

AN ANALYSIS OF FRANTZ FANON'S DISCOURSES ON COLONIALISM, DECOLONIZATION AND COLONIALITY

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores and analyzes Frantz Fanon's discourses about the psychological effects of Western colonialism on the colonized peoples, the legacy of European colonialism, imperialism and how the classic colonialism morphed into neocolonialism. Frantz Fanon was selected for our study because he was one of the pioneers of postcolonial studies, who greatly contributed to the development of the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of colonialism, decolonization, neocolonialism and coloniality. A critical analysis of Frantz Fanon's works and discourses will allow us to get in-depth insights into underlying issues pertaining to the legacy of European colonialism and imperialism. We have specifically examined Frantz Fanon's works "*Black Skin, White Masks*", "*A Dying Colonialism*" and "*The Wretched of the Earth*". Moreover, we have drawn upon studies of leading scholars of postcolonialism and other relevant literature. The results of our study have demonstrated that even though classic European colonialism long came to an end, the consequences and legacy of Western colonialism and imperialism tenaciously persist and shape the development of postcolonial societies. The psychological effects of colonialism are still felt across postcolonial contexts, especially in terms of the persistence of an inferiority complex among former colonized nations and a superiority complex among the former colonizers. Moreover, the dawn of political independence of many Third World nations has not translated into genuine freedom and national development. Quite the opposite, as Fanon emphasized, colonialism transformed into neocolonialism, in which former colonial powers still dominate their former colonies.

Key words: Frantz Fanon, Colonialism, Decolonization, Coloniality, Neocolonialism, Postcolonialism, Colonial Mentality.

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Франц Фанонның отаршылдық, отарсыздану және отаршылдықтың салдары туралы дискурстарын талдау

Аңдатпа. Бұл мақалада Франц Фанонның Батыс отаршылдығының отарланған халықтарға тигізген психологиялық зардаптары, еуропалық отаршылдық пен империализмнің салдары мен мұрасы, сонымен қатар дәстүрлі отаршылдықтың жаңа отаршылдыққа қалай ұласқанына қатысты көзқарастары мен дискурстары зерттеліп, талданады. Франц Фанонның осы зерттеу үшін кейс ретінде алынуының бірден-бір себебі, Фанон постотаршылдық зерттеу саласының негізін салушылардың бірі ретінде отаршылдық, отарсыздану, жаңа отаршылдық және отаршылдықтың зардаптары сынды феномендерді зерттеудің теориялық және концепциялық негіздерін қалыптастыруға ерекше үлес қосқан. Осыған орай Франц Фанонның еңбектері мен дискурстарын талдау еуропалық отаршылдық пен империализмнің мұрасы мен салдарына қатысты негізгі мәселелер кешенін тереңнен түсінуге мүмкіндік береді. Сондықтан Франц Фанонның "*Black Skin, White Masks*", "*A Dying Colonialism*" and "*The Wretched of the Earth*" сынды еңбектері сыни көзқарас тұрғысынан талдауға алынды. Бұған

қоса постотаршылдық саласының өзге де өкілдерінің еңбектері талданды. Осы зерттеудің нәтижелері еуропалық отаршылдықтың әлдеқайда бұрын аяқталғанына қарамастан, Батыс империализмі мен отаршылдығының мұрасы мен салдарының әлі де болса сақталып, постотарлық қоғамдардың дамуына айтарлықтай ықпал етіп отырғанын көрсетіп берді. Сонымен бірге отаршылдықтың психологиялық салдары мен зардаптары постотарлық елдерде айқын байқалуда, соның ішінде бұрынғы отар халықтардың арасында өзін төмен сезіну комплексі, ал бұрынғы отарлаушылар арасында өзін жоғары сезіну комплексі үстемдік құрып отыр. Оның үстіне, Үшінші әлем елдерінің саяси тәуелсіздікті алуы олардың шынайы еркіндік пен ұлттық дамуға қол жеткізуіне алып келмеді. Франц Фанон атап өткендей, барлығы керісінше өрбіді, яғни отаршылдық жаңа отаршылдыққа ұласып, бұрынғы отарлық империялар әлі өз бұрынғы отарларына үстемдік жүргізіп келеді.

Түйін сөздер: Франц Фанон, отаршылдық, отарсыздану, отаршылдықтың зардаптары, жаңа отаршылдық, постотаршылдық, отарлық менталитет.

Анализ дискурсов Франца Фанона о колониализме, деколонизации и колониальности

Аннотация. В статье исследуются и анализируются взгляды и дискурсы Франца Фанона о психологическом воздействии западного колониализма на колонизированные народы, о наследии европейского колониализма, империализма и о том, как классический колониальный порядок трансформировался в неоколониализм. Выбор Франца Фанона в качестве объекта для нашего исследования вызван тем, что он был одним из пионеров постколониальных исследований, который внес большой вклад в разработку теоретических и концептуальных основ колониализма, деколонизации, неоколониализма и колониальности. Критический анализ основных работ и дискурсов Франца Фанона позволил нам получить более глубокое понимание основных проблем, касательно наследия европейского колониализма и империализма. Критически проанализированы произведения Франца Фанона «*Black Skin, White Masks*», «*A Dying Colonialism*» и «*The Wretched of the Earth*». Более того, мы опирались на исследования ведущих ученых постколониализма. Результаты исследования показали, что, хотя классическому европейскому колониализму уже давно наступил конец, пока что последствия и наследие западного колониализма и империализма сохраняются и оказывают влияние на развитие постколониальных обществ. Психологические последствия колониализма все еще ощущаются в постколониальном контексте, особенно с точки зрения сохранения комплекса неполноценности среди бывших колониальных народов и комплекса превосходства среди бывших колонизаторов. К тому же расцвет политической независимости многих стран третьего мира не привел к подлинной свободе и национальному развитию. В противоположность, как подчеркнул Фанон, колониализм трансформировался в неоколониализм, при котором бывшие колониальные державы по-прежнему доминируют в своих бывших колониях.

Ключевые слова: Франц Фанон, колониализм, деколонизация, колониальность, неоколониализм, постколониализм, колониальный менталитет.

Introduction

Postcolonial studies have recently gained momentum in Kazakhstan and other post-Soviet countries. With Russian military aggression against Ukraine since February 2022, Russia has increasingly been seen through the prism of postcolonialism and decolonization. The colonial and neocolonial character of Russian history and current Russian behavior have stirred heated discussions about colonialism and decolonization. In this regard, a critical examination of discourses of prominent scholars of postcolonialism such as Frantz Fanon is essential in

gaining in-depth insights into the legacies and current manifestations of colonialism and imperialism. The field of postcolonialism or postcolonial studies emerged in Western countries and in some postcolonial contexts such as Martinique where the influential theoreticians of postcolonial studies such as Aimé Césaire and Frantz Fanon were born. Our study aims to dissect Frantz Fanon's discourses about psychological and mental effects of European colonialism and racism on the colonized peoples in the Third World or the Global South. This is instrumental in understanding of the legacies of Russian colonialism and neocolonialism in the context

of Kazakhstan and beyond. By conducting a critical analysis of Frantz Fanon's seminal works, we focus on identifying the deleterious effects of European colonialism and racism on the colonized nations.

From this standpoint, Frantz Fanon drew attention to issues of a colonial mentality and coloniality. These two notions are intertwined in terms of the persistence of colonialism even after a colonized people gets its independence. Psychologically and mentally the colonizer has purposefully and systematically instilled in the colonized the invented and socially constructed myths of their superiority and inferiority of the colonized. Such social constructs and myths engineered and imposed by the colonizer are embraced and internalized by the colonized, which can be defined as a colonial mentality and coloniality. Fanon's articulation of the effects of colonialism has theoretical and practical significance and relevance to postcolonial scholarship. In particular, the persistence of colonialism in former colonies, including the tenacity of internalized colonial myths and constructs of the inferiority of non-Europeans and superiority of Europeans. As one of the pioneers of postcolonialism studies, it is essential to explore Frantz Fanon's works on the effects and legacy of Western colonialism, racism and imperialism.

Methodology

This study draws on the main works of Frantz Fanon and other prominent scholars of postcolonial studies. Besides the literature on postcolonialism, underlying theories of postcolonialism served as the methodological basis of the current research. Specifically, our study is theoretically and conceptually based on the theories of decolonization, neocolonialism, coloniality and a colonial mentality. The issue of a colonial mentality and coloniality has been the focus of distinguished scholars of postcolonial studies [1, 2]. While a colonial mentality is instilled through colonial subjugation and domination [3], coloniality refers to the set of values, knowledge production, power structures, domination and attitudes that are leveraged by a white colonizing power to rationalize and perpetuate its dominance over the col-

onized [1, 2, 4, 5]. A colonial mentality refers to an ethnic, cultural and linguistic inferiority complex inculcated in the colonized through violence by the colonizer [3]. Subsequently, this inferiority complex is internalized by the colonized who is compelled by the system of colonial domination to embrace socially constructed and deeply prejudiced stereotypes of his inferiority [3]. Under the tremendous pressure exerted by the colonizer, the colonized is compelled to embrace the socially constructed belief that the culture, education, way of life, political and economic system, language of the colonizer are inherently superior to his own [4].

A colonial mentality does not vanish without a trace after the colonial era comes to an end, quite the opposite this mentality and the legacies of colonialism tend to survive and persist after a colonized people gets its independence. This phenomenon is conceptualized as coloniality or coloniality of power [1]. Thus, the end of the colonial domination of a western power does not necessarily lead to the end of a colonial mentality and does not necessarily mean the dawn of genuine liberation and freedom of thought and action. The termination of colonial domination as a rule morphs into coloniality or coloniality of power in which the legacies of the colonial era and colonial structures survive and continue to shape the development of a postcolonial society [6]. David and Okazaki observe the manifestation of a colonial mentality in the Filipino American communities, which they define as the acceptance and internalization of superiority of American and Western cultural values, behavior, language, physical appearance and way of life and by the same token, the rejection of their own cultural values as inferior [4, p. 850]. Moreover, a colonial mentality may become intergenerational, passing on from one generation to the next due to the impact of familial or community socialization as well as the presence of colonial spaces [4, p. 850]. Premised on these theoretical underpinnings of postcolonial studies this study now turns to a critical analysis of Frantz Fanon's discourses and paradigms.

Instilling colonial mentality

According to Aimé Césaire, "Millions of men and women in the colonial world have been instilled with inferiority complexes, fear, trepidation, servility, abasement and despair" [7, p. 43]. A prominent Martinican poet and politician Aimé Césaire played a pivotal role in Frantz Fanon's life and his anticolonial struggle. One of the architects of the concept and movement of Négritude (Black consciousness) Aimé Césaire put the colonial oppression and subjugation of people of African descent and other colonized populations around the globe at the center of discussion and debates on colonialism and decolonization [8]. Following Aimé Césaire, Frantz Fanon increasingly focused on the effects of colonial subjugation and oppression on the mental and psychological well-being of the dehumanized and colonized people. Influenced by Aimé Césaire and other prominent theoreticians of the Négritude movement, Frantz Fanon likewise put a greater emphasis upon the liberation of a black man and other people of color. At the core of his thought and discussion is the implications of European colonial oppression and dehumanization of people of color, race and racial issues [9]. In his 1952 work "*Peau noire, masques blancs*" ("*Black Skin, White Masks*"), Frantz Fanon laid out and articulated the key concepts and theoretical underpinnings of his anticolonial discourses. Specifically, issues like the effects of colonialism, racism and dehumanization upon the colonized took a prominent place in Frantz Fanon's work.

The first experience the colonized is forced to go through is dehumanization. Due to colonial stereotypes, essentializing and 'othering', the colonized comes to embrace and internalize white man's superiority and own inferiority. Internalization of his inferiority and superiority of the colonizer leads to the emulation of white man and acceptance of the colonizer's way of life. Frantz Fanon argues that the colonizer always considers himself superior to the colonized [9, p. 3]. In terms of internalizing his own inferiority, the phenomenon of language plays a greater role. In Fanon's view, the black man possesses two dimensions: one is his own environment or his indigenous community, and another is

the dominating colonizer [9]. The behavior and action of the colonized tend to be different depending on what environment he is in. In other words, his behavior would be strikingly different in front of his white masters than before his fellow countrymen. The white colonizer consistently and systematically inculcated in the colonized that all humans are subject to historical evolution from a primitive stage to an advanced sophisticated period of human civilization. According to such a Darwinist evolutionist and white supremacist racial theory, the colonized and all people of color would evolve from a savage barbaric state of being into a civilized man [9, p. 8].

Besides the race issue, the culture and language of the colonizer and their impact upon the colonized are at the center of Fanon's discussion about internalization of inferiority complex and superiority of the colonized. As Fanon was from the French West Indies (French Antilles), his analysis of the mental and psychological well-being of the colonized people mostly pertained to black populations of the Antilles. In this regard, Fanon asserted that as the mastery of language affords remarkable power, the better the Negro (Black people) master the French language, the closer they would be a real human being and proportionately whiter [9, p. 8]. The colonized always faces the problem of language in colonial oppressive spaces. Furthermore, according to Fanon, every colonized people who have been forced to embrace an inferiority complex, having been reformed through the death and burial of its indigenous cultural originality, rendering face to face with the language and culture of the civilizing colonial power [9, p. 9].

Colonial subjugation and oppression in highly racialized colonial spaces compel the colonized to discard his own culture, language and ethnic identity and embrace white man's identity. The rejection of a local culture and language by the colonized is the damage done by colonization, which coerces the colonized into the acceptance of the deficient reductionist colonial knowledge about himself. To escape from his inferiority complex and an inferior status in a colonial racialized environment, the colonized is forced to appropriate white man's culture and identity. In other words, as Frantz Fanon highlighted,

"The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle" [9, p. 9]. Mastering a colonial language allows the colonized to elevate himself from the status of savagery to the status of a civilized man. In this sense, mastery of the French language was considered an elevation to the status of the white Frenchmen in the French West Indies. At the same time, the suppression and discard of their indigenous ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities was a key precondition for achieving the status upheld by a white man. From this perspective, even a French-based creole language in the French Indies was systematically suppressed in education and wider society. Frantz Fanon indicated that the middle class never spoke a French-based creole except to their servants, avoiding creolism as it was considered in society as a sign of uncultured, brutish, rude and savage behavior [9].

Therefore, the colonized is forced to see assimilation into a hegemonic white culture as the panacea for his social constructs, ills and deficiencies invented and imposed upon him by the colonizer. The desire for assimilation into a colonial culture to achieve the level of a white man and to be equal to him put pressure on the colonized to suppress his ethnic identity. This kind of behavior manifests itself in every spectrum of society, notably in family, in public and in school. Martinique where Frantz Fanon was born and grew up, many families prohibited the use of a French-based creole in their households, parents discouraged and even ridiculed their children for speaking a local dialect of French. Besides, the education system and schools taught children to despise creole and teachers made sure that pupils only spoke metropolitan French. The children were scolded for speaking a creole, told to speak only French, the French of France, which allowed them to sound and behave like a white man [9, pp. 10-11]. As a result of forced or voluntary assimilation into colonial French culture, the colonized underwent the personality change, which was induced by the adoption of a language different from his own local language. Fanon conceptualized this pattern as a dislocation, separation and

alienation, that is the colonized is compelled to give up his ethnic and cultural identity and adopt a colonial culture and language [9]. If a black person in Martinique strives to learn French with the aim to achieve a higher status, this is defined as an alienation. Social and psychic alienation may result in a rejection of one's own race and racial identity, in self-hate, madness, individual and collective trauma [9]. Nonetheless, having a competence in French is not enough to achieve equality with whites as due to the difference in skin color, whites resist any idea of racial equality and inclusive society.

With respect to racism and racial issues, Frantz Fanon describes colonial spaces as a binary Manichean world divided along the racial lines of white and black. Fanon brings attention to how Négritude or Blackness is constantly constructed, produced and reproduced. Moreover, Fanon observed that even if the colonized jettisoned his local ethnic identity and embraced white man's culture, white people tend to have a deep-seated fear and suspicion of assimilated and educated blacks. Hence, whites tend to strive to keep blacks in perpetuity in an inferiority complex within a colonial racialized system. Having lost their indigenous culture and ethnic identity, the colonized appropriates the culture of the colonizer putting on the white mask yet remaining black. The appropriation of the white man's culture and attitude is conceptualized by Homi Bhabha as mimicry, which refers to the phenomenon in which the colonized is forced to adapt to the colonial environment and the culture of the colonizer [10]. Even embracing a white man's culture and internalizing his own inferiority status, did not prevent the fear of blacks among white people, which was defined by Fanon as Negrophobia [9, p. 124]. This pathological fear of blackness among whites illustrates the psychological relationships between the colonized and colonizer, in which the latter systematically instill in the former the inferiority complex. According to Fanon, an inferiority complex of the colonized and a superiority complex of the colonizer are the prerequisite for maintaining the power structure of racial supremacy of whites. Furthermore, Fanon focuses on how colonization has inculcated in the colonized an inferiority complex and

brought utter destruction of the culture and identity of the colonized.

Deep-seated racism rooted in Western societies and colonial environments persist today. Juxtaposing with anti-Semitism or hostility towards Jews with anti-Black racism, Fanon argues that while Jews can relatively navigate in anti-Semitic milieus by minimizing or renouncing their Jewishness, blacks can never do the same and liberate themselves from Negrophobia and anti-Black prejudices and stereotypes by virtue of their race and skin color. The skin color prevents them from fully integrating themselves into a white-dominated society. On the strength of racial identity, black people's experiences differ strikingly from white people. An inferiority complex of blacks and superiority of whites are inculcated in black children in early ages through education, schooling, textbooks, teaching, socializing, films, in which while whites are increasingly romanticized, idealized and valorized, blacks are constantly demonized, vilified and dehumanized [11, p. 141]. In this regard, Fanon observes how black children's brain is colonized in schools through brainwashing, indoctrination and falsification of history, in which they are taught that the same people who have colonized, oppressed and dehumanized them are their ancestors [9, p. 114]. As a consequence, black children come to identify themselves with whites, perceiving them as carriers and bringers of civilization to primitive savages [9]. The inferiority of black colonized people is defined as a 'collective unconscious', which is internalized by both the colonized and colonizer [11, p. 141]. Fanon suggests that through 'collective catharsis' it is possible to heal a collective unconscious or the psychological damage of colonialism. Yet Fanon stresses that the pervasive and prevalent phobia of blacks among whites is not an accidental phenomenon rather the fear of blacks is rooted in racist colonial culture.

Resisting colonization and decolonization

Franz Fanon's "*Peau noire, masques blancs*" ("*Black Skin, White Masks*") came out in 1952 when he was practicing psychiatry in France [12]. One year later, in 1953, he was

transferred to Algeria where the Algerian war of independence started in 1954 to undo the French colonial hegemony and regain national independence [13]. At the initial stage of the Algerian war, Frantz Fanon was responsible for treating both French soldiers who tortured insurgents or their collaborators and the victims of torture [14]. Yet soon Fanon joined the National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale) and in 1959, he penned his book "*Lan V de la révolution algérienne*" ("*A Dying Colonialism*") and in 1961, he published "*Les Damnés de la Terre*" ("*The Wretched of the Earth*") [15, 16]. These two books were penned when Frantz Fanon was at the center of the anticolonial struggle as part of the Algerian independence movement. In "*A Dying Colonialism*", Frantz Fanon focuses on the complex psychological and social turmoil induced by colonial rule as well as the struggle for independence in Algeria [17]. Fanon exposes how colonial subjugation and oppression dehumanizes and changes both the colonizer and the colonized. When "*A Dying Colonialism*" was penned, the Algerian war of independence was simmering, both the French and the insurgents resorted to unspeakable terror and violence against each other. As a leading member of the FLN, Frantz Fanon witnessed all these horrors and atrocities. In "*A Dying Colonialism*", Fanon illustrates how the Algerian people reclaimed their ancient identity and cultural values that had been derided and erased by the French colonizers as barbaric and primitive [15]. In this work Fanon predicts the inevitability of the triumph of the Algerian liberation movement and the fall of French colonial domination.

Frantz Fanon penned his "*The Wretched of the Earth*" in 1961 before his death when he advocated the rights of the colonized peoples to resort to terror and violence in their struggle against their oppressors and to gain their freedom. "*The Wretched of the Earth*" is instrumental in understanding colonialism, decolonization, neocolonialism and coloniality. The notions like national liberation, national renaissance, the restoration of nationhood to the people can be encapsulated in one word – decolonization [16, p. 1]. Since colonization is solely based on racial oppression, subjugation, dehuman-

ization, terror and violence, decolonization is likewise a violent phenomenon, which entails the replacement of the colonizer by the colonized [16]. Decolonization involves the rise of a new nation, establishment of a new state with its own independent foreign relations and diplomacy, political and economic relations with the outside world. Like in his 1952 book *"Black Skin, White Masks"*, Frantz Fanon discusses the binary Manichean character of the colonial world, in which the settlers come to increasingly see the natives or the colonized as a sort of quintessence of evil, as the enemy of colonial values, traditions and customs [16, p. 6]. This Manichean mentality and worldview of the colonizer dehumanizes the native, turning him into an animal [16, p. 7].

The key argument in Fanon's *"The Wretched of the Earth"* is that decolonization always involves violence as the demise of the colonial order can only be brought down through violence, but not by peaceful means and friendly talks [16]. In addition to being a violent phenomenon, decolonization is a historical process. Riley Quinn considers *"The Wretched of the Earth"* to be a political manifesto that is intended to ignite the oppressed colonized peoples around the world to rise and overthrow the colonial order, reclaim and regain their humanity through violent struggle against colonial oppression [18]. Fanon claimed that violence in Algeria was not the manifestation of any innate characteristic of the Algerian people but rather it resulted from the constant and systemic dehumanization and oppression of the colonial order [18, p. 27]. Frantz Fanon mostly focuses on psychological and mental issues induced by colonial oppression and racism. Racialized colonial domination tends to dehumanize the colonized and make them feel inferior. From this standpoint, only violence can help the colonized get rid of the inferiority complex and the colonial oppressive system that creates and sustains it [18, p. 34]. The language and rhetoric in *"The Wretched of the Earth"* was designed to ignite the revolutionary fire and spirit of the colonized.

According to Fanon, decolonization is the encounter between the two antagonistic and hostile forces, one is the colonizer, and another is the colonized [16]. The colonial system is sustained through the large-scale

violence and economic exploitation of the colonized. Fanon argues that the colonists tend to fabricate the colonized subject and keep doing so to maintain its domination. The colonial world as Manichean is a compartmentalized and divided realm. On the one hand, there is the world of the colonizer as the master of the colonial environment. On the other, there is the colonized whose world is under the control of the colonizer. Any colonial society is organized along racial lines by imposing and installing racialized spaces like the apartheid regime in South Africa. The colonizer as the agent of the colonial world reinforces and perpetuates colonial racial oppression and violence, bringing terror and violence into the homes and minds of the oppressed [16, p. 4]. While the colonizer's sector in the colonial world is modern, clean, well-fed, well-protected, inhabited by white folks and foreigners, the sector of the colonized is the sector of the miserable, the shantytown and the reservation inhabited by disreputable people who can be born anywhere and die anywhere from anything [16, pp. 4-5]. This intricate situation makes the colonized jealous of the colonizer, dreaming of possessing what the colonizer possesses "sitting at the colonist's table and sleeping in his bed" [16, p. 5]. This sort of behavior displayed by the colonized could be attributed to the concept of mimicry defined by Homi Bhabha. Even if the colonial world is divided along racial lines, with time rolling on, the colonized comes to internalize socially constructed myths of his inferiority and superiority of the colonizer. This situation tends to force the colonized to emulate the colonizer, speak and act like his master. Frantz Fanon adds another dimension, that is the colonizer does not limit himself to just emulating his master, but also, he dreams of replacing the colonizer.

As the colonial world is sustained using terror and violence by the colonial power, the same violence should be utilized by the colonizer to break the backbone of this violent alien oppressive system. Using violence against the colonial world means the complete decimation and destruction of the colonist's sector, getting rid of it [16, p. 6]. In this sense, Fanon emphasized that "colonialism only loosens its hold when the knife is at its

throat... 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" [16, p. 23]. In the colonial setting, the colonizer abstains from undermining the oppressed once the latter has declared that white colonial values reign supreme, and he would adhere to them. In this regard, Fanon draws attention to how colonized intellectuals tend to cooperate with the colonizer and how during decolonization the colonialist bourgeoisie seeks collaboration with the so-called colonizer elites to establish common values premised upon the colonial system. In Fanon's view, for a colonized people the most essential value is the land, yet what he has ever experienced on his land is the arrest, beating, starvation, discrimination, exploitation, oppression and persecution.

The colonized intellectuals who are from urban centers, make up less than one percent of the population of a colony. Fanon indicated conformist and opportunistic inclinations of the so-called colonized intellectuals and urban proletariat, who tend to show their willingness to cooperate with the colonial power or seek a foreign patronage. Moreover, Fanon pointed out that the urban proletariat is the most privileged indigenous stratum in the colonial world and as such they would lose their special rights and privileges through decolonization [16, pp. 64-74]. Although the urban proletariat constitute a small fraction in the colonized society, they are instrumental in running the colonial machine, which encourage them to collaborate with the colonial authorities, to be in favor of modernism and innovations and to oppose obscurantist traditions [16, pp. 64-65]. These privileged strata of the colonial society tend to live European lifestyles, embrace colonial ideas, and serve the interest of the colonial power. In comparison with the urban proletariat and national bourgeoisie, the most underprivileged, marginalized and disenfranchised stratum in the colonial society is the peasantry who is systematically neglected by both the colonizer and national bourgeoisie. Yet Fanon gives credit to the peasantry as an important source of revolution and its revolutionary fervor. This is because the oppressed, marginalized, impoverished, down-

trodden and exploited peasantry soon come to discover that only violence can help them to get rid of the colonial system [16, p. 23]. That is why the peasantry loses nothing except its chains.

When Frantz Fanon penned "*The Wretched of the Earth*" in 1961, certain colonies in Africa got their independence from their metropolises. Yet political independence and statehood could not address the underlying issues in former European colonies in Africa. In this regard, Fanon alluded to the fact that anticolonial struggle and independence were hijacked by forces who undermined this independence. Fanon calls attention to endemic weakness and shortcomings of the underdeveloped states' national consciousness, which resulted not only from the consequences of colonialism, this weakness and feebleness are ascribed to the apathy of the national bourgeoisie and political elites, their mediocrity and profoundly cosmopolitan mentality [16, p. 98]. In addition, Fanon argues that "the anticolonial struggle is not written from a nationalist perspective" [16, p. 97]. Furthermore, the unpreparedness of the national elites, the lack of meaningful ties between elites and the masses, the apathy and cowardice exhibited by these elites at the pivotal period in the struggle for independence are considered by Fanon as the causes of tragedies and cataclysms [16, p. 97]. As a result, the development of former European colonies in Africa after their independence was literally backward, specifically these young sovereign states shifted back from nation to ethnic group and tribe, which have had deleterious effects on their development and national unity [16, p. 97]. That is why the independence of these African nations were hijacked not only by these underdeveloped national elites, but also, by former colonial powers who through neocolonial methods managed to keep their dominance in former colonies.

Conclusion

Thus, in our study we have critically analyzed Fanon's discourses and paradigms of colonialism, decolonization and neocolonialism, specifically how European colonialism and colonial domination are premised upon

racism, racial supremacy and superiority of the white race over people of color. Fanon shows that at the core of the colonial system lies white supremacy, which leads to racialization of the colonized. Racialization of colonial spaces induces the colonized to embrace his inferiority status and superiority of whites. Imposition of racialized structures and order forces the colonized to feel inferior, reject its ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities, and embrace a colonial culture, language and identity. The inferiority complex compels the colonized to mimic the colonizer and act white, which is tantamount to the betrayal of their indigenous culture, language and identities. Colonialism marginalizes and eventually erases the indigenous cultures, languages, traditions and identities, replacing them with the colonial culture. To escape from an inferior status and gain equality with whites, the colonized strives to acquire the colonial language and culture while rejecting his own linguistic and cultural identities.

Although Fanon advocated the use of violence to destroy the colonial system and gain independence, political independence of former colonies in Africa and elsewhere has not brought expected outcomes. Due to the weakness and underdevelopment of former colonies, they have not been able to overcome the consequences of colonialism and embark upon the path of economic and social development. This is because the classic colonial order morphed into a neo-colonial system of domination of Western powers over their former colonies in Africa and Third World. Therefore, the anticolonial struggle for genuine freedom and independence as well as decolonization are not yet over. After the classic European colonialism was over, there has been the dawn of a new form of colonialism that is neocolonialism, through which former Western colonial powers have engaged in recolonization of the Third World. In this regard, Fanon called for constant struggle against neocolonialism and neo-imperialism. To overcome the legacies of western colonialism and embark on national development, Frantz Fanon demanded that former colonies should not emulate and should not try to catch up with Europe [16, pp. 235-236]. Specifically, he emphasized that the Third World nations should

opt for a different path or model of development, instead of just mimicking Europe. This point and others made by Fanon are highly relevant in today's turbulent world, in which Europe or the West still acts as a dominant hegemonic force.

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