalization of the Western culture's ethics of world domination; that is, the externalization of the will to power". Moreover, the extension of the will to power to the institutionalization of culture, civilization and reason can also be considered as the colonization of the world. The phrase "colonization of the world" refers not only to the geographical colonization of an external space, but also to the colonization of the mind or consciousness by reason and science. Thus, it appears that colonization realized through the processes of civilization and rationalization serves for the objectives of establishing domination and subjugation."⁷

Modernization is the name given to the great transformation experienced when the whole world, starting from Europe, felt the influence of the founding paradigm of modernity that refers to "the societal, cultural, political, economic changes and the way of thinking which emerged with the Enlightenment". The pain of this transformation was felt at the individual, societal and administrative levels, during the nation-state structuring when nations gained their independence after World War I. First of all, one could say that non-Western countries, on the one hand, struggled for independence against imperial powers; on the other hand, they accepted the "modernity" assumptions on which the post-independence colonial rule was based.⁸ On the individual and societal level, it is possible to say that the cultural lag experienced before and after modernization led to *cultural trauma* initially and *cultural schizophrenia* in people's memories over time.⁹ The problem stems from the contradiction that the Easterner has to refuse his being an Easterner in order to be Westernized, and to refuse it, he first has to accept to be one. The tension created by this contradiction that emerged during the modernization process is the main component that makes the state of "wounded consciousness" permanent to the extent of the violence created by the biological reality that a black person can never be white.¹⁰ The equivalent of the state of "wounded consciousness", which compels one to look

⁷ Georg Stauth-Bryan S. Turner, *Nietzsche'nin Dansı, Toplumsal Hayatta Hınç, Karşılıklılık ve Direniş*, trans. Mehmet Küçük (Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, 2005), 136.

⁸ While the question of whether colonialism created the nation-state or vice versa is debatable, the irony involved in nationalism in non-Western societies is as follows: Although nationalism itself is motivated by the desire to get out of Western colonialism, domination and hegemony, it owes its ideological origins to the West, and uses the same practices of administrative centralization and cultural homogenization that characterize the formation of the nation-state in the West. Therefore, "the idea of the nation itself and the way it is envisioned has already been marked by the legacy of the colonialism that it is trying to abolish, a "foreign" practice that somewhat tries to get localized. See Arif Dirlik, *Kriz, Kimlik ve Siyaset, Küreselleşme Yazıları*, Sami Oğuz (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 145. Similarly, Partha Chatterjee asserts that nationalism in the colonies is an "invented" term, and that its assumptions exactly reproduce the colonialist's cultural formulations. See Partha Chatterjee, *Milliyetçi Düşünce ve Sömürge Dünyası*, trans. Sami Oğuz (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996), 71. As an anti-imperialist thinker and activist, Frantz Fanon's cautious and warning attitude towards nationalism will be addressed in "internalized orientalism" to be discussed shortly.

⁹ The dominant structure created by the West through orientalist discourses was met with an occidentalist reaction in the East. It would be appropriate to consider occidentalism, which is "a form of rhetoric on the one hand and a defence mechanism on the other", as a product of "split of consciousness" and "cultural schizophrenia". Furthermore, there appears to be no symmetry between orientalism and occidentalism, with respect to their historical and sociological contexts. While orientalism is a discourse about power, occidentalism is an area in which the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, national and existential responses of the East find a channel for expression.

¹⁰ The dimensions of the "wounded consciousness" developed by orientals seem to have astonished even Westerners. "Westerners are sometimes amazed at the extension to which the Easterners believe in post-Enlightenment values such as science and progress implicitly and largely without questioning." See Allan Megill, *Aşırılığın Peygamberleri, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Foucault, Derrida*, trans. Tuncay Birkan (Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, 1998), 494.

through the eyes of someone else, due to intellectual inferiority, dependency and the habit of obedience, is “coloniality” which can also be defined as “internalized orientalism” in current social sciences. Therefore, it differs from colonialism. While colonialism is mainly concerned with the political, economic and military power relations established under the domination of another nation, the colonial state is more intimately related to the world of knowledge, thought, concepts and desires. “The colonial state refers to the longstanding patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but which define culture, labour, inter-subjective relations, and the production of knowledge far beyond the rigid boundaries of colonial rule. Thus, colonialism survives. It is kept alive in books, in academic performance criteria, in cultural patterns, judiciously in people's core selves, self-aspirations, and in many other aspects of modern-day experiences. In this sense, as modern subjects we breathe colonialism night and day.”¹¹ Even though one was involved in a former colony that gained its independence or he or she is not a part of de facto exploitation, thinking with concepts of Western origin and trying to understand and explain oneself through Western values are an indication of the ongoing existence of the colonial state. This is the why particularly post-colonial theorists, in an attempt to show the ongoing imbalance of the colonial power, emphasize that the colonized are often dumb and defined, whereas the colonizer are those who speak and define. This state of the exploited, who maintains his objectivity and cannot be the agent of his own life, is called *the coloniality of being*.¹² In a context where colonization is rigorously continuing, Fanon is a figure who succeeded in expressing this “state of being open to exploitation”, as described by Malik b. Nebi, with a particular reference to the black who stand before the mirror with the desire to be white. The state of consciousness, which he describes using the metaphor of *black skin and white mask*, should be extended to all societies experiencing the modernization process as it is a product of the hegemonic attitude of the Western Agent, who reduces the Other to the Same. Therefore, it is obvious that removing the “mask” that is worn is a prerequisite to the success of the “struggle for recognition” proposed by Fanon.

2. Hegel and His Dialectics

“We will never give up reading or rereading Hegel, and from a certain point of view, I do nothing but attempt to explain myself with respect to this.”¹³

Hegel assumes seminal significance for modern thought as he represents the tradition of metaphysical thinking that started with Plato, or in Derrida's words, he marks “the culmination of that white mythology that reunites and reflects Western culture”¹⁴. His importance stems from the idea that many aspects of modern thought have been shaped around the reactivity to his philosophical system. As such, according to Heidegger, “Since the death of Hegel in 1831, everything boils down to a counter-movement, not only in

¹¹ Nelson Maldonado-Torres, “On the Coloniality of Being”, *Cultural Studies* 21/2 (Nisan-Mayis 2007), 243.

¹² Maldonado-Torres, “On the Coloniality of Being”, 243.

¹³ Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 77.

¹⁴ Jacques Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982), 213.

Germany but also throughout Europe."¹⁵ The negative response to Hegelianism has been a major characteristic of the contemporary French social thought. For instance, Foucault's endeavour can be considered as an attempt to escape from Hegel. While Foucault's project describes the mechanisms of regulation and exclusion that have operated in the European society, particularly since the late eighteenth century, Foucault, using a motif that reminds us of Bataille's thoughts on Hegel, discerns a historical conflict between "the Same" and "Another/the Other". As noted in Kojeve's Hegelian commentary, just as every "master" needs a "slave", every "Same" needs "the Other" to define himself against. When there is no such as "the other", it has to be invented. In his work *History of Madness*, Foucault narrates how society, deprived of a class that it could exclude, due to the disappearance of leprosy in the late Middle Ages, diverted its attention to lunatics and locked them in asylums and exposed them to the alienating objectivity of modern psychiatry. In *the Birth of the Clinic*, he discusses the emergence of clinical medicine, which he thinks is placing bodily illness under the same kind of objectifying view. In *the Birth of Prison*, one that finds itself under the surveillance of the all-seeing eye is now crime; just as mad people are kept under observation in asylums and patients in hospitals, criminals are kept under observation in prisons.¹⁶ Although what Foucault does is declaring that he is independent from Hegel, all these statements indicate what an important role Hegel played in his thinking. The dialectician Hegel tried to surround the universe through movement of the rational mind, while the anti-dialectician Foucault challenges the Hegelian *homo dialecticus*. Instead, he advocates an anti-integrationist way of thinking that explicitly rejects any understanding of "world spirit", even the "European mind". Rather than trying to encompass difference in identicalness, attention should be paid to the proximity between this and the understanding in which it is treated as a difference.¹⁷ Hegelianism has also been Derrida's perennial target. In his article written in 1967, he portrayed Hegelianism as an insidious and all-encompassing danger: "Hegelianism, thus misunderstood and underestimated, is left to expand the limits of historical domination by eventually using its enormously encompassing resources without any obstruction. The Hegelian evidence appears lighter than ever when it actually collapses on us with all its weight."¹⁸ According to Megill, "Unlike Foucault, Derrida thinks there is no possibility of escaping from Hegel. Derrida posits that any attempt to establish a truth already means reintegration with the dialectics. That is, as soon as one opens his/her mouth to express a meaning, he uses a phrase like "Hegel, who is always right". For instance, Foucault tried to unearth the truth of madness, but because he used a precise language, he subordinated madness to the power of reason. Apparently, any attempt to establish a truth that runs counter to the dialectics will face a similar fate because every counter-truth will be swallowed up by the

¹⁵ Martin Heidegger, *The End of Philosophy*, trans. Joan Stambaugh (New York: Harper&Row, 1973), 89'dan aktaran Allan Megill, *Aşırılığın Peygamberleri, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Foucault, Derrida*, trans. Tuncay Birkan (Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, 1998), 231. Under the Nietzschean surface of Heideggerian thought, which criticizes metaphysics, an eternal Hegelian tone can also be discerned. If we believe Young, Said was unable to get rid of the Hegelian dialectics that he voiced in *Orientalism*, and in fact he tended to go through the very processes he criticized. See Robert Young, *Beyaz Mitolojiler*, trans. Can Yıldız (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2000), 26, 203-205.

¹⁶ Megill, *Aşırılığın Peygamberleri*, 292.

¹⁷ Megill, *Aşırılığın Peygamberleri*, 294.

¹⁸ Jacques Derrida, *Yazı ve Fark*, trans. P. Burcu Yalım (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2020), 331.

insatiable mouth of the dialectics.¹⁹ Nietzsche describes the counter-position that reactive movements take in dialectical thought using a literary language: "The deserts grow: woe him who doth them hide!"²⁰

According to Hegel, who equates being and thought, philosophy is the self-thinking of being as a requirement of identity principle, and dialectics is the form of development that enables the being to realize itself. History finishes off its process of development in line with Hegelian dialectics, which gained popularity in the form of *thesis-antithesis-synthesis*, as an expansion of the *Spirit*. In Hegel's dialectical development, while the opposition between thesis and antithesis is overcome with the key notion *Aufhebung* (*sublate*), which means "lift up", "to transcend", "to go beyond" and "to develop through elimination", the negative side is eliminated, and a new level or synthesis is attained by preserving the positive side. In fact, contrary to what is believed, in Hegel's existing understanding of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis, it hardly seems possible to speak of integrity due to the differentiation created at the beginning. Thus, synthesis leads to the demolish of the other. The key here is in the initial differentiation. In Hegel's own words, in the "being-in-itself" moment, consciousness is abstract and formal, in a fully unmediated way, identical with itself and hardly alienated from itself as it does not gain a concrete content through objectivization. Consciousness steps into the world of relationships in the next stage, "being-for-itself", as required by the principle of "truth as a whole". The transformation of consciousness into self-consciousness depends on its alienation from itself although this appears like a fundamental contradiction. Self-knowledge can be achieved through recognition by someone else. In Sartre's words, this moment is a necessary phase in the development of self-consciousness, which Hegel calls being for another; the path to inner life passes through someone else.²¹ In fact "self-consciousness is being in and for itself. Therefore, self-consciousness or being conscious in itself also means being in and for oneself for another. This means that self-consciousness can only be realized by being recognized and known."²² For Hegel, it is mutual recognition that completely satisfies the conditions for absolute independence. In such mutual recognition, the parties are equivalent and independent of each other. As to freedom, it is possible only when two people with self-consciousness get to know each other. In Sartre, however, this reciprocity proves difficult for a quite a few reasons. First, the conflict of being-for-itself and something-others was developed as an epistemological problem in Hegel. The main problem in Hegel's approach is that entity and knowledge are considered identical. However, for Sartre, the measure of existence is not knowledge; it is entity that measures the truth. Accordingly, while consciousness affirms itself in the struggle in question, it demands the acceptance of its own existence, rather than that of an abstract truth. Sartre also opposes Hegel's views with reference to the principle of "ontological separation in consciousness". The ontological separation in consciousness defeats the idea that I perceive myself as an object in someone else.²³ "When I view another as an object, I cannot do it in terms of his being-for-self because someone else radically appears to me in another form. There is nothing in common between the

¹⁹ Megill, *Aşırılığın Peygamberleri*, 399.

²⁰ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Böyle Buyurdu Zerdüşt*, trans. Turan Oflazoğlu (İstanbul: Cem Yayınları, 1997), 358.

²¹ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Varlık ve Hiçlik, Fenomenolojik Ontoloji Denemesi*, trans. Turhan Ilgaz-Gaye Çankaya Eksen (İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları, 2010), 325.

²² Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Tinin Görüngübilimi*, trans. Aziz Yardımlı (İstanbul: İdea Yayınları, 1986), 124. Fanon's chapter "Negro and Hegel" opens with the epigraph in which Hegel's definition of self-consciousness is quoted. See Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 257.

²³ Fırat Mollaer, *Kimlik, Tanınma Mücadelesi ve Şarkiyatçılık* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2019), 118.

object other and the subject I; nor is there between consciousness of oneself and consciousness of other. If someone else is primarily the object for me, I cannot know myself in another and I cannot perceive another in its real being; that is, in its subjectivity. No universal knowledge can be gathered from the relationship between forms of consciousness."²⁴ It turns out that, for Sartre, the main point is not knowledge but existence. That is, the section on phenomenology devoted to Hegel in his phenomenological ontology essay ends with the statement "My relationship with someone else is primarily and fundamentally a relation from being to being, rather than a relation from knowledge to knowledge".²⁵ Famous for writing forewords to anti-colonial works, Sartre's following words indicate that his commitment to "the same's imperialism"²⁶ continues: "I take up the struggle for recognition with the demand that my own concrete existence be accepted, rather than that of an abstract reality. Then the Other generally remains attached to external things; it appears to me and itself to be immaterial. He is the Slave, and I am the Master."²⁷

Before moving the struggle for recognition to the context of the master-slave dialectics, it should be noted that the relationship between the Self and the Other cannot be established by reducing it merely to the consciousness of the Self. The reduction of the relationship between Self and the Other to consciousness means relying on the idea of the truth that reduces to the Same, which is formulized as Western metaphysics. On the other hand, the recognition of the master by a slave, or more precisely by a being without self-consciousness, can be viewed as an incomplete victory. According to Hegel's description, as self-consciousness is possible only when another self-consciousness exists, the authority of the master is invalidated by a lack of recognition. The slave, on the other hand, is perceived as an object, but his working and giving existence to objects actually makes his own intellectual existence permanent. However, his orientation towards self-consciousness through production hardly suffices for his master to recognize him because "the master laughs off the consciousness of the slave. What he wants from the slave is labour rather than recognition."²⁸ The labour put forward by the slave per se is not for liberation. While the master shoulders the responsibility of fighting against negativizing activity, the slave avoids assuming such a responsibility as he lacks a unique sense of self-worth. When Fanon highlights that "the Negro does not know the price of freedom" "because he does not fight for it"²⁹, he propounds one of the existentialist interpretations of phenomenology and emphasizes that the Negro does not "create himself" and his priority is security, rather than freedom.³⁰

²⁴ Sartre, *Varlık ve Hiçlik, Fenomenolojik Ontoloji Denemesi*, 332.

²⁵ Sartre, *Varlık ve Hiçlik, Fenomenolojik Ontoloji Denemesi*, 333.

²⁶ Sartre's struggles against racism tended to be in the form of a foreword. Sartre's foreword to Senghor's Anthology of "Black" Poets "Black Orpheus" was followed by his foreword to the works of Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanon and Patricia Lumumbra. See Robert Bernasconi, *İrk Kavramını Kim İcat Etti? Felsefi Düşüncede İrk ve İrkçilik*, trans. Zeynep Direk vd. (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2015), 123.

²⁷ Sartre, *Varlık ve Hiçlik, Fenomenolojik Ontoloji Denemesi*, 326.

²⁸ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 261.

²⁹ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 261.

³⁰ Mollaer, *Kimlik, Tanınma Mücadelesi ve Şarkiyatçılık*, 112.

3. Fanon, the Struggle for Recognition and the Obstacle against it: Internalized Orientalism

Known as the "Marx of the Third World", Fanon, as a representation of "the experience of a black man thrown into the world of the whites" was a figure, who functioned as a source of inspiration for post-structuralist³¹ and post-modern thought with his ideas that evoke a multicultural environment in which today's identities are destabilized, identifications are fragile, and unified national identities are impossible. He was a thinker who dared to express his concerns against nationalism when national consciousness was in high demand, and for some people he was a nationalist, Marxist, existentialist theorist of independence, who never compromised his anti-imperialist stance.³² Fanon is perhaps not sufficiently known in our country, which needs "talking to Fanon" the most. He is a figure that France wants to forget, due to the *Wretched of the Earth*, which was written shortly before his death in 1961 and is considered as the "manifesto for the independence of the third world".³³ Fanon, who was forgotten by the Francophone world in the 1960s due to their colonial background, has become one of the first names that comes to mind in the criticism of cultural policies in the Anglophone world under the leadership of Edward Said. He is regarded as the founder of post-colonial theory, with a particular reference to the decolonization of language, thought and social

³¹ Given that post-structuralism tries to tear down or correct Hegelianism by pinpointing its cracks, the significance of the critical "dialogue" Fanon has with Hegel can be better understood. Robert Young claims that the events in Algeria, in which Fanon fought for independence, had a great impact on the emergence both French and post-structuralist thought. "If the so-called post-structuralism is the product of a single historical moment which is undoubtedly both a sign and a consequence, this moment is probably not May 1968 but the Algerian War of Independence. From this perspective, it is important to note that Sartre, Althusser, Derrida and Lyotard, among others, were all either born in Algeria or personally involved in the events of the war." See Young, *Beyaz Mitolojiler*, 11.

³² Born in Martinique in 1925, Fanon grew up in Fort de France, "in an old colonial world where questioning slavery was not yet customary". He left Fort de France to fight alongside the free French during the war. He returned to Martinique in 1945 to study philosophy. He lived there under the influence of the election campaign organized for his teacher Aime Cesaire, who had a great share in his anti-imperialist stance. Fanon returned to France to pursue formal education in medicine, psychiatry and philosophy. He received psychiatry education in Lyon, where he also directed a black journal called *Tam-tam*. Following the lectures of Professor Maurice Merleau-Ponty in the psychology department of the University of Lyon was perhaps his first encounter with phenomenology. Fanon wrote up *Black Skin White Masks* (*Peau Noire, Masques Blancs*), which would later be one of the most influential books of the twentieth century, as a graduate thesis in Lyon. His thesis was rejected on the grounds that it did not meet scientific criteria and was speculative, but it was published as a book in 1952. The book described "the experiences of a black man thrown into the white world" by the philosopher Francis Jeanson, who wrote the foreword to the book. In 1953, he became head of the psychiatry department of a hospital in Blida-Joinville in Algeria. In May 1945, when the French celebrated their liberation from the German occupation, the Muslim riot that erupted in Setif in the Kabylia region of Algeria was brutally suppressed by the French army, leading to the deaths of 45,000 people. One year after Fanon's arrival in Algeria, France was defeated in the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam in 1954, and the Algerian National Liberation Front officially launched a war of liberation. Later, as the representative of the National Liberation Front, he went to Accra, the capital of Ghana, and Mali to raise support from black Africa for the anti-colonial fighters in the Maghreb. In 1961, he learned that he had developed leukaemia. He first went to the Soviet Union and then to the USA. Upon arriving in the USA, he was arrested, and his treatment was discontinued, and he was interrogated by the CIA for ten days. He wrote *the Wretched of the Earth* in a short period of ten weeks before his death. A few days after seeing his book, he died at a hospital in Washington in December. The following year, Algeria gained its independence. The information about his biography was gathered from the following source. See Robert Young, *Post-koloniyalizm: Tarihsel Bir Giriş*, trans. Burcu Toksabay Köprülü-Sertaç Şen (İstanbul: Matbu Yayınları, 2016), 366-367.

³³ David Macey, who wrote his biography, reports that on the day Fanon died, copies of his work were confiscated by the French police. See David Macey, *Frantz Fanon: A Biography* (United Kingdom: Verso Books, 2012), 487.

sciences. Writing the most comprehensive history of the theory's development process, Robert Young describes the influence of Fanon as follows: "When Said is put aside, post-colonial theory is predominantly based on the works of Frantz Fanon."³⁴

"Recognition", which is the core notion of Fanon's thought, is also a "Hegelian concept"³⁵. Moreover, we can say that it is Hegelian thought that forms theoretical basis of recognition. In fact, while this concept has been frequently used in demands for recognition of the identities of people from different backgrounds since the 1960s, Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* has become a major work of reference. In this respect, we should note that Alexandre Kojève's interpretation of Hegel was highly influential in giving direction to the theoretical debates of the twentieth century. Fanon, on the other hand, "contributed" to these debates by adapting Hegel's master-slave dialectics to colonialism.³⁶ By engaging in a critical dialogue with Hegelian phenomenology and Sartre's philosophy, Fanon calls into the question of the universality of the master-slave relationship in line with Hegel's thought: As a theory of recognition, is the Hegelian model valid only for European subjects? Or, does it remain valid when adapted to colonial societies and continue to provide a framework for analysis? In terms of recognition, there is an absolute reciprocity in Hegel's dialectics. When it comes to the colonial societies, mutual recognition in Hegel gives way to unilateralism³⁷ because, according to Fanon, "the black wants to be like the master. This is because he is less independent than the Hegelian slave"³⁸. What makes him less independent than the Hegelian slave is his sticking to the subjectivity of the White master. As such, the Fanonian slave, who has no real desire to be recognized, accepts the subjectivity of the master as his own will. "Black people desire to be white, whereas white people wish to reach a higher level of humanity by enslaving"³⁹ Indeed, the question "What are black people after?" which is posed in the introduction of *Black Skin White Masks* is essentially a question of whether the Black have a desire for recognition that seeks self-awareness. In response to this question, Fanon says, "I will say even though I know that I will suffer the wrath of my black brothers: Black people are not human beings." to point out that Hegelian recognition will not be possible under colonial conditions. This is because while the black man craves for the self-consciousness of the white master, the white mask worn by his black skin is the biggest obstacle in the path of attaining independent self-consciousness. Apparently, in the colonial context, the status of the slave against the master, the object against the subject, and the person who keeps silent against

³⁴ Young, *Postkolonyalizm: Tarihsel Bir Giriş*, 23.

³⁵ Fırat Mollaer, "Frantz Fanon'un Çelişkili Kimliği: Avrupa-merkezcilik ve Milliyetçiliğin Ötesinde Tanınma", *Fanon'un Hayaletleri, Fanon'la Konuşmayı Sürdürmek*, ed. Fırat Mollaer (İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları, 2018), 109.

³⁶ The reason why the verb *contributed* used above was enclosed in quotation marks was to avoid a possible misunderstanding that Fanon could not step out of Hegel's dialectical spiral. A particular example of the comments regarding Fanon's position vis-à-vis that of Hegel's is Ethan Kleinberg's remark that he is not optimistic about the success and authenticity of Fanon's reading of Hegel, and his claim that Fanon's "attempt to drive the colonial slave away from the Hegelian Slave is actually parallel to the Hegelian movement". See Ethan Kleinberg, "Kojève and Fanon: The Desire for Recognition and the Fact of Blackness" ed. Tyler Stovall and Georges Van Den Abbeele, *French Civilization and Its Discontents: Nationalism, Colonialism, Race* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), 116. Nigel Gibson, who studies Fanon, considers the significance of Fanon's relationship with Hegel and comments that "Fanon's introducing race to the master/slave dialectics, although largely overlooked, is a profound and original contribution made in the context of the post-war "Hegelian" Renaissance in France. See Nigel C. Gibson, *Fanon: The Postcolonial Imagination* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003), 30.

³⁷ Mollaer, *Kimlik, Tanınma Mücadelesi ve Şarkiyatçılık*, 111.

³⁸ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, trans. Cahit Koytak (İstanbul: Encore Yayınları, 2016), 261.

³⁹ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 2008), 3, 45, 178.

the speaker is a practice of internalized orientalism in terms of the phenomenology of recognition that "Hegel failed to conceive". "This self-orientalist attitude, which has developed as a result of the dialogue held with orientalism for the last two centuries, is the product of the effort to read and express themselves through Western values that we encounter in the process of modernization of non-Western societies. This kind of effort to prove oneself ultimately means the approval of Western domination."⁴⁰ After all, orientalism as the "Orientalization of the East" cannot be realized and placed on a firm ground without "Self-Orientalization". Therefore, analyses carried out without an internalized version of orientalism remain incomplete. In this regard, Said's *Orientalism* is criticized for not addressing the question of how "Eastern" societies might have contributed to the emergence of orientalism as a practical tool and concept.⁴¹

The failure of the Hegelian phenomenology of recognition in the colonial context, according to Fanon, stems from a problem inherent to the phenomenology itself. "Phenomenology in Fanon's thought has stepped into a dichotomous world that abides by the principles of mutual exclusion and is governed by pure Aristotelian logic; it is a place where negotiation is impossible."⁴² The colonial world divided into camps is invalidated by "the simple operating logic of orientalism and the essentialism present in this logic". In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon states that "the colonial world is a world divided into two"; he asserts that being white turns into a symbol of purity, justice, righteousness and virginity. Whiteness is characterised by being civilized, modern and human. Being black is just the opposite of this: in the collective unconscious, it connotes ugliness, sin, darkness, immorality. One can describe and expand this experience of black with the discourse of the West-East polarity in orientalism. While concepts such as progress, rational thought, scientificity, secularity, and civilization became identical with and represented by the "West"; others such as reaction, irrationality, emotional thinking, religion and culture became descriptive of the "East". On the other hand, it is seen that "Eastern" intellectuals try to provide scientific bases for "Western fantasy" instead of attacking this categorizing idea which is based on the contradictions introduced by the "West".⁴³ Fanon thinks that he glorifies blackness by quoting Senghor's words "Emotion is Negro as reason is Greek," but he actually criticizes non-Western societies for reproducing the Eurocentric view that sees them lacking the

⁴⁰ İrfan Kaya, "Sosyolojik Düşüncece Avrupa-merkezcilik, Ötekileştirme ve Oryantalist Söylem Üzerine Post-kolonyal Bir Okuma ve Eleştirisi", *Cumhuriyet İlahiyat Dergisi* 21/3 (Aralık 2017), 2003.

⁴¹ Arif Dirlik, *Postkolonyal Aura, Küresel Kapitalizm Çağında Üçüncü Dünya Eleştirisi*, trans. Galip Doğduaslan (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 186-206.

⁴² Mollaer, *Kimlik, Tanınma Mücadelesi ve Şarkiyatçılık*, 115. According to Derrida, who produced his philosophical works based on both the relationship he established with phenomenology and criticisms voiced against it, phenomenology has fallen into the trap of the system that it tried to criticize because it is both a criticism of metaphysics and a part of the metaphysical enterprise. See Jacques Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena: And Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs*, trans. David B. Allison-Newton Garver (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 9.

⁴³ In our country, Ziya Gökalp struggled to stand up to the West in terms of culture by reducing it to the field of science and technology. Gökalp's conceptualization of "hars" is the product of such a struggle. The name that we should mention before Ziya Gökalp is Namık Kemal, who is known as the cult figure of the Turkish intelligentsia. As in his example of "Müdafaaname", the partially insurgent and partially defensive occidentalist attitude that he adopted grew into the characteristic feature of the Turkish thinking after him. "What emerged was a typical Islamist attitude, which has survived to the present day in its reactionary, apologist, culturalist and romantic form." See İrfan Kaya, "Modernitenin Ayna İmgesi Olarak Romantizm ve İslamcılıkta Romantik Modernleşmenin Ortaya Çıkışı", *Cumhuriyet İlahiyat Dergisi* 22/3 (Aralık 2018), 1505. Therefore, if we adapt the saying "We all came out from Gogol's 'Overcoat'", supposedly used by Dostoyevski to express his influence on Russian literature, we can say "We all came out of Namık Kemal's 'Overcoat'".

ability to rationalize and manage themselves. "Did I read it right? I re-read them with undivided attention. The magical Negro culture was waving to and saluting me even from the other side of the white world. Negro statue, Negro sculpture art! My chest was beginning to swell with joy. Was this the salvation?" A striking example of movement within the Hegelian dialectical circle is the fact that Eastern societies, under the leadership of their intellectuals, seek salvation in "emotion" as this is what remains for them when the West represents "reason". Just as the Easterner became more pious as the West moved away from religion. After all, being "pious", being irrational and using intuition are the signs of immaturity or childhood. To get enlightened, it is necessary to step out of immaturity. According to the Eurocentric point of view, the "Easterner" lives in his childhood. Like every child, he needs a "white" parent to guide him and to take rational decisions on his behalf. Fanon expresses his reaction to the Westerner's call for reason as follows: "I rationalized the world, and it rejected me with race discrimination. As no harmony is possible at the level of reason, I have got involved in irrationality... I struggle desperately in irrationality. I am neck-deep in irrationality. And how my voice is tinkling!"⁴⁴ In the dilemma of "civilization-culture", which is one of the sub-expansions of the West-East orientalist discourse, it is heavily ironic that non-Western societies have to take up their struggle for liberation over the concept of "culture". This is because, etymologically considered, the concepts of "colonialism" which they struggle for and "culture" come from the same root. The concepts used for describing itself, speaking on its behalf, fighting against the West point up the extent to which orientalism has been internalized.

Dialectical thinking expresses the philosophical nature of appropriating the other as a form of knowledge. There has to be the "other". If there are no slaves then there is no master "as imposed by a devastating dialectical magic."⁴⁵ In the face of this evolutionary scheme that progresses from black to white; in other words, the Hegelian dialectical structure established using a hierarchical system, Fanon sets his strategy on "dismantling". Being aware that the possibility of breathing would disappear for the Negro the moment he accepted the Black-White distinction created by the European, Fanon noted that "the concern of our time with all its gravity is not to know the world, but to change it!"⁴⁶ This was an obvious manifestation of his objection to the post-Hegelian world. Fanon's first move was intended for the "colonist who created and continues to create the colony." This is because it is the civilization bearing the stamp "white" on it that "drives the Negro to existential deviation". "What is called the Negro soul is indeed the work of the White man."⁴⁷ "It is the white man who created the Negro."⁴⁸ Based on the reaction of Fanon against the dialectical thought expressed in *Black Orpheus* by "Hegelian Negro-friendly" Sartre, we can say that Fanon acted with awareness of what he was facing. When Sartre speaks in the name of Black here, he actually

⁴⁴ Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 123.

⁴⁵ Helene Cixous-Catherine Clement, *the Newly Born Woman*, trans. Betsy Wing (Manchester: Manchester U Press, 1986), 70.

⁴⁶ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 33.

⁴⁷ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 30.

⁴⁸ These sentences of Fanon are reminiscent of the famous lines that Sartre wrote on the Jewish problem: "A Jew as a person that others look at and say, "look, he/she is a Jew." This is the simple truth to keep in mind when resolving the issue... It is the anti-Semitic attitude itself that creates the Jewish character. See Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 118. It was his philosophy teacher who first reminded Fanon of the fact that he shared the same misery as the Jew, whom he considered as his brother: "When you hear Jews being spoken out against, just keep in mind that it is really you who is being spoken against." See Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 151. The difference between these two is that Jews are the prisoners of their own appearance, not the image they have created for themselves.

silences him for ever. "Indeed, the Negro case emerges as a sub-phase of the dialectical thought process: If the affirmation of white supremacy in theory and practice is a thesis; the Black case, which appears to be of antithetic value, is also the opposite pole that provides the negative charge. However, such negative attribute per se is not enough. Negroes who are committed to the Negro cause are well aware of it. They too know that human values can be synthesized and made dominant in life only in a society where racial discrimination is abolished. Therefore, the Negro case actually carries its own end; it is not a destination but a transit area; not the ultimate goal, only a provisional tool."⁴⁹ Reading these lines, Fanon feels that his last chance slips through his fingers and calls out to his friends: "Do you know how severe is the blow that the young generation of Black poets has received?"

I said. Help was sought from someone known as a friend of black-skinned people, and what he did was nothing but holding and showing their action as a relative and limited one. This Hegelian Negro-friendly thinker seems to have forgotten, above all, that consciousness needs to disappear in the darkness of the absolute, to appear as a light in that darkness, as a requisite of recognizing its own being. Adopting an attitude that opposes to rationalism, the author appeals to the negative pole, the negative attribution, but in doing so he fails to remember that the negative element derives its value from the absolute; that is, almost from the absolute in the form of substance. Consciousness, which is constrained only with the experience of living, is unaware of the principles, reasons and limits of its own existence; it must be so."⁵⁰ Fanon strikingly explains the debilitating effects of hearing that the notion of the blackness which Sartre advocated was only a temporary phase—"I should have lost myself in blackness... I shouldn't have recognized it"—in the historical process of progressing towards a given goal. According to him, the dialectics, which determines imperativeness as the basis of freedom, peels it away from its own existence, its own self. "It is not me who creates a meaning around my own existence and the reason for my being, but it is the meaning itself that existed before me and waited for me to come and stake a claim on it. It is not my suffering as a Negro, my troubles, my black teeth and white teeth sharpened to bite, my Negro breath that is smelly due to hunger that gave power to the torch that I lighted to set the world up on fire, but it is this abstract torch which gives such a historic chance to all of them and who already existed before them, is that so?"⁵¹ Criticizing Sartre for ignoring the richness of black culture, Fanon presented a richer analysis two years after the publishing of *Black Skin White Masks*: "It is the white man who created the Negro. But it is Negro who creates Negritude."⁵²

⁴⁹ Jean-Paul Sartre, "Orphee Noir", *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française* den aktaran Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 165.

⁵⁰ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 165-166.

⁵¹ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 166-167.

⁵² Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, trans. H. Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 47.

4. Black Skin White Masks

Fanon's *Black Skin White Masks* is a book that discusses the exploiter and exploited together in colonial conditions. We can summarize the problem that the book focuses on using the following sentences by Fanon: "Black people desire to be white; the white man, on the other hand, seeks to realize a human condition."⁵³ What Fanon is after is to try to identify the white man's whiteness and the black man's blackness; that is, the orientations of this double narcissism and the motivations that inspire it. Later, the struggle for "breaking this hellish circle that traps the black in their shell" moves Fanon away from Hegel. Fanon, who finds someone that admires a Negro as dangerous as the one that feels disgust towards him, developed a movement ahead of his time with the awareness of the fact that a man who is uprooted, chased, hampered and condemned to see the truths he has found in his own problematic of existence disappear one after another must give up posing a contradiction that coexists with him against the world. Its primary goal is to decolonize and liberate people: "To overcome this meaningless drama that gives others a role above me, to remove the words *black* and *white*, both of which are unacceptable, from my vocabulary and to head towards universality by exalting solely and exclusively the concept of humankind."⁵⁴

Black Skin and White Masks is introduced with the question "What do the black want?" and is closed with the section on "Negro and Hegel". In this section, which is opened with an epigraph from Hegel, Fanon picks up where Hegel left off, by answering this initially posed question, while at the same time clarifying why the dialectics of recognition would not be realized under colonial conditions. First of all, reciprocity is one of the bases of the Hegelian dialectics. "A person actualizes himself in proportion to his willingness and effort to impose himself on others. This is a desire and effort to be recognized and accepted by others."⁵⁵

Under colonial conditions, what the master wants the slave to do is to work rather than seek recognition. "Similarly, the slave in question is by no means similar to the one who loses himself in an object and finds the sources of his freedom in his work. Black people want to be just like the master. Therefore, they are less independent than the Hegelian slave. In Hegelian dialectics, the slave turns his back to the master and his face to the object. And here the slave abandons the object and turns to the master."⁵⁶

One of the issues that annoyed Fanon was the proposed methods of liberation in the struggle for the independence. This was because in the colonial conditions where the struggle for independence was waged, making a start by returning to the origin, to the essence, was an argument that many nation states resorted to. Fanon, on the other hand, stands off from this kind of essentialist understanding of a golden age hidden somewhere in the past and waiting to be discovered. The so-called black soul is also what the white man ultimately constructed, and black people are compelled to sacrifice the reality and the future for a mystical past described by this essentialist identity. However, Negro should learn to define himself as an opportunity for the future. Thus, Fanon is against understanding the black experience through an essentialist perspective. Although Fanon considers nationalism vital in the struggle for national independence, he hardly finds it sufficient. According to Fanon, if nationalism is not elucidated, enriched and amplified, if it is not promptly

⁵³ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 25.

⁵⁴ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 236.

⁵⁵ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 257.

⁵⁶ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 261.

transformed into social and political consciousness; in other words, into a new humanism, it will end in a deadlock. He warns that the bourgeoisie of the underdeveloped countries may condemn national consciousness to an inefficient formalism unless essential measures are taken.⁵⁷

Conclusion

"... The desire to be white." Undoubtedly, we must say that this is not/cannot be imagined, even in a dialectical structure designed in favour of the master. For Fanon, who keeps away from nationalist consciousness and tries to make a start without surrendering to identityist thought and without getting to the bottom, such a zeal for existence is the biggest obstacle in the path of "progress".⁵⁸ "I have spoken of going too far, but it is what we need to do when carrying out a critical evaluation: to go too far."⁵⁹ For "a humanity that knows how to dig its plow into its flesh to find a meaning or reality to be unearthed and raised, away from the obstacles that others put in the way of it",⁶⁰ to "place the people of a country where unlawfulness, inequality and favouritism have been turned into a legislative principle and where the indigenous who are terminally mentally ill in their own country experience absolute dehumanization" is to make the exploited people get rid of the mask they zealously wear. In doing so, as Sartre notes in his foreword to *the Wretched of the Earth*, he does not waste his time in condemning them. He does not feel hostility to the West by being attracted to occidentalism, which is the first argument used in reaction to orientalism. This is because he knows that "the Black Man, who dreams of turning his race into white is as poor as the one who preaches grudge against the Whites". He struggles to teach his brothers to overcome the European by breaking down the dialectical structure on their behalf. He analyses Europe for his brothers and breaks and dismantles the alienation mechanisms for them.

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⁵⁷ Fanon, *Yeryüzünün Lanetlileri*, 199-200.

⁵⁸ Fanon, *Yeryüzünün Lanetlileri*, 199-200.

⁵⁹ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 87.

⁶⁰ Fanon, *Siyah Deri Beyaz Maskeler*, 25.

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